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House Calendar No. 74

113TH CONGRESS
1st Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REPORT
113–266

IN THE MATTERS OF ALLEGATIONS RELATING TO TRAVEL TO TAIWAN BY REPRESENTATIVES WILLIAM OWENS AND PETER ROSKAM IN 2011

R E P O R T

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

NOVEMBER 15, 2013.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS,
Washington, DC, November 15, 2013.

Hon. KAREN L. HAAS,
Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MS. HAAS: Pursuant to clauses 3(a)(2) and 3(b) of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, we herewith transmit the attached report, "In the Matters of Allegations Relating to Travel to Taiwan by Representatives William Owens and Peter Roskam In 2011."

Sincerely,

K. MICHAEL CONAWAY,
Chairman.
LINDA T. SÁNCHEZ,
Ranking Member.

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113TH CONGRESS 1st Session } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT 113–266

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Mr. CONAWAY, from the Committee on Ethics, submitted the following

R E P O R T

I. INTRODUCTION

In 2011, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO), the representative of the Government of Taiwan in the United States, extended invitations to Representatives Bill Owens and Peter Roskam to travel to Taiwan as part of approved programs under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act (MECEA). After TECRO extended the initial invitations, it was decided that the trips should be conducted under the House's privately-sponsored travel rules and not MECEA. Shortly thereafter, the Chinese Culture University (CCU), a private university, agreed to sponsor separate trips for both Members and their wives. In this way, each Member's trip was changed from a MECEA program to travel subject to the House's officially-connected, privately-sponsored travel rules. Despite the change in the nature of the trips, TECRO—now apparently assisting CCU in TECRO's capacity as the representative of the Government of Taiwan—remained involved in the planning and conduct of the trip.

It is not improper for a private entity in a foreign country to rely on their government's representative in Washington to assist them in communicating with the House of Representatives and this Committee, particularly where significant time differences and language barriers may exist. Therefore, the simple request for the Committee to work with TECRO did not, at that time, raise any particular red flags.

Following the change in the nature of the trip, both Members sought and received approval from the Committee on Ethics (Committee) for themselves and their wives to participate in these privately-sponsored trips to Taiwan sponsored by CCU. However, it was not clear to the Committee at that time that the trips had ini-

tially been planned and organized under the MECEA programs. It was only after the conclusion of the trip that the Committee became aware of this fact.

The change from a MECEA program to a privately-sponsored trip was potentially problematic. The late change in the nature of the trips, without a significant change in the itinerary or involvement of the original sponsor, suggested that CCU may not have been a proper sponsor as defined under the privately-sponsored travel rules. Under the rules, sponsors must be involved in the planning and organizing of a trip. So called "money-only" sponsors are not permitted.

Additionally, in the case of Representative Owens, Park Strategies, LLC was involved at various stages of the trip. At the time, Park Strategies was a registered foreign agent of TECRO. Lobbyists and foreign agents may assist with organizing MECEA trips. However, under the House's privately-sponsored travel rules, lobbyists and foreign agents may only have *de minimis* involvement in the planning, organization, request, or arrangement of a one-day privately-sponsored travel and may have no involvement in multi-day trips. After the trip was changed to privately-sponsored travel, Park Strategies reduced its involvement in the trip, but not sufficiently to comply with the privately-sponsored travel rules. In any event, the trip that they helped to plan, organize, request, and arrange as a MECEA trip was in fact the same trip that CCU was brought on to sponsor, with only minor variations. Shortly after these allegations became public, and before the Committee or the Office of Congressional Ethics initiated its review of the matter, Representative Owens personally paid back the costs of the trip.

Beginning in the last Congress, the Committee undertook reviews of these two trips. The Office of Congressional Ethics (OCE) also reviewed the trips. On August 30, 2012, the OCE referred a report and findings to the Committee regarding Representative Owens' trip. In its referral, the OCE recommended further review of the allegation that Representative Owens accepted travel expenses from an impermissible source. On February 6, 2013, the Committee published the OCE's report and findings regarding Representative Owens as required by House Rule and continued its review of the allegations. On June 13, 2013, the OCE referred a report and findings to the Committee regarding Representative Roskam's trip. In its referral, the OCE recommended further review of the allegation that Representative Roskam accepted travel expenses from an impermissible source. On September 11, 2013, the Committee published the OCE's report and findings regarding Representative Roskam as required by House Rule and continued its review of the allegations.

The Committee has completed its review of the allegations and unanimously concluded the following:

1. The presently-available evidence is inconclusive as to whether CCU was a proper sponsor for the trips. Both Representatives Owens and Roskam, as well as Park Strategies, fully cooperated with the Committee's investigation. Unfortunately, neither TECRO nor CCU agreed to cooperate with the Committee. Both entities possess information that is material to the Committee's investigation. However, both entities are also outside of the Committee's power to compel testimony.

2. Representative Owens or his staff repeatedly sought guidance from the Committee regarding the trip to Taiwan. The presently-available evidence shows that Park Strategies was involved in a more than *de minimis* manner in the planning, organizing, requesting, and arranging of his trip, and that they remained involved in the trip, even after it changed from a MECEA program to privately-sponsored travel. Representative Owens should have known that the trip was not a proper privately-sponsored trip because of the lobbying firm's continued involvement, which the Committee was unaware of. For this reason, the payments by CCU for Representative Owens' travel expenses were improper. When a Member or employee receives an impermissible gift, one appropriate remedy is repaying the market value of the gift. As noted previously, Representative Owens has already refunded the costs of his trip.

3. As always, the Committee can only approve privately sponsored travel when the sponsors cooperate with the Committee's oversight responsibilities. If a sponsor or its agent refuses to cooperate, the Committee will have no choice but to deny approval of a trip. However, the Committee has no jurisdiction over the MECEA programs and, therefore, any determinations regarding MECEA travel is a matter for the State Department to decide. Members are simply urged to exercise extreme caution when the nature or sponsor of a trip changes or is uncertain in any way. Indeed, the Committee notes that there are several different types of permissible official and officially-connected travel, each governed by a different set of rules and requirements. The differences between these types of travel can be confusing, and which set of rules apply to any particular trip may not be clear, particularly when outside groups are involved. Members and staff are encouraged to not necessarily rely on sponsors' claims regarding compliance with the ethics rules, but instead to contact the Committee with all questions about such travel.

The Committee's review was incomplete because the information necessary to conduct a complete review was outside of the Committee's reach. Therefore, because Representative Owens has voluntarily remedied the impermissible gift and there is insufficient evidence to show that Representative Roskam's travel was improper, and after careful consideration, the Committee has unanimously voted to close the matter referred by the OCE; and agreed to end its review of this matter with the publication of this Report.

II. HOUSE RULES, LAWS, REGULATIONS, OR OTHER STANDARDS OF CONDUCT

A. HOUSE RULE XXV, CLAUSE 5

House Rule XXV, clause 5 (the Gift Rule), permits Members and staff to accept unsolicited travel expenses paid for by a private source under certain circumstances and only after pre-approval by the Committee.[1] In 2007, the House Rules were amended to require House Members and employees to seek prior written ap-

[1] House Rule XXV, clause 5(d)(2); *see also, House Ethics Manual (2008)* at 89. *N.B.,* the guidance in the *House Ethics Manual* applied to the trips under review in this report. However, that guidance was superseded when the Committee adopted new travel regulations at the end of the 112th Congress.

proval of the Committee before accepting travel paid for by a private source, and the Committee adopted regulations to implement this new requirement. Pursuant to those rules and regulations, the Committee has conducted a thorough review of each proposed privately-sponsored trip. Committee staff recommends changes where necessary to bring trips into compliance with relevant laws, rules, or regulations and, on occasion, informs House Members and employees that a proposed trip is not permissible.

A private sponsor is required to complete a Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form (Sponsor Form) and must certify that the information on the form is true, complete, and correct to the best of their knowledge. The Committee relies on the representations made on the travel forms as certified by the trip sponsor. The Committee recognizes both the significant benefit the public receives when their Representatives and their Representatives' staff receive hands-on education and experience, as well as the mandate that outside groups be appropriately limited in what gifts and support they are allowed to provide to Members of Congress and congressional staff.

The House Rules provide that if the traveler receives advance authorization from the Committee, the necessary travel costs "shall be considered a reimbursement to the House and not a gift prohibited by" the Gift Rule.[2] One of the restrictions to the acceptance of such travel is that federally-registered lobbyists or registered foreign agents are banned from being involved in the planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging of most trips.[3] Additionally, travel paid for by private sponsors who retain or employ lobbyists or foreign agents is limited to one day of officially-connected activity.[4]

A further factor the Committee considers when reviewing requests from Members and staff to accept privately sponsored travel is the source of funding for the trip. The *House Ethics Manual* states that

> Expenses may only be accepted from an entity or entities that have a significant role in organizing and conducting a trip, and that also have a clear and defined organizational interest in the purpose of the trip or location being visited. Expenses may not be accepted from a source that has merely donated monetary or in-kind support to the trip but does not have a significant role in organizing and conducting the trip.[5]

When a Member or employee receives a gift that is unacceptable under the Gift Rule, and for which a gift waiver is not available, the recipient generally must either return the gift or pay the market value of the gift.[6] With regard to travel, when the Committee approves Members and staff to take privately-sponsored travel that is later determined to be impermissible, a variety of remedies may be appropriate. When neither the Committee nor the traveler had any reason to know of the factors that made the trip impermissible, and the violation was only of House rules, then reimbursement

[2] House Rule XXV, clause 5(b)(1)(A) and (C).
[3] House Rule XXV, clause 5(c)(2); *see also, House Ethics Manual (2008)* at 89.
[4] House Rule XXV, clause 5(b)(1)(C)(ii). *See also, House Ethics Manual (2008)* at 89.
[5] *See Ethics Manual* at 97.
[6] *House Ethics Manual (2008)* at 73.

may not be necessary.[7] However when either the violation is of a statute or constitutional provision beyond the jurisdiction of the Committee, or when the Member or staff had reason to know of the impermissible factors and did not bring them to the attention of the Committee, then reimbursement or disgorgement of the cost of the trip or the specific impermissible reimbursements may be necessary to remedy the violation.[8]

B. GIFTS FROM FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

Article 1, Section 9, Clause 8 of the United States Constitution, commonly referred to as the Emoluments Clause, prohibits federal government officials, including House Members and employees, from accepting "any present . . . of any kind whatever, from any . . . foreign State," without the consent of Congress. Congress has consented through the vehicles of the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA)[9] and Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act (MECEA).[10] A Member, officer, or employee may accept travel expenses from a unit of foreign government only under one of these two statutory grants of authority. Any gift permitted by these statutes is also permitted by the House gift rule.[11]

With respect to travel, the FGDA allows House Members and employees to accept travel paid for by a foreign government only if the travel takes place entirely outside the United States. Such travel must also be consistent with the interests of the United States and must be permitted under FGDA regulations issued by the Ethics Committee.[12]

MECEA, on the other hand, authorizes the Secretary of State to approve cultural exchange programs that finance "visits and interchanges between the United States and other countries of leaders, experts in fields of specialized knowledge or skill, and other influential or distinguished persons . . . ."[13] However, the statute expressly states that:

> [T]he Congress does not consent to the acceptance by any Federal employee of any portion of any such grant or other form of assistance which provides assistance with respect to any expenses incurred by or for any member of the family or household of such Federal employee.[14]

Travel subject to an approved MECEA program is not subject to Committee pre-approval. However, all expenses must be paid by the foreign government host of the MECEA trip and none may be paid by any private source.[15]

It is the responsibility of a House Member or employee who accepts an invitation to travel to a foreign country to confirm that the expenses for travel to and from the United States are not paid by

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[7] *See* Report of the Committee on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Staff Travel Provided by the Turkish Coalition of America in August 2008,* available at *www.ethics.house.gov.*

[8] *See* Report of the Committee on Ethics, *In the Matter of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multinational Business Conferences in 2007 and 2008,* available at *www.ethics.house.gov* (Carib News).

[9] 5 U.S.C. § 7342.

[10] 22 U.S.C. §§ 2451 et seq.

[11] House Rule XXV, clause 5(a)(3)(N).

[12] *House Ethics Manual* at 109.

[13] 22 U.S.C. § 2452(a)(2)(i).

[14] 22 U.S.C. § 2458a(1).

[15] *House Ethics Manual* at 110–111.

a foreign government unless the trip is consistent with an approved MECEA program. To that end, the *House Ethics Manual* advises House Members and employees traveling on MECEA programs to ask for a copy of the letter from the State Department approving the program.[16]

III. FACTUAL BACKGROUND

A. TRAVEL BY REPRESENTATIVE OWENS

1. Invitation to travel to Taiwan from TECRO

During August 2011, Sean King, Vice President of Park Strategies, LLC, a lobbying firm, contacted Jon Boughtin, Senior Legislative Assistant to Representative Owens, to discuss the possibility of Representative Owens traveling to Taiwan. Park Strategies represented TECRO as a registered foreign agent. TECRO had an interest in Members of Congress visiting Taiwan. Representative Owens' office began considering the travel proposal but did not commit at the time. Mr. King continued to contact Mr. Boughtin about the travel invitation into the fall.

According to the OCE Report and Findings, Representative Owens told the OCE that the first time his traveling to Taiwan was mentioned was in July 2011 during "an introductory meeting with representatives from the Taiwan government."[17] Representative Owens told the OCE that he had no further discussions about traveling to Taiwan until the fall of 2011 when he had a conversation with another Member about the possibility of traveling to Taiwan together.[18] He recalled his having conversations with Park Strategies about traveling to Taiwan.[19] Representative Owens told the OCE that it was explained that the trip was related to the "Marcy Project" near his congressional district.[20] Representative Owens explained to the OCE that the Marcy Project was, at the time, attempting to recruit the Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company (TSMC) to open a facility in Madison County, New York, near Representative Owens' congressional district.[21]

Representative Owens also told the OCE that he believed he had a telephone conversation with former Senator Alphonse D'Amato, the Founder and Managing Director of Park Strategies, LLC, on October 6, 2011, during which Senator D'Amato inquired if he had any interest in going to Taiwan to meet with TSMC.[22] Representative Owens told the OCE that after reviewing his calendar about the telephone call he believed Senator D'Amato's firm represented Madison County in New York.[23] Representative Owens was interested in the travel because Madison County would benefit from TSMC opening a facility there and would create jobs for Representative Owens' constituents.[24]

According to Mr. Boughtin, Representative Owens became very interested in the prospect of TSMC opening such a facility and this

[16] *Id.* at 111.
[17] *See* Appendix A, OCE Findings, Review No: 12-8236, Exhibit 2, page 1.
[18] *Id.*
[19] *Id.*
[20] *Id.*
[21] *Id.*
[22] *Id.*
[23] *Id.*
[24] *Id.*

resulted in his accepting the invitation from Park Strategies on behalf of TECRO to travel to Taiwan.

At some point Mr. Boughtin contacted the Committee to ascertain if such a trip was permissible and was advised by Committee staff of the different ways in which a Member or employee may be permitted to travel. It was during this communication that Mr. Boughtin first learned of the MECEA program. On October 20, 2011, Mr. King sent Mr. Boughtin an email describing a trip recently completed by another Congressman as an example of a trip that could be taken by Representative Owens.[25] On October 26, 2011, Mr. Boughtin emailed Mr. King and asked him if the trip would be covered under the MECEA program. Mr. King replied "yes." Mr. Boughtin told the Committee that because of the TSMC issue, Representative Owens decided to accept the invitation and was planning on traveling to Taiwan later in the year. Mr. Boughtin told the Committee that the TSMC issue was the driving force in Representative Owens deciding to travel to Taiwan.

2. Invitation to travel to Taiwan from CCU

Mr. King told the Committee that sometime between November 15 and 21, 2011, the idea of Mrs. Owens traveling with Representative Owens was brought up. Mr. King told the Committee that he knew the travel would have to be handled through a different process if Mrs. Owens traveled as well. At some point Mr. Boughtin inquired of the Committee if a personal friend of Representative Owens could pay for Mrs. Owens to travel along with her husband. He recalled that either Representative Owens or his Chief of Staff, Bradley Katz, asked him to research the question. Since Representative Owens was traveling under MECEA, Mr. Boughtin was instructed to discuss Mrs. Owens' travel with the State Department.

An email from Mr. Boughtin to Representative Owens dated November 14, 2011, noted that he had been working with a Committee attorney on the trip and contained a draft request for an advisory opinion[26] from the Committee regarding whether Representative Owens may accept an unsolicited offer from a personal friend to cover the cost of Mrs. Owens' travel while Representative Owens is on a MECEA trip.

On November 29, 2011, CCU sent an invitation to Representative Owens and his wife to travel to Taiwan from December 27 to 31, 2011, as guests of CCU. There was no evidence presented to the Committee that CCU had contacted Representative Owens or any member of his staff before this invitation was sent.

Representative Owens told the OCE that he understood the role of TECRO was "working to establish the agenda" for the trip and he assumed the government of Taiwan was paying for the trip.[27] He realized that the payment arrangements for the trip had changed once he received the invitation letter from CCU.[28] He did not have any communications with CCU regarding the trip but did recall participating in a lunch during the trip in which four CCU officials attended and that one of the CCU deans attended a dinner

[25] Based on public disclosures, this trip appears to have been conducted pursuant to MECEA.
[26] Owens Production 04-000002. There is no record that the request for the advisory opinion was ever received by the Committee.
[27] *Id.*
[28] *Id.*

the following night hosted by the Taiwan Foreign Minister.[29] Representative Owens was escorted throughout his visit by an official of the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA).

In a written submission to the Committee, Park Strategies told the Committee that, once the decision was made to change the trip to privately sponsored travel, they were no longer involved in the travel planning, even though they maintained contact with Mr. Boughtin to see how the planning was going. Contrarily, in an interview with the Committee, Mr. King said that he reported to Benson Wang from TECRO that he met with Representative Owens on December 5, 2011, specifically to discuss the trip. Mr. Boughtin remembered Mr. King's visit on December 5, 2011, and stated it was a limited discussion about the trip and the TSMC meeting but that Representative Owens just stopped by to say hello.

3. Itinerary and TSMC

Mr. Boughtin told the Committee that he met frequently with Frank Lee and Mr. Wang to plan the itinerary for the trip. He indicated that early on in the process Representative Owens made it clear that he wanted to visit with TSMC officials while he was in Taiwan.[30] TECRO officials, through MOFA, were attempting to arrange the meeting between TSMC and Representative Owens, but explained that due to the holidays it may not be possible. According to Mr. Boughtin, Representative Owens made it very clear that the TSMC meeting was the most important part of the trip and that either Representative Owens or Bradley Katz instructed Mr. Boughtin to contact Mr. King and Park Strategies to assist in arranging the meeting. Mr. Boughtin stated that it was known by Representative Owens that Park Strategies had a relationship with TSMC. A review of emails between Mr. Boughtin and Mr. King and Mr. Boughtin and Representative Owens indicated that the TSMC meeting was still in question on December 26, 2011, the day before Representative Owens was to travel to Taiwan. On December 20, 2011, Mr. Boughtin forwarded an email from TECRO official Li-Chih Cheng indicating that her colleague in Taipei was unable to set up the meeting with TSMC. Mr. King responded that he would "see what our Taipei staff can work out, stay tuned."[31]

Mr. Boughtin told the Committee that the meeting with TSMC was very important, as indicated in Representative Owens' email to Mr. Boughtin on December 25, 2011, in which he asks why the meeting with TSMC ("the chip comp") is not on the schedule. After Mr. Boughtin responds that Mr. King is waiting to hear back from TSMC, Representative Owens responds, "TSMC is really important."[32] When asked if Representative Owens would have cancelled the trip if the TSMC meeting could not be arranged Mr. Boughtin replied that he would not have cancelled it the day before the trip. When asked if Representative Owens would have cancelled the trip if it was known a couple of weeks before the trip that the meeting

[29] *Id.*

[30] While Representative Owens did request from the sponsor that they add this meeting to the itinerary, there is no indication that the meeting, which occurred in Taipei on a day that he was already there, added any cost to the trip. Therefore, there is no apparent solicitation issue with this request.

[31] Owens Production at 03–000061.

[32] Owens Production at 02–001128.

with TSMC could not be arranged, he responded that it was possible. Mr. Boughtin emphasized that the meeting with TSMC was the reason for Representative Owens taking the trip.

4. Committee review

On December 7, 2011, Representative Owens' office submitted the travel forms necessary for the Committee to review his travel to Taiwan. On the final version of the Privately Sponsored Travel: Traveler Form (Traveler Form) dated December 16, 2011, Representative Owens' explanation for why the travel was related to his official duties was that he was "interested in engaging a company that has expressed interest in hiring employees in my district. This Taiwanese company stands to benefit my constituents by relocating to a site near my district and I would like to engage them to help promote this opportunity." On the initial version of the Traveler Form dated December 6, 2011, Representative Owens' explanation as to why the travel is related to his official duties was "Opportunity to explore economic development opportunities for upstate New York, as well as defense and security related issues."

The package also included a Sponsor Form which indicates the sponsor for the Taiwan trip from December 27, 2011, through January 1, 2012, was CCU. CCU's organizational interest in sponsoring the trip, entered in question 13 of the Sponsor Form, was "The Chinese Culture University aims to promote international, cultural exchanges in order for it to thrive in a world increasingly engineered by an irresistible thrust towards globalization."

Neither of these forms asks if lobbyists or foreign agents were ever involved in the trip, or if lobbyists or registered foreign agents employed and retained by another party were involved in the trip. Therefore, there were no false representations in the forms that concealed the involvement of Park Strategies. Given the additional information the Committee now has, it is questionable whether CCU fits within the definition of a permissible sponsor under the Committee's travel regulations, but there are no clear or unambiguous false statements on these forms.

Representative Owens or his staff repeatedly sought guidance from the Committee regarding the trip to Taiwan. However, Committee Counsel assigned to the trip who had spoken with Representative Owens' staff about the MECEA trip and whether a personal friend could pay for Mrs. Owens' travel, did not realize when he happened to be assigned the privately sponsored trip approximately one month later, that this was in essence the same trip with little or no attenuation.[33] All the representations the Committee received from CCU and on the sponsor forms, including that CCU did not retain or employ a registered lobbyist or foreign agent, indicated this was a permissible privately sponsored trip. The Committee was not aware at the time of the role Park Strategies played in the proposed MECEA trip or of the lobbying firm's continued involvement after it became a privately sponsored trip,

[33] At any one time, it is not unusual for the Committee to be reviewing separate, unrelated requests for travel to the same country offered by different sponsors. The Committee's staff of advice and education attorneys reviewed over 2,000 requests for privately sponsored travel in 2011, and handled over 20,000 phone calls and emails seeking informal guidance for a wide variety of situations, including the many ways Members and staff can accept travel.

nor did it have any reason in December 2011 to question whether CCU was a "money only" sponsor.

5. Representative Owens' travel to Taiwan

Representative Owens went on the trip to Taiwan, which followed the itinerary submitted to the Committee for pre-travel approval. The events listed on the trip itinerary provided to the Committee by Representative Owens for the pre-travel review are not dissimilar to events on other itineraries for privately sponsored travel to Taiwan that have been approved by the Committee. However, it was determined only during this investigation that TECRO, with the assistance of Park Strategies, developed the initial itinerary for the trip and that itinerary, except for the visit to CCU, remained essentially the same when submitted to the Committee.

6. Questions regarding funding of the trip

The OCE reported interviewing one or more witnesses who claimed that the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs actually paid for the airfare and hotel of Representative Owens.[34] Notwithstanding this testimony, on numerous prior, similar trips to Taiwan sponsored by private entities, the Committee has inquired and been assured that the private sponsor was paying all expenses out of its general funds, with no grants or reimbursements. These assurances came from the private sponsors for each trip and, with regard to one trip, also from TECRO's representative, Gordon Yang. It also appears that at least some of the information provided to the OCE regarding this question was recanted.

As discussed more fully below, the Committee was unable to receive clarifying information from either TECRO or CCU with regards to the trips taken by Representatives Roskam and Owens. At best, the current evidence regarding whether the Taiwanese government may have funded part or all of these trips is contradictory and therefore inconclusive. While disturbing with regard to the actions of TECRO and the private sponsors, such inconclusive evidence is insufficient to hold either Member accountable for reimbursement on that basis alone.

B. TRAVEL BY REPRESENTATIVE ROSKAM

1. Invitation to travel to Taiwan from TECRO

Mike Dankler, Legislative Assistant to Representative Roskam, told the OCE that he has discussed Representative Roskam traveling to Taiwan with officials from TECRO since 2009. On May 13, 2011, Mr. Yang sent a blanket email of which Mr. Dankler was a recipient, inviting various Members of Congress to travel to Taiwan during June or July, 2011. The invitation, shown below, did not invite any particular Members, but made it clear that the invitation was for Members and staff and would be organized under the MECEA program.

[34] *See* Appendix A, Exhibits 17, 18.

From: Gordon C. H. Yang [redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Friday, May 13, 2011 10:30 AM
To: [redacted]@tecro.us
Subject: CoDel to Taiwan in June or July

Categories: Schedule Sheet

Dear friends,

How are you? I hope this email finds you all well.

I would like to invite your Congressman or Congresswoman to join the congressional delegation to visit Taiwan during the period either from June 25 to July 2 or the period from July 16 to 23. The specific dates of travel are subject to change to accommodate the individual Member's schedule.

The trip is authorized under the State Department's Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchanges Act(MECEA) and sponsored by the Government of Taiwan. It also follows the most updated ethic rules of both the Senate and the House.

The delegation will be composed of 10-12 House Members and their staff. Each Member can bring one staffer along. The itineray will be arranged to address the Members' interests, providing them with the opportunity to understand more about Taiwan while enhancing the bilateral relations between their respective constituencies and Taiwan.

Please let me know if your boss can attend the CoDel at your early convenience, hopefully by Tuesday, May 31. Please also feel free to contact me (information as below) if you have any question about the trip. I look forward to hearing from you soon. Thank you!

With best regards,

Gordon

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-[redacted]
Blackberry: (202)870-[redacted]

2. Invitation to travel to Taiwan from CCU

Shortly after the TECRO extended the invitation to Representative Roskam, the idea of Mrs. Roskam traveling with Representative Roskam was brought up. On May 16, 2011, Mr. Yang sent an email to Mr. Dankler stating, "We welcome Congressman and Mrs. Roskam to visit Taiwan. In that case, we need to go through priovate [sic] sponsor and the House ethics committee for clearance, which require your confirmation to join the trip at least ONE month ahead of its departure . . ."

After receiving Mr. Yang's email, Mr. Dankler sent another email asking if the trip was the same as the one Representative Roskam had been invited to attend earlier by another Member. Mr. Yang, in a response email, confirmed it was the same trip that TECRO worked together with other Members to organize. Mr. Yang told Mr. Dankler that only one Member and that Member's spouse attended the previous trip during the April recess.[35]

[35] As that Member is no longer a Member of the House of Representatives, the Committee did not review his travel to Taiwan for potential violations, and makes no findings or conclusions regarding that trip.

From: Gordon C. H. Yang [redacted]@tecro.us>
Sent: Wednesday, May 25, 2011 5:14 PM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: RE: CoDel to Taiwan in June or July

Follow Up Flag: Follow up
Flag Status: Completed

Hi Mike - Yes, this is the same trip. We worked with the [redacted] in March to organize a codel to Taiwan and it came up with only Mr. and Mrs. [redacted] making the trip during April recess. Now we hope to outreach Mr. Roskam and other Members to organize another codel to Taiwan. Please let me know if you have further question and what is the Congressman's thought on it. Thanks and best, Gordon

On Wed, 25 May 2011 16:48:41 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> Gordon,
>
> One other question - I know I have gotten invitations in the past from Rep.
> Dan [redacted] and the [redacted] to go to Taiwan on
> a CoDel. Is this the same trip as those? I just want to confirm. Thanks!
>
> Mike
> [36]

A review[36] of Committee records disclosed travel to Taiwan taken by that Member in 2011, which was sponsored by Fu Jen Catholic University. Mr. Dankler sent an email to Representative Roskam regarding Mr. Yang's response.

Dankler, Mike

From: Dankler, Mike
Sent: Wednesday, May 25, 2011 6:12 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Taiwan

It is the same trip as the [redacted] one. They had tried to do this in April and only [redacted] and his wife ended up going, actually. What it sounds like the Taiwan folks have in mind is you headlining and getting other Members to go – although if the April one only ended up being [redacted] and his wife, you might go no matter how many Members you get to go.

Please let me know what you think. Thanks!

Mike Dankler
Executive Assistant
Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
Chief Deputy Republican Whip
202-225-[redacted]

Following this email,[37] on May 27, 2011 Mr. Dankler emailed Mr. Yang: "Congressman Roskam's daughter will be teaching English in Taiwan for about 6 months beginning in June and asked if they could adjust the itinerary to include a trip to visit his daughter in Tsaoton, Nantou County, Taiwan."[38] Mr. Yang responded: "Mike—That will be no problem at all. We can make any arrangement to accommodate the Congressman's interests."[39]

Representative Roskam told the OCE he recalled indicating that he wanted to visit his daughter who was teaching in Taiwan at the

[36] THPR_000314.
[37] THPR_000317.
[38] THPR_000319. While Representative Roskam did request from the sponsor that they add this meeting to the itinerary, there is no indication that the meeting, which occurred in a town that other members had travelled to as part of similar trips, added any cost to the trip. Therefore, there is no apparent solicitation issue with this request.
[39] THPR_000323.

time and that his wife accompanied him on the trip but did not recall when that was decided.[40] Representative Roskam, through his staff, also indicated that he wanted his daughter to accompany him and his wife in Taipei. While Mr. Yang offered to pay for the expenses of Representative Roskam's daughter, Mr. Dankler, much to his and Representative Roskam's credit, replied that he had checked on that issue with the Ethics Committee and that Representative Roskam was required to and would personally pay for any added expense resulting from his daughter's presence.

Mr. Dankler continued to communicate and meet with Mr. Yang in June 2011. On June 7, 2011, Representative Roskam asked Mr. Dankler to move the dates of the Taiwan trip to July 17–23, 2011. Mr. Dankler passed this request on to Mr. Yang and the trip dates were changed. In Mr. Dankler's email to Mr. Yang, Mr. Dankler wrote, "Great news! I just got the green light to move forward with the trip. Whenever you have the ethics paperwork, just let me know."[41]

Mr. Dankler subsequently asked Mr. Yang for an itinerary for the trip. After he received it, Mr. Dankler sent Representative Roskam the following email. Representative Roskam's daughter's name is Gracey.

From: Dankler, Mike
Sent: Tuesday, June 07, 2011 5:07 PM
To: 'Peter Roskam'
Subject: Taiwan Itinerary
Attachments: Proposed_Itinerary_07171_072311_1st_version.doc

Just got the proposed itinerary for Taiwan. A couple of quick notes:

- The first two days would be official stuff
- Thursday is when you go to Tsaoton. They have a half hour budgeted for a visit to the school (I think that's probably too short), but basically Thursday and Friday morning would be sort of at your leisure to explore the area – Sun Moon Lake where you'd be staying is supposed to be a very nice resort area – with E & Gracey so they gave you plenty of quality time together (assuming Gracey can get off for it).
- Saturday you go visit Taipei 101 (world's 2nd tallest building) and head back to the states that evening

Mike Dankler
Executive Assistant
Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
Chief Deputy Republican Whip
202-225-[redacted]

After this email, there continued to be communication between Mr. Dankler and Mr. Yang about the trip, and Mr. Yang pressed Mr. Dankler to find a couple of other Members who would be interested in going on the trip.

CCU provided a letter dated June 15, 2011, inviting Representative Roskam and his wife to travel to Taiwan in July and then sent a subsequent letter dated September 2, 2011, inviting Representative Roskam and his wife to travel to Taiwan on October 15, 2011. Representative Roskam told the OCE that he did not recall having any discussions with anyone about the source of funding for his trip to Taiwan, and believed that there were two sponsors for the trip, the Government of Taiwan and the Chinese Culture University.[42]

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[40] *Id.* at 3.
[41] THPR_000373.
[42] See Appendix B, OCE Findings, review No. 13–9784, Exhibit 3 at 2.

Even after CCU officially became the sponsor on June 15, 2011, all communications regarding the trip were between TECRO and Mr. Dankler. Other than the two general letters of invitation, there were no other communications between Representative Roskam's office and CCU regarding the travel. Both Mr. Dankler and Representative Roskam told the OCE that they had no contact with anyone from CCU other than the time Representative Roskam spent with CCU officials during the actual trip.

In early July 2011 the trip was postponed due to changes in the congressional schedule. Mr. Dankler sent Mr. Yang an email on July 8, 2011, notifying him of the change and the need to postpone the trip. Initially the trip was rescheduled for September 2011 but again was postponed at the request of Representative Roskam until October 15 through 22, 2011. A new letter from CCU dated September 2, 2011, was submitted to the Committee along with the required travel forms. During this time Mr. Dankler continued to communicate with Mr. Yang about the trip while there does not appear to be any communication between Representative Roskam's office and CCU. In fact, on August 5, 2011, Mr. Yang sent the following email indicating that TECRO, and not CCU, was still the primary entity involved in scheduling the trip. No one at CCU is included on this or any other email discussing the trip.

From: Gordon C. H. Yang <[redacted]@tecro.us>
Sent: Friday, August 05, 2011 6:44 PM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: RE: Itinerary

Follow Up Flag: Follow up
Flag Status: Completed

Hi Mike - Is it the Congressman's final decision to change the dates to October? Shall we wait for a while to see how things are developing? However, things might not be getting clearer until the ealy or mid-September. For now, I will contact travel agent to book flights for the new dates and give Taipei a heads-up that the Congressman might change the dates of his visit. On your side, please keep me posted how likely the Congress will cancel the September recess. We'll stay in touch! Thanks and have a good weekend! Gordon

3. Committee review

Prior to participating in the trip Representative Roskam sought and received the Committee's approval of the trip. Following the Committee's privately-sponsored travel regulations, Representative Roskam submitted to the Committee both the Traveler Form and the Sponsor Form. The Sponsor Form, which allegedly was prepared by CCU, was provided to Representative Roskam's office by officials at TECRO. CCU's organizational interest in sponsoring the trip, entered in question 13 of the Sponsor Form, was "The Chinese Culture University pays much attention to international culture exchanges so that it could thrive in a world increasingly engineered by an irresistible thrust towards globalization." In question 8 of the Traveler Form, Representative Roskam explained why his participation in the trip is related to his official duties: "Taiwan is an important trade partner of the U.S. As a member of the Ways and Means Committee, this trip will further my understanding of the trade relationship and the security issues that affect it." Given the additional information the Committee now has, it is questionable whether CCU fits within the definition of a permissible sponsor

under the Committee's travel regulations, but there are no clear or unambiguous false statements on these forms.

The Sponsor Form indicates CCU was the sponsor of the trip. However, Gordon Yang was identified to the Committee by Mr. Dankler as his point of contact for the trip.[43] Committee staff scrutinized the itinerary to make sure that the cultural experiences had a sufficient and permissible officially connected purpose and asked TECRO's representative several questions regarding that part of the trip. The purpose for travelling to Tsaoton Township was described as seeing a small rural county like the heartland of the Midwest and that it has a relationship with his constituents in the U.S. including that teachers were connected with constituents and that Representative Roskam had a particular interest in education. TECRO did mention that Representative Roskam's daughter was also a teacher. Committee Counsel did not understand TECRO's representative to be stating that Representative Roskam's daughter was teaching in Taiwan.

The purposes of visiting the Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area and its surroundings were described to Committee staff as seeing water conservation work being done there and relations with minority groups, respectively. These are legitimate reasons for private sponsors to include these types of visits on officially connected itineraries if the sponsor so chooses. Indeed, awareness of such issues across the world is an important part of any Member's fact finding to assist them in considering similar or connected issues in their own district and our nation at large. Not only are these legitimate purposes, but another trip sponsored with TECRO's assistance by a different Taiwanese private university in April of 2011, and several earlier trips, had the same visits to Sun Moon Lake National Scenic area on their itinerary, with no known connection to the children of that Member. In fact almost every trip sponsored (nominally at least) by CCU and another private university in Taiwan since 2007 has included a high speed rail journey to an area outside of Taipei, including several to Sun Moon Lake.

Still, the rationale of having "leisure" or "quality time" with one's family in "a very nice resort area" as discussed in the background on the trip is not a permissible officially connected purpose for privately sponsored travel and if Committee staff had been aware of that connection and intent, additional questions would have been asked, at least.[44] The Committee, however, was not aware of that possible piece of the rationale until it reviewed the email described above in the materials provided to the Committee by Representative Roskam as part of this investigation. In the end, Representative Roskam did certify on his post-travel paperwork that he did attend all of the legitimate and regular educational and fact-finding locations on the itinerary, as had Members before him. The

[43] It is not improper for a private entity in a foreign country to rely on their governent's representative in Washington to assist them to communicate with the House of Representatives and this Committee, particularly where significant time difference and language barriers may exist. Therefore the simple request for the Committee to work with TECRO did not, at that time, raise any particular red flags.

[44] If Representative Roskam had simply been left on his own to spend time with his family for two days, Committee staff would have simply advised that such activity was personal and not officially connected. Members may include such personal activity, but must pay lodging, meals, and all other expenses on their own, and if the period of personal travel exceeds official travel, then the traveler must pay half of the roundtrip airfare themselves. However, after inquiring further, it appears that Representative Roskam did always intend to engage in the officially connected activity, but to have his wife and daughter accompany him, as discussed above.

mere fact that his wife and daughter were with him does not diminish the value of the fact finding activity or make the activities impermissible.

4. Representative Roskam's travel to Taiwan

Representative Roskam went on the trip to Taiwan, which followed the itinerary submitted to the Committee for pre-travel approval. As with Representative Owens, the itinerary provided to the Committee by Representative Roskam also included events similar to other privately sponsored travel to Taiwan. Again, the Committee determined only during this investigation that the itinerary appears to have been prepared by TECRO. Representative Roskam told the OCE that he only recalled meeting with CCU officials for about three hours on one day of the trip, when he met with the President of CCU and toured the campus and a museum on the campus.[45] Representative Roskam indicated Frank Lee, from TECRO, escorted him and his wife for part of the trip. He added there were "many people" who escorted his party during the trip but did not know if any of them were from CCU.[46]

C. TECRO'S AND CCU'S REFUSAL TO COOPERATE

Both CCU and TECRO declined to participate in the OCE's and the Committee's investigations of these matters. On June 30, 2012, CCU sent an email to the OCE in which CCU claimed that it asked for TECRO's assistance in arranging the trips.[47] TECRO declined to participate with the Committee's investigation citing their agreement with the American Institute in Taiwan. The Committee requested CCU's cooperation with its investigation. CCU Director of Public Relations, Hsing-Hsia Yuan responded via email. In his response to the Committee, CCU declined to cooperate with the Committee's investigation noting as part of the reason that they were aware that TECRO would not cooperate with the Committee.

IV. ANALYSIS

1. Money-only sponsor

The Committee provides guidance to members and staff related to the acceptance of travel from private sources in the House Ethics Manual. One of the factors the Committee considers when reviewing requests from Members and staff to accept privately sponsored travel is the source of funding for the trip. The Ethics Manual states that

> Expenses may only be accepted from an entity or entities that have a significant role in organizing and conducting a trip, and that also have a clear and defined organizational interest in the purpose of the trip or location being visited. Expenses may not be accepted from a source that has merely donated monetary or in-kind support to the trip but does not have a significant role in organizing and conducting the trip.[48]

[45] *Id.* at 4.
[46] *Id.* at 4.
[47] *Id.* at Exhibit 20.
[48] *See Ethics Manual* at 97.

It is clear based on the evidence reviewed by the Committee that both of these trips began as an invitation to participate in travel under the MECEA program from TECRO, the representative of the Government of Taiwan in the United States. At the time of the trips, the Government of Taiwan had an agreement with the State Department to provide such travel under the MECEA program. The Government of Taiwan still has such an agreement. Both Representative Roskam and Representative Owens were invited by TECRO officials, and the invitations made it clear that it was the Government of Taiwan, and not any private party, that was making the invitations. While the Committee was aware that TECRO was involved in each trip, the Committee had been given the impression by TECRO and CCU or other Taiwanese sponsors, on numerous occasions, that such assistance was the kind of perfectly appropriate assistance that a nation's embassy, or a state's representative may provide to their citizens who are not physically located in this country and who may have significant communications hurdles.

However, after Committee reviewing these two trips, it appears to the Committee that TECRO and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs remained completely involved in the planning and organization of these trips. CCU's only involvement with the actual itinerary appears to have been meeting with the Members during a few hours of the trips. CCU claims to have been the source of funding for the trip, but due to their refusal to cooperate with the Committee's investigation it is unclear if the funding actually came from CCU. Even if CCU paid for the trips for both Representative Roskam and Representative Owens and their wives, due to their lack of involvement in the planning, organization or even conduct of the trip, CCU's involvement appears to be little more than providing the funding for the trips.

Based on the evidence before the Committee, and the fact that both TECRO and CCU refused to cooperate with the Committee's investigation, the Committee cannot determine whether CCU's involvement in both trips was significant enough for CCU to be considered a legitimate sponsor.

At the same time, this is the kind of information the Committee seeks directly from sponsors to carry out its role assigned by House Rules to review and approve requests to accept privately sponsored travel. Indeed, there are several different types of permissible official and officially-connected travel, each governed by a different set of rules and requirements. The differences between these types of travel can be confusing, and which set of rules apply to any particular trip may not be clear, particularly when outside groups are involved. While the Committee would hope that Members and staff be alert enough to raise any red flags or abnormalities to the Committee, and thus avoid the need for investigations such as these after the fact, without a careful reading of the Committee's manual and travel regulations, the Members and staff are not normally alerted to this issue. For this reason it is not fair to say that the Members in this circumstance had reason to know that CCU might not be a permissible sponsor, particularly given the Committee's own difficulty with reaching a conclusion on the question with the available facts and evidence.

2. Lobbyist involvement in travel

During the 110th Congress, the travel provisions of the House gift rule were substantially revised to impose new restrictions and requirements on officially-connected travel paid for by a private source. Included in these changes is House Rule XXV, clause 5(c)(3), which states:

> A Member, Delegate, Resident Commissioner, officer, or employee of the House may not accept a reimbursement (including payment in kind) for transportation, lodging, or related expenses for a trip (other than a trip permitted under paragraph (b)(1)(C) of this clause) if such trip is in any part planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.

While entities that retain or employ a lobbyist or a foreign agent may sponsor one-day trips, the involvement of lobbyists or foreign agents must be *de minimis,* which was defined by the Committee at the time of these trips as "only negligible or otherwise inconsequential in terms of time and expense of the overall planning and purpose of the trip."[49] Lobbyist involvement in planning, organizing, requesting or arranging multiple-day trips is also prohibited.[50] In addition, the Rule does not limit the prohibition on planning, organizing, requesting or arranging only to lobbyists or foreign agents retained by the primary sponsor of the trip. However MECEA trips, which are regulated and overseen by the State Department and not the Committee or the House, do permit the involvement of lobbyists and foreign agents.

The evidence in Mr. Owens' trip demonstrates that registered lobbyists and foreign agents from Park Strategies were intimately involved in planning, organizing, requesting, and arranging the trip. This involvement was most prominent when the trip was still supposed to be conducted pursuant to MECEA. As noted above, at the time this trip was a MECEA trip, such involvement was permitted by the Department of State. However, as discussed elsewhere in this report, the evidence suggests that there was no real attenuation of the organization of the trip when it was altered from a MECEA trip, to a privately sponsored trip. Therefore the work that Park Strategies did to plan, organize, request and arrange the trip as a MECEA trip carried over to the privately-sponsored trip, making the private sponsorship impermissible.[51] Furthermore, despite the testimony of a Park Strategies employee that, in substance, they knew they could not be involved in the planning and organizing of a privately-sponsored trip and therefore stepped back from that role, the evidence indicates that they were still engaged in setting specific meetings on the itinerary, and they were still billing TECRO for their involvement with this trip. For all of these reasons, Mr. Owens' trip was impermissible pursuant to House Rules.

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[49] *See House Ethics Manual* (2008), at 89, 401.

[50] *Id.* at 90.

[51] As with other elements of these trips, the Committee had no knowledge of or reason to suspect Park Strategies' involvement at the time the trip was approved.

V. CONCLUSION

When the Committee approves and Members and staff attend privately-sponsored travel that is later determined to be impermissible, a variety of remedies may be appropriate. When neither the Committee nor the traveler had any reason to know of the factors that made the trip impermissible, and the violation was only of House rules, then reimbursement may not be necessary.[52] However when either the violation is of a statute or constitutional provision beyond the jurisdiction of the Committee, or when the Member or staff had reason to know of the impermissible factors and did not bring them to the attention of the Committee, then reimbursement or disgorgement of the cost of the trip may be necessary to remedy the violation.[53]

Representative Owens or his staff repeatedly sought guidance from the Committee regarding the trip to Taiwan. The presently-available evidence shows that Park Strategies was involved in a more than *de minimis* manner in the planning, organizing, requesting, and arranging of his trip, and that they remained involved in the trip, even after it changed from a MECEA program to privately-sponsored travel. Representative Owens should have known that the trip was not a proper privately-sponsored trip because of the lobbying firm's continued involvement, which the Committee was unaware of. For this reason, the payments by CCU for Representative Owens' travel expenses were improper. When a Member or employee receives an impermissible gift, one appropriate remedy is repaying the market value of the gift. As noted previously, Representative Owens has already refunded the costs of his trip.

Because Representative Owens has voluntarily remedied the impermissible gift and there is insufficient evidence to show that Representative Roskam's travel was improper, the Committee will consider this matter closed.

Finally, both TECRO and CCU were notified that for the Committee to fulfill its responsibilities to review offers of privately-sponsored travel, the Committee must have the cooperation of the sponsors. Both TECRO and CCU declined to provide such cooperation. As always, the Committee can only approve privately sponsored travel when the sponsors cooperate with the Committee's oversight responsibilities. If a sponsor or its agent refuses to cooperate, the Committee will have no choice but to deny approval of a trip. However, the Committee has no jurisdiction over the MECEA programs and, therefore, any determinations regarding MECEA travel is a matter for the State Department to decide. Members are simply urged to exercise extreme caution when the nature or sponsor of a trip changes or is uncertain in any way and to contact the Committee with all questions about such travel.

The Chair is directed, upon providing the notices required pursuant to House Rule XI, clause 3(b)(8)(A), and Committee Rule 17A(a)(2), to file this report with the House, together with copies

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[52] *See* Report of the Committee on Ethics, *In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Staff Travel Provided by the Turkish Coalition of America in August 2008, available* at www.ethics.house.gov.

[53] *See* Report of the Committee on Ethics, *In the Matter of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multinational Business Conferences in 2007 and 2008, available* at www.ethics.house.gov.

of the OCE's Reports and Findings in this matter.[54] The filing of this report, along with its publication on the Committee's Web site, shall serve as publication of the OCE's Reports and Findings in these matters, pursuant to House Rule XI, clause 3(b)(8)(A), and Committee Rule 17A(b)(3) and 17A(c)(2).

VI. STATEMENT UNDER RULE XIII, CLAUSE 3(c) OF THE RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The Committee made no special oversight findings in this report. No budget statement is submitted. No funding is authorized by any measure in this report.

[54] House Rule XI, clauses 3(a)(2) and 3(b).

APPENDIX A

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REPORT

Review No. 12-8236

The Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics (the "Board"), by a vote of no less than four members, on August 24, 2012, adopted the following report and ordered it to be transmitted to the Committee on Ethics of the United States House of Representatives.

SUBJECT: Representative Bill Owens

NATURE OF THE ALLEGED VIOLATIONS: Representative Bill Owens may have accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible source, resulting in an impermissible gift, in violation of federal law and House rules.

Representative Owens may have accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan, when that trip was in some part planned, organized, requested, or arranged by agents of a foreign principal, in violation of House rules.

RECOMMENDATIONS: The OCE Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the first allegation as there is substantial reason to believe that Representative Owens accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible source, resulting in an impermissible gift, in violation of federal law and House rules.

The OCE Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the second allegation as there is substantial reason to believe that Representative Owens accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan, when that trip was in some part planned, organized, requested, or arranged by agents of a foreign principal, in violation of House rules.

VOTES IN THE AFFIRMATIVE: 6

VOTES IN THE NEGATIVE: 0

ABSTENTIONS: 0

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OR STAFF DESIGNATED TO PRESENT THIS REPORT TO THE COMMITTEE ON ETHICS: Omar S. Ashmawy, Staff Director & Chief Counsel.

FINDINGS OF FACT AND CITATIONS TO LAW

Review No. 12-8236

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OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FINDINGS OF FACT AND CITATIONS TO LAW

Review No. 12-8236

On August 24, 2012, the Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics (the "Board") adopted the following findings of fact and accompanying citations to law, regulations, rules and standards of conduct (*in italics*).

The Board notes that these findings do not constitute a determination of whether or not a violation actually occurred.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Summary of Allegations

1. Representative Bill Owens may have accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible source, resulting in an impermissible gift, in violation of federal law and House rules.

2. Representative Owens may have accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan, when that trip was in some part planned, organized, requested, or arranged by agents of a foreign principal, in violation of House rules.

3. The OCE Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the above allegations as there is substantial reason to believe that violations of federal law or House rules occurred.

B. Jurisdictional Statement

4. The allegations that were the subject of this review concern Representative Bill Owens, a Member of the United States House of Representatives from the 23rd District of New York. The Resolution the United States House of Representatives adopted creating the Office of Congressional Ethics directs that, "[n]o review shall be undertaken...by the board of any alleged violation that occurred before the date of adoption of this resolution."[1] The House adopted this Resolution on March 11, 2008. Because the conduct under review occurred after March 11, 2008, review by the Board is in accordance with the Resolution.

[1] H. Res 895, 110th Cong. §1(c) (2008) (as amended).

C. Procedural History

5. The OCE received a written request for preliminary review in this matter signed by at least two members of the Board on May 23, 2012. The preliminary review commenced on May 24, 2012.[2] The preliminary review was scheduled to end on June 22, 2012.

6. At least three members of the Board voted to initiate a second-phase review in this matter on June 22, 2012. The second-phase review commenced on June 23, 2012.[3] The second-phase review was scheduled to end on August 6, 2012.

7. The Board voted to extend second-phase review for an additional period of fourteen days on July 27, 2012. The additional period was scheduled to end on August 20, 2012.

8. Pursuant to Rule 9(B) of the OCE Rules for the Conduct of Investigations, Representative Owens submitted a statement to the OCE Board on August 22, 2012.

9. The Board voted to refer the matter to the Committee on Ethics for further review and adopted these findings on August 24, 2012.

10. The report in this matter was transmitted to the Committee on Ethics on August 30, 2012.

D. Summary of Investigative Activity

11. The OCE requested and received documentary and, in some cases, testimonial information from the following sources:

    (1) Representative Bill Owens;

    (2) Representative Owens' Chief of Staff;

    (3) Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant;

    (4) Park Strategies, LLC;

    (5) China Airlines, Ltd.; and

    (6) The Regent Taipei Hotel.

12. The following individuals or entities declined to provide documentary or testimonial information in response to Requests for Information and were determined to be non-cooperating witnesses:

    (1) Chinese Culture University;

[2] A preliminary review is "requested" in writing by members of the Board of the OCE. The request for a preliminary review is "received" by the OCE on a date certain. According to the Resolution, the timeframe for conducting a preliminary review is thirty days from the date of receipt of the Board's request.

[3] According to the Resolution, the Board must vote on whether to conduct a second-phase review in a matter before the expiration of the thirty-day preliminary review. If the Board votes for a second-phase, the second-phase begins when the preliminary review ends. The second-phase review does not begin on the date of the Board vote.

(2) Former Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Founder and Managing Director, Park Strategies, LLC;

(3) Sean King, Senior Vice President, Park Strategies, LLC; and

(4) John Zagame, Vice President, Park Strategies, LLC.

13. The OCE also requested documentary and testimonial evidence from the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States ("TECRO"). TECRO declined to provide documents or to make officials available for interviews.

II. REPRESENTATIVE OWENS ACCEPTED PAYMENT OF TRAVEL EXPENSES FOR AN OFFICIALLY CONNECTED TRIP TO TAIWAN FROM AN IMPERMISSIBLE SOURCE, RESULTING IN AN IMPERMISSIBLE GIFT, IN VIOLATION OF FEDERAL LAW AND HOUSE RULES

A. Laws, Regulations, Rules, and Standards of Conduct

14. *Travel Paid for by a Foreign Government*

(1) *United States Constitution, Article I, Section 9, Clause 8*

"No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state."

(2) Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act

"Congress consents to the acceptance by a Federal employee of grants and other forms of assistance provided by a foreign government to facilitate the participation of such Federal employee in a cultural exchange...but the Congress does not consent to the acceptance by any Federal employee of any portion of any such grant or other form of assistance which provides assistance with respect to any expenses incurred by or for any member of the family or household of such Federal employee."[4]

(3) *House Ethics Manual*

"[T]he Constitution prohibits federal government officials from accepting any gift from a foreign government without the consent of Congress, and Congress has consented to the acceptance of certain gifts from foreign governments – including travel in limited circumstances – in two enactments: the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act ('FGDA') and the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange

[4] 22 U.S.C. § 2458a(a)(1). For purposes of this provision, "Federal employee" is defined to include Members of Congress. *See id.* at § 2458a(a)(2).

Act ('MECEA'). A Member, officer, or employee may accept travel expenses from a unit of foreign government ***only*** *under one of these two statutory grants of authority."*[5]

"Under MECEA...the traveling Member or employee may ***not*** *accept travel expenses for a spouse or family member."*[6]

15. *Permissible Sources of Expenses for Officially Connected Travel*

(1) *House Rule 25, clause 5(b)(1)(A)*

"A reimbursement (including payment in kind) to a Member...for necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to a meeting, speaking engagement, factfinding trip, or similar event in connection with the duties of such individual as an officeholder shall be considered as a reimbursement to the House and not a gift prohibited by this clause when it is from a private source other than a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or a private entity that retains or employs registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal (except as provided in subdivision (C)), if the Member...

(ii) discloses the expenses reimbursed or to be reimbursed and the authorization to the Clerk within 15 days after the travel is completed."

(2) *House Rule 25, clause 5(b)(1)(C)*

"A reimbursement (including payment in kind) to a Member...for any purpose described in subdivision (A) also shall be considered as a reimbursement to the House and not a gift prohibited by this clause (without regard to whether the source retains or employs registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal) if it is, under regulations prescribed by the Committee on Ethics to implement this provision –

(i) directly from an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965; or

(ii) provided only for attendance at or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and an overnight stay).

(3) *House Ethics Manual*

"The rule requires that a private entity (or entities) that pays for officially-connected travel will organize and conduct the trip, rather than merely pay for a trip that is in fact organized and conducted by another entity."[7]

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[5] House Ethics Manual (2008) 108 (citations omitted).
[6] *Id.* at 110 (citation omitted; emphasis in original).

(4) *House Travel Guidelines and Regulations*

"Expenses may only be accepted from an entity or entities that have a significant role in organizing and conducting a trip, and that also have a clear and defined organizational interest in the purpose of the trip or location being visited. Expenses may not be accepted from a source that has merely donated monetary or in-kind support to the trip but does not have a significant role in organizing or conducting the trip."[8]

(5) *Committee on Standards of Official Conduct Report on the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multi-National Business Conference in 2007 and 2008*

"To be permissible, a private source must both organize and conduct the trip, rather than merely pay for a trip that is in fact organized and conducted by someone else."[9]

B. <u>Representative Owens Could Not Have Accepted Payment of Travel Expenses for His Trip to Taiwan from Either the Government of Taiwan or the Chinese Culture University</u>

16. From December 27, 2011 to January 1, 2012, Representative Bill Owens and his wife visited Taiwan for an officially connected fact-finding trip.[10]

17. According to the travel disclosure forms that Representative Owens filed with the Committee on Ethics, the sponsor of the trip was the Chinese Culture University,[11] an educational institution founded in 1962, located in Taipei, Taiwan.[12]

18. While the Chinese Culture University was identified as the sole sponsor of Representative Owens' trip, information obtained by the OCE during the course of its review indicates that the trip was actually organized, conducted, and initially paid for by the government of Taiwan.

19. The government of Taiwan may have been reimbursed for the cost of Representative Owens' trip by the Chinese Culture University.[13]

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[7] House Ethics Manual 98.

[8] Memorandum to All Members, Officers, and Employees from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, "Travel Guidelines and Regulations," at 3 (February 20, 2007).

[9] Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multi-National Business Conference in 2007 and 2008*, H. Rep. 111-422, 111th Cong., 2d Sess., at 157 (2010) (citations omitted) ("Carib News Report").

[10] *See* Rep. Bill Owens' Post-Travel Disclosure Forms, filed January 12, 2012 ("Travel Disclosure Forms") (Exhibit 1); Memorandum of Interview of Rep. Bill Owens, August 17, 2012 ("Rep. Owens MOI") (Exhibit 2).

[11] Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 12-8236_0004).

[12] Chinese Culture University Educational Ideals and Characteristics, http://www.pccu.edu.tw/intl/index-e.htm.

1. *The government of Taiwan was not a permissible sponsor of Representative Owens' trip to Taiwan, as the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA") did not apply to his trip*

20. The initial invitation to visit Taiwan came from the government of Taiwan directly or through its agent, Park Strategies, LLC.

(1) According to Representative Owens, the suggestion that he visit Taiwan came from representatives of the Taiwan government during an introductory meeting that Representative Owens attended in July 2011.[14]

(2) Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant told the OCE that the idea for a Taiwan trip originated with Sean King, Senior Vice President at Park Strategies, LLC, on behalf of the firm's client, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States ("TECRO").[15]

(3) Park Strategies, LLC is a lobbying firm founded in 1999 by former United States Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, and is a registered foreign agent for TECRO.[16]

(4) TECRO is the government of Taiwan's principal representative in the United States, serving as Taiwan's *de facto* embassy.[17]

(5) Park Strategies' Foreign Agents Registration Act ("FARA") report indicates that Sean King had an initial telephone conversation with the Senior Legislative Assistant on August 17, 2011, regarding "Taiwan travel."[18] Mr. King had an additional four contacts with the Senior Legislative Assistant regarding "Taiwan travel" between August 22 and September 7, 2011.[19]

(6) Mr. King also had two contacts with Representative Owens' Chief of Staff regarding "Taiwan travel," on August 19 and 22, 2011.[20]

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[13] The OCE was unable to confirm whether the Chinese Culture University did, in fact, reimburse the government of Taiwan for Representative Owens' and his wife's travel expenses or, if it did so, when that reimbursement was made. Even if the Chinese Culture University made such a reimbursement, it is not clear whether Representative Owens could have accepted a gift of travel that was initially paid for by an impermissible source. In the context of gifts paid for by state and local governments, the House Ethics Manual provides that "Members and staff may **not** accept, under this provision, a meal or other gift that is paid for by an outside consultant or lobbyist for a government agency – even though the cost of the gift will ultimately be reimbursed by the government." House Ethics Manual 56 (emphasis in original).

[14] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0020).

[15] Memorandum of Interview of Senior Legislative Assistant, Office of Rep. Bill Owens, August 9, 2012 ("Senior Legislative Assistant MOI") (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0026).

[16] Mission of Park Strategies, LLC, http://www.parkstrategies.com; Foreign Agents Registration Act Supplemental Statement, filed by Park Strategies, LLC on March 1, 2012 ("Park Strategies FARA Report") (Exhibit 4 at 12-8236_0034).

[17] About TECRO, http://www.taiwanembassy.org/us.

[18] Park Strategies FARA Report (Exhibit 4 at 12-8236_0042).

[19] *Id.* at 12-8236_0042-0043.

[20] *Id.* at 12-8236_0042; Memorandum of Interview of Chief of Staff, Office of Rep. Bill Owens, August 9, 2012 ("Chief of Staff MOI") (Exhibit 5 at 12-8236_0063).

(7) According to the Senior Legislative Assistant, the identity of the trip sponsor was not specifically discussed with Mr. King during their initial conversations, but he assumed that the government of Taiwan or TECRO would be the sponsor, as he understood that TECRO was a client of Park Strategies.[21]

21. Representative Owens' trip was initially to be organized and paid for by the government of Taiwan under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA").[22] On October 31, 2011, Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant emailed Mr. King, asking whether Representative Owens' trip to Taiwan "would be covered under the Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act (MECA [*sic*]), right?"[23] Mr. King replied, "YES, it would be."[24]

22. This understanding changed when it became apparent that Representative Owens' wife could not travel with him as part of a MECEA trip.[25]

(1) In early November 2011, Representative Owens or his Chief of Staff asked the Senior Legislative Assistant to consult with the House Ethics Committee staff to see if a friend and business associate could pay for his wife's travel expenses.[26]

(2) On November 10, 2011, the Senior Legislative Assistant emailed Representative Owens and the Chief of Staff to report on the conversation he had with Ethics Committee staff.[27]

(3) Representative Owens told the OCE that, after the consultation with the Ethics Committee, he decided this was not a good option and did not pursue it.[28]

(4) According to Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant, at some point there were discussions about whether the trip could be conducted under MECEA, and it was at this point that the idea of a private sponsor was raised.[29] The Senior

[21] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0026).
[22] Representative Owens could accept travel expenses from the government of Taiwan only under one of two grants of authority: the Foreign Gift and Decorations Act ("FGDA") or the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA"). House Ethics Manual 108. Under the FGDA, travel paid for by a foreign government must take place totally outside the United States and therefore did not apply to Representative Owens' travel to Taiwan, which originated in the United States. *Id.* at 109.
[23] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Sean King, October 31, 2011 (Exhibit 6 at 12-8236_0067).
[24] Email from Sean King to Senior Legislative Assistant, October 31, 2011 (Exhibit 6 at 12-8236_0066).
[25] According to the House Ethics Manual, "Members.. may accept travel expenses from a foreign government in order to participate in an approved MECEA program.... Under MECEA, however, the traveling Member...may **not** accept travel expenses for a spouse or family member. All travel expenses in a MECEA trip are to be paid by the sponsoring foreign government, and none of the trip expenses may be paid by any private source." House Ethics Manual 110 (citations omitted; emphasis in original).
[26] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0021); Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0026-0027).
[27] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Rep. Owens and Chief of Staff, November 10, 2011 (Exhibit 7 at 12-8236_0070).
[28] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0021).
[29] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0027).

Legislative Assistant had conversations with Mr. King and TECRO officials about a private sponsor for the trip.[30]

(5) In his interview with the OCE, the Senior Legislative Assistant described this period as a "transition" from a "MECEA trip" to a "private sponsor trip."[31]

23. Because Representative Owens' wife did travel with him to Taiwan, the trip could not be conducted under MECEA. Representative Owens therefore could not have accepted payment of travel expenses from the government of Taiwan.

2. *Because Representative Owens' trip to Taiwan was organized, conducted, and initially paid for by the government of Taiwan, the Chinese Culture University was not a permissible sponsor of the trip*

24. When it became clear that the trip could not be organized under MECEA, TECRO officials sought to identify a private entity to serve as the "private sponsor" of Representative and Mrs. Owens' trip.

(1) On November 22, 2011, TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng emailed Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant, writing, "I need your kind help here in order to find a private sponsor in the coming days!"[32]

(2) The Senior Legislative Assistant told the OCE that he was under the impression that "this had been done before" – that is, that a private sponsor had previously "stepped in" when it was not possible to conduct a trip under MECEA.[33]

25. Representative Owens' travel arrangements and itinerary were planned and organized by TECRO officials before a private sponsor was identified.

(1) Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant told the OCE that he worked with Frank Lee, director of TECRO's Congressional Liaison Division, and Li-Cheh Cheng, an officer with TECRO's Congressional Liaison Division, to plan Representative Owens' travel arrangements and trip itinerary.[34]

(2) On November 15, 2011, Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant emailed Sean King, saying that he "spoke with Benson[35] yesterday but I'll direct my followup q's to Frank [Lee]."[36] As noted above, Mr. Lee is Director of TECRO's Congressional Liaison Division. The Senior Legislative Assistant told

[30] *Id.*
[31] *Id.* at 12-8236_0028.
[32] Email from Li-Cheh Cheng, Officer, TECRO Congressional Liaison Division, to Senior Legislative Assistant, November 22, 2011 (Exhibit 8 at 12-8236_0072).
[33] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0028).
[34] *Id.* at 12-8236_0027.
[35] "Benson" appears to refer to Benson Huang, another TECRO official. *See* Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0025).
[36] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Sean King, Park Strategies, November 15, 2011 (Exhibit 9 at 12-8236_0074).

the OCE that, at this time, he was frequently speaking with TECRO officials about the trip planning.[37]

(3) On November 21, 2011, the Senior Legislative Assistant emailed Mr. King to inform him of the dates for Representative Owens' trip, adding, "I'll reach out to Mr. Frank Lee about the details but wanted to let you know. Thanks!"[38]

(4) On November 22, 2011, the same day that TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng asked the Senior Legislative Assistant for help in finding a private sponsor for Representative Owens' trip, the Senior Legislative Assistant met with TECRO officials to discuss travel logistics and a draft trip itinerary.[39]

(5) After the meeting, the Senior Legislative Assistant emailed Representative Owens and the Chief of Staff, informing them of the status of trip planning: "Just sat down with the folks from the Embassy to do a rough outline of the trip...."[40]

(6) The Senior Legislative Assistant told the OCE that he does not believe he knew the identity of any private sponsor for Representative Owens' trip at the time of this planning meeting.[41]

(7) On November 28, 2011, the Senior Legislative Assistant emailed Mr. King a status report on the trip planning: "I think the Embassy has what they need from us so far, but I'll let you know when I know more."[42]

26. The Chinese Culture University invited Representative Owens to visit Taiwan by letter dated November 29, 2011.[43]

27. Despite the invitation by the Chinese Culture University, Representative and Mrs. Owens' travel arrangements and itinerary continued to be planned and organized by Taiwanese government officials.

(1) On December 5, 2011, TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng emailed the Senior Legislative Assistant to provide "the air itinerary for Congressman Owens & wife to Taiwan trip. Please get me their Air Canada and Delta Airlines (partnered with China Airlines) frequent flier numbers to earn miles."[44]

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[37] Senior Legislative Assist MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0027).
[38] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Sean King, Park Strategies, November 21, 2011 (Exhibit 10 at 12-8236_0076).
[39] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0028).
[40] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Rep. Owens and Chief of Staff, November 22, 2011 (Exhibit 11 at 12-8236_0078).
[41] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0028).
[42] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Sean King, Park Strategies, November 28, 2011 (Exhibit 12 at 12-8236_0080).
[43] Letter from Wannyih Wu, President, Chinese Culture University, to Rep. Bill Owens, November 29, 2011 (Exhibit 1 at 12-8236_0010).
[44] Email from Li-Cheh Cheng, Officer, TECRO Congressional Liaison Division, to Senior Legislative Assistant, December 5, 2011 (Exhibit 13 at 12-8236_0083).

(2) On December 6, 2011, TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng emailed the Senior Legislative Assistant, advising that she had "sent a cable back to Taipei yesterday, and my colleagues should start putting up this program already. Usually it will take them sometime to confirm all the meeting times and meeting officials, and I will surely let you know about the set program as soon as they cable back."[45]

(3) On December 14, 2011, TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng emailed the Senior Legislative Assistant: "Also I am preparing the potential meeting for President Ma and Congressman, I will let you know if I need anything from you. Currently we have not heard back from Taipei on the official programs, I think they are trying to figure out President's, Minister's schedules. I will keep you posted."[46]

(4) On December 19, 2011, TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng emailed the Senior Legislative Assistant: "I did call MOFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] Taiwan last night and tell them to send me the schedules. My colleague said everything is set up, but my bosses are reviewing the whole itinerary—they value Congressman's visit very highly. I will call Taipei tonight and see if they can expedite."[47]

(5) On December 20, 2011, TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng emailed an itinerary for Representative Owens' trip to the Senior Legislative Assistant.[48]

(6) The Senior Legislative Assistant told the OCE that the itinerary for Representative Owens' trip was prepared by TECRO officials, with input from Rep. Owens' office.[49]

28. Representative Owens' congressional staff continued to direct questions about Representative Owens' trip to TECRO officials, rather than officials at the Chinese Culture University.

(1) On December 6, 2011, Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant emailed TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng regarding the "Private Sponsor Travel Form," writing, "it just occurred to me looking at these forms that we'll need an

[45] Email from Li-Cheh Cheng, Officer, TECRO Congressional Liaison Division, to Senior Legislative Assistant, December 6, 2011 (Exhibit 14 at 12-8236_0085).
[46] Email from Li-Cheh Cheng, Officer, TECRO Congressional Liaison Division, to Senior Legislative Assistant, December 14, 2011 (Exhibit 15 at 12-8236_0088).
[47] Email from Li-Cheh Cheng, Officer, TECRO Congressional Liaison Division, to Senior Legislative Assistant, December 19, 2011 (Exhibit 16 at 12-8236_0095).
[48] Email from Li-Cheh Cheng, Officer, TECRO Congressional Liaison Division, to Senior Legislative Assistant, December 20, 2011 (Exhibit 16 at 12-8236_0090). Also on December 20, 2011, Ms. Cheng felt the need to remind the Senior Legislative Assistant of the identity of the trip sponsor: "Also the host of this trip is Chinese Culture University—just a kind reminder." Email from Li-Cheh Cheng, Officer, TECRO Congressional Liaison Division, to Senior Legislative Assistant, December 20, 2011 (Exhibit 16 at 12-8236_0090).
[49] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0028).

updated form to reflect that the Congressman is departing from Montreal instead of New York City...."[50]

(2) On December 19, 2011, the Senior Legislative Assistant emailed Ms. Cheng asking for a "complete itinerary with times for what the Congressman is doing" for submission to the Committee on Ethics.[51] He added: "I believe the Congressman is going to try and fit 2 meetings into that final day separate from the schedule you all put together for him...."[52]

29. The Taiwan government had a significant role during Representative Owens' trip.

(1) Representative Owens told the OCE that a representative of the Taiwanese government met his wife and him at the airport upon arrival in Taiwan, and that this representative accompanied them throughout their trip.[53]

(2) According to Representative Owens' itinerary, he met with several Taiwan government officials, including the President of Taiwan, the Vice Minister of National Defense, the Foreign Minister, and a member of the Taiwan legislature.[54]

30. Information obtained by the OCE during the course of its review indicates that the government of Taiwan, in addition to organizing and conducting Representative Owens' trip, initially paid Representative Owens' travel expenses.[55]

(1) According to a witness with knowledge of Representative Owens' flight arrangements, the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs paid China Airlines for the airfare for Representative Owens and his wife.[56]

(2) According to a representative of the Regent Taipei Hotel, Representative Owens' room payment was settled by the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[57]

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[50] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Li-Cheh Cheng, Officer, TECRO Congressional Liaison Division, December 6, 2011 (Exhibit 14 at 12-8236_0085-0086).
[51] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Li-Cheh Cheng, Officer, TECRO Congressional Liaison Division, December 19, 2011 (Exhibit 16 at 12-8236_0095).
[52] *Id.*
[53] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0022).
[54] Tentative Itinerary of the visit by Hon. William Lewis "Bill" Owens and Mrs. Owens to the Republic of China (Taiwan), December 28-31, 2011, submitted with Rep. Owens Travel Disclosure Filings (Exhibit 1 at 12-8236_0012-0015).
[55] As noted above, *see supra* notes 22 & 25, given the circumstances of Representative Owens' trip, the government of Taiwan could not have been a permissible source of payment for travel expenses.
[56] Memorandum of Interview of Witness with Knowledge of Rep. Owens' Air Travel, August 15, 2012 (Exhibit 17 at 12-8236_0098).
[57] Email from Karen Chu, Regent Taipei Hotel, to OCE Investigative Counsel, July 12, 2012 (Exhibit 18 at 12-8236_0102). Unprompted by the OCE, the Hotel representative provided a supplemental response: "After checking my data, kindly correct that Mr Owens invited by Chinese Culture University but not the Ministry of Foreign Affair.... Ministry of Foreign Affair settle the payment with us first but I think that Chinese Culture University settle with Ministry of Foreign Affair later." Email from Karen Chu, Regent Taipei Hotel, to OCE Investigative Counsel, July 13, 2012 (Exhibit 19 at 12-8236_00101). When asked for the source of this additional information, the hotel representative informed the OCE:

(3) Representative Owens and members of his congressional staff had several indications that the Taiwan government was paying his travel expenses. For example, prior to departing for Taiwan, Representative Owens received a memorandum from TECRO officials which advised: "Please remember to **keep your boarding passes for** all domestic and international flights and return them to **TECRO**. We need to have those passes for accounting purpose and truly appreciate your cooperation."[58] Representative Owens told the OCE that he did not focus on this instruction to keep his boarding passes, nor did he keep them.[59] The Senior Legislative Assistant also told the OCE that while he did read this document, he did not focus on this statement.[60]

(4) In addition, on December 5, 2011, a China Airlines representative emailed Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant, with a copy to TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng, informing him of the price for the airline tickets: "The price that we will send invoice to TECRO is approximately USD$8655 + tax $357.30 = USD$9011.80...."[61] The Senior Legislative Assistant did not recall focusing on the reference to TECRO when he received this email.[62]

(5) While TECRO declined to provide any documents or make available any witnesses in response to the OCE's Request for Information, TECRO represented to the OCE, through counsel, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was reimbursed by the Chinese Culture University for all costs associated with Representative Owens' trip.

(6) The Chinese Culture University also declined to provide documents or make available witnesses in response to the OCE's Request for Information. The OCE was therefore unable to confirm whether the Chinese Culture University did, in fact, pay for Representative Owens' and his wife's travel expenses, or when such payment was made.

> I just remembered some conversation they asked while made the booking last year. Ministry of Foreign Affairs talked about Chinese Culture University while made the reservation and I guess you might wish to know this information. They advised us to charge the official special rate which we provide to Ministry of Foreign Affairs first and I do not know how did they finalize the payment later. They advised me through the phone calls and there is no certain data to review. I am not sure who should I contact from them on this matter but I suggest you can contact the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the further information.

Email from Karen Chu, Regent Taipei Hotel, to OCE Investigative Counsel, July 16, 2012 (Exhibit 18 at 12-8236_0100).

[58] "Memo: The visit of Rep. and Mrs. Bill Owens to the Republic of China (Taiwan) (December 28 to 31, 2011)" (emphasis in original) (Exhibit 19 at 12-8236_0105).

[59] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0022).

[60] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0029).

[61] Email from Ken Chong, China Airlines, to Senior Legislative Assistant, copy to Li-Cheh Cheng, TECRO, December 5, 2011 (Exhibit 13 at 12-8236_0083).

[62] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12_8236_0028).

(7) Representative Owens told the OCE that the first time he learned that the Taiwan government paid for his travel expenses, but was later reimbursed by the Chinese Culture University, was when TECRO officials requested a meeting and met with members of his staff in May 2012, after press reports about the trip appeared.[63]

31. Representative Owens had no interaction with the Chinese Culture University prior to meeting with University officials in Taiwan.[64] Neither Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant nor his Chief of Staff had any interactions with the University.[65]

32. Representative Owens' interactions with the Chinese Culture University during his trip were limited.

    (1) Representative Owens and his wife attended a dinner hosted by Chinese Culture University officials, including the president and the chairman of the board of the University, and two University deans.[66]

    (2) One University dean attended the dinner hosted by the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[67] During this dinner, Representative Owens thanked the Chinese Culture University for hosting his trip.[68]

33. While the Chinese Culture University declined to cooperate with the OCE's review, it did provide the OCE with a letter in response to the OCE's Request for Information, in which it stated: "[W]e do regularly sponsor important leaders from the United States to visit Taiwan such as Representative and Mrs. Owens' trip last year, which we believe is in accordance with U.S. House ethics rules related to private sponsorship."[69]

34. The University further stated that, "[i]n view of Mr. Owens' important status as a member of U.S. Congress and the lack of staff of this university stationed in the United States, the program for Representative Owens' visit to Taiwan was coordinated through the kind assistance of Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States."[70]

35. As noted above, the Chinese Culture University declined to provide documentary or testimonial evidence in response to the OCE's Request for Information. Pursuant to Rule 6 of the OCE Rules for the Conduct of Investigations, the OCE draws a negative inference from the University's refusal to cooperate. The OCE infers that the information

[63] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0023).
[64] *Id.* at 12-8236_0021.
[65] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0025); Chief of Staff MOI (Exhibit 5 at 12-8236_0062).
[66] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0022).
[67] *Id.*
[68] *Id.*
[69] Letter from Chiungli Kuo, Director of PR Office, Chinese Culture University, to OCE Staff Director and Chief Counsel (June 30, 2012) (Exhibit 20 at 12_8236_0110).
[70] *Id.* The OCE attempted to follow-up with the Chinese Culture University after receiving this letter, but was informed that the University would not be cooperating: "The letter I sent on June 30 is the only response I am giving regarding your contact. I will not provide anything else nor reply your mail again." Email from Chiungli Kuo to OCE Investigative Counsel, July 6, 2012 (Exhibit 21 at 12-8236_0114).

the University refused to provide, taken together with the factual findings in this referral, supports the conclusion that there is substantial reason to believe that the alleged violation occurred.

36. Representative Owens knew, or should have known, that the government of Taiwan was conducting and organizing his travel to Taiwan. As indicated above, neither Representative Owens nor members of his congressional staff had any contact with the Chinese Culture University at any point during the travel planning process.[71] Rather, Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant worked closely with TECRO officials on Representative Owens' travel arrangements and trip itinerary.[72]

37. When press reports surrounding Representative Owens' trip appeared in May 2012, Representative Owens made the decision to pay the travel expenses for his wife and him personally.[73] According to Representative Owens, he made this decision because he felt that if there was any chance that they had done something wrong, he "needed to clean it up immediately."[74] On May 21, 2012, he sent a personal check, made payable to the Chinese Culture University, in the amount of $22,132.20, to the University.[75]

38. The OCE Board finds that there is substantial reason to believe that Representative Owens accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible sponsor, resulting in an impermissible gift, in violation of federal law and House rules.

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[71] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0021); Chief of Staff MOI (Exhibit 5 at 12-8236_0062); Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12_8236_0025).

[72] *See, e.g.*, Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0027-0030). The Committee on Ethics has determined that Members may be held responsible for the knowledge of their staff. In one recent matter, the Committee explained:

> [B]ased on the Standards Committee's longstanding precedent regarding the responsibilities Members have for the conduct and actions of their staff, the Subcommittee finds that it would not well serve the House as an institution to allow its Members to escape responsibility by delegating authority to their staff to take actions and hide behind their lack of knowledge of the facts surrounding those actions. Members choose their own staff and should expect their staff to provide them with all the information necessary to carry out their responsibilities, as well as to stay within the boundaries established by law, regulations, and standards of conduct. Many times Members act through the actions of their staff and, therefore, should be held liable for those actions in certain circumstances.

Carib News Report 192-93. The Committee went on to impute to the Member the knowledge of his staff to find that the Member knowingly accepted an impermissible gift of travel. *Id.*

[73] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0023).

[74] *Id.*

[75] Letter from Rep. Bill Owens to Wannyih Wu, President, Chinese Culture University, May 21, 2012 (Exhibit 22 at 12-8236_0118).

III. REPRESENTATIVE OWENS ACCEPTED PAYMENT OF TRAVEL EXPENSES FOR AN OFFICIALLY CONNECTED TRIP TO TAIWAN THAT WAS IN SOME PART PLANNED, ORGANIZED, REQUESTED, OR ARRANGED BY AGENTS OF A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL

A. Laws, Regulations, Rules, and Standards of Conduct

39. *Travel Planned Organized, Requested or Arranged by Agents of Foreign Principal*

(1) *House Rule 25, clause 5(c)(3)*

"A Member, Delegate, Resident Commissioner, officer, or employee of the House may not accept a reimbursement (including payment in kind) for transportation, lodging, or related expenses for a trip (other than a trip permitted under paragraph (b)(1)(C) of this clause) if such trip is in any part planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal."

(2) *House Ethics Manual*

"Members and staff are prohibited from participating in any multiple-day trip that was planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal."[76]

"Member and staff participation in officially-connected travel that is in any way planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a lobbyist is prohibited, *except as provided below:*

(1) when the travel is sponsored by an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965;[77] *or*

(2) when the travel is for a one-day event trip and *the involvement of a lobbyist in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip is* de minimis, *meaning only negligible or otherwise inconsequential in terms of time and expense to the overall planning and purpose of the trip."*[78]

B. Representative Owens' Trip to Taiwan Was in Some Part Planned, Organized, Requested, or Arranged by the Agents of a Foreign Principal

40. Evidence gathered by the OCE during the course of its review indicates that Park Strategies, LLC, a registered foreign agent of TECRO, in some part planned, organized, requested, or arranged Representative Owens' trip to Taiwan.

41. As noted above, Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant recalled that the idea for a Taiwan trip originated with Sean King, a registered foreign agent for TECRO.[79]

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[76] House Ethics Manual 96.
[77] Institutions outside of the United States do not qualify. *See* 20 U.S.C. § 1001(a).
[78] House Ethics Manual 400-401 (emphasis in original).
[79] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0026).

Park Strategies' FARA report indicates that Park Strategies lobbyist Sean King had an initial telephone conversation with the Senior Legislative Assistant on August 17, 2011, regarding "Taiwan travel."[80] This was followed by four additional contacts on "Taiwan travel" between August 19 and September 7, 2011.[81] Mr. King had two contacts with Representative Owens' Chief of Staff, both regarding "Taiwan travel," on August 19 and 22, 2011.[82]

42. In his interview with the OCE, Representative Owens recalled a telephone conversation with Park Strategies' founder and former Senator Alfonse D'Amato on October 6, 2011, in which Senator D'Amato asked if he had any interest in going to Taiwan to meet with representatives of the Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Corporation ("TSMC").[83] At the time, a site in New York State near Representative Owens' congressional district was lobbying TSMC to open a facility there.[84]

43. On November 3, 2011, Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant emailed Representative Owens and the Chief of Staff to report on a conversation he had had with Mr. King regarding potential dates for Representative Owens' travel: "D'amato's guys report that anytime Bill Owens is ready for Taiwan, Taiwan is ready for Bill Owens, so the week between Christmas and New Year's works as well."[85] Representative Owens understood the reference to "D'amato's guys" to be to Park Strategies, LLC.[86]

44. On November 15, 2011, Mr. King emailed Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant, advising him to contact Frank Lee, Director of TECRO's Congressional Liaison Division.[87] According to the Senior Legislative Assistant, Park Strategies directed him to TECRO officials to plan Representative Owens' trip, but not in any "exclusionary" way.[88] The Senior Legislative Assistant said he continued to discuss the trip with Mr. King throughout the planning process.[89]

45. On November 21, 2011, Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant emailed Mr. King to advise: "[L]ooks like we have our dates. The boss and his wife are looking to travel to Taiwan beginning on December 27th. I'll reach out to Mr. Frank Lee about the details but wanted to let you know. Thanks!"[90]

46. Mr. King declined to be interviewed by the OCE as part of this review. Park Strategies did provide the OCE with a signed declaration from Christopher D'Amato, Executive

[80] Park Strategies FARA Report (Exhibit 4 at 12-8236_0042).
[81] *Id.* at 12-8236_0042-0043.
[82] *Id.* at 12-8236_0042.
[83] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0020); *see also* Calendar Entry for October 6, 2011, 10:30 to 11:00 AM, "Phone call with D'amato re: Taiwan" (Exhibit 23 at 12-8236_0120).
[84] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0020).
[85] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Rep. Owens and Chief of Staff (November 3, 2011) (Exhibit 24 at 12-8236_0122); Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0026).
[86] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0021).
[87] Email from Sean King to Senior Legislative Assistant (November 15, 2011) (Exhibit 9 at 12-8236_0074).
[88] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0027).
[89] *Id.*
[90] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Sean King (November 21, 2011) (Exhibit 10 at 12-8236_0076).

Vice President, Managing Director, and chief compliance officer of Park Strategies.[91] In his declaration, Mr. D'Amato states: "After learning, on November 21, 2011, that Representative Owens was going to bring his wife on the trip to Taiwan, Park Strategies, LLC had no further involvement in creating or setting the itinerary prepared by the Chinese Culture University."[92]

47. In contrast, the Senior Legislative Assistant told the OCE that at no time did Mr. King or anyone at Park Strategies tell him that the firm could no longer be involved with planning Representative Owens' trip.[93]

48. Also, Park Strategies continued to be involved with Representative Owens' Taiwan trip after November 21, 2011.

    (1) On November 28, 2011, Mr. King emailed Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant to ask, "How's the trip planning going? I'm back in our New York office today. Call me if you need us, thanks."[94]

    (2) Mr. King met with the Senior Legislative Assistant in Representative Owens' Washington, DC office on December 5, 2011, on the topic of "Taiwan travel."[95] According to the Senior Legislative Assistant, Mr. King suggested meetings for Representative Owens' itinerary during this conversation.[96]

    (3) In his interview with the OCE, Representative Owens recalled a telephone conversation with former Senator D'Amato on December 7, 2011, in which Senator D'Amato asked him to meet with representatives of Taiwan's opposition party during his trip.[97] This telephone conversation is reflected in Park Strategies' FARA report.[98]

    (4) Two days after his telephone conversation with Senator D'Amato, Representative Owens was asked by his Senior Legislative Assistant, in a December 9, 2011 email, if he was "ok sitting down with the opposition party in Taiwan while you're there...."[99] Representative Owens replied that "Damto asked me too. "[100]

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[91] Declaration of Christopher D'Amato, June 18, 2012 (Exhibit 25 at 12-8236_0124). The OCE notes that Mr. D'Amato's declaration is neither notarized nor witnessed. In addition, as previously indicated, no Park Strategies employees would agree to be interviewed by the OCE.

[92] *Id.* Counsel for Park Strategies asserts that Park Strategies' initial involvement with Representative Owens' trip was permissible because, at that point, the trip was to be conducted under MECEA, which permits lobbyist or foreign agent involvement. However, the plain language of the Rule provides that a Member may not accept payment of travel expenses for a trip that is "*in any part* planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal." House Rule 25, clause 5(c)(3) (emphasis added). It would therefore appear that Park Strategies' initial – and continued – involvement made the trip impermissible even after it became clear that the trip would not be conducted under MECEA.

[93] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0027).

[94] Email from Sean King to Senior Legislative Assistant, November 28, 2011 (Exhibit 12 at 12-8236_0080).

[95] Park Strategies FARA Report (Exhibit 4 at 12-8236_0044).

[96] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0028).

[97] Rep. Owens MOI (Exhibit 2 at 12-8236_0022).

[98] Park Strategies FARA Report (Exhibit 4 at 12-8236_0042).

[99] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Rep. Owens, December 9, 2011 (Exhibit 26 at 12-8236_0126).

The Senior Legislative Assistant then tells Representative Owens: "I'm supposed to talk to sean king monday and we might be able to find a way to get invited."[101]

(5) On December 20, 2011, Sean King emailed Representative Owens' Senior Legislative Assistant, with a copy to his Park Strategies colleague Jon Zagame, asking about scheduling a meeting with a TSMC official.[102] According to the Senior Legislative Assistant, Representative Owens was able to schedule a meeting with TMSC officials during his trip.[103]

49. Given the contacts between Park Strategies officials and Representative Owens, as well as the contacts between Park Strategies officials and members of Representative Owens' congressional staff, Representative Owens knew, or should have known, that Park Strategies was involved in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging his trip to Taiwan.

50. As noted above, Park Strategies employees former Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Sean King, and John Zagame declined to be interviewed by the OCE. Pursuant to Rule 6 of the OCE Rules for the Conduct of Investigations, the OCE draws a negative inference from the witnesses' refusal to cooperate. The OCE infers that the information these individuals refused to provide, taken together with the factual findings in this referral, supports the conclusion that there is substantial reason to believe that the alleged violation occurred.

51. The OCE Board finds that there is substantial reason to believe that Representative Owens accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan, when that trip was in some part planned, organized, requested, or arranged by agents of a foreign principal, in violation of House rules.

IV. THE CHINESE CULTURE UNIVERSITY, FORMER SENATOR ALFONSE M. D'AMATO, SEAN KING, AND JOHN ZAGAME REFUSED TO COOPERATE WITH THE OCE REVIEW

52. Based on the nature of the allegations in this Review, the OCE requested information from witnesses who were identified as having knowledge of relevant facts.

53. All the identified witnesses cooperated except the following: the Chinese Culture University, former Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, Sean King, and John Zagame.

[100] Email from Rep. Owens to Senior Legislative Assistant, December 9, 2011 (Exhibit 26 at 12-8236_0126).
[101] Email from Senior Legislative Assistant to Rep. Owens, December 9, 2011 (Exhibit 26 at 12-8236_0126).
[102] Email from Sean King to Senior Legislative Assistant, copy to Jon Zagame, December 20, 2011 (Exhibit 27 at 12-8236_0128-0129).
[103] Senior Legislative Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 12-8236_0029).

Chinese Culture University

54. The Chinese Culture University is an educational institution located in Taipei, Taiwan. The University was identified in Representative Owens' travel disclosure filings as the private sponsor of his trip to Taiwan.

55. The OCE requested information from the University to determine the role the University played in organizing, conducting, and paying for Representative Owens' trip to Taiwan.

56. The University refused to cooperate with the OCE.

57. Pursuant to OCE Rule 6, the OCE draws a negative inference from the University's refusal to cooperate with the OCE. The OCE infers that the information the University refused to provide, taken together with the factual findings in this referral, supports the conclusion that there is substantial reason to believe that the alleged violation occurred.

Former Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato

58. Former Senator D'Amato is the founder and Managing Director of Park Strategies, LLC.

59. The OCE requested an interview with Senator D'Amato to obtain information regarding his or his firm's involvement with Representative Owens' trip to Taiwan.

60. Senator D'Amato refused to cooperate with the OCE.

61. Pursuant to OCE Rule 6, the OCE draws a negative inference from Senator D'Amato's refusal to cooperate with the OCE. The OCE infers that the information Senator D'Amato refused to provide, taken together with the factual findings in this referral, supports the conclusion that there is substantial reason to believe that the alleged violation occurred.

Sean King

62. Mr. King is Senior Vice President of Park Strategies, LLC.

63. The OCE requested an interview with Mr. King to obtain information regarding his or his firm's involvement with Representative Owens' trip to Taiwan.

64. Mr. King refused to cooperate with the OCE.

65. Pursuant to OCE Rule 6, the OCE draws a negative inference from Mr. King's refusal to cooperate with the OCE. The OCE infers that the information Mr. King refused to provide, taken together with the factual findings in this referral, supports the conclusion that there is substantial reason to believe that the alleged violation occurred.

John Zagame

66. Mr. Zagame is Vice President of Park Strategies, LLC.

67. The OCE requested an interview with Mr. Zagame to obtain information regarding his or his firm's involvement with Representative Owens' trip to Taiwan.

68. Mr. Zagame refused to cooperate with the OCE.

69. Pursuant to OCE Rule 6, the OCE draws a negative inference from Mr. Zagame's refusal to cooperate with the OCE. The OCE infers that the information Mr. Zagame refused to provide, taken together with the factual findings in this referral, supports the conclusion that there is substantial reason to believe that the alleged violation occurred.

V. CONCLUSION

70. The OCE Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation that Representative Owens accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible source, resulting in an impermissible gift, because there is substantial reason to believe that his acceptance of payment for these travel expenses violated federal law or House rules.

71. The OCE Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation that Representative Owens accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan, when that trip was in some part planned, organized, requested, or arranged by agents of a foreign principal, because there is substantial reason to believe that his acceptance of payment for these travel expenses violated of House rules.

VI. INFORMATION THE OCE WAS UNABLE TO OBTAIN AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE ISSUANCE OF SUBPOENAS

72. The following witnesses, by declining to be interviewed by the OCE, did not cooperate with the OCE's review:

    (1) Former Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Founder and Managing Director, Park Strategies, LLC;

    (2) Sean King, Senior Vice President, Park Strategies, LLC; and

    (3) John Zagame, Vice President, Park Strategies, LLC.

73. As a result, the OCE was unable to obtain certain information regarding Representative Owens' trip to Taiwan in December 2011.

74. The Board recommends the issuance of subpoenas to former Senator D'Amato, Mr. King, and Mr. Zagame.

75. In addition, the OCE was unable to obtain information from the Chinese Culture University or the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United

States. Neither entity provided documents to the OCE in response to Requests for Information, and neither agreed to interviews by OCE staff.

EXHIBIT 1

LEGISLATIVE RESOURCE CENTER
2012 JAN 13 AM 10: 58
OFFICE OF THE CLERK
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

X Original ___ Amendment

U.S. House of Representatives
112th Congress

MEMBER / OFFICER
POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for meetings, speaking engagements, fact-finding trips or similar events in connection with official duties. You need not disclose government-funded or political travel on this form, or travel that is unrelated to official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report all privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual Financial Disclosure Statement. In accordance with clause 5 of House Rule 25, complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, B-106 Cannon House Office Building, within 15 days after travel is completed. The Clerk is to make these forms available to the public as soon as possible after they are received. *Obtain the dollar amounts from the sponsor; if exact dollar amounts are unavailable, provide a good faith estimate.*

Name of Member or Officer (print or type): Rep. William Owens

Name of Accompanying Family Member (if any): Jane Owens

Relationship to Member/Officer: ☑ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): ____

Date of Departure and Date of Return: 12/27/2011 - 1/1/2012

Dates at personal expense: ____

Itinerary (cities of departure – destination – return): Montreal - Los Angeles - Taipei
Taipei - Vancouver - Montreal

Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): Chinese Culture University

Describe meetings and events attended (attach additional pages if necessary): ____
See attached itinerary

Attached to this form are EACH of the following (*signify "yes" for each item by checking the corresponding box*):

1. ☑ the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form completed by trip sponsor, including all attachments;
2. ☑ the Privately-Sponsored Travel Approval Form completed by the Member or officer; *and*
3. ☑ the Committee on Ethics letter approving my participation on this trip.

I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the sponsor's agenda (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☑
If not, explain: ____

17

TRIP EXPENSES:

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses
For Member or Officer:	$9566.10	$780 total	$720
For accompanying family member:	$9566.10	$780 total	$720

	Other Expenses (dollar amount)	Specific Nature of Expenses (*e.g.*, taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For Member or Officer:	NA	
For accompanying family member:	NA	

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge. I have determined that all of the expenses listed above were necessary and that the travel was in connection with my duties as a Member or Officer of the U.S. House of Representatives and would not create the appearance that I am using public office for private gain.

SIGNATURE OF MEMBER OR OFFICER: Bill Cruz

DATE: ~~1-3-12~~ 1-13-12

Version date 1/2011 by Committee on Ethics

P. 1

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM
(provide directly to each House invitee)

This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers or employees under House Rule XXV, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee. The trip sponsor should NOT submit the form directly to the Committee.

Private sponsors are urged to submit this form to each House invitee at least 30 days before travel is scheduled to begin. The failure to provide the Committee with adequate time to review the form and attachments may result in the invitee not receiving approval for the trip. The submission of an incomplete form will delay the review process. Before completing this form, sponsors are urged to *carefully review* the Committee's private travel guidelines and advisory memoranda detailing the rules and sanctions for private travel, as well as the instructions for completing this form. Sponsors should call the Committee with any questions prior to submitting the form. *Please type/print.*

1. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): Chinese Culture University

2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a federally-registered lobbyist or a registered foreign agent (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☑

3. I represent that the trip sponsor(s) has not accepted from any other source funds earmarked directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☑

4. Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)? ☑ Yes ☐ No

5. Provide names and titles of ALL House invitees; for each invitee, provide explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional pages if necessary): Please see attachment

6. Dates of travel: December 27, 2011-January 1, 2012

7. Cities of departure – destination – return: New York City (or Washington DC or other cities in the district)-Taipei -New York City (or Washington DC or other cities in the district)

8. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities taking place during the travel (*i.e.*, an hourly description of planned activities) (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☑

9. I represent that (*check one of the following*):
   a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965: ☐ or
   b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent: ☒ or
   c. The trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations: ☐

10. If travel is for participation in a one-day event (*i.e.*, if you checked *Question 9(c)*), check one of the following:
    a. One-night's lodging and meals are being offered: ☐ or
    b. Two-nights' lodging and meals are being offered: ☐
    If "b" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted: _____

12-8236_0004

11. If the trip is not sponsored by an institution of higher education, I represent that a federally-registered lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☒

12. Private sponsors must have a direct and immediate relationship to the purpose of the trip or location being visited. Describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip: The Chinese Culture University is a private academic institution located in Taipei, Taiwan. The University constantly sponsors educational and fact-finding programs for international visitors to travel to Taiwan.

13. Describe each sponsor's organizational interest in the purpose of the trip: The Chinese Culture University aims to promote international cultural exchanges in order for it to thrive in a world increasingly engineered by an irresistible thrust towards globalization.

14. Describe the type and class of the transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first-class transportation will be provided. In addition, for travel via aircraft, please indicate if travel is being offered on a commercial flight, charter flight or on an aircraft operated or paid for by a carrier not licensed by the Federal Aviation Administration to operate for compensation or hire (*i.e.*, a private aircraft). If first-class fare is being provided, or if travel is via chartered or private aircraft, please provide an explanation describing why such travel is warranted: The sponsor will provide first-class commercial flights because the length of flights combining both the domestic and international legs is about 21 hours between US and Taiwan.

15. I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or campaign activities of the invitee(s). (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☒

16. I represent that either (*check one of the following*):
   a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that would provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees: ☐ or
   b. The trip involves events that are arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation: ☒
      If "a" is checked, detail the cost per day of meals (approximate cost may be provided): The estimated cost of meals for each participant per day is approximately $100 USD

17. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: To learn first hand about current US-Taiwan relations on various aspects, including security cooperation, trade partnership, educational and cultural exchanges.

18. Name of hotel or other lodging facility: Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

19. Cost per night at hotel or other lodging facility (approximate cost may be provided): Approximately $220 USD per night per room

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility: The hotel is located in downtown Taipei close to most of the meeting venues

21. TOTAL EXPENSES FOR EACH PARTICIPANT:

Identical amounts if accept both estimates	Total *Transportation* Expenses per Participant	Total *Lodging* Expenses per Participant	Total *Meal* Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or employee	$10,000 USD	$800 USD	$750 USD
For each accompanying family member	$10,000 USD	$0 (Spouse)	$750 USD

	Other Expenses (dollar amount)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or employee	N/A	
For each accompanying family member	N/A	

22. I represent that reimbursement for miscellaneous travel expenses for the trip, such as travel to and from airports, security costs, interpreter fees, visa application fees, and similar expenses, will be for actual costs incurred and are necessary for the purpose of the trip (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☐

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

Signature: Chieh-Li Kuo

Name and title: Chieh-Li Kuo, Director of PR Office, CCU

Organization: Chinese Culture University

Address: No. 55, Hwa-kang Rd., Yang-ming-shan, Taipei, 111, Taiwan R.O.C.

Telephone number: [redacted]

Fax number: +886-2-2861-6824

Email Address: [redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw

The Committee staff may contact the above individual above if additional information is required.

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee at the following address:

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (fax)

Revised Jan 3, 2011 by Committee on Ethics

Members of the House of Representative invited to Delegation to Republic of China (Taiwan) from December 27-31, 2011 :

1. Rep. Bill Owens

2. Mrs. Jane Owens

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

PRIVATELY SPONSORED TRAVEL: TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: William Owens [illegible]
2. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): China Culture University
3. Travel destination(s): Taipei, Kaohsiung
4. a. Date of Departure and Date of Return: 12/27/11 - 1/1/12
   b. Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense? ☐ Yes ☒ No
   If yes, dates at personal expense:
5. a. Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? ☒ Yes ☐ No
   b. If yes, name of accompanying family member: Jane Owens
   c. Relationship to traveler: ☒ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify):
6. a. Did the trip sponsor answer "yes" to Question 9(c) on the Trip Sponsor form (*i.e.*, the travel is being sponsored by an entity that employs a lobbyist)? ☐ Yes ☒ No
   b. If yes, check one of the following: ☐ N/A – Sponsor checked 9(a) or 9(b)
   (1) Approval for one-night's lodging and meals is being requested: ☐ or
   (2) Approval for two-nights' lodging and meals is being requested: ☐
   If "(2)" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted:
7. Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments (*indicate that form is attached by checking box*): ☒
8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to your individual official or representational duties:
   Opportunity to explore economic development opportunities for Upstate New York as well as other and security related issues.
9. **FOR STAFF:**
   TO BE COMPLETED BY YOUR EMPLOYING MEMBER:

   I hereby authorize the individual named above, an employee of the U.S. House of Representatives who works under my direct supervision, to accept expenses for the trip described in this request. I have determined that the above-described travel is in connection with my employee's official duties and that acceptance of these expenses will not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

   Date: 12/6/11 _____
   Signature of Employing Member

***NOTE:** This page must be submitted with your post-travel disclosure form within 15 days of your return, so you should maintain a photocopy of the completed form for your records.*

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

PRIVATELY SPONSORED TRAVEL: TRAVELER FORM
For Members, Officers, and Employees

This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection. *Please type form. Form (and any attachments) may be faxed to the Committee at (202) 225-7392.*

YOUR COMPLETED REQUEST MUST BE SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE NO LESS THAN 14 DAYS BEFORE YOUR PROPOSED DEPARTURE DATE. Absent exceptional circumstances, permission will not be granted for requests received less than 14 days before the trip commences.

Name of Traveler: William Owens, Jane Owens

I certify that the information contained on both pages of this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: [signature]

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For staff, name of employing Member/Committee: _____

Office address: 931 Canon

Phone number: 202-225-[redacted]

Email address of contact person: [redacted]@MAIL.HOUSE.GOV

☐ Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet and the traveler is a Member traveling to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity and these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 14 days before the trip departure date.

NOTE: **You must complete the contact information fields above**, as Committee staff may need to contact you if additional information is required.

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee:

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (fax)

Version date 5.2011 by Committee on Ethics

中國文化大學
Chinese Culture University
HWA KANG, YANG MING SHAN
TAIWAN, REPUBLIC OF CHINA

November 29, 2011

The Honorable Bill Owens
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
U.S.A.

Dear Congressman Owens:

It gives me great pleasure to invite you and Mrs. Owens to visit the Republic of China (Taiwan) from December 27 to 31, 2011, as guests of the Chinese Culture University (CCU).

Chinese Culture University is one of Taiwan's leading institutions of higher education. A private university founded in 1962, CCU has developed a comprehensive undergraduate program that reflects its understanding of Taiwan's role in the broader global community. Our founders knew that in order to grow and prosper in its present historical and global setting, Chinese culture must inherit the best that the East and the West have to offer. To this end, the university has also developed a strong program of international exchanges and sister university relations.

CCU is inviting you and others from the U.S. Congress on this educational and fact-finding visit to Taiwan as part of our effort to broaden relations through new exchange initiatives. We hope to introduce you to Taiwan, its people, and the range of issues that shape its domestic and national security policies today – and which have direct relevance to the United States and U.S.-Taiwan relations. Therefore, we have formulated a program that will include meetings with key leaders in both the government and private sectors, exchanges with policy experts from CCU and other institutions, and visits to important economic and cultural sites. CCU will provide round-trip air transportation to Taipei, and local transportation and accommodations during your stay in Taiwan.

I hope you can join your colleagues for this visit to Taiwan, which we believe will be both educational and an opportunity to exchange views and build lasting relationship. Please contact my Assistant Ms. Lynn Yu at [redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw for additional information. I look forward to seeing you in Taiwan.

Sincerely,

Wannyih Wu
President

Jo Bonner, Alabama
Chairman
Linda T. Sánchez, California
Ranking Member

Michael T. McCaul, Texas
K. Michael Conaway, Texas
Charles W. Dent, Pennsylvania
Gregg Harper, Mississippi

John A. Yarmuth, Kentucky
Donna F. Edwards, Maryland
Pedro R. Pierluisi, Puerto Rico
Joe Courtney, Connecticut

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Daniel A. Schwager
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Jeanne White
Administrative Staff Director

Kelly A. Sitkiland
Counsel to the Chairman

Daniel J. Taylor
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

December 20, 2011

The Honorable William L. Owens
U.S. House of Representatives
431 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your and your spouse's proposed trip to Taiwan, scheduled for December 27, 2011, to January 1, 2012, sponsored by the Chinese Culture University.

You must complete a Member Travel Disclosure Form and file it with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are required to attach a copy of this letter and the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, including attachments. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than $350 from a single source on Schedule VII of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House Members may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act, gifts "of minimal value [currently $350] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of $350 received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

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

Sincerely,

Jo Bonner
Chairman

Linda T. Sánchez
Ranking Member

JB/LTS:rc

美國聯邦眾議員歐比爾
訪華行程草案

Tentative Itinerary of the visit by Hon. William Lewis "Bill" Owens

and Mrs. Owens

to the Republic of China (Taiwan)

December 28 – 31, 2011

中華民國一百年十二月二十八日（星期三）

Wednesday, December 28, 2011

20:50	搭乘中華航空第005號班機抵華
	Arrive at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport via China Airlines CI-005
	本案承辦人Case Officer：高秘書國榮 Mr. Colin KAO 公務手機Cell Phone：+[redacted]
夜宿	台北晶華酒店 台北市中山北路二段41號
RON	Grand Formosa Regent Taipei 41 Chung Shan North Road, Sec. 2, Taipei, Taiwan Tel: +[redacted] Fax: +886-2-2523-2828

中華民國一百年十二月二十九日（星期四）

Thursday, December 29, 2011

10:00	拜會國防部楊副部長念祖 Call on President Ma / Hon. Dr. Nian-zu YANG, Vice Minister ,

	Ministry of National Defense (MND)
15:00	拜會立法院外交委員會帥委員化民 Call on Hon. SHUAI, Hua-Ming, Legislator, Member of Foreign Affairs and National Defense Committee, Legislative Yuan
16:30	拜會台北市美國商會 Call at American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei
18:00	文化大學張董事長鏡湖及＊校長萬益＊宴 Dinner hosted by Dr. Chin Hu CHANG, Board Chairman of Chinese Culture University and Dr. WU, Wann Yih, President of of Chinese Culture University
20:54	搭高鐵第255號次班車往左營 Depart for Zuoying, Kaohsiung via Taiwan High Speed Rail No. 255
22:30	抵左營 Arrive at Zuoying, Kaohsiung
夜宿	國賓飯店 地址：高雄市民生二路202號
RON	Ambassador Hotel Kaohsiung Phone：+[redacted] Fax：+886-7-201-0348 ADD：202 Min Sheng 2nd RD., Kaohsiung, Taiwan, R.O.C.

中華民國一百年十二月三十日（星期五）

Friday, December 30, 2011

09:30	參訪左營海軍基地 Visit Zuoying Navy Base
11:00	參訪高雄關稅局「貨櫃安全計劃」及「大港計劃」執行情形 Call at Kaohsiung Customs Office for CSI /Mega-Port Project
13:00	搭高鐵第158號次班車往台北 Depart for Taipei via Taiwan High Speed Rail No. 158
15:00	抵台北 Call on Rick Tsai, CFO of TSMC
18:00	拜會外交部楊部長進添 Call on H.E. Timothy YANG, Foreign Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
18:30	外交部楊部長宴 Dinner hosted by Foreign Minister YANG

中華民國一百零一年十二月三十一日（星期六）

Saturday, December 31, 2011

10:00	參訪國立故宮博物院 Visit National Palace Museum
16:00	參觀中正紀念堂 Tour Taipei 101 Financial Center
17:00	Meeting with Hsiao Bi-khim of the Democratic People's Party

19:00	* 餐 Dinner at leisure
23:00	搭中華航空第032號班機離華 Depart Taipei via CI-032

Boughtin, Jon

To: Li-Chih Cheng
Subject: RE: TECRO contact after Nov. 22 for Congressman Owens' visit

---------- Forwarded message ----------

From: Ken Chong <[redacted]@gmail.com>

Date: 2011/12/7

Subject: China Airlines E-TKT Confirmation for OWENS/WILLIAM LEWIS & JANE ELEANOR

To: [redacted]@mail.house.gov, "Boughtin, Jon" <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>, Li-Chih Cheng <[redacted]@tecro.us>

CHINA AIRLINES LTD.
LOS ANGELES BRANCH OFFICE
200 N. CONTINENTAL BLVD.
EL SEGUNDO, CA.90245.
U.S.A.
TEL 1-800-227-[redacted]
FAX 1-310-322-3888

PASSENGER ITINERARY 7DEC 2011

PASSENGER NAME :
1. OWENS/WILLIAM LEWIS ETKT: 2972475605551
2. OWENS/JANE ELEANOR ETKT: 2972475605552

RECORD LOCATOR : K6TDHY Air Canada: MZRSQR

FLIGHT RESERVATION

DATE FLIGHT AIRPORT FROM/TO TIME CLASS STATUS STOP

27DEC AC 797 YUL-DORVAL 0605 C CONFIRMED
27DEC LAX-LOS ANGELES 1115

27DEC CI 5 LAX-LOS ANGELES 1355 F CONFIRMED 0 NON STOP
28DEC TPE-TAIPEI 2050

31DEC CI 32 TPE-TAIPEI 2330 J CONFIRMED 0 NON STOP
31DEC YVR-VANCOUVER 1805

31DEC AC 182 YVR-VANCOUVER 2330 D CONFIRMED
1JAN YUL-DORVAL 0715

SEAT SELECTION: CI5F27DEC 1-1A 2-1K
CI32C31DEC 1-4J 2-4K

* INTERLINE STATUS IS FOR REFERENCE ONLY *

* PLEASE CHECK IN AT AIRPORT 2 HOURS BEFORE FLIGHT DEPARTURE *
* FOR DELHI AIRPORT (ECONOMIC CLASS PASSENGER ONLY)
PLEASE CHECK IN AT AIRPORT 3 HOURS BEFORE FLIGHT DEPARTURE *
* FOR TICKET ISSUED ON/AFTER 15 APRIL 2008,THE MAX WEIGHT OF
EACH CHECKED BAGGAGE CARRIED BY ECONOMY CLASS PASSENGERS ON
TRANSPACIFIC ROUTES INCLUDG GUAM IS CHANGED FROM
32KGS TO 23KGS.
FOR DETAILS PLEASE CHECK LOCAL CHINA AIRLINES OFFICE *
* EACH CABIN BAGGAGE MAY NOT EXCEED 56X36X23CM IN SIZE AND
7KG IN WEIGHT. IF OVERWEIGHT OR OVERSIZED, IT WILL BE
TRANSPORTED AS CHECKED BAGGAGE. EXCESS BAGGAGE CHARGE WILL
BE COLLECTED IF THE TOTAL PIECES/WEIGHTS CHECKED EXCEED YOUR
FREE CHECKED BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE. FREE CABIN BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE
OF F/C/Y PASSENGERS ARE AS FOLLOWS:
FIRST CLASS: 2PIECES, OR ONE PIECE PLUS ONE GARMENT BAGGAGE
(THICKNESS NOT OVER 20CM)
BUSINESS CLASS: ONE PIECE PLUS ONE GARMENT BAGGAGE

(THICKNESS NOT OVER 20CM)
ECONOMY CLASS: ONE PIECE *

THANK YOU FOR FLYING WITH CHINA AIRLINES AND WISH YOU A PLEASANT TRIP

Ken Chong 張秋翌
CHINA AIRLINES 中華航空
Area Sales Manager WAS DC
[redacted]**@gmail.com**
Tel: 202-429-[redacted]

--
This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by **MailScanner**, and is believed to be clean.

--
Li-Chih Cheng
Officer, Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO)
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20016, USA
202.895.[redacted] (O)
[redacted] (C)
202.244.3046 (F)

EXHIBIT 2

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

IN RE:	Representative Bill Owens
REVIEW #(s):	12-8236
DATE:	August 17, 2012
LOCATION:	Burlington, Vermont
TIME:	3:00 PM to 4:00 PM (approximate)
PARTICIPANTS:	Brian Svoboda, Counsel to the Witness
	Emily Eisenberg, Counsel to the Witness
	Kedric Payne
	Scott Gast

SUMMARY: Representative Bill Owens (the "witness") currently represents the 23rd Congressional District of New York. The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness declined to sign a written acknowledgement of the warning.

2. The witness told the OCE that the idea of a trip to Taiwan was first raised in July 2011 during an introductory meeting with representatives from the Taiwan government. He said that he took the invitation to visit Taiwan as a courtesy offered to all new Members of Congress.

3. The witness does not recall any further discussion about a trip to Taiwan until sometime in the fall, when he had a conversation with fellow Rep. Richard Hanna about possibly traveling to Taiwan together.

4. The witness stated that he had heard from former Senator Al D'Amato's office, which the witness understood to be the lobbying firm Park Strategies, LLC, about possibly doing a trip with Rep. Hanna and also with Rep. Tom Reed.

5. The witness explained that the trip that he learned about from Senator D'Amato's office was related to the Marcy Project near his congressional district, which at the time was attempting to recruit the Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Corporation ("TSMC") to open a facility there.

6. The witness was not aware of conversations between his congressional staff and officials from Park Strategies regarding a potential Taiwan trip in August or September.

7. After reviewing an entry from his calendar, the witness said that he believes he had a telephone conversation with Senator D'Amato on October 6, 2011, in which Senator D'Amato asked him if he had any interest in going to Taiwan to meet with TSMC. The witness believes that Senator D'Amato's firm represented Madison County in New York, which would have benefitted from a TSMC facility located in the area. The witness' interest in the TSMC issue was that it could mean a lot of jobs for his constituents.

8. The witness was shown a November 1, 2011 email from a member of his congressional staff to Sean King, a lobbyist with Park Strategies, in which the staff member inquires about potential dates for the witness to travel to Taiwan. The witness said that the date of the email was consistent with his recollection of when the idea of a trip came up again.

9. At the time of this email, the witness understood that this was an invitation from the government of Taiwan. He did not inquire about who was paying for the trip.

10. The witness said that, at the time of this email, he was not familiar with the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA").

11. The witness said he did not have a sense of Park Strategies' role with respect to the proposed Taiwan trip, nor did he focus on what Park Strategies may or may not have been doing. He said that his focus was on the reasons for making the trip and what he would do during the trip. He thought that it was the government of Taiwan "driving the train."

12. The witness noted that he had returned from a trip to Israel in August, and the proposed Taiwan trip was developing in a similar way.

13. The witness was shown a November 3, 2011 email from his senior legislative assistant to him and to his chief of staff, in which the senior legislative assistant wrote: "D'amato's [*sic*] guys report that anytime Bill Owens is ready for Taiwan, Taiwan is ready for Bill Owens...." The witness understood that the reference to "D'amato's [*sic*] guys" was to Park Strategies.

14. The witness always intended that his wife would join him on the Taiwan trip, but he was not sure how well he communicated this to his staff.

15. The witness was shown a November 10, 2011 email from his senior legislative assistant entitled "Ethics Followup," reporting on a conversation with the Ethics Committee regarding payment of the witness' wife's travel expenses. The witness stated that anything they were doing with respect to the trip they were trying to run by the Ethics Committee.

16. The witness believes that the conversation with the Ethics Committee was prompted by his suggestion that a friend and client pay for his wife's travel expenses. He asked his staff to consult with the Ethics Committee to see if that was possible. There was also a question whether his wife could participate in various meetings or events during the trip, if the trip was sponsored by the Taiwan government.

17. The witness does not know what the Ethics Committee advised, but he stated that after this conversation, they decided that is was not a good idea for the friend to pay for his wife's travel, and they did not go forward with this idea.

18. The witness recalled that at some point, the Chinese Culture University "came into the picture," but he could not recall when between the November 10th conversation with the Ethics Committee and the date of the trip that this happened. The witness does not know how the Chinese Culture University came into the picture.

19. The witness does not believe he had any contact with the Chinese Culture University prior to the trip.

20. The witness was shown a November 22, 2011 email from his senior legislative assistant, reporting that the staff member had "[j]ust sat down with the folks from the Embassy to do a rough outline of the trip." The witness recalled reading this email, but said that he probably would not have paid a great deal of attention to it, except to see whether a meeting with TSMC was on the schedule.

21. The witness understood the role of the Embassy was "clearly working to establish the agenda" for his trip. He does not believe that at this point he had an idea of the payment arrangements for the trip. He said that his guess was that he assumed the government of Taiwan was paying.

22. The witness did not recall being involved in any conversations about finding a private sponsor for the trip, nor did he do anything to find such a private sponsor.

23. The witness said that when he received the invitation letter from the Chinese Culture University, his realized that the payment arrangements for the trip had changed.

24. The witness stated that he would have learned of the invitation from the University shortly after the invitation letter was received by his office. He believes he learned of the invitation from his senior legislative assistant.

25. The witness recalled briefly meeting Park Strategies lobbyist Sean King at his congressional office in Washington on or about December 5, 2011. Mr. King was sitting with his senior legislative assistant when he came out of his office and had a brief conversation. The witness recalled no specific conversations about his Taiwan trip with Mr. King.

26. The witness recalled a telephone conversation with Senator D'Amato on or about December 7, 2011, in which the Senator said that he hoped the witness would have a good trip to Taiwan.

27. After reviewing an email exchange with his senior legislative assistant two days after the December 7, 2011 call with Senator D'Amato, the witness recalled that he spoke with the Senator about meeting with the opposition political party during his trip to Taiwan. The witness said he thought such a meeting was a good idea.

28. The witness said he did not focus on who prepared his trip itinerary. Rather, he was focused on the substance of what they were doing.

29. The witness said that during the trip, he participated in a dinner which four University officials attended: the University president, chairman of the board, and two deans. One of the deans also attended a dinner hosted by the Taiwan Foreign Minister the next evening. At this dinner, the witness thanked the University for the trip. The witness also discussed with University officials the possibility of the school becoming a source for exchange students with U.S. schools.

30. The witness was shown a memorandum regarding the details of his trip, and the witness recalled receiving it before his trip. He said he did not focus on the instruction in the memo to keep his boarding passes and return them to Taiwan officials for accounting purposes. The witness said he did not keep his boarding passes or turn them in to Taiwan officials.

31. The witness stated that a representative from the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs met him at the airport and escorted him throughout the trip. The witness said that the representative mentioned on several occasions that Taiwan was thankful to the Chinese Culture University for

hosting the trip. The representative also prompted the witness to thank the Chinese Culture University at the Foreign Ministry dinner.

32. The witness recalled a post-trip meeting with TECRO officials, which he believed was to ensure he had a good trip. He does not recall the names of the officials with whom he met.

33. The witness recalled a post-trip telephone conversation with Senator D'Amato, but could not recall a specific date for the call. He said that Senator D'Amato told him that he hoped TSMC decided to open a facility in Oneida County.

34. The witness said that the first time he learned that the Taiwan government paid for some or all of the cost of his trip and was later reimbursed by the Chinese Culture University was when officials from the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States ("TECRO") came to his office after the trip and told this to members of his staff.

35. The witness recalled that the TECRO officials requested the meeting with his staff, but did not know why they sought the meeting. The meeting was requested after press reports about the trip were published.

36. The witness told the OCE that he received a call from a reporter approximately 24 hours prior to the *Pro Publica* report on his trip was published. He said he was "stunned" when he received the call, as he had no sense that they had done anything wrong with respect to the trip.

37. Within several hours of receiving the call, the witness decided to reimburse the sponsor for the cost of the trip. In his view, if there was any chance that they had done something wrong, he "needed to clean it up immediately."

38. On May 21, 2012, the witness mailed a personal check, made payable to the Chinese Culture University, in the amount of $22,132.20, to the president of the Chinese Culture University. The witness believes that his staff contacted TECRO to obtain the amount to be reimbursed and the contact information for the entity to reimburse.

39. The first check sent by the witness was returned to him, as the bank would not cash the check because of an over-written number on the check. The witness sent a second check, in the same amount and to the same payee. That check has been cashed.

40. The witness said that his senior legislative assistant was responsible for completing and filing travel disclosure forms with the Committee on Ethics. The witness stated that the completed forms would have been sent to him and reviewed by him before being signed and filed.

41. The witness told the OCE that after questions about the trip were raised, he asked the Committee on Ethics to conduct a training session for his congressional staff. The witness stated that if he had known at any point that there was anything improper about the trip, he would not have gone.

This memorandum was prepared on August 22, 2012 after the interview was conducted on August 17, 2012. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on August 17, 2012.

Scott Gast
Investigative Counsel

EXHIBIT 3

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

IN RE:	Senior Legislative Assistant to Rep. Bill Owens
REVIEW #(s):	12-8236
DATE:	August 9, 2012
LOCATION:	Perkins Coie
TIME:	2:00 PM to 4:00 PM (approximate)
PARTICIPANTS:	Brian Svoboda, Counsel to the Witness Jon Berkon, Counsel to the Witness Scott Gast Kedric L. Payne

SUMMARY: The witness is a senior legislative assistant in the office of Representative Bill Owens. The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness declined to sign a written acknowledgement of the warning.

2. The witness is currently a senior legislative assistant for Rep. Bill Owens and has held this position since approximately December 2009. He joined Rep. Owens' office in November 2009 as communications director before changing his position to senior legislative assistant. Prior to joining the office, he worked on Rep. Owens' campaign. He also served as a legislative assistant/deputy communications director for former Rep. Lincoln Davis and has worked with the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

3. As senior legislative assistant, the witness is primarily responsible for legislative work associated with Rep. Owens' position on the House Armed Services Committee. He also works on transportation, environment, and energy issues. He reports to the Legislative Director, and through her, to Rep. Owens' chief of staff. In his current position, the witness has frequent, often daily, interaction with Rep. Owens.

4. The witness has worked with Park Strategies, LLC, who he knows is a New York-based lobbying firm, in the past, with Park Strategies employees Sean King, John Zagame, Chris D'Amato, and Kraig Siracuse.

5. The witness has worked directly with the Taiwan Educational and Cultural Representative Office ("TECRO"), including TECRO officials Frank Lee, Li-Cheh Cheng, Benson Huang, and a few others whose names he could not recall.

6. The witness stated that he has never worked with the Chinese Culture University, nor has he had contact with anyone employed by or representing the University. He added that he may have

sent a thank you note to the University after Rep. Owens' trip to Taiwan, but he would have gotten the addressee's name and contact information from TECRO.

7. The witness stated that he had a "fair bit" of interaction with Rep. Owens when planning Rep. Owens' trip to Taiwan. He also had "some" interaction with Rep. Owens' chief of staff and a small amount of interaction with Rep. Owens' scheduler during the planning process.

8. The witness said that the idea for the Taiwan trip came from Park Strategies' lobbyist Sean King, likely at some point in August 2011. The witness could not recall how Mr. King relayed the idea to him (*i.e.*, via telephone, email, personal meeting).

9. According to the witness, during his initial discussions with Mr. King about a potential trip, the identity of a trip sponsor was not really discussed, but the witness assumed it would be TECRO or the Taiwan government, as he knew TECRO was Park Strategies' client.

10. According to the witness, after his conversations with Mr. King, he discussed a possible trip with Rep. Owens' chief of staff and with Rep. Owens himself in August 2011. While there was general interest in taking such a trip, there were no specific plans for a trip at that time.

11. The witness recalled that he began to focus on a Taiwan trip more concretely in mid- to late-September. He said that there was a possibility of traveling with Rep. Richard Hanna, and the witness had several conversations with his office about a potential trip. Possible dates for a trip were discussed within Rep. Owens' office.

12. At some point, possibly in mid-October 2011, the witness was told by Mr. King that officials from TECRO would be reaching out to him about the proposed Taiwan trip. The witness then received a call from either Frank Lee or Li-Cheh Cheng from TECRO, to discuss the trip. The witness recalled that at some point, TECRO officials came to Rep. Owens' office to discuss a trip agenda.

13. The witness was shown an email from him to Sean King, dated October 31, 2011, in which the witness asks Mr. King if the trip "would be covered under the Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act." The witness said that this email was likely prompted by a conversation he had with the House Ethics Committee regarding compliance with the travel rules.

14. Given Mr. King's positive response to his question, it was the witness' understanding that the trip would be conducted under the Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA").

15. The witness said that it was not his understanding that Park Strategies was putting together the agenda for the trip, but that Mr. King had "done this type of trip before."

16. The witness was shown an email from him to Rep. Owens and the chief of staff, dated November 3, 2011, in which he tells them that "D'amato's [*sic*] guys report that anytime Bill Owens is ready for Taiwan, Taiwan is ready for Bill Owens...." The witness recalled that the chief of staff asked him to call Mr. King regarding potential dates for a Taiwan trip, and that Mr. King told him that whatever the Congressman wanted to do would be fine.

17. The witness was shown an email from him to Rep. Owens and his chief of staff, dated November 10, 2011, and entitled "Ethics Followup." The witness believes that the chief of staff may have

asked him to call the Ethics Committee to ask whether a friend of Rep. Owens could pay for Rep. Owens' spouse to join him on the Taiwan trip.

18. The witness believes that Rep. Owens came up with the idea of having his friend pay for his wife's expenses. The witness did not recall whether he was aware of restrictions on spouse travel under MECEA at the time of this email.

19. The witness was not sure if this was the first time that the question whether Mrs. Owens could participate in the trip had come up. He does not believe it was Rep. Owens' intent from the outset to have his wife join him, but he does not recall when the issue first arose.

20. The witness recalled that the Ethics Committee referred him to the State Department on the question whether Rep. Owens' wife could participate in travel by Rep. Owens under MECEA. The witness did not recall with whom he spoke at the State Department, but said that the Department informed him that it was up to the host nation paying for the travel. The witness said he asked Mr. King if he knew whether Taiwan, as the host country, had any policy regarding spouse participation in a MECEA trip.

21. The witness said that at some point there were discussions of whether or not the trip could be conducted under MECEA, and it was at this point that the idea of an outside sponsor came up. He could not recall when the idea of an outside sponsor first came up. The witness did not recall how the idea of an outside sponsor came up or who raised the issue. He said he had conversations with Mr. King and with TECRO about an outside sponsor.

22. The witness was shown an email exchange between him to Sean King, dated November 15, 2011, in which they discuss the witness speaking to Frank Lee, a TECRO official. According to the witness, at this time, he was frequently speaking with TECRO officials about the trip planning, as the trip was beginning to "firm up."

23. The witness was shown an email he wrote to Mr. King, dated November 21, 2011, in which the witness tells Mr. King that it "looks like we have our dates. The boss and his wife are looking to travel to Taiwan beginning on December 27th. I'll reach out to Mr. Frank Lee about the details but wanted to let you know." The witness said that TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng was his primary contact for trip planning, but that he also worked with Frank Lee, Ms. Cheng's boss.

24. The witness stated that Park Strategies had directed him to TECRO for planning Rep. Owens' Taiwan trip, but did not do so in an "exclusionary" way (*i.e.*, talk to them, not us, about the trip).

25. According to the witness, he kept Mr. King updated throughout the trip planning process. The witness stated that at no point did Mr. King or anyone at Park Strategies tell him that they could not be involved with planning the trip.

26. The witness was shown an email he wrote to Rep. Owens and the chief of staff, copied to the scheduler, dated November 22, 2011, in which he informs Rep. Owens that he "[j]ust sat down with the folks from the Embassy to do a rough outline of the trip...."

27. The witness said that he met with TECRO officials on November 22, 2011, to discuss potential flights and a trip itinerary. The witness does not believe that, at the time of this meeting, he knew who the private sponsor of the trip was.

28. The witness was shown an email from TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng to him, dated November 22, 2011, in which Ms. Cheng references their meeting earlier that day and states: "I need your kind help here in order to find a private sponsor in the coming days!"

29. The witness said that he understood Ms. Cheng to be asking for information regarding the travelers, including their full names and cities of departure. He said that he did not take her statement as a request for help in identifying a private sponsor for Rep. Owens' trip.

30. According to the witness, he believes that he learned that the Chinese Culture University was going to be the private sponsor of Rep. Owens' trip from TECRO officials during a meeting with those officials. The witness did not recall when he learned this, but after reviewing the letter of invitation from the University, dated November 29, 2011, the witness said that he may have found out sometime between November 22, 2011, the date of his meeting with Ms. Cheng, and November 29, 2011, the date of the invitation letter.

31. The witness told the OCE that he was under the impression that TECRO was "leading the charge" in finding a private sponsor for the trip.

32. The witness did not recall any discussions about the Chinese Culture University prior to receiving the invitation letter from the University.

33. When asked if he discussed potential private sponsors for Rep. Owens' trip with anyone at Park Strategies, the witness said that he had a discussion with Sean King as some point during the "transition" from a "MECEA trip" to a "private sponsor trip." The witness said he was confident that Mr. King was aware of this "transition." The witness said that he was under the impression that "this had been done before" -- that is, that a private sponsor had previously "stepped in" when the MECEA mechanism for a congressional trip didn't work.

34. The witness said that the itinerary for Rep. Owens' trip was prepared by officials at TECRO, with input from Rep. Owens' office. He received the itinerary from Li-Cheh Cheng.

35. The witness recalled meeting with Mr. King at Rep. Owens' Washington, DC office at some point and that Mr. King suggested meetings for Rep. Owens' itinerary. When told that the Park Strategies Foreign Agents Registration Act ("FARA") report indicated an in-person meeting between the witness and Mr. King on December 5, 2011, the witness said that may have been the date of the meeting he recalled having with Mr. King.

36. The witness was shown a December 5, 2011 email from Ken Chong, an employee of China Airlines, to him, copied to Li-Cheh Cheng, in which Mr. Chong informs the witness of the cost of the airline tickets, to be included in the Ethics Committee travel forms: "The price that we will send invoice to TECRO is approximately USD$8655 + tax $357.30 = USD$9011.80...." The witness did not recall focusing on the reference to TECRO in Mr. Chong's email.

37. The witness stated that he does not know what Rep. Owens discussed with Former Senator and Park Strategies executive Al D'Amato during a telephone call on December 7, 2011 (disclosed on the Park Strategies' FARA report), as he did not participate in or staff this call.

38. The witness was shown an email exchange between Rep. Owens and him, dated December 9, 2011, in which the witness asks Rep. Owens if he is "ok sitting down with the opposition party in Taiwan while you're there...." Rep. Owens replies: "Damto [*sic*] asked me too [*sic*]." The witness said that this email did not refresh his recollection about the subject of the call between Rep. Owens and Senator D'Amato, but that he assumed, after reading this email, that this meeting was the subject of the telephone call.

39. The witness was asked about an email from him to Rep. Owens, copied to the chief of staff, also dated December 9, 2011, in which he tells Rep. Owens that "I'm supposed to talk to sean king [*sic*] Monday and we might be able to find a way to get invited, but damato's [*sic*] guys obviously can't ask.... Our hosts are going to find out either way."

40. The witness recalled that Mr. King had suggested a meeting with the Taiwanese opposition leader. He also recalled multiple calls with Mr. King to "check in" on the trip planning, but could not specifically recall the conversation with Mr. King referenced in the email.

41. The witness said that his reference to "our hosts" was a reference to TECRO. He added that by December 9, 2011, he would have understood that the Chinese Culture University would be the entity paying for the trip.

42. The witness was shown an email from him to Scott Matthews, a district office staff member for Rep. Owens, dated December 23, 2011, in which he asks Mr. Matthews to print out an attached document for Rep. Owens. The witness stated that the attached document was provided to him by TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng.

43. The witness was asked about the statement in the attached document to "[p]lease remember to **keep your boarding passes for** all domestic and international flights and return them to **TECRO**" (emphasis in original). According to the witness, he read the entire document but did not focus on this particular statement.

44. The witness was asked about an email from Sean King to him, dated December 28, 2011, sent with high priority, in which Mr. King asks if he would chat with the witness about "one aspect of the trip." The witness recalled that Mr. King had called to give him a heads up that a meeting between Rep. Owens and representatives of the Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Corporation ("TSMC") had been reported in the press.

45. The witness stated that he was responsible for preparing the Ethics Committee travel disclosure forms for Rep. Owens to sign.

46. The witness stated that the completed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form was provided to him by Ms. Cheng. He did not know who prepared the form, nor did he have any contact with the individual signing the form or anyone else at the Chinese Culture University.

47. The witness received a draft itinerary from TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng, which he reformatted and added an entry for the "Meeting with Hsiao Bi-khim of the Democratic People's Party" – the meeting requested by former Senator D'Amato – before including the itinerary in the Ethics Committee submission.

48. After the witness prepared the travel forms, he gave them to the chief of staff. Sometime later, he received the signed travel forms back from the chief of staff.

49. The witness said that he met with TECRO officials Frank Lee and Li-Cheh Cheng approximately two months ago, shortly after news reports about Rep. Owens' trip were published, at the request of TECRO.

50. During this meeting, the TECRO officials told the witness that TECRO had paid for some of the trip expenses up front and was being reimbursed by the Chinese Culture University. It was not clear to the witness when the reimbursement was made. The TECRO officials apologized for the negative publicity arising from the trip.

51. The witness told the OCE that Rep. Owens sent two checks to the Chinese Culture University to reimburse the costs of the trip. There was some "number problem" with the first check, but the witness said he could not recall the specific error. Rep. Owens then wrote a second check, in the same amount, to the same payee.

This memorandum was prepared on August 13, 2012 after the interview was conducted on August 9, 2012. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on August 9, 2012.

Scott Gast
Investigative Counsel

EXHIBIT 4

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OMB NO. 1124-0002; Expires February 28, 2014

U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement
Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

For Six Month Period Ending 1/31/2012
(Insert date)

I.- REGISTRANT

1. (a) Name of Registrant: Park Strategies, LLC
   (b) Registration No.: 5908
   (c) Business Address(es) of Registrant
   101 Park Avenue
   Suite 2506
   New York, NY 10178

2. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following?
   (a) If an individual:
   (1) Residence address(es) Yes ☐ No ☐
   (2) Citizenship Yes ☐ No ☐
   (3) Occupation Yes ☐ No ☐
   (b) If an organization:
   (1) Name Yes ☐ No ☒
   (2) Ownership or control Yes ☐ No ☒
   (3) Branch offices Yes ☐ No ☒
   (c) Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in Items (a) and (b) above.

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5(a).

3. If you have previously filed Exhibit C[1], state whether any changes therein have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.
   Yes ☐ No ☒
   If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C? Yes ☐ No ☐
   If no, please attach the required amendment.

1 The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

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4. (a) Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position	Date Connection Ended

(b) Have any persons become partners, officers, directors or similar officials during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
Joseph Rossi	[redacted] North Syracuse, NY 13212	USA	Vice President	January 1, 2012

5. (a) Has any person named in Item 4(b) rendered services directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, identify each such person and describe the service rendered.

(b) During this six month reporting period, has the registrant hired as employees or in any other capacity, any persons who rendered or will render services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal(s) in other than a clerical or secretarial, or in a related or similar capacity? Yes ☐ No ☒

Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed

(c) Have any employees or individuals, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their employment or connection with the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position or Connection	Date Terminated
LaShaun Lesley	Consultant	August 26, 2011

(d) Have any employees or individuals, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their connection with any foreign principal during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position or Connection	Foreign Principal	Date Terminated
LaShaun Lesley	Consultant	1. TECRO; 2. Republic of Somalia Transitional Federal Government Somali Diplomatic Mission	8/30/11

6. Have short form registration statements been filed by all of the persons named in Items 5(a) and 5(b) of the supplemental statement?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, list names of persons who have not filed the required statement.

N/A

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II - FOREIGN PRINCIPAL

7. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☒ No ☐
If yes, furnish the following information:

Foreign Principal	Date of Termination
Republic of Somalia Transitional Federal Government Somali Diplomatic Mission	January 1, 2012

8. Have you acquired any new foreign principal(s)[2] during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒
If yes, furnish th following information:

Name and Address of Foreign Principal(s)	Date Acquired

9. In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principal(s)[2] whom you continued to represent during the 6 month reporting period.

Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States

10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Item 8?

Exhibit A[3] Yes ☐ No ☐

Exhibit B[4] Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, please attach the required exhibit.

(b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during this six month period? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes ☒ No ☐

If no, please attach the required amendment.

2 The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a) (9)). A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

3 The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form NSD-3 (Formerly CRM-157) sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

4 The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form NSD-4 (Formerly CRM-155) sets fourth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

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III - ACTIVITIES

11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, identify each foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

1. Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States
2. Republic of Somalia Transitional Federal Government Somali Diplomatic Mission

We engaged in the activities identified in our answer to Question 12.

12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity[5] as defined below? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.

Our activities on behalf of the Somalia TFG consisted of outreach to congressional staff regarding Somalia famine relief efforts; U.S. policies and diplomacy toward Somalia; and possible hearings on Somalia's humanitarian situation.

Please see the attached summary for the activities in which we engaged on TECRO's behalf labeled "Activity Summary for TECRO_Park_Feb '12.pdf."

*Registrant's applicable contacts are described in the attached contact logs, "Contacts_Park_Feb '12.pdf."

13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits your foreign principal(s)? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, describe fully.

On September 22, 2011, in Hong Kong, Sean King discussed U.S. arms sales to Taiwan on CNBC-Asia. On January 16th, 2012, in Taipei, he again appeared on CNBC-Asia to discuss Taiwan's January 14th, 2012 elections. However, neither of these appearances was requested by, or under the direction of, the foreign principal, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States.

5 The term "political activity" means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

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IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a) **RECEIPTS-MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes ☒ No ☐

If no, explain why.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies.[6]

Date	From Whom	Purpose	Amount
8/23/11	TECRO	Consulting fees & expenses	$21,617.05
10/3/11	TECRO	Consulting fees & expenses	$22,315.56
10/28/11	TECRO	Consulting fees	$20,000.00
11/29/11	TECRO	Consulting fees & expenses	$21,793.11
12/12/11	TECRO	Consulting fees	$20,000.00
12/27/11	TECRO	Consulting fees	$20,000.00
		Total	$125,725.72

(b) **RECEIPTS - FUNDRAISING CAMPAIGN**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received, as part of a fundraising campaign[7], any money on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an Exhibit D to your registration? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, indicate the date the Exhibit D was filed. Date _____

(c) **RECEIPTS-THINGS OF VALUE**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value[9] other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Foreign Principal	Date Received	Thing of Value	Purpose

6, 7 A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, moneys, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fundraising campaign. (See Rule 201(e)).

8 An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fundraising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

9 Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

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15. (a) **DISBURSEMENTS-MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you

(1) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes ☒ No ☐

(2) transmitted monies to any such foreign principal? Yes ☐ No ☒

If no, explain in full detail why there were no disbursements made on behalf of any foreign principal.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

Date	To Whom	Purpose	Amount
Please see attachment labeled "Exp. _Park_Feb' 12. pdf."			

Total

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(b) **DISBURSEMENTS-THINGS OF VALUE**
During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value[10] other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date	Recipient	Foreign Principal	Thing of Value	Purpose

(c) **DISBURSEMENTS-POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS**
During this 6 month reporting period, have you from your own funds and on your own behalf either directly or through any other person, made any contributions of money or other things of value[11] in connection with an election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for political office?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date	Amount or Thing of Value	Political Organization or Candidate	Location of Event
Please see attachment labeled "Contributions_Park_Feb '12.pdf."			

10, 11 Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks" and the like.

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V - INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

16. (a) During this 6 month reporting period, did you prepare, disseminate or cause to be disseminated any informational materials?[12]
Yes ☒ No ☐

If Yes, go to Item 17.

(b) If you answered No to Item 16(a), do you disseminate any material in connection with your registration?
Yes ☐ No ☐

If Yes, please forward the materials disseminated during the six month period to the Registration Unit for review.

17. Identify each such foreign principal.
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States

18. During this 6 month reporting period, has any foreign principal established a budget or allocated a specified sum of money to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating informational materials? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify amount, and indicate for what period of time.

19. During this 6 month reporting period, did your activities in preparing, disseminating or causing the dissemination of informational materials include the use of any of the following:

☐ Radio or TV broadcasts ☐ Magazine or newspaper ☐ Motion picture films ☒ Letters or telegrams
☐ Advertising campaigns ☐ Press releases ☐ Pamphlets or other publications ☐ Lectures or speeches
☐ Other *(specify)* _____

Electronic Communications

☒ Email
☐ Website URL(s): _____
☐ Social media websites URL(s): _____
☐ Other *(specify)* _____

20. During this 6 month reporting period, did you disseminate or cause to be disseminated informational materials among any of the following groups:

☒ Public officials ☐ Newspapers ☐ Libraries
☒ Legislators ☐ Editors ☐ Educational institutions
☒ Government agencies ☐ Civic groups or associations ☐ Nationality groups
☐ Other *(specify)* _____

21. What language was used in the informational materials:

☒ English ☐ Other *(specify)* _____

22. Did you file with the Registration Unit, U.S. Department of Justice a copy of each item of such informational materials disseminated or caused to be disseminated during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☒ No ☐

23. Did you label each item of such informational materials with the statement required by Section 4(b) of the Act?
Yes ☐ No ☒

12 The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

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VI - EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature)	(Print or type name under each signature or provide electronic signature[13])	
March 01, 2012	/s/ Christopher P. D'Amato	eSigned

13 This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

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Park Strategies, LLC

Activity Summary for Foreign Principals

Registration No. 5908

1. Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO)

Answering media questions on Taiwan arms sales

Drafting and circulating statements into the Congressional Record

Contacting federal officials regarding:

General Taiwan matters

U.S. arms sales to Taiwan

September 20th, 2011 Taiwan Agricultural Trade Goodwill Mission

Republic of China "Double Ten" National Day Reception

Member/staff visits to Taiwan

Park Strategies courtesy calls on congressional staff

Meetings with Taiwan Special Representative to the United States Ambassador Jason Yuan

Taiwan military exercises

Taiwan private sector investment in New York State

Taiwan elections

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FARA Contact Log for Alfonse M. D'Amato, Park Strategies, LLC
Reg. No. 5908 (August 1st, 2011-January 31st, 2012)

DATE	PERSON CONTACTED	TITLE	TYPE OF CONTACT	MATTER DISCUSSED
8/23/2011	Cheryl Mills	Counselor and Chief of Staff to U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton	Telephone	U.S. diplomacy toward Somalia
10/4/2011	Joseph Lieberman	U.S. Senator	Telephone	Taiwan travel
10/6/2011	Peter King	U.S. Representative	Telephone	Somalia
10/24/2011	Tom Reed	U.S. Representative	Letter	Taiwan travel
10/28/2011	John Barrasso	U.S. Senator	Personal conversation	Meeting with Taiwan Ambassador Jason Yuan
12/7/2011	Bill Owens	U.S. Representative	Telephone	Taiwan travel

FARA Contact Log for Joel Giambra, Park Strategies, LLC
Reg. No. 5908 (August 1st, 2011-January 31st, 2012)

DATE	PERSON CONTACTED	TITLE	TYPE OF CONTACT	MATTER DISCUSSED
8/3/2011	Jonathan Wachtel	Reporter, Fox News	E-mail	United Nations's handling of the humanitarian crisis in Somalia
9/7/2011	John Zogby	Pollster	E-mail	Somali Prime Minister Mohamed's influence in Somalia
9/11/2011	Chuck Eaton	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Brian Higgins	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/23/2011	Chuck Eaton	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Brian Higgins	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/28/2011	Chuck Eaton	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Brian Higgins	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/25/2011	Chuck Eaton	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Brian Higgins	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record

FARA Contact Log for Sean King, Park Strategies, LLC
Reg. No. 5908 (August 1st, 2011-January 31st, 2012)

DATE	PERSON CONTACTED	TITLE	TYPE OF CONTACT	MATTER DISCUSSED
8/1/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	E-mail	Meeting re Taiwan travel
8/5/2011	Rachel Upsey	Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Paul Tonko	E-mail	Courtesy call re Taiwan and Somalia
8/8/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	E-mail	Conference call re Taiwan travel
8/8/2011	Rachel Upsey	Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Paul Tonko	E-mail	Courtesy call re Taiwan
8/8/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Courtesy call re Taiwan
8/10/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	Telephone	Taiwan travel
8/10/2011	Rayanne Bostick	Scheduler to U.S. Joseph Lieberman	E-mail	Taiwan travel
8/12/2011	Casey Wendala	Scheduler to U.S. Representative Chris Smith	Personal conversation	Potential hearings on Somalia
8/12/2011	Rachel Upsey	Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Paul Tonko	Personal conversation	Taiwan travel; Arms sales
8/16/2011	Rayanne Bostick	Scheduler to U.S. Joseph Lieberman	Telephone	Taiwan travel
8/16/2011	Carlton Jackson	Scheduler to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
8/16/2011	Rayanne Bostick	Scheduler to U.S. Joseph Lieberman	Telephone	Taiwan travel
8/17/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan travel
8/19/2011	Bradley Katz	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan travel
8/22/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
8/22/2011	Bradley Katz	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
8/22/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	E-mail	Taiwan travel
8/24/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan travel
8/25/2011	Carlton Jackson	Scheduler to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	E-mail	Taiwan travel

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8/30/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan travel
9/1/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	E-mail and telephone	Taiwan travel
8/6/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	E-mail and telephone	Taiwan travel
9/7/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan travel
9/19/11	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/19/11	Benjamin Chevat	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Carolyn Maloney	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/19/11	Jack Daly	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Thaddeus McCotter	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/20/11	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/20/11	Stefanie Higgins	Scheduler to U.S. Senator Johnny Isakson	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/20/2011	Lonnie Dietz	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Rick Berg	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/21/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/26/2011	Kate Winkler	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Joseph Crowley	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception/Statement into the Congressional Record
9/26/2011	Jeremy Woodrum	Legislative Director to U.S. Representative Joseph Crowley	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception/Statement into the Congressional Record
9/27/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception
9/27/2011	Lonnie Dietz	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Rick Berg	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/27/2011	Stefanie Higgins	Scheduler to U.S. Senator Johnny Isakson	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception
9/27/2011	Nan Hayworth	U.S. Representative	Personal conversation	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception/Statement into the Congressional Record
9/27/2011	Elyse O'Brien	Legislative Correspondent to U.S. Representative Nan Hayworth	E-mail and personal conversation	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception/Statement into the Congressional Record
9/28/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception/Statement into the Congressional Record
9/28/2011	Christopher Berardini	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Michael Grimm	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception/Statement into the Congressional Record
9/28/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	E-mail	Taiwan travel
9/28/2011	Liz Bartlett	Scheduler to U.S. Richard Lugar	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
9/30/2011	Elyse O'Brien	Legislative Correspondent to U.S. Representative Nan Hayworth	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception/Statement into the Congressional Record
9/30/2011	Caitlin Dorman	Executive Assistant to U.S. Representative Nan Hayworth	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
10/1/2011	Susan Wheeler	Chief of Staff to U.S. Senator Michael Crapo	E-mail	September 20th, 2011 Taiwan Agricultural Trade Goodwill Mission
10/1/2011	Julie Lesehke	Education Coordinator at Oshkosh, WI Chamber of Commerce	E-mail	September 20th, 2011 Taiwan Agricultural Trade Goodwill Mission
10/1/2011	Tony Blando	State Director for U.S. Sen. Ron Johnson	E-mail	September 20th, 2011 Taiwan Agricultural Trade Goodwill Mission
10/1/2011	Douglas Cweila	Chief of Staff to New York State Senator Mark Grisanti	E-mail	September 20th, 2011 Taiwan Agricultural Trade Goodwill Mission
10/3/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception
10/3/2011	Mike Giuliani	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative to Bob Turner	E-mail and telephone	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception
10/3/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception
10/3/2011	Scott Platton	Legislative Correspondent to U.S. Representative Robert Turner	E-mail and telephone	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception
10/4/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
10/4/2011	Kate Winkler	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Joseph Crowley	Telephone	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
10/5/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Reception
10/6/2011	Kate Winkler	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Joseph Crowley	Telephone	"Double Ten" Taiwan National Day Statement into the Congressional Record
10/7/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	E-mail	Taiwan travel
10/10/2011	Kevin Bogardus	Staff Writer, The Hill newspaper	E-mail	Taiwan arms sales
10/12/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	Telephone	Taiwan travel
10/13/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	Telephone	Taiwan travel
10/14/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
10/17/2011	Jen DiMascio	Reporter, Aviation Week	Telephone	Taiwan arms sales
10/20/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
10/20/2011	Bradley Katz	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
10/21/2011	Richard Goldberg	Deputy Chief of Staff to U.S. Senator Mark Kirk	E-mail	Taiwan travel
10/21/2011	Mary Yoshioka	Legislative Assistant to U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye	E-mail	Taiwan travel
10/24/2011	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	Telephone	Taiwan travel
10/26/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
10/31/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/1/2011	Kathi Wise	Scheduler to U.S. Senator Jon Barrasso	E-mail	Meeting with Taiwan Special Representative Ambassador Jason Yuan
11/2/2011	Vance Serchuk	Foreign Policy Adviser to U.S. Senator Joseph Lieberman	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/3/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
11/3/2011	Sean Sherrell	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Paul Tonko	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/3/2011	Rachel Upsey	Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Paul Tonko	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/4/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/5/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan travel

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11/9/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan military exercises
11/15/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan travel
11/17/2011	Kathi Wise	Scheduler to U.S. Senator Jon Barrasso	E-mail	Meeting with Taiwan Special Representative Ambassador Jason Yuan
11/21/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/28/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/28/2011	Carla Virgilio	Scheduler to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
11/28/2011	Justin Stokes	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
11/28/2011	Adam Hepburn	Deputy Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
11/29/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Courtesy call re Taiwan
12/1/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Courtesy call re Taiwan
12/1/2011	Carla Virgilio	Scheduler to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
12/1/2011	Justin Stokes	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
12/2/2011	Adam Hepburn	Deputy Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
12/5/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Personal conversation	Taiwan travel
12/5/2011	Bill Owens	U.S. Representative	Personal conversation	Taiwan travel
12/5/2011	Carla Virgilio	Scheduler to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Personal conversation	Taiwan travel
12/8/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Courtesy call re Taiwan
12/15/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan travel
12/20/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
12/23/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
12/28/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
12/29/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan travel
12/30/2011	Justin Stokes	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	E-mail	Taiwan travel
1/2/2012	Justin Stokes	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Telephone	Taiwan travel
1/3/2012	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan travel
1/4/2012	Justin Stokes	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	E-mail	Taiwan travel
1/5/2012	Justin Stokes	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	E-mail	Taiwan private sector investment in New York State
1/13/2012	Justin Stokes	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	E-mail	Taiwan elections
1/23/2012	Patrick McHenry	U.S. Representative	Personal conversation	Taiwan arms sales
1/23/2012	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	Telephone	Taiwan elections
1/23/2012	Justin Stokes	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Telephone	Taiwan elections
1/25/2012	Ryan Minto	Spokesman to U.S. Representative Patrick McHenry	E-mail	Taiwan travel; Arms sales
1/26/2012	Jay Dutcher	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Tom Reed	Telephone	Taiwan travel
1/26/2012	Benjamin Chevat	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Carolyn Maloney	E-mail	Taiwan travel
1/26/2012	Geoffrey Eaton	Deputy Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Charles Rangel	Telephone	Taiwan travel
1/26/2012	Mariana Osorio	Legislative Assistant to U.S. Stephen Lynch	E-mail	Taiwan travel
1/26/2012	Mary Yoshioka	Legislative Assistant to U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye	E-mail	Taiwan travel
1/30/2012	Justin Stokes	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Telephone	Taiwan travel
1/31/2012	Benjamin Chevat	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Carolyn Maloney	E-mail	Taiwan travel
1/31/2012	Lauren H. Shapiro	Legislative Aide & Scheduler to U.S. Representative Carolyn Maloney	E-mail	Taiwan travel

FARA Contact Log for John Zagame, Park Strategies, LLC
Reg. No. 5908 (August 1st, 2011-January 31st, 2012)

DATE	PERSON CONTACTED	TITLE	TYPE OF CONTACT	MATTER DISCUSSED
8/12/2011	Casey Wendels	Scheduler to U.S. Representative Chris Smith	Personal conversation	Potential hearings on Somalia
8/12/2011	Rachel Lipsey	Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Paul Tonko	Personal conversation	Taiwan travel; Arms sales
8/23/2011	Jon Boughtin	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
8/29/2011	Bradley Ratz	Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/2/2011	Sean Shortell	District Director for U.S. Representative Paul Tonko	Telephone	Taiwan travel
11/2/2011	Rachel Lipsey	Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Paul Tonko	Telephone	Taiwan travel
11/3/2011	Sean Shortell	District Director for U.S. Representative Paul Tonko	E-mail	Taiwan travel

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11/3/2011	Rachel Upsey	Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Paul Tonko	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/12/2011	Carla Virgilio	Scheduler to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/18/2011	Carla Virgilio	Scheduler to U.S. Representative Richard Hanna	Telephone and e-mail	Taiwan travel
11/20/2011	Jon Boughton	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/21/2011	Jon Boughton	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/23/2011	Jon Boughton	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/23/2011	Jon Boughton	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/26/2011	Jon Boughton	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel
11/26/2011	Jon Boughton	Senior Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative Bill Owens	E-mail	Taiwan travel

*No other Park Strategies staff had reportable contacts for the reporting period, August 1st, 2011-January 31st, 2012.

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TECRO & Somalia TPG exp._Park_Feb'11.pdf.
Park Strategies, LLC_Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO)/TransNational Federal Government of the Somali Republic

08/1/11-1/31/12	Air & Rail	Taxis	Dining	Lodging	FedEx	Legal	Telecom	Printing	Filing fees	
August					$35.44				$610.00	
September										
October										
November					$21.15					
December					$21.15					
January										GRAND TOTAL
[redacted]										
TOTAL	$3,626.88	$388.81	$137.43	$111.55	$77.74	$0.00	$1,696.57	$23.50	$610.00	$6,023.70

Air travel

PERSON	DATE	ORIGIN	DESTINATION	PURPOSE	VALUE
Sean King	8/12/2011	LGA	DCA	Meeting with Rep. Tonko's staff re Taiwan travel	$414.70
Sean King	8/13/2011	DCA	LGA	Travel home	$414.70
Sean King	8/13/2011	DCA	LGA	Baggage charge	$25.00
John Zagame	8/12/2011	BWI	ALB	Travel home	$198.00
Sean King	10/5/2011	LGA	DCA	Taiwan 'Double Ten' National Day Reception	$417.70
Sean King	10/5/2011	DCA	LGA	Travel home	$417.70
Alfonse M. D'Amato	10/5/2011	LGA	DCA	Taiwan 'Double Ten' National Day Reception	$417.70
Alfonse M. D'Amato	10/5/2011	DCA	LGA	Travel home	$417.70
Sean King	12/5/2011	LGA	DCA	Meetings with Reps. Owens's and Hannah's offices	$420.70
Sean King	12/5/2011	DCA	LGA	Return home	$420.70
				TOTAL	$3,532.60

Train travel

PERSON	DATE	ORIGIN	DESTINATION	PURPOSE	VALUE
John Zagame	8/11/2011	New York Penn Station	Washington Union Station	Meeting with Rep. Tonko's staff re Taiwan travel	$70.20
John Zagame	8/12/2011	Washington Union Station	BWI	Travel home via BWI	$6.00
				TOTAL	$76.20

Taxis

PERSON	DATE	ORIGIN	DESTINATION	PURPOSE	VALUE
Sean King	8/12/2011	[redacted]	LGA	Travel to airport	$44.95
Sean King	8/12/2011	DCA	[redacted]	Travel to accommodation	$20.00
Sean King	8/13/2011	[redacted]	DCA	Travel home	$20.00
Sean King	8/13/2011	LGA	[redacted]	Travel to parents' home from airport	$139.90
Sean King	10/5/2011	Marriott Uniondale	LGA	Travel to airport	$70.00
Sean King	10/5/2011	DCA	[redacted]	Taxi downtown	$15.00
Sean King	10/5/2011	LGA	[redacted]	Taxi home	$37.91
Sean King	12/5/2011	[redacted]	LGA	Travel to airport	$80.00
Sean King	12/5/2011	DCA	[redacted]	Meetings with Reps. Owens's and Hannah's offices	$56.00
				TOTAL	$388.81

DINING

PERSON	DATE	ESTABLISHMENT	LOCATION	PURPOSE	VALUE
Sean King	8/11/2011	Kuochoo Chicken	319 Fifth Ave; New York, NY	Lunch w/Zagame to plan 8/12 D.C. trip; Reps. Owens/Hannah Taiwan trips and DRAFT letter to Sen. Gillibrand	$49.34
John Zagame	8/11/2011	Taband Restaurant	1739 N Street, NW	Dinner	$137.43
				TOTAL	$137.43

LODGING

PERSON	DATE	ESTABLISHMENT	LOCATION	PURPOSE	VALUE
John Zagame	8/11/2011	Embassy Row Hotel	2015 Massachusetts Ave, NW	Meeting with Rep. Tonko's staff re Taiwan travel	$111.55
				TOTAL	$111.55

PARKING

PERSON	DATE	ESTABLISHMENT	LOCATION	PURPOSE	VALUE

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John Zagame	8/11-12/11	Rensselaer Rail Station Parkway	Albany, New York	Meeting with Rep. Tonko's staff re Taiwan travel	$18.00
				TOTAL	$18.00

Telephone & fax/TECRO					
	DC land	NYC land	NYC fax	SK cell	
August	$351.70	$1,213.61	$66.48	$234.72	
September	$324.68	$1,163.85	$58.81	$622.68	
October	$461.34	$1,137.02	$51.38	$1121.60	
November	$385.60	$1,190.57	$54.86	$196.77	
December	$253.57	$1,168.84	$53.70	$489.38	
January	$455.85	$1,146.71	$52.71	$920.87	
	$2,167.49	$6,968.40	$357.89	$3,012.99	
	5%	5%	20%	25%	Subtotal
	$85.71	$348.17	$38.79	$753.23	$1,200.29

Telephone & fax/Sonepalla TPG							
	BUF land	NYC land	NYC fax	Giambra cell	Jacome cell		
August	$370.00	$1,213.61	$66.48	$210.83	$274.28		
September	$369.64	$1,163.85	$58.81	$480.56	$272.49		
October	$371.53	$1,137.02	$51.38	$256.98	$367.17		
November	$372.05	$1,190.57	$54.86	$182.30	$275.54		
December	$368.90	$1,168.84	$53.70	$192.09	$272.60		
January	$368.22	$1,146.71	$52.71	$190.28	$174.33		
	$2,221.24	$6,968.40	$357.89	$1,541.89	$1,636.41		
	5%	5%	5%	5%	15%	Subtotal	
	$111.06	$348.17	$16.89	$77.09	$245.51	$798.74	
			TOTAL Telephone & fax	$3,998.97			

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Alfonse M. D'Amato's contributions

August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012 reporting period

Paul Tonko/Paul Tonko for Congress	$1,000	9/9/11
Scott Brown/Scott Brown for U.S. Senate Committee	$2,500	9/13/11
John Barrasso/Friends of John Barrasso	$1,000	9/19/11
Joe Barton/Congressman Joe Barton Committee	$1,000	10/5/11
Richard Lugar/Friends of Dick Lugar	$1,000	10/19/11
John Mica/Mica for Congress	$1,000	11/8/11
Daniel Bongino/Bongino for Senate	$500	11/9/11
Tom Reed/Tom Reed for Congress	$1,000	12/12/11
John Ciotti/Citizens for Ciotti	$1,000	9/14/11
Howard Kopel/Howard Kopel for Legislature	$300	9/15/11
Chris Browne/Friends of Christian Browne	$1,000	9/20/11
Nassau County Republican Committee	$1,000	10/13/11
Jerry Murphy/Committee to Elect Jerry Murphy	$10,000	10/14/11
Chris Browne/ Friends of Christian Browne	$1,000	10/19/11
The Victory Campaign Fund	$1,000	10/26/11
Daniel Bongino/Bongino for Senate	$500	11/9/11
George Maziarz/Maziarz State Senate	$1,000	11/10/11
ReNew New York PAC	$10,000	11/15/11
Lee Zeldin/Zeldin for Senate	$1,000	12/5/11
Nassau County Republican Committee	$125	1/13/12
ReNew America PAC	$5,000	1/13/12
John DeFrancisco/Citizens for DeFrancisco	$1,000	1/25/12

ReNew New York PAC contributions

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Jack Martins/Friends of Jack Martins	$1,100	8/1/11
Linda Rosenthal/Linda Rosenthal for Assembly	$750	12/12/11
Mike Gianaris/Friends of Mike Gianaris	$500	12/12/11
Kathleen Rice/Friends of Kathleen Rice	$10,000	1/11/12
Steve Bellone/Bellone 2011	$5,000	1/11/12

ReNew America PAC contributions

Robert Menendez/Menendez for Senate	$1,000	9/17/11

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Armand D'Amato's contributions

August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012 reporting period

Federal PAC:

Renew America $5000 1/21/12

STATE

Locust Valley Republican Committee	$125	8/27/2011
Ciotti, John/Citizens for Ciotti	$125	9/6/2011
Cento, Rick/Committee to Elect Rick Cento	$1,000	9/13/2011
Republican National Committee	$1,000	10/1/2011
Jerry Murphy/Committee to Elect Jerry Murphy	$2,500	10/10/2011
Nassau County Republican Committee	$500	10/16/2011
Murphy, Jerry/Committee to Elect Jerry Murphy	$2,500	10/20/2011
The Victory Campaign Fund	$500	10/26/2011
Lesko, Mark/Committee to Elect Mark Lesko	$500	11/2/2011
Zeldin, Lee/Zeldin for Senate	$500	12/5/2011

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Nassau County Republican Committee	$125	1/21/12
Ted Cruz for Senate/Ted Cruz	$ 1000	12/5/11

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Christopher D'Amato's contributions

August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012 reporting period

Crowley for Congress/ Joseph Crowley $1000 9/26/11

Friends of Dick Lugar/ Richard Lugar $ 1000 10/24/11

Tom Reed for Congress/ Tom Reed $1000 12/20/11

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Christopher D'Amato's contributions

August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012 reporting period

8/25/2011	$ 1,000.00	David Weprin for Congress	David Weprin
8/25/2011	$ 500.00	Sean Ryan for Assembly	Sean Ryan
9/15/2011	$ 500.00	Good Neighbors for Democrats	
9/30/2011	$ 1,000.00	Committee to Elect Jerry Murphy	Jerry Murphy
10/3/2011	$ 125.00	Committee to Elect Robert Anderson	Robert Anderson
10/3/2011	$ 125.00	Committee to Elect Glenn Choolokian	Glenn Choolokian
10/12/2011	$ 1,000.00	Erie County Republican Committee	
10/17/2011	$ 250.00	Committee to Elect Joe Mascia	Joseph Mascia
11/02/2011	$ 1,000.00	NYS Democratic Committee	
11/02/2011	$ 3,719.29	Erie County Republican Committee	
12/19/2011	$ 100.00	Friends of Justice Sedita	Frank A. Sedita Jr.
1/23/2012	$ 1,000.00	Friends of Brian Kolb	Brian Kolb

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Sean King's contributions

August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012 reporting period

Jerry Murphy/Committee to Elect Jerry Murphy	$125	10/11/11

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Melvin Miller's contributions

August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012 reporting period

Rangel for Congress
Charles Rangel
$1000
8/3/11

David Weprin for Congress
David Weprin
$500
8/14/11

Kathy Hochul for Congress
Kathy Hochul
$500
9/26/11

11/4/11 -- Friends of Mark Weprin/Mark Weprin 11/4/11 $250

11/19/11 - Stringer 2013/ Scott M. Stringer $1000

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee
11/21/11
$300

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David Poleto's contributions

August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012 reporting period

9/23 Peter Molinaro/Friends of Peter Molinaro $500

10/5/2011 Town of Sullivan Republican Committee $250

10/17/2011 Jerry Murphy/Committee to Elect Jerry Murphy $500

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Dana Sanneman's contributions

August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012 reporting period

Rockville Centre, New York Committeemen's Club	$80	10/18/11

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Gregory Serio's contributions

August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012 reporting period

Aug 3: Friends of Denise Sheehan
$ 75.00

Aug 20: Republican Assembly Campaign Cmte
$ 250.00

Oct. 11: Cmte to Elect Tom Jasciewicz
$ 200.00

Oct 28: Committee to Elect Jerry Murphy
$ 750.00

Nov 1: Friends of Justin Wilcox
$ 500.00

Dec 5: Friends for Election of Dean Skelos
$1,000.00

Dec 28: Friends of Sen. Jack Martins
$ 500.00

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Kraig Siracuse's contributions

August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012 reporting period

August 4, 2011
The Congressman Bill Young Campaign Committee
$250.00

September 19, 2011
The Friends of Scott Brown
$1,000

September 20, 2011
Friends of Barrasso
$500

September 21, 2011
Richard Hanna For Congress
$500

October 18, 2011
Common Values PAC
$100

October 20, 2011
Committee to Elect Jerry Murphy
$500

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November 15, 2011

Buerkle for Congress

$500

November 16, 2011

Tom Reed for Congress

$240

December 12, 2011

Kelly PAC

$1,000

December 12, 2011

Tom Reed for Congress

$1,000

*No other Park Strategies staff made political contributions for the reporting period, August 1st, 2011-Janaury 31st, 2012.

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EXHIBIT 5

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

IN RE:	Chief of Staff to Rep. Bill Owens
REVIEW #(s):	12-8236
DATE:	August 9, 2012
LOCATION:	Perkins Coie
TIME:	4:20 PM to 5:30 PM (approximate)
PARTICIPANTS:	Brian Svoboda, Counsel to the Witness
	Jon Berkon, Counsel to the Witness
	Kedric Payne
	Scott Gast

SUMMARY: The witness is the Chief of Staff to Representative Bill Owens. The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness declined to sign a written acknowledgement of the warning.
2. The witness currently serves as the Chief of Staff to Rep. Bill Owens and has held this position since December 2009. Prior to that, he was the campaign manager for Rep. Owens' campaign for Congress during a November 2009 special election. The witness has worked on several political campaigns, but had not worked on Capitol Hill prior to his position with Rep. Owens.
3. As Chief of Staff, the witness ensures that Rep. Owens' Washington, DC and district offices operate properly. He reports directly to Rep. Owens and has a significant amount of interaction with him.
4. The witness knows Park Strategies, LLC as a lobbying firm run by former New York Senator Alfonse D'Amato. He has attended meetings with Park Strategies and its clients. He has also attended a fundraising event for Rep. Owens organized by Park Strategies.
5. The witness has interacted with officials from the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States ("TECRO"), meeting with TECRO official Li-Cheh Cheng and her boss one time. They came to the office shortly after press reports about Rep. Owens' trip were published. The witness also briefly interacted with a person named "Ronnie" at TECRO.
6. The witness has never interacted with anyone from the Chinese Culture University.
7. According to the witness, Rep. Owens' senior legislative assistant was the point person for planning Rep. Owens' trip to Taiwan.

8. The witness said that he believes the idea for the trip first came during a meeting Rep. Owens had with TECRO officials in July or August 2011. The witness was not a part of this meeting, but would have heard of the invitation after the meeting from the staff member who attended. He does not recall any post-meeting discussions about the trip.

9. The witness told the OCE that there is no formal process in the office for scheduling or planning such trips. He was aware that there was an open invitation to visit Taiwan, but no action was taken to plan such a trip until the fall.

10. When the idea of a Taiwan trip came back up in the fall, the witness recalled discussing various "hypotheticals," including who would travel, when they would travel, and similar questions. The witness recalled that one of the initial time frames considered was during Thanksgiving recess.

11. The witness was asked about contacts between him and Sean King of Park Strategies in August 2011, disclosed on Park Strategies Foreign Agents Registration Act ("FARA") report. He recalled receiving emails from someone at Park Strategies about the Taiwan trip, but he would not have responded. Rather, the senior legislative assistant would have handled them. The witness also had a vague recollection of a voicemail message from someone at Park Strategies but could not recall what the message was.

12. The witness said that, at some point, he was aware that Park Strategies represented TECRO, but he could not recall when he knew this.

13. The witness said that, at some point, he became aware that another Member of Congress was also considering a trip to Taiwan. He knew that this was a "TECRO trip," but could not recall how he knew this.

14. The witness said that, while he did not really consider it, he thinks it was a logical conclusion to think that Rep. Owens' trip was a "TECRO trip." He added that, while they did not initially focus on who was paying for the trip, given Rep. Owens' meeting with TECRO officials during the summer, "presumably" the invitation to visit Taiwan had come from TECRO.

15. The witness does not recall when Rep. Owens made the decision to travel to Taiwan, but he believes it would have been in mid-October, around the time of an October 20, 2011 email from Sean King of Park Strategies to the witness and the senior legislative assistant, in which Mr. King discusses a possible trip by Rep. Owens.

16. The witness said he does not recall conversations about who was sponsoring the trip at this stage of the planning process.

17. When asked if the trip was originally planned under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA"), the witness said it was certainly possible that there were internal discussions about the proper mechanism to do the trip. He did not remember specifically whether, at the time, the trip was going to be conducted under MECEA.

18. The witness did not recall when he learned that Rep. Owens wished to bring his wife with him to Taiwan, but he said that it would have been logical to discuss this as part of the "hypotheticals" that were internally discussed when considering the trip.

19. The witness was shown a November 3, 2011 email from the senior legislative assistant to Rep. Owens and the witness, reporting that "D'Amato's guys report that anytime Bill Owens is ready for Taiwan, Taiwan is ready for Bill Owens...." The witness said that he does not recall what he thought at the time he received the email, but he would have taken the reference to "D'Amato's guys" as referring to Park Strategies.

20. The witness was shown a November 10, 2011 email from the senior legislative assistant to Rep. Owens and the witness, reporting on a conversation with the Committee on Ethics about the Taiwan trip. The witness said that he remembers Rep. Owens asking whether his wife could attend, based on the fact that she had been allowed to attend his previous trip to Israel. He said it was possible that the conversation with the Ethics Committee related to the question of whether his wife could travel with him to Taiwan.

21. The witness said that he first heard of the Chinese Culture University right before the trip when the travel disclosure forms were prepared for filing with the Committee on Ethics.

22. The witness could not recall when he learned that the Chinese Culture University would be serving as the private sponsor of Rep. Owens trip – as the witness put it, "when the switch had been flipped, so to speak."

23. The witness said he would have seen the invitation letter from the University, dated November 29, 2011, shortly after the office had received it.

24. The witness reiterated that he had no contact with the University either before or after receiving the invitation letter, nor does he recall any discussions about the University around the time of receiving the invitation letter.

25. The witness said the Rep. Owens' senior legislative assistant would have been the staff member responsible for preparing the travel disclosure forms. He said that Rep. Owens would have reviewed the forms before they were filed.

This memorandum was prepared on August 22, 2012 after the interview was conducted on August 9, 2012. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on August 9, 2012.

Scott Gast
Investigative Counsel

EXHIBIT 6

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Tuesday, November 01, 2011 2:26 PM
To: 'Sean King'
Subject: RE: Taiwan-F16 Letter

Funny you should ask! Literally just got word from the boss that he's interested in going either Jan 4 – 7 or Jan 11 – 14. I believe his preference is for the former, but I have relayed the election angle and really either would work. Likewise, he would welcome Mr. Hanna coming along, for sure.

Two things I wanted to ask. First, is staff welcome on the trip, and if so how many? Second, can you send me a (rough, I know) agenda for what would take place on his trip over there? Just something I can share with the boss to let him know what it is he would be doing with his time over there. Really I'd like to be able to show him likely flight options, give him a sense of how long he'd be there and what meetings might take place.

Thanks Sean! Talk soon, -Jon

From: Sean King [[redacted]@parkstrategies.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 01, 2011 1:36 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Cc: JOHN ZAGAME
Subject: RE: Taiwan-F16 Letter

This material is distributed by Park Strategies, LLC on behalf of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Jon, are you looking at any particular time when Rep. Owens might visit Taiwan? I know Rep. Hanna's fairly open to a trip as well. As a reminder, the election's January 14th and would be a great time to be there. Thanks, Jon.

From: Boughtin, Jon [mailto:[redacted]@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Monday, October 31, 2011 9:48 AM
To: Sean King
Subject: RE: Taiwan-F16 Letter

Sure makes life easier! Thanks Sean

From: Sean King [[redacted]@parkstrategies.com]
Sent: Monday, October 31, 2011 9:45 AM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: RE: Taiwan-F16 Letter

This material is distributed by Park Strategies, LLC on behalf of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

YES, it would be. Thanks, Jon.

Sean King | Park Strategies | www.parkstrategies.com
101 Park Avenue | New York, NY 10178 | USA
☎ +1 (212) 883-[redacted] | 🖷 +1 (212) 883-5643 | ✉ [redacted]@parkstrategies.com
Suite 211, 2F, #97, Dunhua S. Rd., Sec. 2 | Taipei | Taiwan, R.O.C.
☎ +886 (2) 7711-[redacted] | 🖷 +886 (2) 7711-7288

From: Boughtin, Jon [redacted]@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Monday, October 31, 2011 09:43
To: Sean King
Subject: RE: Taiwan-F16 Letter

Hey Sean, trying to get our ducks in a row on this. Just making sure, this trip would be covered under the Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act (MECA), right?

From: Sean King [redacted]@parkstrategies.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 26, 2011 12:05 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Cc: [redacted]@msn.com'; Katz, Bradley
Subject: RE: Taiwan-F16 Letter

This material is distributed by Park Strategies, LLC on behalf of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Dear Jon,

Thanks for your note. I've heard around the House won't be in session after the holidays until January 17th, but let's talk more as we learn more.

As you know, Park Strategies, LLC, Senator D'Amato and I are registered with the U.S. Department of Justice, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, as agents on behalf of our client, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States.

Best wishes,
Sean King

From: Boughtin, Jon [mailto:[redacted]@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, October 25, 2011 3:38 PM
To: Sean King
Cc: [redacted]@msn.com'; Katz, Bradley
Subject: RE: Taiwan-F16 Letter

Sean, I apologize for just now getting back with you. We're constrained from scheduling Q1 events until we get the Congressional schedule for next year, but I know the boss is still interested in the trip if we can make it work. I'm happy to stay in touch with you though as we get some insights on what that's going to look like, and hopefully we can make this happen sooner rather than later. Thanks for being patient, we'll plan to talk soon. Best,

-Jon

From: Sean King [redacted]@parkstrategies.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2011 6:08 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Cc: [redacted]@msn.com'; Katz, Bradley
Subject: RE: Taiwan-F16 Letter

This material is distributed by Park Strategies, LLC on behalf of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Dear Brad and Jon,

Congressman Tom Reed (R-NY) just returned yesterday from Taiwan, and I wanted to share with you his itinerary (please see attached). This gives Mr. Owens a rough idea of what he might expect if he goes. It can be adjusted as per his needs and wishes to incorporate whatever other stops, or meetings, he might want to make. You might also want to speak with Mr. Reed's Chief of Staff, Jay Dutcher, who accompanied him on the trip, just to get his take on the experience.

Jon, I remember you mentioning the first half of January as a possible time when Mr. Owens might consider visiting Taiwan. As discussed, Taiwan's legislative and presidential elections will be held on Saturday, January 14th and Taiwan officials have no problem at all with Members visiting at that time. In fact, they think it'd be one of the more interesting times for them to be there.

We look forward to discussing this possible trip with you further. As you know, Park Strategies, LLC, Senator D'Amato and I are registered with the U.S. Department of Justice, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, as agents on behalf of our client, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States.

Best wishes,

Sean King | Park Strategies | www.parkstrategies.com
101 Park Avenue | New York, NY 10178 | USA
☎+1 (212) 883-[redacted] 🖷+1 (212) 883-5643 |✉[redacted]@parkstrategies.com
Suite 211, 2F, #97, Dunhua S. Rd., Sec. 2 | Taipei | Taiwan, R.O.C.
☎+886 (2) 7711-[redacted] 🖷+886 (2) 7711-7286

From: Boughtin, Jon [mailto:[redacted]@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Monday, October 03, 2011 9:18 AM
To: Sean King
Cc: [redacted]@msn.com'
Subject: RE: Taiwan-F16 Letter

Hey John, checking back in. Any info you can provide on TSMC vis a vis the Governor's announcement last week? I wanna make sure Bill's briefed before the event this week if at all possible. Thanks as always,

-Jon

EXHIBIT 7

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Thursday, November 10, 2011 2:49 PM
To: Owens, William
Cc: Katz, Bradley
Subject: Ethics Followup

Just got off the phone w/ ethics. As to question 1., can a 20 year friend and business associate offer to pay for Jane to come out of his own pocket: The attorney thought it was possible, but the answer is complicated because you are there in your capacity as a Member on a MECA trip and not on your own time, so we need written approval from the Committee. Per her instructions, I am preparing a letter we will show to you that details the nature of your relationship with Sam, the nature of the trip and the nature of the gift. If you can supply me with Sam's full name that's probably all I need to get you a draft.

As for question 2, she did not believe off the top of her head that Jane could shadow you but this has more to do with the nature of MECA trips than it does House Ethics. She is going to contact their in-house MECA expert to get the statute from him, and I told her we'd need to see language confirming yes or no. As she explained it, the State Dept. has separate MECA agreements with every country, and so they would need to look at the language detailing our agreement with Taiwan to find out. They're working on this now and I'll have language either today or Monday.

Either way, I'll begin drafting the letter and we can discuss when we've got all our ducks in a row.

Jon Boughtin
Senior Legislative Assistant
Office of Rep. Bill Owens

EXHIBIT 8

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Monday, November 28, 2011 8:54 AM
To: 'Li-Chih Cheng'
Subject: RE: Li-Chih from Taiwan

Li-Chih, I apologize for the delay but we are just now getting back to the office from the holiday. The travelers are William Lewis Owens and his wife, Jane Owens. They intend to travel from Burlington, VT – Los Angeles, - Taipei – Los Angeles – Burlington, VT if that is a possibility still. The dates we are currently looking at are to leave Burlington on the 27th, returning on 31st.

Thank you again for your timely assistance. Look forward to working with you! -Jon

---

From: [redacted]@gmail.com [redacted]@gmail.com] **On Behalf Of** Li-Chih Cheng
Sent: Tuesday, November 22, 2011 6:36 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Li-Chih from Taiwan

Hi Jon,

It was very nice meeting you this afternoon in your office. I look forward to working with you on Congressman's visit to Taiwan in the end of the year!

I heard that the House might adjourned on Dec. 15 or 16, if so, we will need to provide documents to Ethic Committee early next week in order to get approval. I need your kind help here in order to find a private sponsor in the coming days! Below are information I will need your help--

1. Please provide me with traveller's full names
2. Cities of departure--destination-- return: for ex. Washington D.C.--Taipei--Washington D.C.
3. Travel dates: December 27, 2011-January 1, 2012 ? (We would recommend providing longer period and we can cut short later)

So far above three are the most needed information I would need for tomorrow, but I am sure you will hear a lot from me in the coming weeks--vice versa!

Best,
Li-Chih

--
Li-Chih Cheng
Officer, Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO)
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20016, USA
202.895.[redacted] (O)
[redacted] (C)
202.244.3046 (F)

EXHIBIT 9

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Tuesday, November 15, 2011 12:33 PM
To: 'Sean King'
Subject: RE: Frank Lee

Gotcha. I actually spoke with Benson yesterday but I'll direct my followup q's to Frank.

-----Original Message-----
From: Sean King [[redacted]@parkstrategies.com]
Sent: Tuesday, November 15, 2011 10:53 AM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Frank Lee

This material is distributed by Park Strategies, LLC on behalf of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Jon,

Benson Wang's boss, Frank Lee, ask that you call HIM. Benson may be out, etc. Frank can be reached at (202) 895-[redacted].

As you know, Park Strategies, LLC, Senator D'Amato and I are registered with the U.S. Department of Justice, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, as agents on behalf of our client, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States.

Thanks,
Sean King

EXHIBIT 10

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Monday, November 21, 2011 9:42 AM
To: 'Sean King'
Subject: Update

Sorry for the back and forth Sean but looks like we have our dates. The boss and his wife are looking to travel to Taiwan beginning on December 27th. I'll reach out to Mr. Frank Lee about the details but wanted to let you know. Thanks!

Jon Boughtin
Senior Legislative Assistant
Office of Rep. Bill Owens

EXHIBIT 11

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Tuesday, November 22, 2011 5:08 PM
To: [redacted]@mail.house.gov'
Subject: Re: Taiwan

Ok, don't let it happen again

From: Owens, William
Sent: Tuesday, November 22, 2011 05:07 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Taiwan

Accident
Sorry

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Tuesday, November 22, 2011 05:04 PM
To: Owens, William
Subject: Re: Taiwan

Just got a call from you that dropped. Figured it was an accident, you all set?

From: Owens, William
Sent: Tuesday, November 22, 2011 03:50 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Taiwan

Nice

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Tuesday, November 22, 2011 03:48 PM
To: Owens, William; Brad Katz <[redacted]@gmail.com>
Cc: Belden, Craig
Subject: Taiwan

Just sat down with the folks from the Embassy to do a rough outline of the trip. What they sketched out would have you leaving from Burlington for Los Angeles on the morning of the 27th. You would then fly from Los Angeles to Taipei, which would get you there at essentially 8pm on Wednesday night their time. Thursday-Saturday Taipei time would be for your itinerary, and you would fly back Sunday morning Taipei time, getting you back to New York Sunday evening, Dec. 31st, as if by magic.

Because of the Jan 14 elections in Taiwan, they believe it is going to be difficult to get you in a meeting with their President/Premier or the Taiwanese Speaker, but they're going to try. Either way, they've offered time with the ministers of economic affairs (to discuss trade / econ. Development in NY), Defense, and finance. They're also looking at having you take a train down to one of their major ports for a Homeland Security type briefing on how they protect against hazardous materials, chemicals, etc. More to come.

Let me know if you have any initial questions. We should have the ethics forms early next week for you to review, and a more formal itinerary as well.

EXHIBIT 12

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Monday, November 28, 2011 10:29 AM
To: 'Sean King'
Cc: JOHN ZAGAME
Subject: RE: Update

Right, likely the 27th to the 31st.

-----Original Message-----
From: Sean King [[redacted]@parkstrategies.com]
Sent: Monday, November 28, 2011 10:29 AM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Cc: JOHN ZAGAME
Subject: RE: Update

This material is distributed by Park Strategies, LLC on behalf of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Thanks, Jon. So, you're still looking at those last few days in December?

-----Original Message-----
From: Boughtin, Jon [mailto:[redacted]@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Monday, November 28, 2011 10:18 AM
To: Sean King
Subject: RE: Update

So far so good! I think the Embassy has what they need from us so far, but I'll let you know when I know more.

-----Original Message-----
From: Sean King [[redacted]@parkstrategies.com]
Sent: Monday, November 28, 2011 6:43 AM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Update

This material is distributed by Park Strategies, LLC on behalf of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Jon,

How's the trip planning going? I'm back in our New York office today. Call me if you need us, thanks.

As you know, Park Strategies, LLC, Senator D'Amato and I are registered with the U.S. Department of Justice, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, as agents on behalf of our client, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States.

Best wishes,
Sean King

----- Original Message -----
From: Boughtin, Jon <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>

To: Sean King
Sent: Mon Nov 21 09:42:27 2011
Subject: Update

Sorry for the back and forth Sean but looks like we have our dates. The boss and his wife are looking to travel to Taiwan beginning on December 27th. I'll reach out to Mr. Frank Lee about the details but wanted to let you know. Thanks!

Jon Boughtin

Senior Legislative Assistant

Office of Rep. Bill Owens

EXHIBIT 13

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Tuesday, December 06, 2011 10:04 AM
To: 'Ken Chong'
Subject: RE: Itinerary from China Airlines Ltd.--domestic

Thanks. Just to be sure, is this for one ticket or for both tickets?

From: Ken Chong [[redacted]@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, December 05, 2011 5:18 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Cc: Li-Chih Cheng
Subject: Re: Itinerary from China Airlines Ltd.--domestic

Jon,

The price that we will send invoice to TECRO is apporximately
USD$8655 + tax $357.30 = USD$9011.80.
When we issue the tickets the price may differ a bit due to the exchange rate with CAD.
Because congressman & his wife are departing from Canada, so the airfare must be based on CAD and the exchange rate with USD on the ticket issuing day.

Ken

On Mon, Dec 5, 2011 at 4:49 PM, Boughtin, Jon <[redacted]@mail.house.gov> wrote:

Thanks Ken. Can you also send me the pricing so I can add it to our ethics form please?

From: Ken Chong [[redacted]@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, December 05, 2011 4:39 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Itinerary from China Airlines Ltd.--domestic

Dear Jon,

Below is the air itinerary for Congressman Owens & wife to Taiwan trip.

Please get me their Air Canada and Delta Airlines (partnered with China Airlines) frequent flyer numbers to earn miles.

Also an E-TKT confirmation will be emailed to you a week before the departure date.

Let me know if you have quetion.

EXHIBIT 14

Boughtin, Jon

From: [redacted]@tecro.us
Sent: Tuesday, December 06, 2011 7:58 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Private Sponsor Travel Form

Ok Jon! Thanks and let me know if problems occur. For your information, I sent a cable back to Taipei yesterday, and my colleagues should start putting up this program already. Usually it will take them sometime to confirm all the meeting times and meeting officials, and I will surely let you know about the set program as soon as they cable back.

It seems that Ken has booked domestic and international flights and have sent those info to you, and he should be emailing you the E-TKTs either next week or the next one. If you don't hear from him for too long, please shoot us an email.

As for a briefing time on Taiwan, I'm still waiting for Frank's next week schedule.

Have a good night,
Li-Chih
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: "Boughtin, Jon" <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
Date: Tue, 6 Dec 2011 12:44:32 -0500
To: [redacted]@tecro.us'<[redacted]@tecro.us>
Subject: RE: Private Sponsor Travel Form

Hm, that may work after all. I'd just assume get it in and make corrections later anyhow so we're in the system ahead of the 14 day requirement, so this is probably fine as it is. Thanks Li-Chih, I'll let you know!

From: [redacted]@tecro.us [redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Tuesday, December 06, 2011 12:33 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Private Sponsor Travel Form

Hey Jon,

I remember on the form we typed New York City (Washington DC or cities close to the District). Would you ask Ethics Committee if this is ok? If they say no, I will send another form to Taipei immediately to have them re-sign the form. It will take about two days to get this done.

Let me know! I appreciate your help!

Yours,
Li-Chih
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: "Boughtin, Jon" <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
Date: Tue, 6 Dec 2011 10:11:58 -0500
To: [redacted]@tecro.us'<[redacted]@tecro.us>
Subject: Private Sponsor Travel Form

Hey Li-Chih, it just occurred to me looking at these forms that we'll need an updated form to reflect that the Congressman is departing from Montreal instead of New York City. Sorry for the trouble, but when you can get that my way I will be ready to submit everything to ethics. Thank you!

Jon Boughtin
Senior Legislative Assistant
Office of Rep. Bill Owens

--
This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by **MailScanner**, and is believed to be clean.

--
This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by **MailScanner**, and is believed to be clean.

EXHIBIT 15

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2011 4:12 PM
To: 'Li-Chih Cheng'
Subject: RE: Documents prepared for Taiwan

Hi Li-Chih, nice seeing you again today. I'll go ahead and get this done. Two quick questions: First, which type of visa are they applying for? Is it a visitor visa or a courtesy visa?

Second, are the passport photos entirely necessary and/or would a photocopy of their passport work as well? Unless they have extras sitting at home, it could take me some time to get original passport photos and my concern is I would miss the window. Let me know and we'll move forward. Thanks!

From: [redacted]@gmail.com [redacted]@gmail.com] **On Behalf Of** Li-Chih Cheng
Sent: Wednesday, December 14, 2011 9:45 AM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Documents prepared for Taiwan

Hey Jon,

Please provide me with:
1. **Valid passports**
2. **Visa Application Forms** (attached in this email again, please kindly fill it out)
3. **Two passport sized photos**

I am leaving for Taiwan on 22nd, Thursday, so it would be great to have these done before Tuesday or Wednesday. Also I am preparing the potential meeting for President Ma and Congressman, I will let you know if I need anything from you. Currently we have not heard back from Taipei on the official programs, I think they are trying to figure out President's, Ministers' schedules. I will keep you posted.

Your friend from Taiwan,
Li-Chih

EXHIBIT 16

Boughtin, Jon

From: [redacted]@tecro.us
Sent: Tuesday, December 20, 2011 11:15 AM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Schedule

I can't think of any reasons that should prevent Congressman from discussing TSMC piece with American Chamber of Commerce.

Please let Congressman know that they should prepare a smaller overnight travel bag for Kaohsiung. They can leave their bigger luggages in Taipei's hotel.

Also the host of this trip is Chinese Culture University--just a kind reminder.

Thanks,
Li-Chih
Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: "Boughtin, Jon" <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
Date: Tue, 20 Dec 2011 11:04:09 -0500
To: 'Li-Chih Cheng'<[redacted]@tecro.us>
Subject: RE: Schedule

Li-Chih, this is great. Thank you for sending so quickly. It's unfortunate that the TSMC piece will not work, but in your estimation would TSMC's partnership with the State of New York be an appropriate topic of conversation for the Congressman's meeting with the Chamber of Commerce? I think it's something he would like to discuss with them unless there is a reason not to.

I'll send this on to the Ethics Committee today and get you back a letter asap! Thanks, -Jon

---

From: [redacted]@gmail.com [[redacted]@gmail.com] **On Behalf Of** Li-Chih Cheng
Sent: Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:57 AM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Schedule

Hi Jon,

I attached the file in this email, but in case you have problem open it, I also pasted it as below. Please let me know if you have any questions. Unfortunately, TSMC senior level staff are on vacation because it is the end of the year, therefore my colleague in Taipei is unable to set up a meeting at TSMC. We apologize for that.

Sincerely,
Li-Chih

美國聯邦眾議員歐比爾

訪華行程草案

Tentative Itinerary of the visit by Hon. William Lewis "Bill" Owens

and Mrs. Owens

to the Republic of China (Taiwan)

December 28 – 31 , 2011

中華民國一百年十二月二十八日（星期三）

Wednesday, December 28, 2011

20:50	搭乘中華航空第005號班機抵華
	Arrive at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport via China Airlines CI-005
	本案承辦人Case Officer：高秘書國亮 Mr. Colin KAO 公務手機Cell Phone：+[redacted]
夜 宿	台北晶華酒店 台北市中山北路二段41號
RON	Grand Formosa Regent Taipei 41 Chung Shan North Road, Sec. 2, Taipei, Taiwan Tel: +886-2-2523-[redacted] Fax: +886-2-2523-2828

中華民國一百年十二月二十九日（星期四）

Thursday, December 29, 2011

09:30	晉見馬總統(待通知未訂) Reserved for President Ma
10:30	拜會國防部楊副部長念祖 Call on Hon. Dr. Nian-zu YANG, Vice Minister , Ministry of National Defense (MND)
12:00	拜會經濟部黃次長重球(待確定) TBD Call on Hon. Dr. Hwang, Jung-Chiou (TBD) Vice Minister, Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA)
14:15	拜會立法院外交委員會帥委員化民 Call on Hon. SHUAI, Hua-Ming, Legislator, Member of Foreign Affairs and National Defense Committee, Legislative Yuan
15:30	美國在台協會台北辦事處簡報 Briefing by the American Institute in Taiwan /Taipei Office(AIT/T) 聯絡人Contact：Diane Johnston 02-2162-[redacted]
16:30	拜會台北市美國商會 Call at American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei
18:00	文化大學張董事長鏡湖及吳校長萬益晚宴 Dinner hosted by Dr. Chin Hu CHANG, Board Chairman of Chinese Culture University and Dr. WU, Wann Yih, President of of Chinese Culture University
20:54	搭高鐵第255號次班車往左營 Depart for Zuoying, Kaohsiung via Taiwan High Speed Rail No. 255

22:30	抵左營 Arrive at Zuoying, Kaohsiung
夜 宿	國寶飯店 地址：高雄市民生二路202號
RON	Ambassador Hotel Kaohsiung Phone：+886-7-211-[redacted] Fax：+886-7-201-0348 ADD：202 Min Sheng 2nd RD., Kaohsiung, Taiwan, R.O.C.

中華民國一百年十二月三十日（星期五）

Friday, December 30, 2011

09:30	參訪左營海軍基地 Visit Zuoying Navy Base
11:00	參訪高雄關稅局「貨櫃安全計劃」及「大港計劃」執行情形 Call at Kaohsiung Customs Office for CSI /Mega-Port Project
13:30	搭高鐵第158號次班車往台北 Depart for Taipei via Taiwan High Speed Rail No. 158
15:06	抵台北 Arrive in Taipei
18:00	拜會外交部楊部長進添 Call on H.E. Timothy YANG, Foreign Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

19:00	外交部楊部長晚宴 Dinner hosted by Foreign Minister YANG

中華民國一百年十二月三十一日（星期六）

Saturday, December 31, 2011

10:00	參訪國立故宮博物院 Visit National Palace Museum
15:00	參觀中正紀念堂 Visit Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall
16:00	參觀台北101 Tour Taipei 101 Financial Center
19:00	晚餐 Dinner at leisure
23:00	搭中華航空第032號班機離華 Depart Taipei via CI-032

On Mon, Dec 19, 2011 at 5:32 PM, Boughtin, Jon <[redacted]@mail.house.gov> wrote:

Great! Thanks again Li-Chih

From: [redacted]@tecro.us [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Monday, December 19, 2011 5:32 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Schedule

Hey Jon,

Thanks for the email and please forgive my late response. I did call MOFA Taiwan last night and tell them to send me the schedules. My colleague said everything is set up, but my bosses are reviewing the whole itinerary--they value Congressman's visit very highly. I will call Taipei tonight again and see if they can expedite.

I will let my colleagues know about Congressman's possible meetings on Saturday too.

Talk to you soon,
Li-Chih

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: "Boughtin, Jon" <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>

Date: Mon, 19 Dec 2011 12:12:16 -0500

To: [redacted]@tecro.us'<[redacted]@tecro.us>

Subject: Schedule

Hi Li-Chih, hope you had a nice weekend. I just got off the phone with the ethics committee and they are almost done with our file, except that they need a complete itinerary with times for what the Congressman is doing, including times for when meetings might occur. Do you think that's something we can get them by tomorrow? That's really when they need it to complete their work.

If it helps at all, I believe the Congressman is going to try and fit 2 meetings into that final day separate from the schedule you all put together for him, so I would think the earlier he can leave his hotel for the Port event, the better.

Thanks as always! We'll talk soon. -Jon

Jon Boughtin

Senior Legislative Assistant

Office of Rep. Bill Owens

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dangerous content by **MailScanner**, and is
believed to be clean.

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This message has been scanned for viruses and
dangerous content by MailScanner, and is
believed to be clean.

--

Li-Chih Cheng
Officer, Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO)
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20016, USA
202.895.[redacted] (O)
[redacted] (C)
202.244.3046 (F)

--

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dangerous content by **MailScanner**, and is
believed to be clean.

EXHIBIT 17

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

IN RE:	Witness with Knowledge of Representative Owens' Air Travel
REVIEW #(s):	12-8236
DATE:	August 15, 2012
LOCATION:	By Telephone
TIME:	3:00 PM (approximate)
PARTICIPANTS:	Omar Ashmawy Scott Gast

SUMMARY: The witness is a person with knowledge of Representative Bill Owens' and his wife's air travel arrangements for a trip to Taiwan in December 2011/January 2012. The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness declined to sign a written acknowledgement of the warning, but was advised that the law applied to the interview notwithstanding the decision not to sign.

2. The witness stated that the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs paid for Representative Owens' and his wife's air travel on China Airlines for the trip to Taiwan.

This memorandum was prepared on August 22, 2012 after the interview was conducted on August 15, 2012. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on August 15, 2012.

Scott Gast
Investigative Counsel

EXHIBIT 18

From: Gast, Scott </O=U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES/OU=EXCHANGE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP (FYDIBOHF23SPDLT)/CN=RECIPIENTS/CN=[redacted]>
Sent: Monday, July 16, 2012 10:37 AM
To: Ashmawy, Omar <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>; Payne, Kedric <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>; Payne, Kedric <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>; Wright, Nate <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
Subject: FW: Bill Request

From: [redacted]@fihregent.com [[redacted]@fihregent.com]
Sent: Monday, July 16, 2012 10:36 AM
To: Gast, Scott
Subject: RE: Bill Request

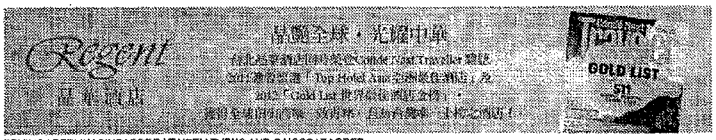
Dear Mr Gast,

I just remembered some conversation they asked while made the booking last year. Ministry of Foreign Affairs talked about the Chinese Culture University while made the reservation and I guess you might wish to know this information. They advised us to charge the official special rate which we provide to Ministry of Foreign Affairs first and I do not know how did they finalize the payment later. They advised me through the phone calls and there is no certain data to review. I am not sure who should I contact from them on this matter but I suggest you can contact the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the further information.

Thank you.

Karen

Karen Chu朱婉蓉 Senior Sales Manager資深業務經理
Regent Taipei
No. 3, Lane 39, Section 2, Chung Shan N. Rd., Taipei 104, Taiwan ROC
Tel +886 2 2522 [redacted] **Fax** +886 2 2543 1643 **Cel** +[redacted]
Email [redacted]@fihregent.com
Sitewww.regentaipei.com www.regenthotels.com



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Save a tree. Don't print this e-mail unless it's really necessary.

From: "Gast, Scott" <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
To: [redacted]@fihregent.com" <[redacted]@fihregent.com>
Date: 2012/07/13 下午 11:03
Subject: RE: Bill Request

Karen,

Thank you for your email. Could you provide us with the data you reviewed, or the names of any individuals with whom you spoke, that led you to provide this additional information?

Thank you,

Scott Gast, Investigative Counsel
Office of Congressional Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
425 3rd Street SW, Suite 1110
Washington, DC 20024
(202) 226-[redacted]

From: [redacted]@fihregent.com [[redacted]@fihregent.com]
Sent: Friday, July 13, 2012 7:44 AM
To: Gast, Scott
Subject: RE: Bill Request

Dear Mr Gast,

After checking my data, kindly correct that Mr Owens invited by Chinese Culture University but not the Ministry of Foreign Affair. However, regarding to Mr Owens is a significant guest and Chinese Culture University requests Ministry of Foreign Affair to help taking care of him while stayed in Taipei. Ministry of Foreign Affair settle the payment with us first but I think that Chinese Culture University settle with Ministry of Foreign Affair later.

Sorry the incorrect information in the previous email. Thank you for your time and attention.

With warmest regards,
Karen

Karen Chu朱姍姍 Senior Sales Manager資深業務經理
Regent Taipei
No. 3, Lane 39, Section 2, Chung Shan N. Rd., Taipei 104, Taiwan ROC
Tel +886 2 2522 [redacted] **Fax** +886 2 2543 1643 **Cel** +[redacted]
Email [redacted]@fihregent.com
Sitewww.regenttaipei.com www.regenthotels.com

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Save a tree. Don't print this e-mail unless it's really necessary.

From: "Gast, Scott" <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
To: [redacted]@fihregent.com" <[redacted]@fihregent.com>
Date: 2012/07/12下午 10:15
Subject: RE: Bill Request

Karen,

Thank you very much for your assistance with this matter. We will let you know if we need any additional information.

Scott Gast, Investigative Counsel
Office of Congressional Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
425 3rd Street SW, Suite 1110
Washington, DC 20024
(202) 226-[redacted]

From: [redacted]@fihregent.com [[redacted]@fihregent.com]
Sent: Thursday, July 12, 2012 6:01 AM
To: Gast, Scott
Cc: [redacted]@fihregent.com
Subject: Re: Bill Request

Dear Mr Gast,

Greetings from Regent Taipei.

I would like to introduce myself as the sales contact of Ministry of Foreign Affairs which invited Mr Owens to visit Taipei last December.

Based on your advising, Mr Owen's room payment settled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The reat charges settled by himself as attached file for your reference. Kindly advised us if there is any further information we may provide or assist. Thank you very much.

With warmest regards,
Karen

Karen Chu朱姚俗 Senior Sales Manager資深業務經理
Regent Taipei
No. 3, Lane 39, Section 2, Chung Shan N. Rd., Taipei 104, Taiwan ROC
Tel +886 2 2522 [redacted] **Fax** +886 2 2543 1643 **Cel** +[redacted]
Email[redacted]@fihregent.com
Sitewww.regentitaipei.com www.regenthotels.com

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Save a tree. Don't print this e-mail unless it's really necessary.

From: "Gast, Scott" <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
To: [redacted]@fihregent.com" <[redacted]@fihregent.com>
Date: 07/12/2012 09:24
Subject: Bill Request

Per our telephone conversation today, I am a requesting a copy of the hotel bill, including information as to how the bill was paid, for the following guest:

U.S. Representative Bill Owens
Check-in on December 28, 2011
Check-out on December 31, 2011

Thanks you for your assistance

Scott Gast
Office of Congressional Ethics
United States House of Representatives
425 Third Street, SW
Washigton, DC 20024
(202) 226-[redacted]

EXHIBIT 19

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2011 11:47 AM
To: Matthews, Scott
Subject: FW:
Attachments: 20111223115735345.pdf

One more thing to print for the Honorable. Thanks Scott!

-----Original Message-----
From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Friday, December 23, 2011 11:58 AM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject:

This E-mail was sent from "RNPB58873" (8065).

Scan Date: 12.23.2011 11:57:35 (-0500)
Queries to: [redacted]@mail.house.gov

Memo

The visit of Rep. and Mrs. Bill Owens to the Republic of China (Taiwan) (December 28 to 31, 2011)

Welcome aboard! Please read this memo carefully and keep it at hand for reference.

A. Preparation for the trip

1. Air Passage:

a. Outbound: Fly from Los Angeles to Taipei through:
CI 005, 13:55, Tuesday December 27; Arrive in Taipei at 20:50, Wednesday, December 28
Inbound: Fly from Taipei to Vancouver through:
CI 032, 23:30, Saturday, December 31; Arrive in Vancouver at 18:05, Saturday, December 31
Note for domestic: **AC 797 from YUL-DORVAL to LAX at 08:05, Tuesday December 27, arrive 11:15 the same day. Returning by AC 182 from Vancouver to YUL-DORVAL at 23:30 Saturday December 31, arrive 07:15 Sunday January 1, 2012**

b. When getting your ticket, please check and see if the flight schedule and your name are correct.

c. When checking in at the AC business class counter at YUL on December 27, which is the starting point of an international flight, please tell the clerk to check in your luggage all the way to the final destination, Taipei, so that you don't have to collect them in LAX and recheck them. When returning to Canada, even though your bags will be checked all the way through YUL, you still need to pull out your checked-in luggage and clear with customs and immigration in Vancouver.

d. Please put a name tag on each piece of your luggage, and write down the hotel's name, address and telephone number (hotel info is provided below). It will be easier for you to pick up at Taiwan's Taoyuan International Airport and convenient for hotel bellboys to identify and deliver them to your room.

e. After arriving at the Tom Bradley International Terminal in LA airport, you could check in at China Airlines' business class counter for the CI 005 flight to Taipei. Then proceed to China Airlines' VIP lounge and take some rest before boarding. In the lounge, remember to check with the staff of China Airlines whether your checked-in bags are already on board.

f. Please remember to **keep your boarding passes for** all domestic and international flights and return them to **TECRO**. We need to have those passes for accounting purpose and truly appreciate your cooperation.

[redacted]

2. **Dress:**
   a. You are requested to dress business attire for most of the meetings during the trip. It is suggested to pack up at least one business suit/dress.
   b. Except for formal occasions, business casual is fine.
   c. It is suggested that you prepare a pair of comfortable walking shoes for the evening activities and the out-of-town tour.
   d. You may bring your swimming suit since the hotel has the facility.
   e. You will need a lot of name cards for meetings in Taiwan. It's also a custom to exchange business cards while you meet new friends in Taiwan.

B. General information about Taiwan

1. Weather:
   In December, the temperature is around 58°F~68°F in Taipei (north), and slightly hotter in Kaohsiung (south).
2. Shopping, eating, and tipping:
   a. Major American credit cards are accepted in almost every store in Taiwan. However, you may still need to bring some cash to exchange for the local currency for shopping. 800 U.S. dollars or less should be enough.
   b. The unit of Taiwan's currency is the New Taiwan Dollar (NT$). The exchange rate now is about US$1=NT$30. U.S. dollars may be exchanged at the hotel with your passport. You can also withdraw Taiwan's currency from local ATMs with your credit cards while some transaction fee will be charged.
3. Will your blackberries, cell phones and emails still work in Taiwan? It depends on the service provider and your package. You are advised to check with your service provider about their overseas service.
4. Electricity: It's the same in the U.S. 110V.
5. Churches: Only some churches provide English services on Sundays.
6. Time difference:
   All parts of Taiwan are in one time zone, which is **13 hours ahead of Eastern Time** in the US.

6. Language:
   The official language in the Republic of China (Taiwan) is Mandarin

Chinese. In addition, there are two dialects widely used in Taiwan, namely Taiwanese (or Fukienese) and Hakka. The following are some useful expressions in Mandarin Chinese.

English	Mandarin
Thank you!	Sie (as in "sierra") Sie!
How are you?	Ni (as in "nither") How (same as "how") Ma (as in model")?
Excuse me.	Twei (as in "twain") Bu (as in "pool") Chi (as in "cheese").
How much is it?	Tuo Shao (as in "shout) Chien?
Good morning.	Tsao (or Zao) An
Good bye!	Tsai (or Zai) Jien

C. Accommodation, transportation, and Meals

1. Your host will cover the expenses for hotel, transportation, and meals during your trip in Taiwan except the following:
   a. The transportation fee of your personal activities.
   b. Alcoholic beverage and drinks.
   c. International phone calls (The hotel will charge a very expensive rate as service fee even if you make international calls from your room telephone with pre-paid cards. It is thus suggested that you make such phone calls with pay phone downstairs in hotel lobby).
   d. telegrams,
   e. facsimile,
   f. internet,
   g. pay per view movies,
   h. personal services such as massage, sauna and hairdo,
   i. group activities (except dinners) in the leisure hours, etc.
2. The sponsor will cover reasonable laundry fee for you during the trip. (e.g.: one suit during the whole trip, one shirt or other necessary items each day; other than that, you may have to pay for yourself).
3. Tips:
   a. The gratuity of dining or other services in Taiwan is automatically included in the bills.
   b. However, it's also customary for you to tip housekeeping, room service, or other services you get from the hotel, and you are responsible for taking care of it. For example, if you put tips on the bill for room service, the hotel will ask you to pay the tips when you check out.
   c. It is suggested that the group as a whole tip the bus drivers (including out of town visits) when they have completed their services in a satisfactory manner.
4. The hotel reserved for the group in Taipei is The Regent Taipei (one of the best five-star hotels in Taipei)
   Tel: 011-886-2-2523-[redacted] (if dialed from U.S.)

Fax: 011-886-2-2523-2828 (if dialed from U.S.)
Address: 41 Chung Shan North Road, Section 2, Taipei Taiwan, ROC
Website: http://www.grandformosa.com.tw/EN/

5. Emergency Contact
Please also provide me your emergency contact information at least including the contact person's name and phone number.
Just in case anything happens during the last minute which prevents you from taking the trip, please let me know ASAP by calling the numbers below or email me at [redacted]@tecro.us
Li-Chih Cheng (Cell) [redacted]
(Office) (202) 895-[redacted]

5. TECRO contact during the trip: If your family or colleagues need to contact you but can not reach you, they can contact Mr. Frank Lee to get help. Tel: (O) 202-895[redacted](C)[redacted] [redacted]@tecro.us

Enjoy the trip!

EXHIBIT 20

From: 郭瓊俐 <[redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw>
Sent: Saturday, June 30, 2012 3:55 AM
To: Gast, Scott <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
Subject: Re: Request for Information
Attach: for Omar Ashmawy.doc

Mr. Omar Ashmawy
Staff Director and Chief Counsel
Office of Congressional Ethics
House of Representatives

Dear. Mr. Ashmawy,

Thank you for your letter dated June 7, 2012 requesting for information about the participation of Chinese Culture University in Representative Bill Owens' visit to Taiwan in December last year.

Chinese Culture University, a private university founded in 1962 here in Taipei, has focused on the education programs with the combination of the essence of Chinese tradition like literature, history, and philosophy and the merits of modern western civilization such as science and democracy. We have also dedicated to the international exchange to broaden the vision of our faculty and students and promote the bilateral exchanges with other countries. A certain amount of our university budget is set aside as a fund to be used to sponsor foreign friends to visit Taiwan annually.

The United States is one of the major receiving countries in the world for Taiwanese students, including many students who graduated from our university. Also there have been strong ties between our two countries. In this connection, we do regularly sponsor important leaders from the United States to visit Taiwan such as Representative and Mrs. Owens' trip last year, which we believe is in accordance with U.S. House ethics rules related to private sponsorship.

In view of Mr. Owens' important status as a member of U.S. Congress and the lack of staff of this university stationed in the United States, the program for Representative Owens' visit to Taiwan was coordinated through the kind assistance of Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. We had a wonderful meeting with Representative and Mrs. Owens at our university here. We are also glad to share with you that the whole visit was quite successful.

Yours Best

Chiungli Kuo
Director of PR Office
Chinese Culture University

From: Gast, Scott
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2012 12:14 AM
To: [redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw ; [redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw
Subject: Request for Information

CONFIDENTIAL

Attached please find a Request for Information from the Office of Congressional Ethics ("OCE").

Please complete the attached Acknowledgement of Receipt and return it to the OCE by fax or email.

If you have any questions regarding the attached, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you,

Scott Gast, Investigative Counsel
Office of Congressional Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
425 3rd Street SW, Suite 1110
Washington, DC 20024
(202) 226-[redacted]

Mr. Omar Ashmawy
Staff Director and Chief Counsel
Office of Congressional Ethics
House of Representatives

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Yours Best

Chiungli Kuo, Director of PR Office, Chinese Culture University

EXHIBIT 21

From: 郭瓊俐 <[redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw>
Sent: Monday, July 2, 2012 10:26 PM
To: Gast, Scott <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
Subject: Re: Request for Information

Dear Scott Gast:

The letter I sent on June 30 is the only response I am giving regarding your contact.
I will not provide anything else nor reply your mail again.

Yours Best

Chiungli Kuo

From: Gast, Scott
Sent: Monday, July 02, 2012 11:09 PM
To: 郭瓊俐
Subject: RE: Request for Information

Thank you for your response to the Request for Information sent to the University on June 7, 2012. As you know, the OCE has requested that you provide us with all files, records, notes, or other documents in your possession relating to Representative Bill Owens' trip to Taiwan in December 2011-January 2012. Please let me know your time frame for providing us with the requested documents.

Thank you again for your assistance.

Scott Gast, Investigative Counsel
Office of Congressional Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
425 3rd Street SW, Suite 1110
Washington, DC 20024
(202) 226-[redacted]

From: 郭瓊俐 [[redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw]
Sent: Saturday, June 30, 2012 3:55 AM
To: Gast, Scott
Subject: Re: Request for Information

Mr. Omar Ashmawy
Staff Director and Chief Counsel
Office of Congressional Ethics
House of Representatives

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Yours Best

Chiungli Kuo
Director of PR Office
Chinese Culture University

From: Gast, Scott
Sent: Friday, June 08, 2012 12:14 AM
To: [redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw ; [redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw
Subject: Request for Information

CONFIDENTIAL

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Please complete the attached Acknowledgement of Receipt and return it to the OCE by fax or email.

If you have any questions regarding the attached, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you,

Scott Gast, Investigative Counsel
Office of Congressional Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
425 3rd Street SW, Suite 1110
Washington, DC 20024

(202) 226-[redacted]

EXHIBIT 22

William L. Owens
[redacted] Plattsburgh, New York 12901
[redacted]

May 21, 2012

Mr. Wannyih Wu
President
Chinese Culture University
55, Hwa Kang Road
Yangmingshan Taipei, Taiwan, 11114, R.O.C.

Dear President Wu:

I want to thank you for the opportunity to visit Taiwan and the Chinese Culture University at the end of last year. Whether in meetings with local industry, government ministries, major ports or the Chamber of Commerce, the trip provided an opportunity to further my understanding of the economic development opportunities that rely on the continued cooperation between our two nations.

I understand from the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office that my costs incurred for this trip were $22,132.20. As you may be aware, certain questions have arisen about the trip and, out of an abundance of caution, I have decided to repay the cost of the trip. Please understand that we are very grateful for your hospitality, and this is not a negative reflection upon your institution. Please see that the funding is returned, and feel free to reach me with any questions.

Sincerely,

Bill Owens
Member of Congress

WILLIAM L. OWENS
JANE B. OWENS
[redacted]
PLATTSBURGH, NY 12901

60-361/219 2862

DATE 5/22/12

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Chinese Culture University $22,132.20

Twenty Two Thousand One hundred Thirty Two 20/100 DOLLARS

NBT BANK of Plattsburgh 369

MEMO [redacted]

01-000877

12-8236_0118

EXHIBIT 23

Katz, Bradley

Subject:	Phone call with D'amato re: Taiwan
Location:	Bill will call (917) 692[redacted]
Start:	Thu 10/6/2011 10:30 AM
End:	Thu 10/6/2011 11:00 AM
Recurrence:	(none)
Organizer:	Owens, William

EXHIBIT 24

Boughtin, Jon

From: [redacted]@gmail.com
Sent: Thursday, November 03, 2011 6:34 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Taiwan

Ok

Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry

From: "Boughtin, Jon" <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
Date: Thu, 3 Nov 2011 18:33:23 -0400
To: [redacted]@gmail.com'<[redacted]@gmail.com>; Katz, Bradley [redacted]@mail.house.gov>
Subject: Taiwan

D'amato's guys report that anytime Bill Owens is ready for Taiwan, Taiwan is ready for Bill Owens, so the week between Christmas and New Year's works as well.

Jon Boughtin
Senior Legislative Assistant
Office of Rep. Bill Owens

EXHIBIT 25

DECLARATION OF CHRISTOPHER D'AMATO

Christopher D'Amato, under penalty of perjury, hereby states as follows:

1. I am employed by Park Strategies, LLC as the Executive Vice President and Managing Director. I also serve as the chief compliance officer to Park Strategies, LLC.

2. The facts set forth in this declaration are based on my personal knowledge of the events surrounding the December 27, 2011 through January 1, 2012 trip by Representative Bill Owens to Taiwan.

3. When Park Strategies, LLC began discussions with Representative Owens concerning a trip to Taiwan, it was our understanding that he would be travelling unaccompanied by his family.

4. After learning, on November 21, 2011, that Representative Owens was going to bring his wife on the trip to Taiwan, Park Strategies, LLC had no further involvement in creating or setting the itinerary prepared by the Chinese Culture University.

5. Park Strategies, LLC had no input on the itinerary for Representative Owens's trip that was created by the Chinese Culture University.

6. Park Strategies, LLC does not now, nor has it ever represented the Chinese Culture University.

7. Park Strategies, LLC was not aware that the Chinese Culture University was the private sponsor of Representative Owens' Taiwan trip until it was contacted by Mr. Elliott of ProPublica.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of New York and the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct.

Christopher D'Amato

Christopher D'Amato

6/18/2012

Date

EXHIBIT 26

Boughtin, Jon

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Friday, December 09, 2011 5:37 PM
To: [redacted]@mail.house.gov'
Cc: Katz, Bradley
Subject: Re: Taiwan

Hm. Alright, I'm supposed to talk to sean king monday and we might be able to find a way to get invited, but damato's guys obviously can't ask. We'll see if we can get creative but if not, I don't think there's any harm in us asking, either. Our hosts are going to find out either way.

From: Owens, William
Sent: Friday, December 09, 2011 05:27 PM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Subject: Re: Taiwan

Damto asked me too

Have oPposition person ask for it

From: Boughtin, Jon
Sent: Friday, December 09, 2011 04:48 PM
To: Owens, William
Subject: Taiwan

Had a miscommunication with Brad and I thought you'd already signed off on this. Are you ok sitting down with the opposition party in Taiwan while you're there, and do you have an opinion on whether or not we share that information with our hosts? I've got calls into the state department's Taiwan desk but we haven't made the ask yet. Lemme know when you can.

Jon Boughtin
Senior Legislative Assistant
Office of Rep. Bill Owens

EXHIBIT 27

Valerie Levin

From: Sean King
Sent: Tuesday, December 20, 2011 10:50 AM
To: Boughtin, Jon
Cc: John Zagame
Subject: Itinerary

This material is distributed by Park Strategies, LLC on behalf of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Jon,

Assuming he won't be trapped in D.C. next week because of votes, can you please share with us a copy of Congressman Owens's Taiwan itinerary? We'd like to explore possibilities of introducing him to Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Corporation (TSMC) Senior Vice President and General Counsel Dr. Richard Thurston while he's there. Please see Dr. Thurston's bio and 2001 hiring announcement below.
And by copy of this e-mail, I'm requesting that my colleague, John Zagame, send you the very latest on TSMC and the Marcy site.

As you know, Park Strategies, LLC, Senator D'Amato and I are registered with the U.S. Department of Justice, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, as agents on behalf of our client, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States.

Thanks, John.

Merry Christmas,
Sean King

Dr. Richard Thurston
Senior Vice President and General Counsel

http://www.tsmc.com/tsmcdotcom/PRListingNewsArchivesAction.do?action=detail&newsId=1058&language=E

Education:
J.D. Rutgers School of Law, State University of New Jersey, USA Ph. D., History, University of Virginia, USA
Experience:
Vice President and General Counsel, TSMC Partner, Haynes Boone, LLP Vice President Corporate Staff, Assistant General Counsel, Texas Instruments Incorporated Dr. Richard Thurston is Senior Vice President and General Counsel of TSMC and is responsible for legal and intellectual property management. Dr. Thurston is famous for his global experience in commercial, technology and international law.

Prior to joining TSMC, Dr. Thurston was a Partner at Kelt Capital Partners, LP, and a member of Haynes and Boone. His practice covered general corporate matters, technology-related transactions, mergers and acquisitions, joint ventures and divestitures, venture capital investments, foreign trade and investment, and the global protection of intellectual property rights.

Before Dr. Thurston joined Haynes and Boone, he served as the Regional Counsel, Asia Pacific and Vice President, Corporate Staff, and Assistant General Counsel for 12 years at Texas Instruments, where he was responsible for legal and M&A activities throughout the Asia Pacific region.

Dr. Thurston graduated Cum Laude with a B.A. degree in History from Alma College, and an M.A. degree and a Ph.D. degree in East Asian Studies from University of Virginia. He received a J.D. degree from Rutgers School of Law. Dr. Thurston also studied R.O.C. Law at Soochow University

APPENDIX B

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REPORT

Review No. 13-9784

The Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics (the "Board"), by a vote of no less than four members, on May 31, 2013, adopted the following report and ordered it to be transmitted to the Committee on Ethics of the United States House of Representatives.

SUBJECT: Representative Peter Roskam

NATURE OF THE ALLEGED VIOLATION: In October 2011, Representative Peter Roskam and his wife visited Taiwan on an officially connected trip. According to the travel disclosure forms filed by Representative Roskam, the sponsor of the trip was the Chinese Culture University, an educational institution founded in 1962, located in Taipei, Taiwan. However, the trip appears to have been organized and conducted by the government of Taiwan, with little to no involvement by the University.

If Representative Peter Roskam accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible source, resulting in an impermissible gift, then he may have violated federal law and House rules.

RECOMMENDATION: The OCE Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation, as there is substantial reason to believe that Representative Roskam accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible source, resulting in an impermissible gift, in violation of federal law and House rules.

VOTES IN THE AFFIRMATIVE: 6

VOTES IN THE NEGATIVE: 0

ABSTENTIONS: 0

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OR STAFF DESIGNATED TO PRESENT THIS REPORT TO THE COMMITTEE ON ETHICS: Omar S. Ashmawy, Staff Director & Chief Counsel.

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

FINDINGS OF FACT AND CITATIONS TO LAW

Review No. 13-9784

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CONFIDENTIAL

Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FINDINGS OF FACT AND CITATIONS TO LAW

Review No. 13-9784

On May 31, 2013, the Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics (the "Board") adopted the following findings of fact and accompanying citations to laws, regulations, rules, and standards of conduct (*in italics*).

The Board notes that these findings do not constitute a determination of whether or not a violation actually occurred.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. In October 2011, Representative Peter Roskam and his wife visited Taiwan on an officially connected trip.

2. According to the travel disclosure forms filed by Representative Roskam, the sponsor of the trip was the Chinese Culture University, an educational institution founded in 1962, located in Taipei, Taiwan.

3. However, the trip appears to have been organized and conducted by the government of Taiwan, with little to no involvement by the University.

A. Summary of Allegations

4. Representative Peter Roskam may have violated federal law and House rules by accepting payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible source, resulting in an impermissible gift.

5. The Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation, as there is substantial reason to believe that Representative Roskam accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible source, resulting in an impermissible gift, in violation of federal law and House rules.

B. Jurisdictional Statement

6. The allegations that were the subject of this review concern Representative Peter Roskam, a Member of the United States House of Representatives from the 6th District of Illinois. The Resolution the United States House of Representatives adopted creating the Office of Congressional Ethics directs that, "[n]o review shall be undertaken...by the board of any alleged violation that occurred before the date of adoption of this resolution."[1] The House adopted this Resolution on March 11, 2008. Because the

[1] H. Res 895, 110th Cong. §1(e) (2008) (as amended).

conduct under review occurred after March 11, 2008, review by the Board is in accordance with the Resolution.

C. Procedural History

7. The OCE received a written request for a preliminary review in this matter signed by at least two members of the Board on January 25, 2013. The preliminary review commenced on January 26, 2013.[2] The preliminary review was scheduled to end on February 24, 2013.

8. At least three members of the Board voted to initiate a second-phase review in this matter on February 22, 2013. The second-phase review commenced on February 25, 2013.[3] The second-phase review was scheduled to end on April 10, 2013.

9. The Board voted to extend the second-phase review by an additional period of fourteen days on March 22, 2013. The additional period ended on April 24, 2013.

10. Pursuant to Rule 9(B) of the OCE Rules for the Conduct of Investigations, Representative Roskam presented a statement to the Board on May 31, 2013.

11. The Board voted to refer the matter to the Committee on Ethics for further review and adopted these findings on May 31, 2013.

12. The report and its findings in this matter were transmitted to the Committee on Ethics on June 13, 2013.

D. Summary of Investigative Activity

13. The OCE requested and received testimonial and, in some cases, documentary information from the following sources:

    (1) Representative Peter Roskam; and

    (2) Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant.

14. The Chinese Culture University declined to provide documentary or testimonial information in response to a Request for Information and was determined to be a non-cooperating witness. The University provided a statement in response to the Request for Information, which is discussed below.

15. The OCE also requested documentary and testimonial evidence from the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States ("TECRO"). TECRO declined to provide documents or to make officials available for interviews.

[2] A preliminary review is "requested" in writing by members of the Board of the OCE. The request for a preliminary review is "received" by the OCE on a date certain. According to the Resolution, the timeframe for conducting a preliminary review is thirty days from the date of receipt of the Board's request.

[3] According to the Resolution, the Board must vote on whether to conduct a second-phase review in a matter before the expiration of the thirty-day preliminary review. If the Board votes for a second-phase, the second-phase begins when the preliminary review ends. The second-phase review does not begin on the date of the Board vote.

II. REPRESENTATIVE ROSKAM MAY HAVE ACCEPTED PAYMENT OF TRAVEL EXPENSES FOR AN OFFICIALLY CONNECTED TRIP TO TAIWAN FROM AN IMPERMISSIBLE SOURCE, RESULTING IN AN IMPERMISSIBLE GIFT, IN VIOLATION OF FEDERAL LAW AND HOUSE RULES

A. Laws, Regulations, Rules, and Standards of Conduct

16. United States Constitution, Article I, Section 9, Clause 8

"No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state."

17. Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act

"Congress consents to the acceptance by a Federal employee of grants and other forms of assistance provided by a foreign government to facilitate the participation of such Federal employee in a cultural exchange...but the Congress does not consent to the acceptance by any Federal employee of any portion of any such grant or other form of assistance which provides assistance with respect to any expenses incurred by or for any member of the family or household of such Federal employee."[4]

18. House Rules

House Rule 23, clause 1 states that "[a] Member . . . of the House shall conduct himself at all times in a manner that shall reflect creditably on the House."

House Rule 23, clause 2 states that "[a] Member . . . of the House shall adhere to the spirit and the letter of the Rules of the House and to the rules of duly constituted committees thereof."

House Rule 23, clause 4 states that "[a] Member . . . of the House may not accept gifts except as provided by clause 5 of rule XXV."

19. House Ethics Manual

"[T]he Constitution prohibits federal government officials from accepting any gift from a foreign government without the consent of Congress, and Congress has consented to the acceptance of certain gifts from foreign governments – including travel in limited circumstances – in two enactments: the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act ('FGDA') and the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ('MECEA'). A Member, officer, or

[4] 22 U.S.C. § 2458a(a)(1). For purposes of this provision, "Federal employee" is defined to include Members of Congress. *See id.* § 2458a(a)(2).

*employee may accept travel expenses from a unit of foreign government **only** under one of these two statutory grants of authority."*[5]

*"Under MECEA . . . the traveling Member or employee may **not** accept travel expenses for a spouse or family member."*[6]

"The rule requires that a private entity (or entities) that pays for officially-connected travel will organize and conduct the trip, rather than merely pay for a trip that is in fact organized and conducted by another entity."[7]

20. House Travel Guidelines and Regulations

"Expenses may only be accepted from an entity or entities that have a significant role in organizing and conducting a trip, and that also have a clear and defined organizational interest in the purpose of the trip or location being visited. Expenses may not be accepted from a source that has merely donated monetary or in-kind support to the trip but does not have a significant role in organizing or conducting the trip."[8]

21. Committee on Standards of Official Conduct Report on the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multi-National Business Conference in 2007 and 2008

"To be permissible, a private source must both organize and conduct the trip, rather than merely pay for a trip that is in fact organized and conducted by someone else."[9]

B. <u>Representative Roskam Could Not Have Accepted Payment of Travel Expenses for His Trip to Taiwan from Either the Government of Taiwan or the Chinese Culture University</u>

22. From October 15 to 22, 2011, Representative Peter Roskam and his wife visited Taiwan on an officially connected trip.[10]

23. According to the travel disclosure forms that Representative Roskam filed with the Committee on Ethics, the sponsor of the trip was the Chinese Culture University,[11] an educational institution founded in 1962, located in Taipei, Taiwan.[12]

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[5] House Ethics Manual (2008) at 108 (citations omitted; emphasis in original).
[6] *Id.* at 110 (citation omitted; emphasis in original).
[7] *Id.* at 98.
[8] Memorandum to All Members, Officers, and Employees from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, "Travel Guidelines and Regulations," at 3 (Feb. 20, 2007).
[9] Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multi-National Business Conference in 2007 and 2008*, H. Rep. 111-422, 111th Cong., 2d Sess., at 157 (2010) (citations omitted) ("Carib News Report").
[10] *See* Rep. Peter Roskam's Post-Travel Disclosure Forms, filed Nov. 2, 2011 ("Travel Disclosure Forms") (Exhibit 1 at 13-9784_0002-0020); Memorandum of Interview of Rep. Peter Roskam, April 18, 2013 ("Rep. Roskam MOI") (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0022-0025).
[11] Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 13-9784_0002).
[12] Chinese Culture University Educational Ideals and Characteristics, http://www.pccu.edu.tw/intl/index-e.htm.

24. While the Chinese Culture University was identified as the sole sponsor of Representative Roskam's trip to Taiwan, information obtained by the OCE during the course of its review indicates that the trip was actually organized and conducted by the government of Taiwan.

    1. *The government of Taiwan was not a permissible sponsor of Representative Roskam's trip to Taiwan, as the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA") did not apply to his trip*

25. Representative Roskam had been invited to travel to Taiwan by TECRO officials numerous times since he was elected to the House of Representatives.[13]

26. TECRO is the government of Taiwan's principal representative in the United States, serving as Taiwan's *de facto* embassy.[14]

27. The invitation for the trip that is the subject of this referral came from TECRO in May 2011, when TECRO official Gordon Yang sent an email to Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant, inviting Representative Roskam and other Members of Congress "to join the congressional delegation to visit Taiwan," as authorized by MECEA, in June or July 2011.[15]

---------- Forwarded Message ----------
From: "Gordon C. H. Yang" <[redacted]@tecro.us>
To: [redacted]@tecro.us
Sent: Fri, 13 May 2011 16:38:22 -0400
Subject: CoDel to Taiwan in June or July

Dear friends,

How are you? I hope this email finds you all well.

I would like to invite your Congressman or Congresswoman to join the congressional delegation to visit Taiwan during the period either from June 25 to July 2 or the period from July 16 to 23. The specific dates of travel are subject to change to accommodate the individual Member's schedule.

The trip is authorized under the State Department's Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchanges Act(MECEA) and sponsored by the Government of Taiwan. It also follows the most updated ethic rules of both the Senate and the House.

The delegation will be composed of 10-12 House Members and their staff. Each Member can bring one staffer along. The itinerary will be arranged to address the Members' interests, providing them with the opportunity to understand more about Taiwan while enhancing the bilateral relations between their respective constituencies and Taiwan.

Please let me know if your boss can attend the CoDel at your early convendence, hopefully by Tuesday, May 31. Please also feel free to contact me (information as below) if you have any question about the trip. I look forward to hearing from you soon. Thank you!

With best regards,

Gordon

[13] Rep. Roskam MOI (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0022); Memorandum of Interview of Executive Assistant, Office of Rep. Peter Roskam, April 12, 2013 ("Executive Assistant MOI") (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0028).
[14] About TECRO, http://www.taiwanembassy.org/us.
[15] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0028); email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, *et al.*, May 13, 2011 (Exhibit 4 at 13-9784_0033).

28. Representative Roskam could not recall when he first learned about this invitation to travel to Taiwan, or any specific conversation about the invitation.[16] He said that he likely was told that he had received an invitation to travel to Taiwan and given a proposed itinerary.[17]

29. Representative Roskam did not recall any discussion about the sponsor of the proposed trip.[18] He told the OCE that he "has come to understand that there were two proposed sponsors" for his trip to Taiwan, whom he identified as the government of Taiwan and the Chinese Culture University.[19] He did not recall any specific conversations about the distinction between the two sponsors.[20] He did not recall any discussion about whether the proposed trip would be planned under MECEA or privately sponsored.[21]

30. Representative Roskam said that he did not have a sense of who was paying for the trip, and did not recall if that issue was discussed.[22] Rather, he said that his office relied on Ethics Committee approval of the trip.[23]

31. Representative Roskam ultimately decided to travel to Taiwan with his wife, but he could not recall when this decision was made.[24]

32. As indicated in the invitation email from Mr. Yang, the Taiwan trip was initially to be organized and paid for by the government of Taiwan under MECEA.[25]

33. Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant said that, at some point after receiving the invitation from TECRO, Representative Roskam told him that he wanted to take his wife with him on the trip to Taiwan.[26] This prompted the Executive Assistant to have a conversation with Mr. Yang.[27] He could not recall when this conversation took place.[28]

34. According to the Executive Assistant, as a result of this conversation with Mr. Yang, it was determined that Representative Roskam's trip would not be conducted under MECEA, but would be privately sponsored instead.[29]

35. The Executive Assistant believes he would have discussed with Mr. Yang the need for a private sponsor for the trip, but he did not recall if he knew who the private sponsor was at the time of this conversation.[30]

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[16] Rep. Roskam MOI (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0022-0023).
[17] *Id.* at 13-9784_0023.
[18] *Id.*
[19] *Id.*
[20] *Id.*
[21] *Id.*
[22] *Id.* at 13-9784_0024.
[23] *Id.*
[24] *Id.* at 13-9784_0023.
[25] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, *et al.*, May 13, 2011 (Exhibit 4 at 13-9784_0033).
[26] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0028).
[27] *Id.*
[28] *Id.*
[29] *Id.*

36. Because Representative Roskam's wife traveled with him to Taiwan, the trip could not have been conducted under MECEA. Representative Roskam therefore could not have accepted payment of travel expenses from the government of Taiwan.[31]

2. *Because Representative Roskam's trip to Taiwan was organized and conducted by the government of Taiwan, not the Chinese Culture University, the University was not a permissible sponsor of the trip*

37. Representative Roskam, through his Executive Assistant, formally accepted TECRO's invitation to travel to Taiwan on June 7, 2011.[32] At the time, the trip was scheduled for July 2011.[33]

38. According to Representative Roskam, the purpose of the trip was to learn more about the relationship between the United States and Taiwan.[34]

39. Representative Roskam said that his congressional staff, primarily his Executive Assistant, was involved in planning the trip.[35] He did not recall any specific discussions about the trip, but did recall some general discussion of the proposed itinerary, mostly about the timing of the trip and his interest in seeing his daughter while in Taiwan.[36]

40. Representative Roskam told the OCE that he assumed that his staff was working with the House Ethics Committee and "those submitting the invitation" while planning the trip.[37] When asked who he meant by "those submitting the invitation," Representative Roskam said that was the Chinese Culture University and the government of Taiwan.[38]

41. Representative Roskam said that he had a "high level of confidence" that his staff was regularly checking with the House Ethics Committee while planning the trip.[39]

42. On June 7, 2011, Mr. Yang sent a tentative itinerary to Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant.[40] Mr. Yang advised the Executive Assistant that he "will work with

[30] *Id.* at 13-9784_0028-0029.
[31] Representative Roskam could have accepted travel expenses from the government of Taiwan only under one of two grants of authority: the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act ("FGDA") or the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA"). *See* House Ethics Manual at 108. Under the FGDA, travel paid for by a foreign government must take place totally outside the United States; because Representative Roskam's trip to Taiwan originated in the United States, the FGDA would not apply. *Id.* at 109.
[32] Email from Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant to Gordon Yang, June 7, 2011 (Exhibit 5 at 13-9784_0036); Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0029).
[33] *See* Tentative Program for the Visit of U.S. Congressional Members Delegation to the Republic of China (Taiwan), July 17-23, 2011 (Exhibit 5 at 13-9784_0038).
[34] Rep. Roskam MOI (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0023).
[35] *Id.* at 13-9784_0022.
[36] *Id.* at 13-9784_0023.
[37] *Id.* at 13-9784_0024.
[38] *Id.*
[39] *Id.* at 13-9784_0023.
[40] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, June 7, 2011 (Exhibit 5 at 13-9784_0036-0041).

Taipei and get all the paperwork for you asap.... Please let me know if Mr. and Mrs. Roskam want to add or take out any event...."[41]

43. The Executive Assistant did not know to whom Mr. Yang was referring when speaking of "Taipei," nor did he recall focusing on that reference.[42]

44. Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant first learned that the Chinese Culture University would be the private sponsor of Representative Roskam's trip to Taiwan when he read that in the tentative itinerary sent to him by Mr. Yang.[43]

Tuesday, July 19, 2011	
09:30	Briefing by the American Institute in Taiwan/Taipei Office (AIT/T) (de facto US Embassy in Taiwan)
11:00	Call on Dr. Shin-yuan LAI, Chairwoman, Mainland Affairs Council (MAC), Executive Yuan (the Cabinet)
12:30	Lunch with faculties and students of the Chinese Culture University (CCU) (Host of the trip)
14:00	Visit Campus of CCU

45. The Executive Assistant said that he did not know who prepared the tentative itinerary.[44]

46. At the time he received the tentative itinerary, the Executive Assistant was not familiar with the Chinese Culture University.[45] He did not have any conversations with Mr. Yang about who the Chinese Culture University was.[46]

47. While the Chinese Culture University was identified as the private sponsor of Representative Roskam's trip, the travel arrangements and itinerary continued to be organized and planned by Taiwanese government officials.

48. On June 15, 2011, Mr. Yang emailed the Executive Assistant that he had "all the documnets [*sic*] for you to file to the ethics committee."[47] He later emailed that he "will bring the invitation and private sponsor certification form signed by the Chinese Culture University" to the Executive Assistant's office.[48]

49. The Executive Assistant told the OCE that, while he understood at this time that the Chinese Culture University was the private sponsor of Representative Roskam's trip,

[41] *Id.* at 13-9784_0036.
[42] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0029).
[43] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0028); Tentative Program for the Visit of U.S. Congressional Members Delegation to the Republic of China (Taiwan), July 17-23, 2011 (Exhibit 5 at 13-9784_0038).
[44] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0029).
[45] *Id.* at 13-9784_0028.
[46] *Id.*
[47] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, June 15, 2011 (Exhibit 6 at 13-9784_0043).
[48] *Id.*

neither he nor anyone in his office had had any contact with the University.[49] He did not discuss the private sponsor certification form with anyone from the University.[50]

50. On July 11, 2011, Representative Roskam, his wife, and the Executive Assistant had a "pre-trip lunch" with the TECRO Representative in the United States, during which they discussed the Roskams' coming trip to Taiwan.[51]

51. Around this same time, changes in the congressional schedule necessitated a change in travel dates for Representative Roskam.[52] On July 20, 2011, the Executive Assistant emailed Mr. Yang with new travel dates of September 24 to 30, 2011.[53]

52. The Executive Assistant told the OCE that he did not discuss scheduling with anyone from the Chinese Culture University.[54]

53. TECRO officials were responsible for making the logistical arrangements for Representative Roskam's trip. For example, on June 6, 2011, the Executive Assistant had asked Mr. Yang if the proposed date of departure could be moved by one day.[55] Mr. Yang responded that he would "change flights booking at once."[56]

54. On July 28, 2011, Mr. Yang emailed the Executive Assistant to inform him that he had "book[ed] the flight from San Francisco to Taipei in early morning (around 1 am) on September 24th. That means that Mr. and Mrs. Roskam need to flight [*sic*] out from DC or Chicago to San Francisco in the evening of the 23rd. Do you think if it would work for their schedule? Let me know."[57]

55. Mr. Yang was also included in emails from China Airlines to the Executive Assistant regarding the flight arrangements for Representative Roskam and his wife.[58]

56. The Executive Assistant told the OCE that the only person he spoke with regarding the logistics for Representative Roskam's trip was Mr. Yang.[59]

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[49] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0029).
[50] *Id.*
[51] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, June 9, 2011 (Exhibit 6 at 13-9784_0043); email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, July 11, 2011 (Exhibit 7 at 13-97864_0052). Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant also recalled a pre-trip briefing held at the TECRO offices in Washington, DC, with the TECRO ambassador and other TECRO officials, attended by the Executive Assistant, Rep. Roskam, his wife, and his daughter, who was interning at TECRO at the time. *See* Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0029). Rep. Roskam did not recall a pre-trip briefing at TECRO. *See* Rep. Roskam MOI (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0024). It is unclear whether such a pre-trip briefing occurred.
[52] Email from Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant to Gordon Yang, July 8, 2011 (Exhibit 8 at 13-9784_0054).
[53] Email from Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant to Gordon Yang, July 20, 2011 (Exhibit 7 at 13-9784_0052).
[54] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0029).
[55] Email from Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant to Gordon Yang, June 6, 2011 (Exhibit 9 at 13-9784_0057).
[56] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, June 6, 2011 (Exhibit 9 at 13_9784_0057).
[57] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, July 28, 2011 (Exhibit 10 at 13-9784_0060).
[58] *See* email from Ken Chong to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, copied to Gordon Yang, Sept. 27, 2011 (Exhibit 11 at 13-9784_0063); email from Ken Chong to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant and Gordon Yang, Oct. 11, 2011 (Exhibit 12 at 13-9784_0066); *see also* email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Oct. 12, 2011 (Exhibit 13 at 13-9784_0069) ("I've also seen that Ken [Chong of China Airlines] has already sent the E-tickets to you.") .

57. On August 3, 2011, Mr. Yang emailed an updated tentative itinerary, with travel scheduled for September 23 to 30, 2011, to the Executive Assistant, asking him to "[l]et me know if there's any question on your end."[60]

58. On August 4, 2011, the Executive Assistant emailed Mr. Yang to request another change in travel dates to avoid the potential for conflicts with congressional business.[61] Mr. Yang responded the next day, telling the Executive Assistant, "For now, I will contact travel agent to book flights for the new dates and give Taipei a heads-up that the Congressman might change the dates of his visit."[62]

59. When the Executive Assistant emailed Mr. Yang on August 22, 2011, to confirm the new dates for the trip, Mr. Yang responded, "I'm now in Taiwan and have told our guys here about the change of dates. They understand Mr. Roskam's concern and would change everything based on the new dates October 15-21. I will get back to you with the new ethics form from the sponsor sometime next week."[63]

60. The Executive Assistant told the OCE that he did not know to whom Mr. Yang was referring when he spoke of "our guys."[64]

61. On August 26, 2011, Mr. Yang emailed another updated tentative itinerary, with new travel dates of October 15 to 22, 2011, to the Executive Assistant.[65]

62. On September 2, 2011, Mr. Yang emailed the Executive Assistant to let him know that he "got the new ethics form from the Chinese Culture University. I plan to stop by your office on Tuesday to deliver it to you...."[66] The invitation letter from the Chinese Culture University to Representative Roskam included in Representative Roskam's travel filings is dated September 2, 2011.[67]

63. The Executive Assistant said that, on or around September 15, 2011, Representative Roskam asked him to get in contact with the people organizing the Taiwan trip to arrange time for him to visit his daughter while he was in Taiwan.[68]

64. On September 15, 2011, Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant emailed Mr. Yang to request that TECRO arrange for Representative Roskam to watch his daughter teach

[59] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0029).
[60] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Aug. 3, 2011 (Exhibit 14 at 13-9784_0072).
[61] Email from Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant to Gordon Yang, Aug. 4, 2011 (Exhibit 15 at 13-9784_0079-0080).
[62] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Aug. 5, 2011 (Exhibit 15 at 13-9784_0079).
[63] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Aug. 22, 2011 (Exhibit 15 at 13-9784_0078).
[64] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0029).
[65] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Aug. 26, 2011 (Exhibit 15 at 13-9784_0078).
[66] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Sept. 2, 2011 (Exhibit 16 at 13-9784_0086).
[67] Letter from Wannyih Wu, President, Chinese Culture University, to Rep. Peter Roskam, Sept. 2, 2011 (Exhibit 1 at 13-9784_0011).
[68] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0030).

class and have dinner with his daughter's host family in Taiwan.[69] Mr. Yang responded that TECRO could make arrangements for both requests.[70]

65. On September 27, 2011, the Executive Assistant emailed Mr. Yang concerning "[a] couple more things for the trip," including a request from Representative Roskam that his daughter join him for some of his meetings in Taipei.[71] When Mr. Yang suggested that "[t]he host may be able to cover her cost as well,"[72] the Executive Assistant told him that he had "talked to someone in the ethics office this morning and confirmed [Representative Roskam] has to pay the costs associated with her being there. The Congressman is fine with that so no need to inquire on that."[73]

66. On October 7, 2011, Mr. Yang emailed the Executive Assistant an updated itinerary and accompanying travel memo.[74] The Executive Assistant did not know who prepared either the itinerary or the memo.[75]

67. The October 7, 2011 version of the itinerary identified the Chinese Culture University as the host of the trip.[76] The accompanying travel memo also identified the Chinese Culture University as the host of the trip.[77]

> **Memo**
> **The visit of the**
> **U.S. Representative Peter Roskam (R-IL) and Mrs. Roskam**
> **to the Republic of China (Taiwan)**
> **(October 16 ~ 22, 2011)**
>
> ***Welcome aboard!***
>
> The Chinese Culture University of the Republic of China (Taiwan) hosts your trip, which has been approved by the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Standards of Official Conduct.

68. However, according to the itinerary, the role of the University had been shortened to a single meeting to "[c]all on" the president of the University.[78]

16:00	Call on **Dr. Wan-Yi WU, President, Chinese Culture University (CCU) (Host of the trip)**

[69] Email from Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant to Gordon Yang, Sept. 15, 2011 (Exhibit 17 at 13-9784_0091-0092).
[70] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Sept. 15, 2011 (Exhibit 17 at 13-9784_0091).
[71] Email from Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant to Gordon Yang, Sept. 27, 2011 (Exhibit 18 at 13-9784_0095-0096).
[72] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Sept. 27, 2011 (Exhibit 18 at 13-9784_0094-0095).
[73] Email from Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant to Gordon Yang, Sept. 27, 2011 (Exhibit 18 at 13-9784_0094).
[74] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Oct. 7, 2011 (Exhibit 19 at 13-9784_0101-0108).
[75] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0030).
[76] Tentative Program for the Visit of U.S. Representative Peter Roskam and Mrs. Roskam to the Republic of China (Taiwan) October 15-22, 2011 (Exhibit 19 at 13-9784_0102-0103).
[77] Memo: The Visit of the U.S. Representative Peter Roskam (R-IL) and Mrs. Roskam to the Republic of China (Taiwan) (October 15-22, 2011) (Exhibit 19 at 13-9784_0106).
[78] Tentative Program for the Visit of U.S. Representative Peter Roskam and Mrs. Roskam to the Republic of China (Taiwan) October 15-22, 2011 (Exhibit 19 at 13-9784_0102-0103).

69. The Taiwan government had a significant role during Representative Roskam's trip. Just prior to the trip, Mr. Yang emailed the Executive Assistant to let him know that Frank Lee, Director of TECRO's Congressional Liaison Division, would meet Representative Roskam and his wife in Taiwan and escort them in the last few days of their trip.[79]

70. Mr. Yang also informed the Executive Assistant that his "colleague in Taipei's home office...will meet the Roskams on Sunday evening at the arrival gate in Taiwan airport, and he will escort them for the first two days' program in Taipei while Frank [Lee] will also join them for some official meetings."[80]

71. Representative Roskam recalled that Mr. Lee escorted him for some part of his trip.[81] He said that there were "many people" who escorted him during the trip, but he did not recall whether any of them were from the Chinese Culture University.[82]

72. While in Taiwan, Representative Roskam had a number of meetings with members of the Taiwan government scheduled, including the President of Taiwan, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Economic Affairs, and the Speaker of the Taiwan Parliament.[83] He did not know who set up his meetings in Taiwan.[84]

73. Representative Roskam recalled no interaction with the Chinese Culture University prior to his trip, other than receiving an invitation letter from the University president from a TECRO official.[85]

74. Representative Roskam's interaction with the Chinese Culture University during his trip was limited to one three-hour visit during which he met with the president of the University, toured the University campus, and toured an art museum on the campus.[86]

75. Representative Roskam recalled no other contacts with the University during the trip.[87]

76. When Representative Roskam returned from the trip, he had no further contact with the Chinese Culture University.[88]

77. After the trip, on October 25, 2011, the Executive Assistant emailed Mr. Yang, "[W]hen do you think you all will have the final ethics forms done?"[89] Mr. Yang responded, "I will get you the detailed information to fill out the post- travel ethics form."[90]

[79] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Oct. 12, 2011 (Exhibit 13 at 13-9784_0069).
[80] *Id.*
[81] Rep. Roskam MOI (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0025).
[82] *Id.*
[83] Program for the Visit of U.S. Representative Peter Roskam and Mrs. Roskam to the Republic of China (Taiwan), October 15-22, 2011 (Exhibit 1 at 13-9784_0004-0005).
[84] Rep. Roskam MOI (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0025).
[85] *Id.* at 13-9784_0024.
[86] *Id.* at 13-9784_0025.
[87] *Id.*
[88] *Id.*
[89] Email from Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant to Gordon Yang, Oct. 25, 2011 (Exhibit 20 at 13-9784_0110-0111).

78. On November 2, 2011, Representative Roskam's post-travel disclosure forms were filed with the Legislative Resource Center.[91] His Executive Assistant prepared the forms, and Representative Roskam signed them.[92] According to the disclosure forms, the sponsor of the trip paid $25,652.80 in travel expenses for Representative Roskam and his wife.[93]

79. As noted above, TECRO declined to provide documentary or testimonial evidence in response to the OCE's Request for Information.

80. As noted above, the Chinese Culture University declined to provide documentary or testimonial evidence in response to the OCE's Request for Information.

81. While the Chinese Culture University declined to cooperate with the OCE's review, it did provide the OCE with a letter in response to the OCE's Request for Information, in which it stated: "[W]e do regularly sponsor important leaders from the United States to visit Taiwan such as Representative Roskam's trip in 2011, which we believe is in accordance with U.S. House ethics rules related to private sponsorship."[94]

82. The University further stated that, "[i]n view of Mr. Roskam's important status as a member of U.S. Congress and the lack of staff of this university stationed in the United States, the program for Representative Roskam's visit to Taiwan was coordinated through the kind assistance of Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States."[95]

83. The Board notes that the majority of the communications between Representative Roskam's staff and TECRO officials during the planning of this trip appear to have occurred by electronic message, a communications medium that would not have been affected by the absence of staff stationed in the United States.

3. *Ethics Committee approval of Representative Roskam's trip*

84. According to the Executive Assistant, on or around September 27, 2011, a staff member from the House Ethics Committee contacted him about a "problem" with the Taiwan trip schedule.[96] The Executive Assistant could not recall what the "problem" was.[97]

85. The Executive Assistant did not recall what the Ethics Committee staff member asked him, nor did he recall what information he provided to the staff member.[98]

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[90] Email from Gordon Yang to Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant, Oct. 26, 2011 (Exhibit 20 at 13-9784_0110).
[91] Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 13-9784_0002).
[92] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0031); Rep. Roskam MOI (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0025).
[93] Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 13-9784_0003).
[94] Letter from Chiungli Kuo, Director of PR Office, Chinese Culture University, to OCE Staff Director and Chief Counsel, Feb. 19, 2013 (Exhibit 21 at 13-9784_0113). A review of Gift and Travel Filings available on the website of the Clerk of the House of Representatives indicates that the Chinese Culture University sponsored only three congressional trips since November 2010. *See* http://clerk.house.gov/public_disc/giftTravel.aspx.
[95] *Id.*
[96] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0030).
[97] *Id.*
[98] *Id.*

86. The Executive Assistant did not recall discussing the Chinese Culture University with the Ethics Committee staff member.[99]

87. The Executive Assistant believes that he did not have the information the Ethics Committee staff member was seeking, so he referred her to Mr. Yang.[100] He told the staff member that Mr. Yang was the person with whom he had been working in planning the Taiwan trip.[101] He then emailed the staff member Mr. Yang's contact information.[102]

From: Dankler, Mike
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2011 1:01 PM
To: Dees, Karona

Gordon Ching-hsei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

Mike Dankler
Executive Assistant
Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
Chief Deputy Republican Whip
202-225-[redacted]

88. The Executive Assistant said he gave Mr. Yang a "heads up" that the Ethics Committee staff member would be calling him.[103] He did not recall any follow-up conversations with Mr. Yang about what the Ethics Committee staff member had wanted.[104]

89. The Executive Assistant did not believe he had any further conversations with the Ethics Committee staff member after referring her to Mr. Yang.[105]

90. Representative Roskam told the OCE that he did not remember the circumstances surrounding the question from the Ethics Committee or any conversations with his Executive Assistant about this matter.[106] He said that he had given his Executive Assistant broad authority to work with the Ethics Committee.[107]

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[99] *Id.*
[100] *Id.*
[101] *Id.*
[102] Email from Rep. Roskam's Executive Assistant to Ethics Committee Staff Member, Sept. 27, 2011 (Exhibit 22 at 13-9784_0115).
[103] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0030).
[104] *Id.*
[105] *Id.*
[106] Rep. Roskam MOI (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0024).
[107] *Id.*

91. Representative Roskam said that his only conversation with the Executive Assistant about the Ethics Committee's review of the trip was when the Executive Assistant informed him that the Ethics Committee had approved the trip.[108]

92. The Committee on Ethics approved Representative Roskam's trip by letter dated September 30, 2011.[109]

93. In order to assess Representative Roskam's claim that his trip was properly authorized by the Ethics Committee, the OCE sought additional information regarding the Committee's approval process. At the request of the OCE, Representative Roskam provided a letter authorizing Ethics Committee staff to discuss with the OCE all matters concerning his trip to Taiwan.[110] On April 3, 2013, the OCE contacted the Committee to request additional information regarding the approval process. The OCE was unable to obtain this information and therefore unable to assess Representative Roskam's claim.

94. The Board finds that Representative Roskam knew, or should have known, that the government of Taiwan was organizing and conducting his trip to Taiwan. Representative Roskam had no interaction with the Chinese Culture University prior to his trip.[111] His contacts with the University were limited to a single three-hour visit during the trip.[112] He had no further contact with the University following his trip.[113] Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant never had any interactions with the University.[114] Rather, Representative Roskam's staff worked closely with TECRO officials on Representative Roskam's travel arrangements and trip itinerary.[115]

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[108] *Id.*

[109] Letter to Rep. Peter Roskam from the Chairman and Ranking Member, House Committee on Ethics, Sept. 30, 2011 (Exhibit 1 at 13-9784_0020). Representative Roskam, through his attorneys, maintains that the Committee on Ethics, as a result of the Executive Assistant's communications with Committee staff, was aware of the role that the government of Taiwan had in planning Representative Roskam's trip, and proceeded to approve the trip with knowledge of the Taiwan government's role. Representative Roskam maintains that he therefore appropriately relied on Ethics Committee approval when he accepted payment of travel expenses for this trip.

[110] Letter from Rep. Peter Roskam to the Chairman and Ranking Member, House Committee on Ethics, March 8, 2013 (Exhibit 23 at 13-9784_0117).

[111] Rep. Roskam MOI (Exhibit 2 at 13-9784_0024).

[112] *Id.* at 13-9784_0025.

[113] *Id.*

[114] Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0028).

[115] *See, e.g.*, Executive Assistant MOI (Exhibit 3 at 13-9784_0028-0030). The Committee on Ethics has determined that Members may be held responsible for the knowledge of their staff. In one recent matter, the Committee explained:

> [B]ased on the Standards Committee's longstanding precedent regarding the responsibilities Members have for the conduct and actions of their staff, the Subcommittee finds that it would not well serve the House as an institution to allow its Members to escape responsibility by delegating authority to their staff to take actions and hide behind their lack of knowledge of the facts surrounding those actions. Members choose their own staff and should expect their staff to provide them with all the information necessary to carry out their responsibilities, as well as to stay within the boundaries established by law, regulations, and standards of conduct. Many times Members act through the actions of their staff and, therefore, should be held liable for those actions in certain circumstances.

95. The government of Taiwan could not have paid for Representative Roskam's travel expenses under MECEA because Representative Roskam's spouse traveled with him on the trip to Taiwan. The Chinese Culture University could not have paid for Representative Roskam's travel expenses as a private sponsor of the trip because the University did not organize or conduct Representative Roskam's trip to Taiwan.

96. The Board therefore finds that there is substantial reason to believe that Representative Roskam accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible source, resulting in an impermissible gift, in violation of federal law and House rules.

III. CONCLUSION

97. The OCE Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation, as there is substantial reason to believe that Representative Roskam accepted payment of travel expenses for an officially connected trip to Taiwan from an impermissible source, resulting in an impermissible gift, in violation of federal law and House rules.

IV. INFORMATION THE OCE WAS UNABLE TO OBTAIN AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE ISSUANCE OF SUBPOENAS

98. The OCE was unable to obtain information from the Chinese Culture University or the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. Neither entity provided documents to the OCE in response to Requests for Information, and neither agreed to interviews by OCE staff.

Carib News Report at 192-93. The Committee went on to impute to the Member the knowledge of his staff to find that the Member knowingly accepted an impermissible gift of travel. *Id.*

EXHIBIT 1

X Original ☐ Amendment

2011 NOV -2 PM 3:15

OFFICE OF THE CLERK
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

U.S. House of Representatives
112th Congress

MEMBER / OFFICER POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for meetings, speaking engagements, fact-finding trips or similar events in connection with official duties. You need not disclose government-funded or political travel on this form, or travel that is unrelated to official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report all privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual Financial Disclosure Statement. In accordance with clause 5 of House Rule 25, complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, B-106 Cannon House Office Building, within **15 days** after travel is completed. The Clerk is to make these forms available to the public as soon as possible after they are received. *Obtain the dollar amounts from the sponsor; if exact dollar amounts are unavailable, provide a good faith estimate.*

Name of Member or Officer (print or type): Peter Roskam

Name of Accompanying Family Member (if any): Elizabeth Roskam

Relationship to Member/Officer: ☑ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____

Date of Departure and Date of Return: October 15 - 22, 2011

Dates at personal expense: N/A

Itinerary (cities of departure -- destination -- return): Chicago, IL USA - Taipei, Taiwan - Chicago, IL USA

Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): Chinese Culture University

Describe meetings and events attended (attach additional pages if necessary): See attached final itinerary

Attached to this form are EACH of the following (*signify "yes" for each item by checking the corresponding box*):

1. ☒ the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form completed by trip sponsor, including all attachments;
2. ☒ the Privately-Sponsored Travel Approval Form completed by the Member or officer; *and*
3. ☒ the Committee on Ethics letter approving my participation on this trip.

I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the sponsor's agenda (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☑

If not, explain: _____

19

TRIP EXPENSES:

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses
For Member or Officer:	$11,236.40	$1080.00	$1050
For accompanying family member:	$11,236.40	N/A (included above)	$1050

	Other Expenses (dollar amount)	Specific Nature of Expenses (*e.g.*, taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For Member or Officer:	N/A	
For accompanying family member:	N/A	

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge. I have determined that all of the expenses listed above were necessary and that the travel was in connection with my duties as a Member or Officer of the U.S. House of Representatives and would not create the appearance that I am using public office for private gain.

SIGNATURE OF MEMBER OR OFFICER: _____

DATE: 11/1/11

Version date 1/2011 by Committee on Ethics

Program for the Visit of
U.S. Representative Peter Roskam and Mrs. Roskam
to the Republic of China (Taiwan)
October 15 ~22, 2011

Saturday, October 15, 2011

Morning	Leave Washington, DC or Chicago for Los Angeles via domestic flight (to be arranged with China Airlines)
Noon	Arrive at Los Angeles International Airport
15:15	Depart Los Angeles via CI-005

Sunday, Sunday 16, 2011

20:10	Arrive at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport
	Proceed to the Hotel
RON	**Grand Formosa Regent Taipei** 41, Chung Shan N. Rd., Sec. 2, Taipei, Taiwan Tel: 886-2-2523-[redacted] Fax: 886-2-2523-2828

Monday, October 17, 2011

08:00 ~ 08:30	Call on **Hon. Den-Yih WU, Premier**, Executive Yuan (the Cabinet)
09:00	Attend **Opening Ceremony of "Taiwan-U.S.-Japan Trilateral Conference : Security Dialogue"**
09:30 ~ 10:45	Attend the 1st panel discussion of **"Trilateral Partnership among Taiwan, U.S. and Japan: Congressional Views"**
11:30	Call on **Hon. Timothy C. T. YANG, Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)**
12:30	Luncheon hosted by **Dr. and Mrs. Lyushun SHEN, Deputy Minister,** MOFA
16:00	Call on **Dr. Wan-Yi WU, President, Chinese Culture**

University (CCU) (Host of the trip)

19:00 **Dinner hosted by Foreign Minister YANG** for the distinguished guests of "Taiwan-U.S.-Japan Trilateral Conference : Security Dialogue"

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Tuesday, October 18, 2011

09:30 Call on **Hon. Yen-shiang SHIH, Minister, Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA)**

10:45 ~ 11:15 Audience with **H.E. Ying-jeou MA, President of the Republic of China (Taiwan)**

11:30 Call on **Hon. Jin-Ping WANG, Speaker of the Legislative Yuan (the Parliament)**

12:15 Luncheon hosted by Speaker Wang

15:00 Briefing by **Mr. William Stanton, Director, American Institute in Taiwan**/Taipei Office (AIT/T) (de facto U.S. Embassy in Taiwan)

17:00 **Visit Taipei 101 Financial Center** and its observatory (the world's 2nd tallest building and the tallest green building)

18:00 Dinner at leisure at Taipei 101

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Wednesday, October 19, 2011

09:00 Visit **National Palace Museum** (the world's largest collection of ancient Chinese art and treasure)

11:30 Lunch at leisure

13:30 Depart for Taichung via **Taiwan High Speed Rail** (bullet train) #159

14:19 Arrive in **Taichung** (the 3rd largest city in Taiwan, located in central Taiwan)

15:00 Visit **Chen Shan Mei American School, Tsaoton Township, Nantou County**

16:30 Call on **Dr. and Mrs. Chia-Chung CHEN**

18:00 Dinner at leisure

20:00 Depart for **Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area**

21:30 Arrive at Sun Moon Lake

RON **Fleur de Chine Hotel**
23, Zhongzheng Rd., Sun Moon Lake, Yuchih Township, Nantou County 55546, Taiwan(R.O.C.)
TEL: 886-49-285-[redacted]
FAX: 886-49-285-6600

Thursday, October 20, 2011

10:00 Briefing at **Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area Headquarters**

10:30 ~ 16:00 Visit **cultural establishments and natural surroundings around Sun Moon Lake** including aboriginal village, tea grove, Wenwu Temple, Ci Hen Pagoda, etc.

16:10 Depart for **Xitou Nature Education Area**

17:30 Arrive Xitou Nature Education Area

18:30 Dinner at leisure

RON **Le Midi Hotel Xitou**
1, Midi St., Nai Hu Village, Deer Valley Township, Nantou County, Taiwan
TEL: 886-49-261-[redacted]

Friday, October 21, 2011

09:00 – 11:00	Visit **Xitou Nature Education Area**
11:30	Lunch at leisure
12:30	Depart for Taichung
14:15	Depart for Taipei via Taiwan High Speed Rail #158
15:06	Arrive in Taipei
15:30	Visit **Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall** and **Freedom Square** (and watch the change of guards at 16:00)
16:40	Visit **Taiwan Handicraft Promotion Center**
18:30	Dinner at leisure
RON	Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Saturday, October 22, 2011

10:00	Visit **Taipei Municipal Holiday Jade and Floral Expos**
11:20	Visit the **official residence of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kei-shek** at Shih Lin, Taipei
12:30	Lunch at **Grand Hotel** (the traditional palace architecture hosting many Heads of State including President Eisenhower)
13:40	Visit the **underground tunnel at Grand Hotel**
15:00	Leave for Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport
16:40	Depart Taiwan for Los Angeles via CI-006
14:05	Arrive in Los Angeles (on the same day)

form

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM
(provide directly to each House invitee)

This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers or employees under House Rule XXV, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee. The trip sponsor should NOT submit the form directly to the Committee.

Private sponsors are urged to submit this form to each House invitee at least 30 days before travel is scheduled to begin. The failure to provide the Committee with adequate time to review the form and attachments may result in the invitee not receiving approval for the trip. The submission of an incomplete form will delay the review process. Before completing this form, sponsors are urged to *carefully review* the Committee's private travel guidelines and advisory memoranda detailing the rules and restrictions for private travel, as well as the instructions for completing this form. Sponsors should call the Committee with any questions prior to submitting the form. *Please type form.*

1. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): Chinese Culture University

2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a federally-registered lobbyist or a registered foreign agent (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☑

3. I represent that the trip sponsor(s) has not accepted from any other source funds earmarked directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☑

4. Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)? ☑ Yes ☐ No

5. Provide names and titles of ALL House invitees; for each invitee, provide explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional pages if necessary): Please see attachment

6. Dates of travel: October 16-22, 2011

7. Cities of departure – destination – return: Washington DC (or Chicago or other cities in the congressional districts) – Taipei – Washington DC (or Chicago or other cities in the congressional districts)

8. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities taking place during the travel (*i.e.*, an hourly description of planned activities) (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☑

9. I represent that (*check one of the following*):
   a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965: ☐ or
   b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent: ☑ or
   c. The trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip *was de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations. ☐

10. If travel is for participation in a one-day event (*i.e.*, if you checked Question 9(c)), check one of the following:
    a. One-night's lodging and meals are being offered: ☐ or
    b. Two-nights' lodging and meals are being offered: ☐
    If "b" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted: _____

Form

11. If the trip is not sponsored by an institution of higher education, I represent that a federally-registered lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip *(signify "yes" by checking box)*: ☑

12. Private sponsors must have a direct and immediate relationship to the purpose of the trip or location being visited. Describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:
The Chinese Culture University is a private academic institution located in Taipei, Taiwan. The University has consistently sponsored educational and cultural programs for international visitors traveling to Taiwan.

13. Describe each sponsor's organizational interest in the purpose of the trip:
The Chinese Culture University pays much attention to international culture exchanges so that it could thrive in a world increasingly engineered by an irresistible thrust towards globalization.

14. Describe the type and class of the transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first-class transportation will be provided. In addition, for travel via aircraft, please indicate if travel is being offered on a commercial flight, chartered flight or on an aircraft operated or paid for by a carrier not licensed by the Federal Aviation Administration to operate for compensation or hire (*i.e.*, a private aircraft). If first-class line is being provided, or if travel is via chartered or private aircraft, please provide an explanation describing why such travel is warranted:
The sponsor will provide first-class commercial flights because the length of flights combining both the domestic and international legs is about 21 hours between the US and Taiwan.

15. I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the traveler(s). *(signify "yes" by checking box)*: ☑

16. I represent that either *(check one of the following)*:
a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees: ☐ or
b. The trip involves events that are arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation: ☑
If "b" is checked, detail the cost per day of meals (approximate cost may be provided):
The estimated cost per day of meals for each participant is approximately 2130 USD.

17. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: To learn more current US-Taiwan relations on various aspects such as security cooperation, trade partnership, educational and cultural exchanges

18. Name of hotel or other lodging facility: Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

19. Cost per night of hotel or other lodging facility (approximate cost may be provided): Approximately $200 USD per night per room

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility: The hotel is located in downtown area and conveniently accessible to most of the meeting venues in Taipei.

Form

31. TOTAL EXPENSES FOR EACH PARTICIPANT

Actual amounts if good faith estimates	Total *Transportation* Expenses per Participant	Total *Lodging* Expenses per Participant	Total *Meal* Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or employee	$10,000 USD	$ 1,200 USD	$ 1,050 USD
For each accompanying family member	$ 10,000 USD	$ 0 (spouse)	$ 1,050 USD

	Other Expenses (dollar amount)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (*e.g.*, taxi, parking, registration fee, *etc.*)
For each Member, Officer, or employee	N/A	
For each accompanying family member	N/A	

22. I represent that reimbursement for miscellaneous travel expenses for the trip, such as travel to and from airports, security costs, interpreter fees, visa application fees, and similar expenses, will be for actual costs incurred and are necessary for the purpose of the trip (*check "yes" by checking box*): ☑

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

Signature: Chiung-Li Kuo

Name and title: KUO, CHIUNG-LI, Director of Public Relations Office

Organization: Chinese Culture University

Address: No. 55, Hwa-Kang Rd., Yang-Ming-Shan, Taipei 111, Taiwan, R.O.C.

Telephone number: +886-2-2861-[redacted]

Fax number: +886-2-2861-6824

Email address: [redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw

The Committee staff may contact the above individual above if additional information is required.

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee at the following address:

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (fax)

Revised date 1/2011 by Committee on Ethics

中國文化大學
Chinese Culture University
HWA KANG, YANG MING SHAN
TAIWAN, REPUBLIC OF CHINA

September 2, 2011

The Honorable Peter Roskam
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
U.S.A.

Dear Congressman Roskam:

It gives me great pleasure to invite you and Mrs. Roskam to visit the Republic of China (Taiwan) from October 15-22, 2011, as guests of the Chinese Culture University (CCU).

Chinese Culture University is one of Taiwan's leading institutions of higher education. A private university founded in 1962, CCU has developed a comprehensive undergraduate program that reflects its understanding of Taiwan's role in the broader global community. Our founders knew that in order to grow and prosper in its present historical and global setting, Chinese culture must inherit the best that the East and the West have to offer. To this end, the university has also developed a strong program of international exchanges and sister university relations.

CCU is inviting you and others from the U.S. Congress on this educational and fact-finding visit to Taiwan as part of our effort to broaden relations through new exchange initiatives. We hope to introduce you to Taiwan, its people, and the range of issues that shape its domestic and national security policies today -- and which have direct relevance to the United States and U.S.-Taiwan relations. Therefore, we have formulated a program that will include meetings with key leaders in both the government and private sectors, exchanges with policy experts from CCU and other institutions, and visits to important economic and cultural sites. CCU will provide round-trip air transportation to Taipei, and local transportation and accommodations during your stay in Taiwan.

I hope you can join your colleagues for this visit to Taiwan, which we believe will be both educational and an opportunity to exchange views and build lasting relationship. Please contact my Assistant Ms. KUO, Chiung-Li at [redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw for additional information. I look forward to seeing you in Taiwan.

Sincerely,

Wannyih Wu

Wannyih Wu
President

Members of the House Invited to Attend the Congressional Delegation to the Republic of China (Taiwan) on October 12-22, 2011 :

1. Rep. & Mrs. Peter Roskam (R-IL) (and his staff)
2. Rep. David Rivera (R-FL) (and his staff)
3. Rep. & Mrs. Steve Austria (R-OH) (and his staff)
4. Rep. & Mrs. Gus Bilirakis (R-FL) (and his staff)
5. Rep. & Mrs. Kevin Brady (R-TX) (and his staff)
6. Rep. & Mrs. Mike Conaway (R-TX) (and his staff)
7. Rep. & Mrs. Chip Cravaack (R-MN) (and his staff)
8. Rep. & Mrs. Scott Garrett (R-NJ) (and his staff)
9. Rep. & Mrs. Richard Hanna (R-NY) (and his staff)
10. Rep. & Mrs. Bill Johnson (R-OH) (and his staff)
11. Rep. & Mrs. Steve King (R-IA) (and his staff)
12. Rep. & Mrs. Bob Latta (R-OH) (and his staff)
13. Rep. & Mrs. Kenny Marchant (R-TX) (and his staff)
14. Rep. & Mrs. Patrick McHenry (R-NC) (and his staff)
15. Rep. Mrs. Sue Myrick (R-NC) & Mr. Myrick (and her staff)
16. Rep. & Mrs. Alan Nunnelee (R-MS) (and his staff)
17. Rep. & Mrs. Pete Olson (R-TX) (and his staff)
18. Rep. & Mrs. Tom Price (R-GA) (and his staff)
19. Rep. & Mrs. Mike Rogers (R-AL) (and his staff)
20. Rep. & Mrs. Jon Runyan (R-NJ) (and his staff)

21. Rep. & Mrs. Steve Southerland (R-FL) (and his staff)
22. Rep. & Mrs. Steve Stivers (R-OH) (and his staff)
23. Rep. & Mrs. Lynn Westmoreland (R-GA) (and his staff)
24. Rep. & Mrs. Joe Wilson (R-SC) (and his staff)
25. Rep. & Mrs. Rob Wittman (R-VA) (and his staff)

Tentative Program for the Visit of
U.S. Congressional Delegation to the Republic of China (Taiwan)
October 15 ~22, 2011

Saturday, October 15, 2011

Morning Leave Washington, DC or the congressional districts for Los Angeles via domestic flight (to be arranged with China Airlines)

Noon Arrive at Los Angeles International Airport

15:15 Depart Los Angeles via CI-005

Sunday, Sunday 16, 2011

20:10 Arrive at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport

Proceed to the Hotel

RON **Grand Formosa Regent Taipei**
41, Chung Shan N. Rd., Sec. 2, Taipei, Taiwan
Tel: 886-2-2523-[redacted]
Fax: 886-2-2523-2828

Monday, October 17, 2011

09:00 Briefing by the **American Institute in Taiwan**/Taipei Office (AIT/T) (de facto U.S. Embassy in Taiwan)

10:30 Opening remarks at **Trilateral Taiwan-U.S.-Japan Conference**

12:30 Lunch with faculties and students of the **Chinese Culture University (CCU) (Host of the trip)**

14:00 Visit Campus of CCU

15:30 Visit the **National Palace Museum** (the world's largest collection of ancient Chinese art and treasure)

18:00 Call on **Hon. Timothy YANG, Minister, Ministry of Foreign**

Affairs (MOFA)

18:30 Dinner hosted by Minister YANG

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Tuesday, October 18, 2011

09:30 Call on **Hon. Yat-shiang SHIH, Minister, Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA)**

11:00 Audience with **H.E. Ying-jeou MA, President of the Republic of China (Taiwan)**

12:30 Lunch at **Grand Hotel** (the traditional palace architecture hosting many Heads of State including President Eisenhower)

14:00 Visit the **underground tunnel at Grand Hotel**

15:00 Visit the **official residence of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kei-shek** at Shih Lin, Taipei

17:00 Visit **Taipei 101 Financial Center** and its observatory (the world's 2nd tallest building and the tallest green building)

18:00 Dinner at leisure at Taipei 101

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Wednesday, October 19, 2011

10:00 Call on **Hon. Dun-yi WU, Premier,** Executive Yuan (the Cabinet)

12:00 Lunch at leisure at **Din Tai Fung Restaurant** (ranked top 10 Chinese restaurant in the world)

13:30 Visit **Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and Freedom Square** (and watch the change of guards at 14:00)

14:30 Visit **Taiwan Handicraft Promotion Center**

15:30 Visit **special exhibition** "River of Wisdom—Moving of the

Riverside Scene at Ching-Ming Festival "(A multimedia masterpiece of Song dynasty) **at Taipei EXPO Dome**

17:00 Visit **Legislative Yuan (The Congress)** and its Chamber

17:30 Call on **Hon. Jin-Ping WANG, Speaker** of the Legislative Yuan

18:00 Dinner hosted by Speaker Wang

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Thursday, October 20, 2011

09:30 Depart for Taichung via **Taiwan High Speed Rail** (bullet train)

10:22 Arrive in **Taichung** (the 3rd largest city in Taiwan, located in central Taiwan)

11:30 Visit **Tsaoton Township, Nantou County**

12:30 Lunch at leisure

15:30 Leave for Sun Moon Lake

16:30 Arrive at **Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area**

18:00 Dinner at leisure

RON **Fleur de Chine Hotel**
23, Zhongzheng Rd., Sun Moon Lake, Yuchih Township, Nantou County 55546, Taiwan(R.O.C.)
TEL: 886-49-285-[redacted]
FAX: 886-49-285-6600

Friday, October 21, 2011

09:00 Briefing at **Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area Headquarters**

Morning Visit **cultural establishments and natural surroundings around Sun Moon Lake** including aboriginal village, tea grove, Wenwu Temple, Ci Hen Pagoda, etc.

12:30 Lunch at leisure

15:00 Visit **Sun Moon Lake**

18:00 Dinner at leisure

RON Fleur de Chine Hotel

Saturday, October 22, 2011

08:30 Leave for Taichung

09:30 Arrive in Taichung

10:01 Return Taipei by Taiwan High Speed Rail

11:00 Arrive in Taipei

12:00 Visit **Taipei Municipal Holiday Jade and Floral Expos**

12:30 Lunch at leisure

15:00 Leave for Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport

16:40 Depart Taiwan for Los Angeles via CI-006

14:05 Arrive in Los Angeles **(on the same day)**

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

PRIVATELY SPONSORED TRAVEL: TRAVELER FORM
For Members, Officers, and Employees

This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection. *Please type form. Form (and any attachments) may be faxed to the Committee at (202) 225-7392.*

YOUR COMPLETED REQUEST MUST BE SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE NO LESS THAN 14 DAYS BEFORE YOUR PROPOSED DEPARTURE DATE. Absent exceptional circumstances, permission will not be granted for requests received less than 14 days before the trip commences.

Name of Traveler: Peter Roskam

I certify that the information contained on both pages of this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: _____

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For staff, name of employing Member/Committee: _____

Office address: 227 Cannon HOB

Phone number: 202-225-[redacted]

Email address of contact person: [redacted]@mail.house.gov

☐ Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet and the traveler is a Member traveling to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity and these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 14 days before the trip departure date.

NOTE: You must complete the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need to contact you if additional information is required.

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee:

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (fax)

Version date 2/2011 by Committee on Ethics

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

PRIVATELY SPONSORED TRAVEL: TRAVELER FORM
For Members, Officers, and Employees

This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection. *Please type form. Form (and any attachments) may be faxed to the Committee at (202) 225-7392.*

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Name of Traveler: Peter Roskam

I certify that the information contained on both pages of this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: _____

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For staff, name of employing Member/Committee: _____

Office address: 227 Cannon HOB

Phone number: 202-225-[redacted]

Email address of contact person: [redacted]@mail.house.gov

☐ Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet and the traveler is a Member traveling to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity and these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 14 days before the trip departure date.

NOTE: You must complete the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need to contact you if additional information is required.

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee:

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (fax)

Version date 2/2011 by Committee on Ethics

Jo Bonner, Alabama
Chairman
Linda T. Sánchez, California
Ranking Member

Michael T. McCaul, Texas
K. Michael Conaway, Texas
Charles W. Dent, Pennsylvania
Gregg Harper, Mississippi

John A. Yarmuth, Kentucky
Donna F. Edwards, Maryland
Pedro R. Pierluisi, Puerto Rico
Joe Courtney, Connecticut

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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Staff Director and Chief Counsel

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Daniel J. Taylor
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

September 30, 2011

The Honorable Peter Roskam
U.S. House of Representatives
227 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your and your spouse's proposed trip to Taipei, Taiwan, scheduled for October 15 to 22, 2011, sponsored by the Chinese Culture University.

You must complete a Member Travel Disclosure Form and file it with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are required to attach a copy of this letter and the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, including attachments. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than $350 from a single source on Schedule VII of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House Members may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act, gifts "of minimal value [currently $350] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of $350 received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

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

Sincerely,

Jo Bonner
Chairman

Linda T. Sánchez
Ranking Member

JB/LTS:kd

EXHIBIT 2

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

IN RE:	Representative Peter Roskam
REVIEW No(s):	13-9784
DATE:	April 18, 2013
LOCATION:	2550 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037
TIME:	1:10 p.m. to 1:45 p.m. (approximate)
PARTICIPANTS:	Scott Gast Omar S. Ashmawy D. Zachary Adams, counsel to the witness William McGinley, counsel to the witness

SUMMARY: The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.

2. The witness is currently the U.S. Representative from Illinois' Sixth Congressional District.

3. The witness said that he was generally familiar with the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States ("TECRO"). He said that, as a Member of Congress, he often interacts with various embassies, and TECRO has the function of an embassy.

4. The witness had interactions with TECRO on two occasions prior to the planning of his October 2011 trip. Both occasions involved getting visas for his daughter to travel to Taiwan. The witness did not recall any other interactions with TECRO prior to his trip to Taiwan.

5. The witness did not have any have any interaction with the Chinese Cultural University prior to his visit to Taiwan, other than the paperwork related to the trip.

6. The witness' staff was mostly involved in planning his trip to Taiwan – specifically, Mike Dankler. Other staff members could have been involved, but the primary person who came to the witness' mind was Mr. Dankler.

7. The witness recalled general discussions about visiting Taiwan since he came to Congress, but could not remember when or with whom he had the discussions. He commented that almost every Member of Congress goes to Taiwan at some point.

8. The witness did not remember when the idea for this particular trip first arose.

9. The witness did not remember when he first learned about the invitation to travel to Taiwan, or the first time he had a discussion about the proposed trip.

10. The witness said that the "pattern" would have been that Mr. Dankler, as his congressional scheduler, would have been approached about a potential trip.

11. The witness did not remember any specific conversation with Mr. Dankler about the trip. The witness only remembered generally discussing travel to Taiwan.

12. The witness was asked if recalled what was discussed as the purpose of the trip. The witness stated that it was to learn more about the U.S./Taiwan relationship.

13. The witness was asked who the sponsor of the proposed trip was. The witness replied that he "has come to understand that there were two proposed sponsors," whom he identified as the Taiwan government or the Chinese Culture University. The witness said that he did not recall any specific conversations about the distinction between the two potential sponsors or how he learned about the two potential sponsors.

14. The witness stated that he understands the actual sponsor to have been the Chinese Culture University, but he did not remember if that was part of his initial conversation with Mr. Dankler.

15. The witness recalled receiving a proposed itinerary from Mr. Dankler. He did not know where Mr. Dankler got the itinerary.

16. The witness recalled some general discussion of the itinerary – mostly about the timing of his travel. The witness also recalled expressing interest in seeing his daughter who was teaching in Taiwan at the time. He did not recall any discussions about specific meetings.

17. The witness did not travel with any other Members of Congress or any congressional staff. The witness did travel with his wife, but did not remember when that was decided.

18. The witness was asked about his recollection as to whether the trip was originally planned under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA"). The witness stated that he was generally familiar with MECEA, but that he did not remember any conversation about the proposed trip to Taiwan being a MECEA trip.

19. The witness did not remember any discussion about a private sponsor paying for the trip. He said that the discussion was that he had received an invitation to travel to Taiwan and this was the proposed itinerary. He did not recall any conversation about whether the trip was planned under MECEA or was to be privately sponsored.

20. When asked if there had been any discussions about the rules relating to travel paid for by a foreign government versus a private source, the witness said that there was a general understanding in his office that all travel comes under the scrutiny of the Ethics Committee. Any conversations he may have had would have been about checking with the Ethics Committee.

21. The witness said that he had a "high level of confidence" that his office regularly checked with the Ethics Committee about the planning for this trip.

22. The witness said that he did not have a sense of who was paying for this trip. The witness did not recall if the topic of who was paying was discussed. He said that there was a level of confidence that his office was relying on Ethics Committee approval of the trip.

23. The witness said he had a sense that, in planning the trip, his staff was following up with the Ethics Committee and "those submitting the invitation," by whom he meant the Chinese Culture University and the government of Taiwan.

24. The witness was asked about a June 9, 2011 email from Mr. Dankler to Gordon Yang, a TECRO official, in which Mr. Dankler provided Mr. Yang with information about the witness' daughter, who was to begin teaching English in Taiwan. The witness did not know what prompted the email, but he had expressed an interest in seeing his daughter while he was in Taiwan.

25. The witness was able to visit his daughter while on the trip, watched her teach a class, and met her host family over dinner.

26. The witness said that another daughter was serving as a high-school volunteer intern at TECRO, for approximately three weeks, at the time his trip was being planned in the summer of 2011.

27. The witness did not recall attending a pre-trip briefing at TECRO. He said that he did not recall any meetings regarding this trip.

28. The witness did recall having lunch with the ambassador from Taiwan, but did not remember if it was before or after the trip. The witness did not remember any specifics about the lunch.

29. The witness also recalled attending a reception at the Taiwanese ambassador's residence some time since he has been in Congress, but he did not remember the date of the event.

30. The witness was asked about an August 22, 2011 email exchange between Mr. Dankler and Mr. Yang about extending the witness' trip to Taiwan by one day. The witness did not recall what prompted the change in travel dates.

31. The witness said he had no interaction with the Chinese Culture University prior to receiving a letter of invitation from the University that was submitted to the Ethics Committee.

32. The witness was asked about a September 27, 2011 email from Mr. Dankler to a staff member at the House Ethics Committee, providing contact information for TECRO official Gordon Yang. The witness explained that he is now familiar with that email, but he did not remember the circumstances surrounding the email with specificity. The witness explained that he had given Mr. Dankler broad authority to check with the Ethics Committee regarding the Taiwan trip.

33. The witness did not recall any conversations with Mr. Dankler about this email. The substance of any conversations with Mr. Dankler about his interactions with the Ethics Committee is that the Ethics Committee has approved the trip.

34. The witness was shown a copy of the final itinerary and accompanying travel memo emailed to Mr. Dankler on October 7, 2011. The witness recalled receiving the itinerary but did not recall the memo. He did not know who prepared either document, nor did he recall any conversations about the either document at the time he received them.

35. The witness did not remember who met him at the airport when he and his wife arrived in Taiwan. He did not remember if someone from the government of Taiwan was there. He did not remember if someone from the Chinese Cultural University was there.

36. The witness recalled that Frank Lee, who was the congressional affairs point of contact at TECRO, escorted him for some part of his trip in Taiwan. He said that there were "many people" who escorted him during the trip. He did not know if any of them were from the Chinese Cultural University.

37. The witness did not know who set up his meetings in Taiwan. He did not know if any Chinese Culture University officials were present at any of his meetings in Taiwan.

38. The witness' only interaction with the Chinese Culture University during this trip was a visit to the University, where he met with the president of the school, toured the campus, and toured a Chinese art museum on campus. His visit lasted approximately three hours.

39. When the witness returned from the trip, he had no further contact with the Chinese Culture University. The witness did not recall if he had any further contact with TECRO.

40. The witness was shown the pre- and post-travel disclosure forms he filed with the Committee on Ethics for this trip to Taiwan. The witness said that Mr. Dankler was responsible for assembling the filings. The witness signed them.

41. The witness was asked who prepared the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form. The witness stated that the form speaks for itself and that the Chinese Cultural University prepared it. The witness did not discuss the form with anyone.

42. The witness did not have any discussions with anyone about who was paying for the trip. There were no discussions about TECRO pre-paying trip expenses and then being reimbursed by the Chinese Cultural University.

This memorandum was prepared on April 22, 2013 after the interview was conducted on April 18, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on April 18, 2013.

Omar S. Ashmawy
Staff Director & Chief Counsel

EXHIBIT 3

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

IN RE:	Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant
REVIEW No(s):	13-9784
DATE:	April 12, 2013
LOCATION:	2550 M Street, NW Washington, DC 20037
TIME:	3:10 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. (approximate)
PARTICIPANTS:	Scott Gast Kedric L. Payne William McGinley, counsel to the witness Benjamin Wood, counsel to the witness

SUMMARY: The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.

2. The witness has been employed as a Legislative Assistant in the office of Rep. Peter Roskam since October 2012. Prior to this position, he served as the Executive Assistant to Rep. Roskam from approximately January 2009 to October 2012, and as a Staff Assistant from approximately May 2008 to January 2009.

3. In his position as Legislative Assistant, and in his prior position as Executive Assistant, the witness reports to the Deputy Chief of Staff. As a Legislative Assistant, the witness typically interacts with Rep. Roskam once per day. When he was Executive Assistant, he had more interactions with Rep. Roskam, by email, text, and telephone.

4. As Legislative Assistant, the witness is responsible for the issue areas of trade, foreign affairs, and financial services. He monitors legislative developments, reviews letters, and staffs meetings in these issue areas.

5. As Executive Assistant, the witness handled requests for time with Rep. Roskam, scheduled meetings, and made sure that meetings were appropriately staffed. He was also responsible for the issue areas of foreign affairs, financial services, and government reform and oversight.

6. The witness stated that he first interacted with the Taiwan Economic and Cultural Representative's Office in the United States ("TECRO") in early to mid-2009. His first interactions dealt with scheduling matters. He has had interactions with TECRO officials on other issues prior to discussing Rep. Roskam's trip to Taiwan.

7. The witness has interacted with TECRO officials Frank Lee, Gordon Yang, Livia Sun, and an official named Hans, whose last name he could not recall.

8. The witness has had no interactions with anyone from the Chinese Culture University.

9. The witness reported having a "fair amount" of interaction with Rep. Roskam during the planning of his October 2011 trip to Taiwan. The interactions dealt mostly with finding dates on which to travel and on keeping him posted regarding the itinerary for the trip. The witness said he had no interactions with Rep. Roskam's family members regarding the trip to Taiwan.

10. The witness said that he was the only staff member who worked on the Taiwan trip.

11. The witness stated that Rep. Roskam had been invited to travel to Taiwan by TECRO officials numerous times in the past. The idea for the trip to Taiwan ultimately taken by Rep. Roskam in October 2011 came from TECRO officials in May 2011.

12. The witness received a May 13, 2011 email from TECRO official Gordon Yang, inviting Rep. Roskam and other Members of Congress "to join the congressional delegation to visit Taiwan" in June or July 2011. The witness said that this was the first time he heard of the idea for this trip.

13. The witness said that he first contacted Mr. Yang about the invitation on June 2, 2011. He could not recall whether they met in person or spoke by telephone.

14. The witness did not recall whether he had spoken with Rep. Roskam about the invitation prior to the June 2, 2011 conversation with Mr. Yang, but it was likely he would have.

15. The witness said that Mr. Yang asked if Rep. Roskam could help get other Members of Congress to join the Taiwan trip. The witness forwarded the proposed itinerary to a few other schedulers that Rep. Roskam wanted him to focus on, but ultimately no other Members could make the trip.

16. The witness said that, based on Mr. Yang's initial invitation email, he understood that the proposed trip to Taiwan would be organized pursuant to the Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA").

17. The witness stated that, in his initial conversations with Rep. Roskam about the proposed trip, Rep. Roskam indicated that he wanted to take his wife with him on the trip. According to the witness, this request prompted him to have a conversation with Mr. Yang about the trip. He could not recall when this conversation occurred.

18. The witness said that as a result of this conversation with Mr. Yang, it was decided that the proposed trip would be privately sponsored, rather than a MECEA trip. The witness did not recall discussing who the private sponsor of the trip would be during this conversation.

19. The witness said that he first learned that the Chinese Culture University would be the private sponsor of Rep. Roskam's trip when he read that in the first itinerary sent to him by Mr. Yang.

20. The witness said he was not familiar with the Chinese Culture University. He did not have any conversations with Mr. Yang about who the Chinese Culture University was.

21. The witness stated that he accepted the invitation to travel to Taiwan, on behalf of Rep. Roskam, on June 7, 2011. At this time, he understood that Rep. Roskam and his wife would be traveling, and that the trip would be privately sponsored.

22. The witness believes he would have had a conversation with Mr. Yang about the need for a private sponsor, but he did not recall if he knew who the private sponsor was at this time.

23. The witness said that he first received an itinerary for the trip on June 7, 2011 from Mr. Yang.

24. The witness was asked about an email from Mr. Yang to him on June 7, 2011, in which Mr. Yang states, "I will work with Taipei and get all the paperwork for you asap...." The witness said he did not know to whom "Taipei" referred, and did not recall focusing on that reference.

25. The witness did not know who prepared the trip itinerary.

26. The witness recalled a pre-trip briefing lunch held at the TECRO offices in Washington, with the TECRO ambassador and other TECRO officials. Rep. Roskam, his wife, and his youngest daughter, who was interning at TECRO at or around this time, were in attendance, as was the witness. He described the briefing as providing information in a question-and-answer format.

27. The witness said he knew at the time of the pre-trip briefing that the Chinese Culture University was the private sponsor of the Taiwan trip, but he does not know if the University was involved in the pre-trip briefing.

28. The witness was shown a June 9, 2011 email he sent to Mr. Yang, in which he provides information about Representative Roskam's daughter, who would be teaching English in Taiwan at the time that Rep. Roskam and his wife were to be in that country. The witness said that the daughter's work in Taiwan came up during a conversation with Mr. Yang.

29. The witness was shown a June 15, 2011 email from Mr. Yang to the witness, in which Mr. Yang says, "I will bring to you the invitation and the private sponsor certification form signed by the Chinese Culture University...." The witness did not recall receiving the invitation from the University in June 2011.

30. The witness said that, at this time, he understood that the University was the private sponsor of the trip, but neither he nor anyone in his office had had any contact with the University.

31. The witness said he did not discuss the private sponsor certification form with anyone from the Chinese Culture University.

32. The witness said he did not discuss scheduling with the Chinese Culture University.

33. When asked about a July 28, 2011 email from Mr. Yang to the witness about booking flights for Rep. and Mrs. Roskam, the witness said that Mr. Yang was the only person he spoke with regarding the logistics for the Taiwan trip.

34. When asked about an August 22, 2011 email from Mr. Yang to the witness, in which Mr. Yang writes, "I'm now in Taiwan and have told our guys here about the change of dates...," the witness said he did not know to whom Mr. Yang was referring when he spoke of "our guys."

35. The witness said that, on or around September 15, 2011, Rep. Roskam asked him to get in contact with the people organizing his Taiwan trip and arrange time for him to visit his daughter while she was teaching and to arrange dinner with her host family. The witness said that this was ultimately arranged.

36. When asked about the September 15, 2011 email from Mr. Yang to the witness regarding changes to the trip itinerary to allow Rep. Roskam to visit his daughter, the witness said that he only worked with Mr. Yang on scheduling issues. He was not sure with whom Mr. Yang may have worked.

37. The witness did not recall Mr. Yang mentioning any conversations with anyone from the Chinese Culture University. He did not recall receiving any feedback from the University regarding the itinerary.

38. The witness was asked about a September 27, 2011 email from the witness to a counsel at the House Committee on Ethics, in which the witness provides the name and contact information for Mr. Yang. The witness said that the Ethics Committee staff member had contacted him about a "problem" with the schedule. The witness could not recall what the "problem" was, nor did he recall what the Ethics Committee staff member asked him.

39. The witness did not recall what he told the Ethics Committee staff member about the trip. He did not recall the Chinese Culture University coming up in the conversation.

40. The witness said that he informed the Ethics Committee staff member that Mr. Yang was the person he "had been going through" in planning the trip. He said that he would not have had the information the staff member was seeking, so he would have referred her to Mr. Yang.

41. The witness stated that he contacted Mr. Yang to give him a "heads up" that the Ethics Committee staff member would be contacting him.

42. The witness did not recall any follow-up conversation with Mr. Yang about the conversation Mr. Yang may have had with the Ethics Committee staff member.

43. The witness does not believe he followed-up with the Ethics Committee staff member after providing her with Mr. Yang's contact information.

44. The witness was asked about an October 7, 2011 email from Mr. Yang to the witness, in which Mr. Yang provided an updated itinerary and travel memo. The witness said he does not know who prepared either item. The witness said he did not discuss the role of the Chinese Culture University outlined in the updated itinerary.

45. The witness did not recall being provided with contact information for anyone at the Chinese Culture University, other than the information included in the private sponsor certification form filed with the Committee on Ethics.

46. The witness does not know who greeted the Roskams at the airport in Taiwan or who escorted them on their trip. He said that he does not know if anyone from the Chinese Culture University greeted the Roskams at the airport or accompanied them on the trip.

47. The witness did not recall sending any thank you letters after the trip.

48. The witness said that he was responsible for assembling and filing the pre- and post-travel filing with the Committee on Ethics. He is not sure who prepared the private sponsor certification form. He has had no contact with the University official who signed the form. He did not take any actions to confirm the information included in the form.

49. The witness said he does not know who prepared the itinerary included with the Ethics Committee travel filings. He received it from Mr. Yang.

50. The witness said that he understood, from the ethics forms and the trip itinerary, that the Chinese Culture University would be paying for Rep. Roskam's trip to Taiwan.

This memorandum was prepared on April 18, 2013 after the interview was conducted on April 12, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on April 18, 2013.

Scott Gast
Investigative Counsel

EXHIBIT 4

Dankler, Mike

From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Monday, May 23, 2011 12:19 PM
To: [redacted]@tecro.us
Subject: Follow up: CoDel to Taiwan in June or July

Dear friends - I hope you had good weekend! I'd like to follow up to check if you have received my previous email. I would appreciate it if you could keep me informed of your Member's decision on the CoDel. I would also be happy to talk with you about any question that you have about the trip. Thanks again for your assistance and talk to you soon. Best, Gordon

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

---------- Forwarded Message ----------
From: "Gordon C. H. Yang" <[redacted]@tecro.us>
To: [redacted]@tecro.us
Sent: Fri, 13 May 2011 10:30:22 -0400
Subject: CoDel to Taiwan in June or July

Dear friends,

How are you? I hope this email finds you all well.

I would like to invite your Congressman or Congresswoman to join the congressional delegation to visit Taiwan during the period either from June 25 to July 2 or the period from July 16 to 23. The specific dates of travel are subject to change to accommodate the individual Member's schedule.

The trip is authorized under the State Department's Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchanges Act(MECEA) and sponsored by the Government of Taiwan. It also follows the most updated ethic rules of both the Senate and the House.

The delegation will be composed of 10-12 House Members and their staff. Each Member can bring one staffer along. The itineray will be arranged to address the Members' interests, providing them with the opportunity to understand more about Taiwan while enhancing the bilateral relations between their respective constituencies and Taiwan.

Please let me know if your boss can attend the CoDel at your early convenience, hopefully by Tuesday, May 31. Please also feel free to contact me (information as below) if you have any question about the trip. I look forward to hearing from you soon. Thank you!

With best regards,

Gordon

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

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EXHIBIT 5

Dankler, Mike

From:	Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent:	Tuesday, June 07, 2011 6:16 PM
To:	Dankler, Mike
Subject:	RE: CoDel to Taiwan in June or July
Attachments:	Proposed_Itinerary_07171_072311_1st_version.DOC

Hi Mike - Great to see you again today and hear that the Congressman decides to go on this trip. I will work with Taipei and get all the paperwork for you asap. For now, I've attached the tentative itinerary. Please let me know if Mr. and Mrs. Roskam want to add or take out any event. Thanks again for all your help! Gordon

On Tue, 7 Jun 2011 16:17:49 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> I forgot to ask - do you have an electronic copy of that itinerary you
> gave to me today?
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Dankler, Mike
> Sent: Tuesday, June 07, 2011 4:15 PM
> To: 'Gordon C. H. Yang'
> Subject: RE: CoDel to Taiwan in June or July
>
> Gordon,
>
> Great news! I just got the green light to move forward with the trip.
> Whenever you have the ethics paperwork, just let me know. Have a great day!
>
> Mike
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> Sent: Friday, May 13, 2011 10:30 AM
> To: [redacted]@tecro.us
> Subject: CoDel to Taiwan in June or July
>
> Dear friends,
>
> How are you? I hope this email finds you all well.
>
> I would like to invite your Congressman or Congresswoman to join the
> congressional delegation to visit Taiwan during the period either from
> June 25 to July 2 or the period from July 16 to 23. The specific dates
> of travel are subject to change to accommodate the individual Member's schedule.
>
> The trip is authorized under the State Department's Mutual Educational
> and Cultural Exchanges Act(MECEA) and sponsored by the Government of
> Taiwan. It also follows the most updated ethic rules of both the Senate and the House.
>
> The delegation will be composed of 10-12 House Members and their
> staff. Each Member can bring one staffer along. The itineray will be
> arranged to address the Members' interests, providing them with the
> opportunity to understand more about Taiwan while enhancing the
> bilateral relations between their respective constituencies and Taiwan.
>
> Please let me know if your boss can attend the CoDel at your early

> convenience, hopefully by Tuesday, May 31. Please also feel free to
> contact me (information as below) if you have any question about the
> trip. I look forward to hearing from you soon. Thank you!
>
> With best regards,
>
> Gordon
>
> Gordon Ching-huei Yang
> Executive Officer
> Congressional Liaison Division
> Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the
> United States
> 4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
> Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
> Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
> Fax: (202)244-3046
> Blackberry: [redacted]
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Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

--
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Tentative Program for the Visit of
U.S. Congressional Members Delegation
to the Republic of China (Taiwan)
July 17 ~23, 2011

Sunday, July 17, 2011

Morning Leave Washington(IAD) or the congressional districts for Los Angeles via domestic flight (to be arranged with China Airlines)

Noon Arrive in Los Angeles International Airport

15:55 Depart Los Angeles via CI-005

Monday, July 18, 2011

20:10 Arrive at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport

Proceed to the Hotel

RON Far Eastern Plaza Hotel Taipei
201 Tun Hwa Rd., Sec. 2, Taipei 106, Taiwan
TEL:886-2-2377-[redacted]
FAX:886-2-2378-8888
Website: www.feph.com.tw

Tuesday, July 19, 2011

09:30 Briefing by the American Institute in Taiwan/Taipei Office (AIT/T) (de facto US Embassy in Taiwan)

11:00 Call on Dr. Shin-yuan LAI, Chairwoman, Mainland Affairs Council (MAC), Executive Yuan (the Cabinet)

12:30 Lunch with faculties and students of the Chinese Culture University (CCU) (Host of the trip)

14:00 Visit Campus of CCU

15:30 Visit the National Palace Museum (the largest collection of

ancient Chinese art and treasure in the world)

18:30 Call on Hon. Timothy YANG, Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)

19:00 Dinner hosted by Minister YANG

RON Far Eastern Plaza Hotel Taipei

Wednesday, July 20, 2011

09:30 Call on Hon. Yat-shiang SHIH, Minister, Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA)

11:00 Audience with H.E. Ying-jeou MA, President of the Republic of China (Taiwan)

12:30 Lunch at leisure at Din Tai Fung Restaurant(ranked top 10 Chinese restaurant in the world)

14:00 Visit Taiwan Handicraft Promotion Center

14:45 Visit Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and Freedom Square (and watch the change of guards at 15:00)

17:00 Visit Legislative Yuan (The Congress) and its Chamber

17:30 Call on Hon. Jin-Ping WANG, Speaker of the Legislative Yuan

18:00 Dinner hosted by Speaker Wang

RON Far Eastern Plaza Hotel Taipei

Thursday, July 21, 2011

09:30 Depart for Taichung via Taiwan High Speed Railway (bullet train)

10:22 Arrive in Taichung (the 3rd largest city in Taiwan)

11:30 Visit Tsaoton Township, Nantou County

12:00 Lunch at leisure

15:30 Leave for Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area

16:30 Arrive at Sun Moon Lake

17:00 Visit Sun Moon Lake and Lalu Island

19:00 Dinner at leisure

RON The Lalu Sun Moon Lake
No. 163, Jhongshan Rd., Yuchih Township, Nantou County
555, Taiwan
TEL: 886-49-285-[redacted]
Website: www.thelalu.com.tw/en/

Friday, July 22, 2010

Morning Hiking in Mt. Maolan, visit cultural and natural establishments including aboriginal village, tea grove, Wenwu Temple, Ci Hen Pagoda, etc.

12:00 Lunch at leisure

14:00 Visit Chung Tai Chan Monastery

15:30 Leave for Taichung

16:30 Arrive in Taichung

17:15 Return Taipei by Taiwan High Speed Railway

18:06 Arrive in Taipei

19:30 Dinner at leisure

RON Far Eastern Plaza Hotel Taipei

Saturday, July 23, 2010

10:00 Visit Taipei Municipal Holiday Jade and Floral Expo

11:30 Visit Taipei 101 Financial Center and its observatory (the 2nd

tallest building and the tallest green building in the world)

12:00 Lunch at leisure at top of Taipei 101

15:00 Leave for Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport

16:40 Depart Taiwan for Los Angeles via CI-006

14:05 Arrive in Los Angeles (on the same day)

EXHIBIT 6

Dankler, Mike

From:	Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent:	Wednesday, June 15, 2011 10:46 AM
To:	Dankler, Mike
Subject:	RE: documents
Attachments:	Invitees_list_0711.doc; Proposed_Itinerary_07171_072311_ethics.DOC

Mike - Attached please find the agenda and invitees list. In addition, I will bring to you the invitation and the private sponsor certification form signed by the Chinese Culture University, which I don't have e-copies. See you this afternoon! Gordon

On Wed, 15 Jun 2011 10:20:26 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> Yes 2:30 works. If you could send electronic copies as well that'd be helpful.
> Thanks!
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> Sent: Wednesday, June 15, 2011 10:03 AM
> To: Dankler, Mike
> Subject: documents
>
> Hi Mike - I've got all the documnets for you to file to the ethics committee.
> Can I stop by your office around 2:30pm this afternoon to deliver them to you?
> Best, Gordon
>
> ---------- Forwarded Message ----------
> From: "Gordon C. H. Yang" <[redacted]@tecro.us>
> To: "Dankler, Mike" <[redacted]@mail.house.gov>
> Sent: Tue, 14 Jun 2011 18:17:52 -0400
> Subject: Fw: Re: Gracey Roskam
>
> Hi Mike,
>
> How are you doing? Have you talked to the Congressman about the
> pre-trip dinner? Either Monday July 11th or Tuesday July 12nd works on
> our end. Please let me know which day works better for Mr. and Mrs. Roskam. Thanks!
>
> Best,
> Gordon
>
> ---------- Forwarded Message ----------
> From: "Gordon C. H. Yang" <[redacted]@tecro.us>
> To: "Dankler, Mike" [redacted]@mail.house.gov>
> Sent: Thu, 9 Jun 2011 12:07:20 -0400
> Subject: Re: Gracey Roskam
>
> Thanks, Mike. I forgot to ask you yesterday to shcedule a time for the
> pre- trip briefing. Our Ambassador Jason Yuan would like to host a
> dinner at his residence for Mr. and Mrs. Roskam on Tuesday, July 12,
> to talk abolut the trip to Taiwan. Can you confirm if that evening
> would work on your end? Mr. Roskam could bring his family members and
> staffers along. Let me know. Thanks again and talk to you soon! Gordon
>
> On Thu, 9 Jun 2011 11:11:00 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> > Hey Gordon,

> > Here is the message I got back from Gracey when I asked if she knew
> > any details about where she'd be:
> >
> > So far all I know is that I will be teaching at the Chen Shan Mei
> > American School. I am not sure the exact dates. I know that I have
> > an orientation the last week in June and start teaching the first
> > week in July. I will be taking Mandarin classes at the National Chung Hsing University
starting on June 13.
> >
> > Hope this is helpful! If I hear anything else, I'll let you know.
> >
> > Mike Dankler
> > Executive Assistant
> > Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
> > Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> > 202-225-[redacted]
> >
> > --
> > This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by
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> Gordon Ching-huei Yang
> Executive Officer
> Congressional Liaison Division
> Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the
> United States
> 4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
> Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
> Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
> Fax: (202)244-3046
> Blackberry: [redacted]
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> Gordon Ching-huei Yang
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> Congressional Liaison Division
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Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

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Members of the House Invited to Attend the Congressional Delegation to the Republic of China (Taiwan) on July 17-23, 2011 :

1. Rep. & Mrs. Peter Roskam (R-IL) (and his staff)
2. Rep. & Mrs. Dave Reichert (R-WA) (and his staff)
3. Rep. & Mrs. Richard Neal (D-MA) (and his staff)
4. Rep. & Mrs. Tom Price (R-GA) (and his staff)
5. Rep. & Mrs. Xavier Becerra (D-CA) (and his staff)
6. Rep. & Mrs. Vern Buchanon (R-FL) (and his staff)
7. Rep. & Mrs. Mike Thompson (D-CA) (and his staff)
8. Rep. & Mrs. John Larson (D-CA) (and his staff)
9. Rep. & Mrs. Adrian Smith (R-NE) (and his staff)
10. Rep. & Mrs. Earl Blumenauer (D-OR) (and his staff)
11. Rep. & Mrs. Aaron Shock (R-IL) (and his staff)
12. Rep. & Mrs. Ron Kind (D-WI) (and his staff)
13. Rep. & Mrs. Lynn Jenkins (R-KS) (and his staff)
14. Rep. & Mrs. Joe Crowley (D-NY) (and his satff)
15. Rep. & Mrs. Kenny Marchant (R-TX) (and his staff)

Tentative Program for the Visit of
U.S. Congressional Members Delegation
to the Republic of China (Taiwan)
July 17 ~23, 2011

Sunday, July 17, 2011

Morning	Leave Washington(IAD) or the congressional districts for Los Angeles via domestic flight (to be arranged with China Airlines)
Noon	Arrive at Los Angeles International Airport
15:55	Depart Los Angeles via CI-005

Monday, July 18, 2011

20:10	Arrive at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport
	Proceed to the Hotel
RON	Grand Formosa Regent Taipei 41, Chung Shan N. Rd., Sec. 2, Taipei, Taiwan Tel: 886-2-2523-[redacted] Fax: 886-2-2523-2828

Tuesday, July 19, 2011

09:30	Briefing by the American Institute in Taiwan/Taipei Office (AIT/T)
11:00	Call on Dr. Shin-yuan LAI, Chairwoman, Mainland Affairs Council (MAC), Executive Yuan (the Cabinet)
12:30	Lunch with faculties and students of the Chinese Culture University (CCU) (Host of the trip)
14:00	Visit Campus of CCU
15:30	Visit the National Palace Museum (the world's largest collection of ancient Chinese art and treasure)

18:30	Call on Hon. Timothy YANG, Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)
19:00	Dinner hosted by Minister YANG
RON	Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Wednesday, July 20, 2011

09:30	Call on Hon. Yat-shiang SHIH, Minister, Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA)
11:00	Audience with H.E. Ying-jeou MA, President of the Republic of China (Taiwan)
12:30	Lunch at leisure at Din Tai Fung Restaurant
14:00	Visit Taiwan Handicraft Promotion Center
14:45	Visit Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and Freedom Square (and watch the change of guards at 15:00)
17:00	Visit Legislative Yuan (The Congress) and its Chamber
17:30	Call on Hon. Jin-Ping WANG, Speaker of the Legislative Yuan
18:00	Dinner hosted by Speaker Wang
RON	Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Thursday, July 21, 2011

09:30	Depart for Taichung via Taiwan High Speed Railway (bullet train)
10:22	Arrive in Taichung (the 3rd largest city in Taiwan)
11:30	Visit Tsaoton Township, Nantou County
12:00	Lunch at leisure

15:30 Leave for Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area

16:30 Arrive at Sun Moon Lake

17:00 Visit Sun Moon Lake and Lalu Island

19:00 Dinner at leisure

RON The Lalu Sun Moon Lake
No. 163, Jhongshan Rd., Yuchih Township, Nantou County
555, Taiwan
TEL: 886-49-285-[redacted]

Friday, July 22, 2011

Morning Visit cultural and natural establishments including aboriginal village, tea grove, Wenwu Temple, Ci Hen Pagoda, etc.

12:00 Lunch at leisure

14:00 Visit Chung Tai Chan Monastery

15:30 Leave for Taichung

16:30 Arrive in Taichung

17:15 Return Taipei by Taiwan High Speed Railway

18:06 Arrive in Taipei

19:30 Dinner at leisure

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Saturday, July 23, 2010

10:00 Visit Taipei Municipal Holiday Jade and Floral Expos

11:30 Visit Taipei 101 Financial Center and its observatory (the 2nd tallest building and the tallest green building in the world)

12:00 Lunch at leisure at Taipei 101

15:00 Leave for Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport

16:40 Depart Taiwan for Los Angeles via CI-006

14:05 Arrive in Los Angeles (on the same day)

EXHIBIT 7

Dankler, Mike

From: Dankler, Mike
Sent: Wednesday, July 20, 2011 3:30 PM
To: 'Gordon C. H. Yang'
Subject: RE: New dates

Gordon,

Hope you're doing well! I talked with the Congressman and the new dates that work best for him is Saturday, September 24-Friday, September 30. Will that work?

Mike

-----Original Message-----
From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Monday, July 11, 2011 5:06 PM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: New dates

Hi Mike,

Great to see you again today! I think the lunch went well and the Ambassador was very happy to meet with Mr. and Mrs. Roskam.

Now we need to start it over again to pick up the new dates for them to travel to Taiwan. Do they have any period of time available in August? I think the earlier is the better so that we won't deal with the uncertainties of the congressional schedule near the end of year. Please let me know if they can decide the dates at your early convenience. Thank you!

Best,
Gordon

Gordon Ching-hui Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

--
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EXHIBIT 8

Dankler, Mike

From: Gordon C. H. Yang [redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Friday, July 08, 2011 11:10 AM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: Re: FW: McCarthy: WHIP FLOOR UPDATE: IMPORTANT SCHEDULE NOTICE

Thanks Mike, but we are definitely still on for the lunch on Monday. Also, can you ask the Congressman when they would reschedule the trip to Taiwan? Best, Gordon

On Fri, 8 Jul 2011 10:32:54 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> Hot off the presses. Recess is officially canceled.
>
> From: Howard, Ben
> Sent: Friday, July 08, 2011 10:32 AM
> Subject: McCarthy: WHIP FLOOR UPDATE: IMPORTANT SCHEDULE NOTICE
>
> (Courtesy of the Majority Leader)
>
> Members are advised that the House will now be in session during the
> week of July 18. This is a change from the original House calendar
> distributed in December of last year. Legislative business for the
> week of July 18 will begin on Tuesday, July 19, at 2:00 p.m., with
> first votes postponed until 6:30 p.m. Last votes for the week are expected to conclude no
later than 3:00 p.m.
> on Friday, July 22.
>
> Members are further advised that the House is expected to consider
> H.J.Res. 1, a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, during
> the week of July 18 - one week earlier than originally scheduled.
> All Members are encouraged to support this important legislation to
> ensure that we begin to get our fiscal house in order.
>
> ###
>
> Ben Howard
> Floor Assistant
> Majority Whip Kevin McCarthy
> [redacted]@mail.house.gov
>
> --
> This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by
> MailScanner, and is believed to be clean.

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
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Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

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believed to be clean.

EXHIBIT 9

Dankler, Mike

From: Gordon Yang [redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Monday, June 06, 2011 4:04 PM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: Re: CoDel to Taiwan in July 16-23

That should be fine. I will change flights booking at once.

-------Original Message------
From: Dankler, Mike
To: '[redacted]@tecro.us'
Subject: RE: CoDel to Taiwan in July 16-23
Sent: Jun 6, 2011 3:07 PM

Another question - is there any chance of changing the dates to July 17-23?

-----Original Message-----
From: Gordon Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Monday, June 06, 2011 11:46 AM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: Re: CoDel to Taiwan in July 16-23

Hi Mike - That works. I look forward to seeing you then. Thanks, Gordon

------Original Message------
From: Dankler, Mike
To: 'Gordon C. H. Yang'
Subject: RE: CoDel to Taiwan in July 16-23
Sent: Jun 6, 2011 11:34 AM

Sure thing. I'm free at 10am tomorrow. Does that work for you?

-----Original Message-----
From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Friday, June 03, 2011 4:12 PM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: CoDel to Taiwan in July 16-23

Hi Mike,

Great to talk with you yesterday! As we discussed, I sincerely hope that Mr. and Mrs. Roskam can make a trip to Taiwan in July and PLEASE let me know once they made up thier mind.

Are you free to meet again in the afternoon of Monday or Tuesday next week? I plan to bring you some information to help Gracey understand more about Taiwan as well as to organize the Roskam CoDel. Let me know when works for you. Thanks!

Best,
Gordon

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.

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Blackberry: [redacted]

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EXHIBIT 10

Dankler, Mike

From: Dankler, Mike
Sent: Friday, July 29, 2011 1:32 PM
To: 'Gordon C. H. Yang'
Subject: RE: Ethics Paperwork

That should be fine. Mr. Roskam will be in DC that day and Mrs. Roskam will still be in Chicago so they would be departing from separate places.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Thursday, July 28, 2011 6:06 PM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: Re: Ethics Paperwork

Hi Mike,

How are you doing? I hope you are not too busy.

Regarding the flight to Taiwan, I've book the flight from San Francisco to Taipei in early morning (around 1 am) on September 24th. That means that Mr. and Mrs. Roskam need to flight out from DC or Chicago to San Francisco in the evening of the 23rd. Do you think if it would work for their schedule? Let me know.

I might get the new ethics document tomorrow so that I would stop by your office either tomorrow or next Monday to deliver them to you. Thanks!

Best,
Gordon

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

On Mon, 25 Jul 2011 15:56:30 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> Hey Gordon,
>
> Hope you had a great weekend! Finally got in touch with someone at the
> ethics office. You do need to resubmit the paperwork all over again.
> They need the new dates reflected on the forms. Take care!
>
> Mike Dankler
> Executive Assistant
> Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
> Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> 202-225-[redacted]
>

> --
> This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by
> MailScanner, and is believed to be clean.

--
This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by MailScanner, and is
believed to be clean.

EXHIBIT 11

Dankler, Mike

From: Dankler, Mike
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2011 2:19 PM
To: 'Ken Chong'
Cc: Gordon Yang
Subject: RE: Congressman Roskam

Thanks Ken!

From: Ken Chong [[redacted]@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2011 2:16 PM
To: Dankler, Mike
Cc: Gordon Yang
Subject: Re: Congressman Roskam

Hi Mike,
I've made the reservation for Congressman Roskam and his wife as below.
Please get me the trip contact cell phone number of them in case there is flight delay/cancellation on the day of travel.
An E-TKT confirmation will be emailed to you a week prior to departure.
Both of their AA & Delta numbers have been entered to earn miles.
Have keep all the boarding passes until all miles are posted into their accounts.
Let me know if you question.

1. 1ROSKAM/PETERJAMES 2. 1ROSKAM/ELIZABETHGRACEY
1 AA 2049 A 15OCT O'Hare 1015 to L.A 1235
2 CI 5 F 15OCT L.A 1515 to Taipei 2020, OCT16
3 CI 6 F 22OCT Taipei 1640 to L.A 1325
4 AA 1624 A 22OCT L.A 1525 to O'hare 2125

Regards,
Ken Chong
China Airlines

On Tue, Sep 27, 2011 at 12:39 PM, Dankler, Mike <[redacted]@mail.house.gov> wrote:

Ken,

Here is the information you requested. Could I also please get a copy of the flight itinerary? Thanks!

Peter James Roskam

September 13, [redacted]

Delta – [redacted]

American – [redacted]

Elizabeth Gracey Roskam

August 12, [redacted]

Delta – [redacted]

American – [redacted]

Mike Dankler

Executive Assistant

Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)

Chief Deputy Republican Whip

202-225-[redacted]

EXHIBIT 12

Dankler, Mike

From: Ken Chong [[redacted]@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 11, 2011 11:49 AM
To: Dankler, Mike; Gordon Yang
Subject: China Airlines E-TKT Confirmation for ROSKAM/PETERJAMES/ELIZABETHGRACEY

CHINA AIRLINES LTD.
LOS ANGELES BRANCH OFFICE
200 N. CONTINENTAL BLVD.
EL SEGUNDO, CA.90245.
U.S.A.
TEL 1-800-227-[redacted]
FAX 1-310-322-3888

PASSENGER ITINERARY 11OCT 2011

PASSENGER NAME :
1. ROSKAM/PETERJAMES ETKT: 2972475234041
2. ROSKAM/ELIZABETHGRACEY ETKT: 2972475234042

RECORD LOCATOR : K52MNJ AA: IFHSCI

FLIGHT RESERVATION

DATE	FLIGHT	AIRPORT FROM/TO	TIME	CLASS	STATUS	STOP
15OCT	AA2049	ORD-O HARE INTERNATIONAL	1015	A	CONFIRMED	
15OCT		LAX-LOS ANGELES	1235			
15OCT	CI 5	LAX-LOS ANGELES	1515	F	CONFIRMED 0	NON STOP
16OCT		TPE-TAIPEI	2020			
22OCT	CI 6	TPE-TAIPEI	1640	F	CONFIRMED 0	NON STOP
22OCT		LAX-LOS ANGELES	1325			
22OCT	AA1624	LAX-LOS ANGELES	1525	A	CONFIRMED	
22OCT		ORD-O HARE INTERNATIONAL	2125			

SEAT SELECTION: CI5F15OCT 1-1A 2-1K
CI6F22OCT 1-1A 2-1K

* INTERLINE STATUS IS FOR REFERENCE ONLY *

* PLEASE CHECK IN AT AIRPORT 2 HOURS BEFORE FLIGHT DEPARTURE *
* FOR DELHI AIRPORT (ECONOMIC CLASS PASSENGER ONLY)
PLEASE CHECK IN AT AIRPORT 3 HOURS BEFORE FLIGHT DEPARTURE *
* FOR TICKET ISSUED ON/AFTER 15 APRIL 2008,THE MAX WEIGHT OF

EACH CHECKED BAGGAGE CARRIED BY ECONOMY CLASS PASSENGERS ON
TRANSPACIFIC ROUTES INCLUDG GUAM IS CHANGED FROM
32KGS TO 23KGS.
FOR DETAILS PLEASE CHECK LOCAL CHINA AIRLINES OFFICE *
* EACH CABIN BAGGAGE MAY NOT EXCEED 56X36X23CM IN SIZE AND
7KG IN WEIGHT. IF OVERWEIGHT OR OVERSIZED, IT WILL BE
TRANSPORTED AS CHECKED BAGGAGE. EXCESS BAGGAGE CHARGE WILL
BE COLLECTED IF THE TOTAL PIECES/WEIGHTS CHECKED EXCEED YOUR
FREE CHECKED BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE. FREE CABIN BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE
OF F/C/Y PASSENGERS ARE AS FOLLOWS:
FIRST CLASS: 2PIECES, OR ONE PIECE PLUS ONE GARMENT BAGGAGE
(THICKNESS NOT OVER 20CM)
BUSINESS CLASS: ONE PIECE PLUS ONE GARMENT BAGGAGE
(THICKNESS NOT OVER 20CM)
ECONOMY CLASS: ONE PIECE *

THANK YOU FOR FLYING WITH CHINA AIRLINES AND WISH YOU A
PLEASANT TRIP

EXHIBIT 13

Dankler, Mike

From: Dankler, Mike
Sent: Wednesday, October 12, 2011 5:42 PM
To: 'Gordon C. H. Yang'
Subject: RE: Passports

Great. thanks!

-----Original Message-----
From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Wednesday, October 12, 2011 5:55 PM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: Re: Passports

Hi Mike,

One more thing. Frank Lee, our Director of Congressional Liaison Division, will meet Mr. and Mrs. Roskam in Taiwan, and he will escort them in the last few days of the trip, starting from the visit to the Central Taiwan on Wednesday. My colleague in Taipei's home office, Alex Huang, will meet the Roskams on Sunday evening at the arrival gate in Taiwan airport, and he will escort them for the first two days'
program in Taipei while Frank will also join them for some official meetings.

I've also seen that Ken has already sent the E-tickets to you. Let me know if you have any question about the trip. Thanks!

Best,
Gordon

On Wed, 12 Oct 2011 13:23:30 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> Hey Gordon,
>
> Hope you're doing well! I was just wondering when we are getting the
> passports back. Congressman Roskam would like to have them back by
> tomorrow so that he can take them back to Chicago. Thanks!
>
> Mike Dankler
> Executive Assistant
> Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
> Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> 202-225-[redacted]
>
> --
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> MailScanner, and is believed to be clean.

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046

Blackberry: [redacted]

--
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believed to be clean.

EXHIBIT 14

Dankler, Mike

From:	Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent:	Wednesday, August 03, 2011 12:06 PM
To:	Dankler, Mike
Subject:	Re: Itinerary
Attachments:	Tentative_Itinerary_092311_093011.DOC

Hey Mike - Attached is the tentative itinerary. Let me know if there's any question on your end. Also keep me posted if you have other Members and staff would join the trip.
Thanks. Enjoy the summer recess! Gordon

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO)
in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

On Wed, 3 Aug 2011 11:21:58 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> Hey Gordon,
>
> Good to see you the other day! When you have the chance could you please send
> me an electronic copy of the updated itinerary? Thanks!
>
> Mike Dankler
> Executive Assistant
> Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
> Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> 202-225-[redacted]
>
> --
> This message has been scanned for viruses and
> dangerous content by MailScanner, and is
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--
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Tentative Program for the Visit of
U.S. Congressional Delegation to the Republic of China (Taiwan)
September 23 ~30, 2011

Friday, September 23, 2011

Evening Leave Washington, DC or the congressional districts for Los Angeles via domestic flight (to be arranged with China Airlines)

Evening Arrive at Los Angeles International Airport

Saturday, September 24, 2011

00:55 Departs from Los Angeles via CI-007

Sunday, September 25, 2011

05:50 Arrive at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport

Proceed to the Hotel

12:00 Lunch at leisure at **Din Tai Fung Restaurant** (ranked top 10 Chinese restaurant in the world)

14:00 Visit **Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall** and **Freedom Square** (and watch the change of guards at 15:00)

15:30 Visit **Taiwan Handicraft Promotion Center**

16:30 Visit **Taipei Municipal Holiday Jade and Floral Expos**

17:30 Visit **Taipei 101 Financial Center** and its observatory (the 2nd tallest building and the tallest green building in the world)

18:00 Dinner at leisure at Taipei 101

RON **Grand Formosa Regent Taipei**
41, Chung Shan N. Rd., Sec. 2, Taipei, Taiwan
Tel: 886-2-2523-[redacted]
Fax: 886-2-2523-2828

Monday, September 26, 2011

09:30 Briefing by the **American Institute in Taiwan**/Taipei Office (AIT/T) (de facto U.S. Embassy in Taiwan)

11:00 Call on **Hon. Dun-yi WU, Premier**, Executive Yuan (the Cabinet)

12:30 Lunch with faculties and students of the **Chinese Culture University (CCU) (Host of the trip)**

14:00 Visit Campus of CCU

15:30 Visit the **National Palace Museum** (the world's largest collection of ancient Chinese art and treasure)

18:00 Call on **Hon. Timothy YANG, Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)**

18:30 Dinner hosted by Minister YANG

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Tuesday, September 27, 2011

09:30 Call on **Hon. Yat-shiang SHIH, Minister, Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA)**

11:00 Audience with **H.E. Ying-jeou MA, President of the Republic of China (Taiwan)**

12:30 Lunch at **Grand Hotel** (the traditional palace architecture hosting many Heads of State including President Eisenhower)

14:00 Visit the **underground tunnel at Grand Hotel**

15:00 Visit the **official residence of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kei-shek** at Shih Lin, Taipei

17:00 Visit **Legislative Yuan (The Congress)** and its Chamber

17:30 Call on **Hon. Jin-Ping WANG**, Speaker of the Legislative Yuan

18:00 Dinner hosted by Speaker Wang

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Wednesday, September 28, 2011

09:30 Depart for Taichung via **Taiwan High Speed Rail** (bullet train)

10:22 Arrive in **Taichung** (the 3rd largest city in Taiwan, located in central Taiwan)

11:30 Visit **Tsaoton Township, Nantou County**.

12:30 Lunch at leisure

15:30 Leave for Sun Moon Lake

16:30 Arrive at **Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area**

18:00 Dinner at leisure

RON **The Lalu Sun Moon Lake**
No. 163, Jhongshan Rd., Yuchih Township, Nantou County
555, Taiwan
TEL: 886-49-285-[redacted]

Thursday, September 29, 2011

Morning Visit **cultural establishments and natural surroundings around Sun Moon Lake** including aboriginal village, tea grove, Wenwu Temple, Ci Hen Pagoda, etc.

12:30 Lunch at leisure

15:00 Visit **Sun Moon Lake and Lalu Island**

18:00 Dinner at leisure

RON The Lalu Sun Moon Lake

Friday, September 30, 2011

08:30 Leave for Taichung

09:30 Arrive in Taichung

10:01 Return Taipei by Taiwan High Speed Rail

11:00 Arrive in Taipei

12:30 Lunch at leisure

15:00 Leave for Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport

16:40 Depart Taiwan for Los Angeles via CI-006

14:05 Arrive in Los Angeles (on the same day)

EXHIBIT 15

Dankler, Mike

From:	Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent:	Friday, August 26, 2011 5:40 PM
To:	Dankler, Mike
Subject:	RE: Itinerary
Attachments:	Tentative_Itinerary_101511_102211.DOC

Hey Mike -

I just came back to DC yesterday. Hope all is well.

FYI, attached please find the new itinerary based on the dates of October 15-22. Let me know if you have any question. Also, please send me a copy of Mrs. Roskam's bio. If any other Members and/or staffers would join this trip, please let me know too.

I will get another ethics form with new dates and bring to you soon. Thanks!

Best,
Gordon

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

On Mon, 22 Aug 2011 15:16:00 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> One quick change - can we make it October 15-22?
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Gordon Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 1:30 PM
> To: Dankler, Mike
> Subject: Re: Itinerary
>
> Hey Mike,
>
> How's it going? I'm now in Taiwan and have told our guys here about
> the change of dates. They understand Mr. Roskam's concern and would
> change everything based on the new dates October 15-21. I will get
> back to you with the new ethics form from the sponsor sometime next
> week. Hope it will work out this time. Stay in touch!
>
> Best,
> Gordon
>
> Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: "Dankler, Mike" [[redacted]@mail.house.gov>

> Date: Mon, 22 Aug 2011 11:21:24
> To: 'Gordon C. H. Yang'<[redacted]@tecro.us>
> Subject: RE: Itinerary
>
> Hey Gordon,
>
> Hope you had a great weekend! I just wanted to be sure you got this email.
> What's the next step with this? Can we lock in October 15-21? Thanks!
>
> Mike Dankler
> Executive Assistant
> Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
> Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> 202-225-[redacted]
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Dankler, Mike
> Sent: Monday, August 15, 2011 2:47 PM
> To: 'Gordon C. H. Yang'
> Subject: RE: Itinerary
>
> Hey Gordon,
>
> Yes that is the Congressman's final decision. I think he doesn't want
> to wait to see if it gets bad, he just wants to avoid that mess altogether.
>
> Mike Dankler
> Executive Assistant
> Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
> Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> 202-225-[redacted]
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> Sent: Friday, August 05, 2011 6:44 PM
> To: Dankler, Mike
> Subject: RE: Itinerary
>
> Hi Mike - Is it the Congressman's final decision to change the dates
> to October? Shall we wait for a while to see how things are
> developing? However, things might not be getting clearer until the
> ealy or mid-September. For now, I will contact travel agent to book
> flights for the new dates and give Taipei a heads-up that the
> Congressman might change the dates of his visit. On your side, please
> keep me posted how likely the Congress will cancel the September
> recess. We'll stay in touch! Thanks and have a good weekend! Gordon
>
> On Thu, 4 Aug 2011 15:37:33 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> > Gordon,
> >
> > I'm really sorry to do this, but is there any chance we can look at
> > October 15- 21? The Congressman was doing some thinking and is now
> > having second thoughts on the September dates given that it
> > coincides with the end of the fiscal year and probably another
> > budget battle. Again I'm really sorry about this! I had told him
> > about those concerns you had voiced when we were first talking about

> > rescheduling and he thought it would be ok, but I think seeing what happened with the debt limit changed his mind.
> >
> > Mike Dankler
> > Executive Assistant
> > Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
> > Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> > 202-225-[redacted]
> >
> > -----Original Message-----
> > From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> > Sent: Wednesday, August 03, 2011 12:06 PM
> > To: Dankler, Mike
> > Subject: Re: Itinerary
> >
> > Hey Mike - Attached is the tentative itinerary. Let me know if
> > there's any question on your end. Also keep me posted if you have
> > other Members and staff would join the trip. Thanks. Enjoy the
> > summer recess! Gordon
> >
> > Gordon Ching-huei Yang
> > Executive Officer
> > Congressional Liaison Division
> > Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the
> > United States
> > 4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
> > Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
> > Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
> > Fax: (202)244-3046
> > Blackberry: [redacted]
> >
> > On Wed, 3 Aug 2011 11:21:58 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> > > Hey Gordon,
> > >
> > > Good to see you the other day! When you have the chance could you
> > > please send me an electronic copy of the updated itinerary? Thanks!
> > >
> > > Mike Dankler
> > > Executive Assistant
> > > Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06) Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> > > 202-225-[redacted]
> > >
> > > --
> --
>

--
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believed to be clean.

Tentative Program for the Visit of
U.S. Congressional Delegation to the Republic of China (Taiwan)
October 15 ~22, 2011

Saturday, October 15, 2011

Morning Leave Washington, DC or the congressional districts for Los Angeles via domestic flight (to be arranged with China Airlines)

Noon Arrive at Los Angeles International Airport

15:15 Depart Los Angeles via CI-005

Sunday, Sunday 16, 2011

20:10 Arrive at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport

Proceed to the Hotel

RON **Grand Formosa Regent Taipei**
41, Chung Shan N. Rd., Sec. 2, Taipei, Taiwan
Tel: 886-2-2523-[redacted]
Fax: 886-2-2523-2828

Monday, October 17, 2011

09:30 Briefing by the **American Institute in Taiwan**/Taipei Office (AIT/T) (de facto U.S. Embassy in Taiwan)

11:00 Call on **Hon. Dun-yi WU, Premier**, Executive Yuan (the Cabinet)

12:30 Lunch with faculties and students of the **Chinese Culture University (CCU) (Host of the trip)**

14:00 Visit Campus of CCU

15:30 Visit the **National Palace Museum** (the world's largest collection of ancient Chinese art and treasure)

18:00 Call on **Hon. Timothy YANG, Minister, Ministry of Foreign**

Affairs (MOFA)

18:30 Dinner hosted by Minister YANG

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Tuesday, October 18, 2011

09:30 Call on **Hon. Yat-shiang SHIH, Minister, Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA)**

11:00 Audience with **H.E. Ying-jeou MA, President of the Republic of China (Taiwan)**

12:30 Lunch at **Grand Hotel** (the traditional palace architecture hosting many Heads of State including President Eisenhower)

14:00 Visit the **underground tunnel at Grand Hotel**

15:00 Visit the **official residence of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kei-shek** at Shih Lin, Taipei

17:00 Visit **Taipei 101 Financial Center** and its observatory (the 2nd tallest building and the tallest green building in the world)

18:00 Dinner at leisure at Taipei 101

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Wednesday, October 19, 2011

10:00 Opening remarks at **Trilateral Taiwan-U.S.-Japan Conference**

12:00 Lunch at leisure at **Din Tai Fung Restaurant** (ranked top 10 Chinese restaurant in the world)

13:30 Visit **Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall** and **Freedom Square** (and watch the change of guards at 14:00)

14:30 Visit **Taiwan Handicraft Promotion Center**

15:30 Visit **special exhibition** "River of Wisdom—Moving of the

Riverside Scene at Ching-Ming Festival "(A multimedia masterpiece of Song dynasty) **at Taipei EXPO Dome**

17:00 Visit **Legislative Yuan (The Congress)** and its Chamber

17:30 Call on **Hon. Jin-Ping WANG**, Speaker of the Legislative Yuan

18:00 Dinner hosted by Speaker Wang

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Thursday, October 20, 2011

09:30 Depart for Taichung via **Taiwan High Speed Rail** (bullet train)

10:22 Arrive in **Taichung** (the 3rd largest city in Taiwan, located in central Taiwan)

11:30 Visit **Tsaoton Township, Nantou County**

12:30 Lunch at leisure

15:30 Leave for Sun Moon Lake

16:30 Arrive at **Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area**

18:00 Dinner at leisure

RON **Fleur de Chine Hotel**
23, Zhongzheng Rd., Sun Moon Lake, Yuchih Township, Nantou County 55546, Taiwan(R.O.C.)
TEL: 886-49-285-[redacted]
FAX: 886-49-285-6600

Friday, October 21, 2011

09:00 Briefing at **Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area Headquarters**

Morning Visit **cultural establishments and natural surroundings around Sun Moon Lake** including aboriginal village, tea

grove, Wenwu Temple, Ci Hen Pagoda, etc.

12:30 Lunch at leisure

15:00 Visit **Sun Moon Lake**

18:00 Dinner at leisure

RON Fleur de Chine Hotel

Saturday, October 22, 2011

08:30 Leave for Taichung

09:30 Arrive in Taichung

10:01 Return Taipei by Taiwan High Speed Rail

11:00 Arrive in Taipei

12:00 Visit **Taipei Municipal Holiday Jade and Floral Expos**

12:30 Lunch at leisure

15:00 Leave for Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport

16:40 Depart Taiwan for Los Angeles via CI-006

14:05 Arrive in Los Angeles **(on the same day)**

EXHIBIT 16

Dankler, Mike

From:	Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent:	Friday, September 16, 2011 5:19 PM
To:	Dankler, Mike
Subject:	RE: Itinerary

Mike - I've talked to the hosts of the conference and they will give us the invitation and the agenda next week. I will forward to you when I got them. Best, Gordon

On Thu, 15 Sep 2011 12:50:01 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> Sorry for the multiple emails, just trying to keep things separate. Do
> you happen to have a more formal invitation for this?
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> Sent: Friday, September 02, 2011 10:13 AM
> To: Dankler, Mike
> Subject: RE: Itinerary
>
> Good Morning! Mike,
>
> How are you doing? I hope you have received my previous email attched
> with the updated itinerary. As you may notice, a trilateral
> Taiwan-US-Japan Conference will be held in Taipei while the
> Congressman's visiting there. The host would like to invite the
> Congressman, if his schedule permits, to stop by the event and make
> brief remarks. Please confirm if the Congressman agrees such arrangement. I will provide
more details about the conference later.
>
> Also, if possible, please send me Mrs. Roskam's bio at your convenience.
>
> Besides, I've got the new ethics form from the Chinese Culture
> University. I plan to stop by your office on Tuesday to deliver it to
> you. Is Tuesday afternoon good for you?
>
> Best,
> Gordon
>
> On Fri, 26 Aug 2011 17:40:22 -0400, Gordon C. H. Yang wrote
> > Hey Mike -
> >
> > I just came back to DC yesterday. Hope all is well.
> >
> > FYI, attached please find the new itinerary based on the dates of
> > October 15- 22. Let me know if you have any question. Also, please send me a copy of Mrs.
> > Roskam's bio. If any other Members and/or staffers would join this
> > trip, please let me know too.
> >
> > I will get another ethics form with new dates and bring to you soon. Thanks!
> >
> > Best,
> > Gordon
> >
> > Gordon Ching-huei Yang
> > Executive Officer

> > Congressional Liaison Division
> > Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the
> > United States
> > 4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
> > Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
> > Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
> > Fax: (202)244-3046
> > Blackberry: [redacted]
> >
> > On Mon, 22 Aug 2011 15:16:00 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> > > One quick change - can we make it October 15-22?
> > >
> > > -----Original Message-----
> > > From: Gordon Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> > > Sent: Monday, August 22, 2011 1:30 PM
> > > To: Dankler, Mike
> > > Subject: Re: Itinerary
> > >
> > > Hey Mike,
> > >
> > > How's it going? I'm now in Taiwan and have told our guys here
> > > about the change of dates. They understand Mr. Roskam's concern
> > > and would change everything based on the new dates October 15-21.
> > > I will get back to you with the new ethics form from the sponsor
> > > sometime next week. Hope it will work out this time. Stay in touch!
> > >
> > > Best,
> > > Gordon
> > >
> > > Sent from my Verizon Wireless BlackBerry
> > >
> > > -----Original Message-----
> > > From: "Dankler, Mike" [redacted]mail.house.gov>
> > > Date: Mon, 22 Aug 2011 11:21:24
> > > To: 'Gordon C. H. Yang'<[redacted]@tecro.us>
> > > Subject: RE: Itinerary
> > >
> > > Hey Gordon,
> > >
> > > Hope you had a great weekend! I just wanted to be sure you got this email.
> > > What's the next step with this? Can we lock in October 15-21? Thanks!
> > >
> > > Mike Dankler
> > > Executive Assistant
> > > Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06) Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> > > 202-225-[redacted]
> > >
> > > -----Original Message-----
> > > From: Dankler, Mike
> > > Sent: Monday, August 15, 2011 2:47 PM
> > > To: 'Gordon C. H. Yang'
> > > Subject: RE: Itinerary
> > >
> > > Hey Gordon,
> > >
> > > Yes that is the Congressman's final decision. I think he doesn't
> > > want to wait to see if it gets bad, he just wants to avoid that mess altogether.

> > >
> > > Mike Dankler
> > > Executive Assistant
> > > Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06) Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> > > 202-225-[redacted]
> > >
> > > -----Original Message-----
> > > From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> > > Sent: Friday, August 05, 2011 6:44 PM
> > > To: Dankler, Mike
> > > Subject: RE: Itinerary
> > >
> > > Hi Mike - Is it the Congressman's final decision to change the
> > > dates to October? Shall we wait for a while to see how things are
> > > developing? However, things might not be getting clearer until
> > > the ealy or mid-September. For now, I will contact travel agent to
> > > book flights for the new dates and give Taipei a heads-up that the
> > > Congressman might change the dates of his visit. On your side,
> > > please keep me posted how likely the Congress will cancel the
> > > September recess. We'll stay in touch! Thanks and have a good
> > > weekend! Gordon
> > >
> > > On Thu, 4 Aug 2011 15:37:33 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> > > > Gordon,
> > > >
> > > > I'm really sorry to do this, but is there any chance we can look
> > > > at October 15- 21? The Congressman was doing some thinking and
> > > > is now having second thoughts on the September dates given that
> > > > it coincides with the end of the fiscal year and probably
> > > > another budget battle. Again I'm really sorry about this! I had
> > > > told him about those concerns you had voiced when we were first
> > > > talking about rescheduling and he thought it would be ok, but I think seeing what
happened with the debt limit changed his mind.
> > > >
> > > > Mike Dankler
> > > > Executive Assistant
> > > > Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06) Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> > > > 202-225-[redacted]
> > > >
> > > > -----Original Message-----
> > > > From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> > > > Sent: Wednesday, August 03, 2011 12:06 PM
> > > > To: Dankler, Mike
> > > > Subject: Re: Itinerary
> > > >
> > > > Hey Mike - Attached is the tentative itinerary. Let me know if
> > > > there's any question on your end. Also keep me posted if you
> > > > have other Members and staff would join the trip. Thanks. Enjoy
> > > > the summer recess! Gordon
> > > >
> > > > Gordon Ching-huei Yang
> > > > Executive Officer
> > > > Congressional Liaison Division
> > > > Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in
> > > > the United States
> > > > 4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
> > > > Washington, D.C. 20016-2146

> > > > Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
> > > > Fax: (202)244-3046
> > > > Blackberry: ([redacted]
> > > >
> > > > On Wed, 3 Aug 2011 11:21:58 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> > > > > Hey Gordon,
> > > > > >
> > > > > Good to see you the other day! When you have the chance could
> > > > > you please
send
> > > > > me an electronic copy of the updated itinerary? Thanks!
> > > > > >
> > > > > Mike Dankler
> > > > > Executive Assistant
> > > > > Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06) Chief Deputy Republican
> > > > > Whip
> > > > > 202-225-[redacted]
> > > > > >
> > > > > --
> > > --
> > >
>
> Gordon Ching-huei Yang
> Executive Officer
> Congressional Liaison Division
> Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the
> United States
> 4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
> Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
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> Fax: (202)244-3046
> Blackberry: [redacted]
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Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: ([redacted]

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believed to be clean.

EXHIBIT 17

Dankler, Mike

From: Dankler, Mike
Sent: Friday, September 16, 2011 7:48 PM
To: [redacted]@tecro.us'
Subject: Re: ...and one more email

Thank you so much Gordon! Have a great weekend!!

Mike Dankler
Executive Assistant
Congressman Peter Roskam (IL-06)
Chief Deputy Republican Whip
202-225-[redacted]

Sent using BlackBerry

-- - Original Message -----
From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Friday, September 16, 2011 05:28 PM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: Re: ...and one more email

Hey Mike,

We could arrange Mr. and Mrs. Roskam to stop by and watch Gracey teach class. We could also arrange a dinner with the host family and invite those names that you provided.
Actually we intended to make such arrangments to let Mr. and Mrs Roskam have a chance to visit Gracey's working and living places as well as to spend some time together with the host family. I will let you know if we work out some details.

Best,
Gordon

On Thu, 15 Sep 2011 13:40:56 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> Hey Gordon,
>
> Sorry for the barrage of emails! The Congressman asked me to get in
> touch with you about the time in Taichung during the trip.
>
> * He would like to arrange some time for him to watch his daughter,
> Gracey, teach class. He said she teaches from 2-4pm on Mondays,
> Wednesdays, and Thursdays.
>
> * He would also like to have dinner with the family that is hosting
> Gracey. I have their names and contact information. I'm not sure if
> it'd be best for you guys to make the arrangements or I can work through Gracey.
> Please let me know what you think would work best. I am putting all
> their information at the end of this email because it was all written
> on a piece of paper and I want to have a backup in case I lose it so
> you can disregard it unless you think it'd be better for TECRO to arrange the dinner.
>
> Looking at the itinerary it doesn't seem like either of those should
> be a problem, am I correct? Thanks for all your help with this Gordon!!

> Mike Dankler
> Executive Assistant
> Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
> Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> 202-225-[redacted]
>
> Chen, Chia-Chung: +886-921-[redacted]
> Jane, Wan-Cheng: +886-937-[redacted]
> Chen, Jou-Ying (Nancy): +886-910-[redacted] Chien, Ke-Hsiu
> (father-in-law of Chen, Chia-Chung) Huang, Hsieh (mother-in-law of
> Chen, Chia-Chung)
>
> --
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> MailScanner, and is believed to be clean.

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
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Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: ([redacted]

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EXHIBIT 18

Dankler, Mike

From:	Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent:	Thursday, September 29, 2011 6:31 PM
To:	Dankler, Mike
Subject:	RE: October Trip
Attachments:	2049 Roskam invite.pdf; visa form.pdf

Hi Mike,

Great to touch base this afternoon!

Attached please find the visa application form for you to fill out. I will stop by to pick it up along with their passports and two photos. Also attached is the signed invitation for the conference.

Besides, can you send me Mrs. Roskam's bio for our reference.

Thanks,
Gordon

On Tue, 27 Sep 2011 11:32:20 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> Thanks Gordon! I can do lunch Thursday at 11:30. Do you want to meet
> downstairs in the Grille?
>
> Regarding #1, do you have contact info for Ken? I'll get that
> information for him.
>
> Regarding #2, I already checked with ethics - according to their
> rules, the host may only pay for the expenses for a spouse OR one
> child, not a spouse AND one child. I talked to someone in the ethics
> office this morning and confirmed he has to pay the costs associated
> with her being there. The Congressman is fine with that so no need to inquire on that.
>
> Regarding #5, I'll check with who all is attending. Do you need any
> information on the car too (make, model, etc.)?
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2011 11:41 AM
> To: Dankler, Mike
> Subject: Re: October Trip
>
> Hi Mike,
>
> Thanks for checking in. It's been a crazy busy September and I'm glad
> you have recess this week. I'm here and can have lunch with you either
> tomorrow at 1230 or Thursday at 1130. Let me know when works for you
> and we meet at the Capitol Hill Club.
>
> For now, I'm trying to answer some of your questions:
>
> 1) For Delta Milages, please give all the numbers to Ken of China
> Airlines. He will put them into their booking records. And also
> confirm with Ken for all the domestic and international flights itinerary then let me know.
>

> 2) I don't see any problem for Gracey to join the codel since Monday
> night, but I will check with Taipei. The host may be able to cover her cost as well.
> I'll get back you soon on this.
>
> 3) I've got the agenda of the conference and will get the invitation for you.
>
> 4) I'll get back to you with the times that the Ambassador will be
> able to do the pre- trip lunch or meeting.
>
> 5) I've seen your RSVP for our centennial celebration reception on the
> 5th and very much look forward to it! Due to our security rules,
> please confirm how many of you will attend and when you will be
> arriving at the event. I will deliver you the name tags for all of you to drive into Twin
Oaks.
>
> Best,
> Gordon
>
> Gordon Ching-huei Yang
> Executive Officer
> Congressional Liaison Division
> Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the
> United States
> 4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
> Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
> Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
> Fax: (202)244-3046
> Blackberry: [redacted]
>
> On Tue, 27 Sep 2011 10:51:15 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> > Hey Gordon,
> >
> > Hope you're doing well! A couple more things for the trip:
> >
> > * The Congressman was saying that the airline they'll be using is a
> > Delta partner, so he asked me to give you his and Elizabeth's Delta
> > SkyMiles numbers so they can be added to the itinerary. Mr. Roskam's
> > is [redacted] and Mrs. Roskam's is [redacted].
> >
> > * Mr. Roskam indicated that he would like Gracey to join him in Taipei
> > starting Monday night in meetings, etc. Per ethics rules, he will be
> > taking care of any expenses associated with her being there (meals,
> > transportation, rollaway bed in hotel room, etc.).
> >
> > * Do you have an update on a formal invitation for the speaking
> > engagement at the conference?
> >
> > * I think we still need to set up a time for a pre-trip briefing with
> > the Ambassador, correct?
> >
> > I don't know if you saw, but the Congressman will be heading out to
> > Twin Oaks for the National Day celebration on October 5. He is very
> > excited to be able to celebrate out here. And he will also be
> > attending the celebration in Chicago on October 7.
> >
> > Congress is in recess this week and I'm not sure if you're in DC
> > right now, but maybe if you're not busy you can come by or we can

> > get lunch or something to just be sure that we're on the same page
> > as things move forward. Thanks for all your help, Gordon!
> >
> > Mike Dankler
> > Executive Assistant
> > Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
> > Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> > 202-225-[redacted]
> >
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Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

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PROJECT 2049 INSTITUTE

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Yeling Tan

September 29, 2011

The Honorable Peter Roskam
United States House of Representatives
227 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-1306

Dear Representative Roskam:

On behalf of the Project 2049 Institute, I would like to invite you to attend the upcoming "Taiwan-U.S.-Japan Trilateral Conference: Security Dialogue" co-organized by the Project 2049 Institute and the Chinese Council of Advanced Policy Studies on October 17th in Taipei, Taiwan.

The conference will be an invitation-only meeting of leading experts and practitioners from the United States, Japan and Taiwan. This conference will provide participants with the opportunity to strategize and develop more effective policy approaches in improving trilateral relations and promoting joint security initiatives.

The conference is composed of four panels: 1) Trilateral Partnership between Taiwan, U.S. and Japan--Congressional views, 2) U.S. Security Strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region, 3) Trends in the Regional Security Situation, and 4) Alternatives for Future Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region. We envision this conference to be a serious high-level discussion of the key issues surrounding future security challenges in the Asia-Pacific and the vested interests of involved parties. Given your role in shaping and executing U.S. policy, we believe your perspective would be a critical one.

Thank you in advance for your consideration of this invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Randall Schriver
President & CEO

The Project 2049 Institute | www.project2049.net | 2300 Clarendon Blvd, Suite 250 Arlington VA 22201 | (703) 879-[redacted]

六個月內兩寸半身彩色近照兩張
Please attach two 2"x2" head & shoulder photos in color (taken within the last six months)
本表格係免費供應
This form is given FREE OF CHARGE

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☐核 准 ☐退 件
簽證類別：☐停留 ☐居留 簽證效期 簽證號碼
☐團體停留 停留期限 簽證日期
☐外交 ☐禮遇
入境次數：☐單次 ☐多次 費 額
審核意見及備註：
複審官員簽章
初審官員簽章

中華民國簽證申請表 VISA APPLICATION FORM FOR ENTRY INTO TAIWAN, REPUBLIC OF CHINA

本表格須由申請人親自簽署,未成年兒童之申請表須由其父母或合法監護人簽署
The applicant must sign this form. Applicants who have not reached the age of majority must have the form signed by a parent or legal guardian.
請以正楷填寫各欄 Please complete all sections in BLOCK LETTERS

擬申請何種簽證 WHICH CATEGORY OF VISA ARE YOU APPLYING FOR?

1.種 類： ☐停留簽證 Visitor visa ☐居留簽證 Resident visa ☐團體停留簽證 Group visitor visa ☐外交簽證 Diplomatic visa ☐禮遇簽證 Courtesy visa (Category)
2.入境次數： ☐單 次 Single ☐多 次 Multiple (Entry)

申請人資料 APPLICANT'S DETAILS

3.全 名(與護照所載相同)： 姓 Surname (exactly as in passport)
名 Given name(s)

4.舊有或其他姓名（如有）：
Former or other name (if any)

5.中文姓名(如有)：
Chinese name (if any)

6.國 籍：
Nationality

7.舊有或其他國籍(如有)：
Former or other nationality (if any)

8.性 別：☐男 ☐女
Sex Male Female

9.婚姻狀況：☐未婚 ☐已婚 ☐喪偶 ☐分居 ☐離婚
Marital status Single Married Widowed Separated Divorced

10.出生日期: 年Year 月Month 日Day
Date of birth

11.出生地點： 市 (City) 國(Country)
Place of birth

12.職 業：
Occupation

13.服務機關或就讀學校：
Name of employer or school

14.在台住址及電話號碼：
Address and telephone number in Taiwan

15.本國住址及電話號碼：
Permanent address and telephone number in home country

申請人護照 APPLICANT'S PASSPORT

16.種 類： ☐外 交 Diplomatic ☐公 務 Official ☐普 通 Regular ☐其 他：請指明： Other; Please specify
Type

17.號 碼：
No.

18.效期屆滿日： 年Year 月Month 日Day
Date of expiry

19.發照日期： 年Year 月Month 日Day
Date of issue

20.發照地點：
Place of issue

訪台行程 JOURNEY TO TAIWAN, R.O.C.

21.訪台目的： ☐旅 遊 Tourism ☐洽 商 Business ☐就 學 Study ☐應 聘 Employment ☐依（探）親 Joining or visiting family ☐宗 教 Religion
Purpose of travel
☐其他：(請指明)：
Other; (please specify)

22.預定抵台日期： 年Year 月Month 日Day
Proposed date of arrival

23.預定離台日期: 年Year 月Month 日Day
Proposed date of departure in Taiwan

在台聯絡人(如有) Particulars of Reference in Taiwan (if applicable)

姓 名
Name

與申請人關係
Relationship to applicant

在台聯絡人之身分證字號或外僑居留證號碼
ROC ID / ARC No. of your reference in Taiwan.

住宅電話號碼
Telephone No.

住址:
Residential address

辦公室電話號碼
Office telephone No.

條碼粘貼區

THPR_000105

13-9784_0098

* 請據實回答以下問題 ALL APPLICANTS ARE REQUIRED TO READ AND CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH :

A.是否在中華民國境內或境外曾有犯罪紀錄或曾經拒絕入境、限令出境或驅逐出境？
Have you had any criminal record within or outside the territory of the R.O.C. or have you ever been denied entry, ordered to leave or deported by the R.O.C. government ? ..... ☐YES...☐NO

B.是否曾非法入境中華民國者？
Have you ever entered Taiwan, R.O.C. illegally ? ..... ☐YES...☐NO

C.是否患有足以妨害公共衛生或社會安寧之傳染病(如愛滋病)、精神病,或吸毒或其他疾病或吸毒成癮者？
Have you ever been afflicted with a communicable disease of public health significance such as AIDS, a dangerous physical or mental disorder, or been a drug abuser or addict ? ..... ☐YES...☐NO

D.是否曾在中華民國境內逾期停留、逾期居留或非法工作？
Have you ever overstayed visitor or resident visas or worked illegally in Taiwan, R.O.C. ? ..... ☐YES...☐NO

E.是否曾從事管制藥品(如毒品)交易？
Have you ever been a controlled substance (drug) trafficker ? ..... ☐YES...☐NO

F.你是否曾遭中華民國駐外代表機構拒發簽證？
Have you ever been refused a visa at an R.O.C. mission ? ..... ☐YES...☐NO

G.是否曾以其他姓名申請中華民國簽證？
Have you ever applied for a R.O.C. visa with a different name ? ..... ☐YES...☐NO

對以上任何一項的回答是「是」並非自動表示沒有資格獲得簽證。如果你的回答是「是」，或對任何一項有疑問，最好請你親自來面談。如果現在不能親自來，請另備書面說明與申請表一齊提出。

Attention : YES answer does not necessarily signify ineligibility for a visa. If you answered YES to any of the questions listed above or if you have any question in this regard, personal appearance at this office is recommended. If you are not to file the application in person, please prepare and attach a statement with explanatory notes to this form.

茲聲明 Acknowledgement :

本人確知 I certify that:

1. 已閱讀並了解申請表各節，並聲明表內所填覆之各項內容均屬確實無誤。
   I have read and understood all the questions set forth in this application and that the answers I have furnished on this form are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.
2. 我明白任何虛偽或誤導的陳述都可能讓我被拒發簽證或被拒絕進入中華民國。
   I understand that any false or misleading statement may result in the refusal of a visa or denial of entry into Taiwan, the Republic of China.
3. 我同時瞭解中華民國政府有權不透露拒發簽證之原因並不予退費。
   I also understand that the government of the Republic of China reserves the right to withhold disclosure of the reasons for disapproval of my visa application, and to withhold the fees deemed non -refundable.
4. 本人所填之簽證申請表一經遞交即成為中華民國政府所有,無法退還.
   I understand that once submitted this application form has become the property of the government of the R.O.C. and will not be returned to me.
5. 我了解在台灣曾設有戶籍的中華民國國民，一旦入境中華民國將受中華民國法律管轄。★依據役男出境處理辦法第十四條規定「在臺原有戶籍兼有雙重國籍之役男，應持中華民國護照入出境；其持外國護照入境，依法仍應徵兵處理者，應限制其出境」。另有關服兵役規定，請上內政部入出國及移民署網站：
   www.immigration.gov.tw
   I am aware that R.O.C.citizen ever registered with household in Taiwan shall be subject to the laws of theRepublic of China while in its jurisdiction. According to the Regulations for Exit of Draftees Article 14 : For a draftee having maintained his household registation in Taiwan and has at the same time the status of double nationalities shall enter into and depart from Taiwan by presenting his ROC passport; any draftee entering into Taiwan by presenting a foreign passport and is duly subject to conscription shall be restricted from departing from Taiwan.
   For conscription law please visit the web site : www.immigration.gov.tw

警告 WARNING :

依據中華民國刑法，販賣、運送毒品者可判處死刑。

Drug trafficking is punishable by death according to the criminal laws of the Republic of China.

申請年月日 DATE OF APPLICATION : _____

申請人簽名 APPLICANT'S SIGNATURE : _____
(請親簽) (Personal signature is required)

代理人簽名 SIGNATURE OF THE APPLICANT'S AGENT : _____

與申請人關係 Relationship to the applicant : _____

代理人全名、住址及電話 Agent's full name, address and telephone number

姓名 Name : _____ 電話 Telephone No. : _____

住址 Address : _____

THPR_000106

13-9784_0099

EXHIBIT 19

Dankler, Mike

From:	Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent:	Friday, October 07, 2011 6:09 PM
To:	Dankler, Mike
Subject:	Itinerary and memo
Attachments:	Tentative_Itinerary_101511_102211(Updated).DOC; Memo.doc

Hi Mike - Attached are the updated itinerary and the memo. Let me know if you have any further question. Have a great weekend! Gordon

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO)
in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

--
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Tentative Program for the Visit of
U.S. Representative Peter Roskam and Mrs. Roskam
to the Republic of China (Taiwan)
October 15 ~22, 2011

Saturday, October 15, 2011

Morning Leave Washington, DC or Chicago for Los Angeles via domestic flight (to be arranged with China Airlines)

Noon Arrive at Los Angeles International Airport

15:15 Depart Los Angeles via CI-005

Sunday, Sunday 16, 2011

20:10 Arrive at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport

Proceed to the Hotel

RON **Grand Formosa Regent Taipei**
41, Chung Shan N. Rd., Sec. 2, Taipei, Taiwan
Tel: 886-2-2523-[redacted]
Fax: 886-2-2523-2828

Monday, October 17, 2011

08:00 ~ 08:30 Call on **Hon. Den-Yih WU, Premier**, Executive Yuan (the Cabinet)

09:00 Attend **Opening Ceremony of "Taiwan-U.S.-Japan Trilateral Conference : Security Dialogue"**

09:30 ~ 10:45 Attend the 1st panel discussion of **"Trilateral Partnership among Taiwan, U.S. and Japan: Congressional Views"**

11:30 Call on **Hon. Timothy C. T. YANG, Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)**

12:30 Luncheon hosted by **Dr. and Mrs. Lyushun SHEN, Deputy Minister**, MOFA

16:00 Call on **Dr. Wan-Yi WU, President, Chinese Culture**

University (CCU) (Host of the trip)

19:00 **Dinner hosted by Foreign Minister YANG** for the distinguished guests of "Taiwan-U.S.-Japan Trilateral Conference : Security Dialogue"

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Tuesday, October 18, 2011

09:30 Call on **Hon. Yen-shiang SHIH, Minister, Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA)**

10:45 ~ 11:15 Audience with **H.E. Ying-jeou MA, President of the Republic of China (Taiwan)**

11:30 Call on **Hon. Jin-Ping WANG, Speaker of the Legislative Yuan (the Parliament)**

12:15 Luncheon hosted by Speaker Wang

15:00 Briefing by **Mr. William Stanton, Director, American Institute in Taiwan**/Taipei Office (AIT/T) (de facto U.S. Embassy in Taiwan)

17:00 Visit **Taipei 101 Financial Center** and its observatory (the world's 2nd tallest building and the tallest green building)

18:00 Dinner at leisure at Taipei 101

RON Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Wednesday, October 19, 2011

09:00 Visit **National Palace Museum** (the world's largest collection of ancient Chinese art and treasure)

11:30 Lunch at leisure

13:30 Depart for Taichung via **Taiwan High Speed Rail** (bullet train) #159

14:19 Arrive in **Taichung** (the 3rd largest city in Taiwan, located in central Taiwan)

15:00 Visit **Chen Shan Mei American School, Tsaoton Township, Nantou County**

16:30 Call on **Dr. and Mrs. Chia-Chung CHEN**

18:00 Dinner at leisure

20:00 Depart for **Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area**

21:30 Arrive at Sun Moon Lake

RON **Fleur de Chine Hotel**
23, Zhongzheng Rd., Sun Moon Lake, Yuchih Township, Nantou County 55546, Taiwan(R.O.C.)
TEL: 886-49-285-[redacted]
FAX: 886-49-285-6600

Thursday, October 20, 2011

10:00 Briefing at **Sun Moon Lake National Scenic Area Headquarters**

10:30 ~ 16:00 Visit **cultural establishments and natural surroundings around Sun Moon Lake** including aboriginal village, tea grove, Wenwu Temple, Ci Hen Pagoda, etc.

16:10 Depart for **Xitou Nature Education Area**

17:30 Arrive Xitou Nature Education Area

18:30 Dinner at leisure

RON **Le Midi Hotel Xitou**
1, Midi St., Nai Hu Village, Deer Valley Township, Nantou County, Taiwan
TEL: 886-49-261-[redacted]

Friday, October 21, 2011

09:00 ~ 11:00	Visit **Xitou Nature Education Area**
11:30	Lunch at leisure
12:30	Depart for Taichung
14:15	Depart for Taipei via Taiwan High Speed Rail #158
15:06	Arrive in Taipei
15:30	Visit **Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall** and **Freedom Square** (and watch the change of guards at 16:00)
16:40	Visit **Taiwan Handicraft Promotion Center**
18:30	Dinner at leisure
RON	Grand Formosa Regent Taipei

Saturday, October 22, 2011

10:00	Visit **Taipei Municipal Holiday Jade and Floral Expos**
11:20	Visit the **official residence of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kei-shek** at Shih Lin, Taipei
12:30	Lunch at **Grand Hotel** (the traditional palace architecture hosting many Heads of State including President Eisenhower)
13:40	Visit the **underground tunnel at Grand Hotel**
15:00	Leave for Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport
16:40	Depart Taiwan for Los Angeles via CI-006
14:05	Arrive in Los Angeles (on the same day)

Memo
The visit of the U.S. Representative Peter Roskam (R-IL) and Mrs. Roskam to the Republic of China (Taiwan) (October 15 ~ 22, 2011)

Welcome aboard!

The Chinese Culture University of the Republic of China (Taiwan) hosts your trip, which has been approved by the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Standards of Official Conduct.

A. Preparation for the trip

1. **Air Passage:**
   a. You will fly from Los Angeles to Taipei through:
      CI 005, 3:15 pm, Saturday, October 15 from LAX; Arrive TPE at 8:10 pm, Sunday, October 16, 2011
      Fly from Taipei back to Los Angeles through:
      CI 006, 4:40 pm, Saturday, October 22 from TPE; Arrive LAX at 2:05 pm, Saturday, October 22, 2011
   b. Please double-check your name on your flight tickets and make sure it is identical to that on your passport.
   c. When you check in with U.S. domestic flights, please check in your baggage to final destination Taipei (TPE).
   d. Please put a nametag on each piece of your baggage, and write the hotel's name, address and telephone number (the details of the hotel in Taipei are provided in the itinerary). It will be easier for the host's staff to pick them up at the Taiwan's International Airport when you arrive in Taipei and convenient for hotel porter to deliver them to your room.
   e. You need to check in by yourself with China Airlines at LAX 2 hours before the departure. The check-in counter of China Airlines is located in the Tom Bradley International Terminal of LAX. After check-in, you can proceed to China Airlines' VIP Lounge before boarding.

2. **Dress:**
   a. You are advised to dress business attire for most of the meetings during the trip. It is suggested to pack up at least one business suit for men and two or three business dress for female members.
   b. It is suggested that you prepare a pair of comfortable walking shoes for the evening activities in Taipei and the out-of-Taipei tour.
   c. You may bring your swimming suit and/or sneakers since the hotel you stay has the pool and gym facilities.

3. **Others:**
   a. Please advise if you have any food allergies.
   b. Bring enough business cards with you. You will need them for official meetings. It's also a custom that people in Taiwan exchange business cards when they meet for the first time.

c. Bring some gifts or souvenirs representing U.S. Congress or congressional districts to exchange with the hosts or guides of the visits.

B. Accommodation, transportation and Meals

1. The hotel reserved for the group in Taipei is The Grand Formosa Regent Taipei
   Tel: 011-886-2-2523-[redacted] (if dial from U.S.)
   Fax: 011-886-2-2523-2828 (if dial from U.S.)
   Address: 41, Chung Shan N. Rd., Sec. 2, Taipei, Taiwan
   Website: http://www.grandformosa.com.tw

2. The hotel reserved for the group in Sun Moon Lake is Fleur de Chine Hotel
   TEL: 886-49-285-[redacted]
   FAX: 886-49-285-6600
   Address: 23, Zhongzheng Rd., Sun Moon Lake, Yuchih Township, Nantou County 55546, Taiwan

3. The hotel reserved for the group in Xitou Nature Education Area is Le Midi Hotel Xitou
   TEL: 886-49-261-[redacted]
   Address: 1, Midi St., Nai Hu Village, Deer Valley Township, Nantou County, Taiwan

4. Your host will cover the bills of hotel room, transportation, and meals during the trip, but will not cover the following:
   a. Alcoholic beverage;
   b. International phone calls (The hotel will charge you around NT$100 as service fee even if you use pre-paid phone cards to make international calls from your room's telephone; you may purchase phone cards from the hotel or convenience stores and make international phone calls with pay phone in the hotel);
   c. Telegrams;
   d. Facsimile;
   e. Internet;
   f. Pay-per-view movies;
   g. Personal services such as massage, sauna and hairdo;
   h. Group activities (except dinners) in the leisure hours, etc.

5. The sponsor will cover reasonable laundry fee for you during the trip. (For examples, one suite for the whole trip, one shirt or other necessary items each day.)

6. The sponsor will provide transportation for group activities, but that of personal activities will be on your own.

7. Tips:
   a. The 10% gratuity of dining or other services in Taiwan is automatically added to the bills.
   b. However, it's also customary to tip housekeeping, room service, or other services you get from the hotel, and you are responsible for taking care of such tips. (If you put the tips on the bill for services, the hotel will ask you to pay the tips as incidentals when you check out.)

c. It is suggested that the group as a whole tip the limo/bus drivers when they have completed their services in a satisfactory manner.

C. General information about Taiwan

1. Weather:

In the Fall, the weather is pleasant. The temperature is about 75-85°F in Taipei. The out-of-Taipei tour will be the central part of Taiwan, where the temperature is about 75-85°F.

2. Time difference:

All parts of Taiwan are in one time zone, which is 12 hours ahead of Eastern Time in the US while you're traveling there.

3. Electricity:

All the power outlets and voltage in Taiwan follow the same standards as in the U.S. You don't have to bring the adaptors.

4. Shopping, eating, and tipping:

a. Major credit cards are accepted in almost every store in Taiwan. However, you may still need to bring some cash to exchange for the local currency for shopping. 500 U.S. dollars or less should be enough.

b. The unit of Taiwan's currency is the New Taiwan Dollar (NT$). The exchange rate now is about US$1=NT$30. U.S. dollars may be exchanged at hotels and banks. You can also withdraw Taiwan dollars from local ATMs with your credit cards while some processing service fees will be charged.

5. Language:

The official language in Taiwan is Mandarin. However, there are two dialects used in Taiwan, namely Taiwanese and Hakka. The following are some useful words in Mandarin.

English	Mandarin
Thank you!	Shei (as in "shave") Shei!
How are you?	Ni (as in "nether") How (same as "how") Ma (as in mother")?
Excuse me.	Twei (as in "twain") Bu (as in "pool") Chi (as in "cheese").
How much is it?	Tuo Shao (as in "shout) Chien?
Good morning.	Zao An
Good bye!	Zai Jien
Bottoms Up!	Gun Bay

For further questions or in case of emergency, please contact Gordon Yang (Cell: [redacted], Blackberry: [redacted]@tecro.us)

Enjoy your trip!

EXHIBIT 20

Dankler, Mike

From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
Sent: Wednesday, October 26, 2011 11:53 AM
To: Dankler, Mike
Subject: RE: Ethics Forms

Yes, it works. See you then.

On Wed, 26 Oct 2011 10:55:59 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> That sounds like a plan. Does noon work?
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> Sent: Wednesday, October 26, 2011 11:12 AM
> To: Dankler, Mike
> Subject: RE: Ethics Forms
>
> Shall we meet at the CHC's dining room on its 2nd floor? Thanks!
>
> On Wed, 26 Oct 2011 10:45:51 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> > Sure I can do lunch on Tuesday. Does noon work? Also, do you want to
> > meet in the lobby of the CHC or would you rather come to 227 Cannon first like last time?
> >
> > -----Original Message-----
> > From: Gordon C. H. Yang [[redacted]@tecro.us]
> > Sent: Wednesday, October 26, 2011 10:44 AM
> > To: Dankler, Mike
> > Subject: Re: Ethics Forms
> >
> > Hey Mike,
> >
> > How's it going? I will get you detailed information to fill out the
> > post- travel ethics form. I know that you have to file the document
> > within 15 days after the trip is completed, which means sometime in the week of November
7th.
> >
> > If possible, let's meet for lunch next week. How about Tuesday at the Club?
> >
> > Best,
> > Gordon
> >
> > Gordon Ching-hui Yang
> > Executive Officer
> > Congressional Liaison Division
> > Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the
> > United States
> > 4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
> > Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
> > Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
> > Fax: (202)244-3046
> > Blackberry: [redacted]
> >
> > On Tue, 25 Oct 2011 11:57:21 -0400, Dankler, Mike wrote
> > > Hey Gordon,
> > >

> > > Thanks again for the quick turnaround last night on that
> > > information, it was very helpful! We have a little time, but it
> > > was on my mind so I wanted to ask - when do you think you all
> > > will have the final ethics forms done? Just looking for a timeframe, not trying to put
a rush order on it or anything. Thanks!
> > >
> > > Mike Dankler
> > > Executive Assistant
> > > Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06) Chief Deputy Republican Whip
> > > 202-225-[redacted]
> > >
> > > --
> > > This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by
> > > MailScanner, and is believed to be clean.
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> > MailScanner, and is believed to be clean.
>
> Gordon Ching-huei Yang
> Executive Officer
> Congressional Liaison Division
> Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the
> United States
> 4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
> Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
> Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
> Fax: (202)244-3046
> Blackberry: [redacted]
>
> --
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> MailScanner, and is believed to be clean.
>
> --
> This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by
> MailScanner, and is believed to be clean.

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

--
This message has been scanned for viruses and dangerous content by MailScanner, and is
believed to be clean.

EXHIBIT 21

Gast, Scott

From: GQL [redacted]@staff.pccu.edu.tw]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2013 12:33 AM
To: Gast, Scott
Subject: RE: Request for information

Mr. Omar Ashmawy
Staff Director and Chief Counsel
Office of Congressional Ethics
House of Representatives

Dear. Mr. Ashmawy,

Thank you for your letter dated January 30, 2013 requesting for information about the participation of Chinese Culture University in Representative Peter Roskam's visit to Taiwan in October, 2011.

Chinese Culture University, a private university founded in 1962 here in Taipei, has focused on the education programs with the combination of the essence of Chinese tradition like literature, history, and philosophy and the merits of modern western civilization such as science and democracy. We have also dedicated to the international exchange to broaden the vision of our faculty and students and promote the bilateral exchanges with other countries. A certain amount of our university budget is set aside as a fund to be used to sponsor foreign friends to visit Taiwan annually.

The United States is one of the major receiving countries in the world for Taiwanese students, including many students who graduated from our university. Also there have been strong ties between our two countries. In this connection, we do regularly sponsor important leaders from the United States to visit Taiwan such as Representative Roskam's trip in 2011, which we believe is in accordance with U.S. House ethics rules related to private sponsorship.

In view of Mr. Roskam's important status as a member of U.S. Congress and the lack of staff of this university stationed in the United States, the program for Representative Roskam's visit to Taiwan was coordinated through the kind assistance of Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. We had a wonderful meeting with Representative Roskam at our university here. We are also glad to share with you that the whole visit was quite successful.

Best,

Chiung Li Kuo

EXHIBIT 22

Dankler, Mike

From: Dankler, Mike
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2011 1:01 PM
To: Dees, Karena

Gordon Ching-huei Yang
Executive Officer
Congressional Liaison Division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States
4201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016-2146
Direct: (202)895-[redacted]
Fax: (202)244-3046
Blackberry: [redacted]

Mike Dankler
Executive Assistant
Congressman Peter J. Roskam (IL-06)
Chief Deputy Republican Whip
202-225-[redacted]

EXHIBIT 23

PETER J. ROSKAM
6TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

CHIEF DEPUTY WHIP

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

SUBCOMMITTEES:

TRADE

HEALTH

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515–1306

227 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-4561

2700 INTERNATIONAL DRIVE
SUITE 304
WEST CHICAGO, IL 60185
(630) 232-0006

roskam.house.gov
facebook.com/RepRoskam
twitter.com/PeterRoskam

March 8, 2013

The Honorable Michael Conway, Chairman
The Honorable Linda Sanchez, Ranking Member
Committee on Ethics
United States House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Conway and Ranking Member Sanchez:

At the request of the Office of Congressional Ethics, I hereby authorize the staff of the Committee on Ethics to discuss with the staff of the Office of Congressional Ethics all matters concerning the trip to Taiwan taken by my wife and me that was approved by the Committee on Ethics on September 30, 2011.

Sincerely,

Peter J. Roskam
Member of Congress

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

APPENDIX C

RECEIVED
2012 SEP 18 PM 5: 19
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Perkins Coie

700 Thirteenth Street, N.W., Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20005-3960
PHONE: 202.654.6200
FAX: 202.654.6211
www.perkinscoie.com

Brian G. Svoboda
PHONE: (202) 434-1654
FAX: (202) 434-1690
EMAIL: BSvoboda@perkinscoie.com

CONFIDENTIAL

Daniel A. Schwager, Esq.
Chief Counsel and Staff Director
Committee on Ethics
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Re: Representative Bill Owens

Dear Mr. Schwager:

We write on behalf of Representative Bill Owens in response to the Office of Congressional Ethics' ("OCE") Report and Findings in Review No. 12-8236.

This matter arises from a privately paid, officially connected trip that Representative Owens took to Taiwan. Before he took the trip, the Committee on Ethics reviewed and approved it. At the time Representative Owens took the trip, he had every reason to believe that: (1) the trip had been paid for by a qualified private sponsor; and (2) the trip had been organized by that qualified private sponsor. Immediately after receiving notice of any potential issues concerning this trip, Representative Owens, on his own initiative, reimbursed the qualified private sponsor for the full value of the trip. When later contacted by OCE, Representative Owens and his staff cooperated fully in all inquiries, and provided a full record of this issue for review.

In this context, there is no basis whatsoever for further action on this matter. The OCE's Report and Findings pile inference on supposition to reach unsupported and unsupportable allegations.

First, the Report and Findings suggest that Representative Owens accepted payment of travel expenses from an impermissible source. Even on a review of the language in the Findings itself, this allegation is simply unsupported. The OCE draws inferences from tidbits in emails to allege that the Government of Taiwan may have initially paid certain expenses that "may have been reimbursed" by the Chinese Culture University, the qualified private sponsor. The OCE also declares itself judge and jury by citing two fragments of documents to claim that Representative

ANCHORAGE · BEIJING · BELLEVUE · BOISE · CHICAGO · DALLAS · DENVER · LOS ANGELES · MADISON · NEW YORK
PALO ALTO · PHOENIX · PORTLAND · SAN DIEGO · SAN FRANCISCO · SEATTLE · SHANGHAI · TAIPEI · WASHINGTON, D.C.
Perkins Coie LLP

Owens and his staff should have known that the Government of Taiwan may have initially paid these expenses, while ignoring credible and uncontroverted evidence that they did not. When read in the context of the report, this allegation is baseless speculation and certainly should not form the basis of any further proceedings.

Second, the Report and Findings suggest that reimbursement of travel expenses was improper because certain agents for a foreign government may have participated in the planning of the trip. On this score, the Report and Findings ignore that at the time the trip was planned and taken, the educational institution had paid for and participated in the trip and made clear it was the host. Representative Owens had every reason to believe at the time that this complied with the Rules. In fact, while the OCE now contends that lobbyist involvement made the trip prohibited, the Committee's pre-approval form indicated otherwise. At bottom, this is an area governed by vague and inconsistently interpreted rules, and Representative Owens and his staff clearly acted in good faith with respect to these issues. Thus, while the OCE invents a wall of separation between foreign private sponsors and their governments, no such wall exists.

Third, even if Park Strategies' or the Government of Taiwan's involvement was problematic, the House Ethics Manual provides that "[w]hen a Member, officer, or employee receives a gift that is not acceptable under the gift rule, and for which a gift rule waiver is not available, there are generally two options: pay the donor the 'market value' of the gift, or return the gift to the donor."[1] That is exactly what Representative Owens did here. Indeed, before any referral to OCE or this Committee, Representative Owens voluntarily repaid the University for the full cost of the travel. In the past, where the Committee has found that a Member inadvertently accepted an impermissible gift, the result has been what Representative Owens has already done voluntarily.

Finally, it bears emphasis that the Report and the Findings violate the OCE's own rules. The OCE responded to Representative Owens' good faith, cooperation, and remedial action by recommending still more investigation, failing to disclose one of the two allegations altogether, and stating a conclusion about their validity that is expressly prohibited by House and OCE rules. Moreover, the OCE bases its recommendation largely on the fact that other parties did not cooperate with the investigation, wrongly imputing this lack of cooperation to Representative Owens. The suggestion that Representative Owens somehow should be held responsible for non-responses by independent institutions like Park Strategies or the Chinese Culture University should raise red flags for the entire Committee on Ethics.

As discussed below, the Report and Findings include a number of prohibited conclusions and inferences, demonstrating that they are simply not a credible basis on which to conduct further

[1] House Ethics Manual (2008) at 73.

proceedings. Accordingly, and for the reasons discussed below, the Committee on Ethics should dismiss this matter.

FACTUAL BACKGROUND

Representative Owens and his wife traveled to Taiwan from December 27, 2011 to January 1, 2012, at the invitation of the Chinese Culture University, one of Taiwan's largest universities. At that time, Representative Owens had a particular interest in Taiwan, because of the job creation potential for his region. He was working to attract the Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Co. ("TSMC"), one of the world's largest contract chipmakers, to come to Marcy, New York, and open a factory there, which would create jobs for his nearby constituents.[2]

That Representative Owens might go to Taiwan was first suggested in July 2011, at a meeting between him and a representative of the Taiwanese government, who invited Representative Owens and his family.[3] The possibility of a visit was later raised with Representative Owens' staff by Sean King of Park Strategies, which is a lobbying firm that represents Taiwan's de facto embassy, the Taiwan Educational and Cultural Representative Office ("TECRO").[4]

Representative Owens' staff had no reason to question the permissibility of their interactions with Mr. King, a lobbyist, about the possible travel. First, they inquired and understood from Mr. King that the trip would be organized and paid for by the government of Taiwan under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA").[5] Second, they knew that Park Strategies had recently arranged for another Member of the New York delegation to travel to Taiwan, and that the firm was concurrently working with another Member of the delegation on a similar trip.[6] Third, Park Strategies' emails alerted the staff to the possibility that their

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[2] OCE Exh. 2 ¶ 5 (Memorandum of Interview with Representative Owens) (hereinafter "Owens Interview").

[3] Owens Interview ¶ 2.

[4] OCE Exh. 3 ¶¶ 8-9 (Memorandum of Interview with Senior Legislative Assistant to Representative Owens) (hereinafter "Staff Interview"). OCE refers to Representative Owens' staff throughout by their titles, in an apparent effort to comply with the prohibition on transmitting findings that contain "the names of any cooperative witnesses ..." H. Res. 895, 110th Cong. § 1(c)(2)(C)(i)(I)(ii). But the findings incorporate, and even cross-reference several documents that name these same individuals, allowing for their ready identification. This has been OCE's practice since its inception. But it invades the witnesses' privacy and violates the resolution, which is crafted to protect witness anonymity. Indeed, the resolution directs OCE to transmit "a written report," "its findings," and "any supporting documentation." *Id.* But it provides only for public release of "the written report and findings." *Id.* § 3.

[5] Staff Interview ¶¶ 13-14.

[6] *Id.* ¶ 11, 15; *see also* Owens Interview ¶¶ 3-4; OCE Exh. 5 ¶ 13 (Memorandum of Interview with Chief of Staff to Representative Owens) (hereinafter "Chief of Staff Interview").

interactions would be publicly disclosed under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.[7]

As the possibility of a trip developed in November 2011, Representative Owens' staff consulted with the Committee on Ethics about trip-related issues,[8] particularly regarding the rules that would affect his wife's travel. The documents show that the staff understood there may be circumstances under which Mrs. Owens might be able to attend, but that the answer would hinge on the particular details of the United States' MECEA agreement with Taiwan.[9]

By letter dated November 29, 2011, the Chinese Culture University invited Representative and Mrs. Owens to Taiwan as its guests.[10] The record shows that Representative Owens and his staff believed that this invitation was in compliance with House ethics rules and that they took the necessary steps to seek and obtain approval for the trip from the Committee on Ethics. The record does not show that Representative Owens' staff knew that their contacts with Park Strategies or TECRO were in any way impermissible, because of the university's decision to sponsor the trip.

A close review of the Committee's Travel Certification Form shows why this was so. Because no lobbyist was paying for the travel, because the Chinese Culture University did not employ or retain lobbyists, and because no lobbyist would be accompanying Representative Owens on the trip, the office did not understand that its earlier and continued contacts with Park Strategies about the trip were in any way problematic:[11]

> 2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a federally-registered lobbyist or a registered foreign agent (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☒

[7] *See, e.g.*, OCE Exh. 4; OCE Exh. 6. Indeed, Park Strategies' FARA filings appear to have triggered the news article that resulted in this review. The FARA filings appear to have been the only significant source of documents obtained by OCE in its review, other than those produced by Representative Owens himself.

[8] The Representative was elected in 2009. While he had traveled recently to Israel, *see* Owens Interview ¶ 12, his staff's familiarity with the rules governing foreign travel was accordingly limited, and the office had no formal process for scheduling or planning them. *See* Chief of Staff Interview ¶ 9.

[9] OCE Exh. 7.

[10] OCE Exh. 1, Doc. No. 12-8236_0010.

[11] OCE Exh. 1, Doc. Nos. 12-8236_0004-05.

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9. I represent that (*check one of the following*):
   a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965: ☐ or
   b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent: ☑ or
   c. The trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations. ☐

10. If travel is for participation in a one-day event (i.e., if you checked Question 9(c)), check one of the following:
   a. One-night's lodging and meals are being offered: ☐ or
   b. Two-nights' lodging and meals are being offered. ☐
   If "b" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted: _____

11. If the trip is not sponsored by an institution of higher education, I represent that a federally-registered lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☑

Nor did the Representative or his staff have reason to think that their continued interaction with the Taiwanese government was in any way inappropriate. Indeed, when the Committee on Ethics approved the trip, its December 20, 2011 letter appeared to contemplate such interactions, noting that "the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives" and reminding the Member that he would have to disclose gifts received from them under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act.[12]

The Chinese Culture University made clear it was the sponsor of the trip. The University hosted a dinner for Representative and Mrs. Owens on their first night in Taipei, and one of its deans attended the dinner held for Representative and Mrs. Owens on their second and final night in Taipei. Moreover, from the OCE's repeated correspondence with the Chinese Culture University, it appears that the University took pride in its sponsorship, and had hosted other similar trips for other U.S. government officials.[13] (The itinerary for the trip is contained in Representative Owens' filings with the Committee, and is summarized in Addendum A.)

OCE's findings present evidence, unknown to Representative Owens or his staff prior to this review, that the Taiwanese government ***may have*** paid in the first instance for some of the expenses associated with the trip. It goes further to claim that "Representative Owens and members of his congressional staff had ***several indications*** that the Taiwan government was paying his travel expenses."[14] By OCE's own reckoning, these "several indications" were, in

[12] OCE Exh. 1, Doc. No. 12-8236_0011. Representative Owens told OCE emphatically during his interview that, had he or his staff learned at any point that the trip was prohibited by the ethics rules, it would have been "game over," and the trip would not have occurred. *See* Owens Interview ¶ 41.

[13] OCE Exh. 20-21.

[14] OCE Findings ¶ 30(3) (emphasis added).

fact, only two. The first is a lone paragraph in a four-page memo, saying that the Representative should return his boarding passes to TECRO.[15] Representative Owens told OCE that he did not focus on the instruction, and did not comply with it. The second is one of a flurry of emails sent about the trip to the principal staffer involved, saying that "[t]he price that we will send invoice to TECRO is approximately USD$8655 + tax $357.30 = USD$9011.80."[16] The staffer in question indicated to OCE that he did not take notice of the statement.[17] The OCE's reliance on these two bits of information as evidence that Representative Owens or his staff should have suspected that the Government of Taiwan may have been "paying his travel expenses" is flawed. Even if this information had been focused on, it could simply be read as a request for documentation of the trip. And, it bears emphasis that nothing in the Report and Findings demonstrate that the Government of Taiwan actually paid the expenses in the first instance.

After obtaining Committee pre-approval and submitting the necessary post-travel certification forms, neither Representative Owens nor his staff had any reason to doubt the trip's compliance. However, immediately after Representative Owens became aware of any issues relating to this trip, out of an abundance of caution and to avoid any possible appearance of impropriety, Representative Owens promptly decided to repay the Chinese Culture University for the cost of the trip. He also arranged for his staff to undertake additional ethics training, to avoid any future questions about compliance with the travel rules.[18]

DISCUSSION

A. OCE Should Have Dismissed the Matter, Given the Lack of Any Clear Violation, and Representative Owens' Good Faith Remedial Measures

The OCE fails to present a clear violation of any law, rule, or standard of conduct by Representative Owens or his staff. To the contrary, the record showed that, when the Owens office began its interactions with Park Strategies about a potential trip, those interactions were

[15] OCE Exh. 19. An email transmitting the memo indicated that it was part of voluminous briefing materials that were sent with Representative Owens to Taiwan. *See id.* at Doc. No. 12-8326_0104 ("One more thing to print for the Honorable.").

[16] OCE Exh. 13.

[17] Staff Interview ¶ 43.

[18] Owens Interview ¶ 41. *See also* Interview with Post-Star Editorial Board (May 27, 2012), *available at* http://poststar.com/blogs/all_politics_is_local/owens-staff-to-take-ethics-training-in-light-of-tawain/article_45237508-a843-11e1-940d-0019bb2963f4.html. While staff in Representative Owens's office receive mandatory Committee on Ethics training, the special, additional training he referenced was provided by private counsel. *See* Owens Interview ¶ 41.

unambiguously allowed, insofar as it was understood that the Government of Taiwan would sponsor the trip under MECEA. It shows further that the preapproval forms indicated to Representative Owens and his staff that Park Strategies' involvement did not render the trip impermissible, because the Chinese Culture University did not employ or retain lobbyists, and because no one from Park Strategies had paid for the trip or would accompany Representative Owens. It shows also that the Chinese Culture University was, in fact, the sponsor of the trip – that it paid for the trip, regarded itself as the sponsor, and participated in events on the trip.

Moreover, the record demonstrates nothing but good faith on the part of Representative Owens and his staff. The Report and Findings show that Representative Owens and his staff asked about the legal basis for the trip; knew other trips had been taken or prepared under similar circumstances by other Members; sought advice from the Committee when dealing with complex questions that they lacked the background to answer themselves; truthfully submitted the necessary pre-approval forms; and took prompt remedial action when the trip became a source of controversy. If it turns out that the Taiwanese embassy pre-paid for any trip expenses – something hardly established in the Report – that was certainly not something of which Representative Owens or his staff was aware. They cooperated completely with OCE's review, providing virtually all of the information on which OCE relied in its Report and Findings, and making themselves available for interview.

On these facts, OCE should have recommended dismissal.[19] Even if Park Strategies' or TECRO's involvement had rendered the trip impermissible, the House Ethics Manual provides that "[w]hen a Member, officer, or employee receives a gift that is not acceptable under the gift rule, and for which a gift rule waiver is not available, there are generally two options: pay the donor the 'market value' of the gift, or return the gift to the donor."[20] That is exactly what Representative Owens did here, before any review had commenced: he agreed to repay the University for the full cost of the travel. In the past, where the Committee has found that a Member inadvertently accepted an impermissible gift, the result has been exactly what has already occurred here. Instead, OCE would have the Committee on Ethics devote its limited resources to reviewing a matter that, in the ordinary course, even if it were resolved adversely, would culminate in action that has already been taken voluntarily by the Member.

B. OCE's Allegation That Representative Owens Received a Prohibited Gift Is Improper, and Without Any Basis in Law or Fact

[19] The OCE has broad discretion to dismiss a matter when it determines that the violation was *de minimis* in nature. *See* H. Res. 895, §1(c)(1)(F)(i).

[20] House Ethics Manual at 73.

1. OCE lacked authority to make this allegation for the first time in its referral to the Committee on Ethics.

The OCE is authorized to investigate "allegations" that a Member "has violated a law, rule, regulation, or other standard of conduct in effect at the time the conduct occurred and applicable to the subject in the performance of his or her duties or the discharge of his or her responsibilities."[21] The rules require the Board to initiate a preliminary review of the allegation and notify the Member of the allegation that the Board is investigating.[22] The Board may not refer an allegation to the Committee on Ethics unless it has first initiated a preliminary review of the allegation and has notified the Member of the allegation that is investigating.

That did not happen here. On May 24, 2012, the OCE informed Representative Owens that it was initiating a preliminary review of the allegation that the trip had been planned, organized, requested, or arranged by lobbyists. Representative Owens responded to and cooperated with OCE's review of that allegation. On June 25, 2012, the OCE informed Representative Owens that the Board had authorized a second-phase review into that same allegation. Representative Owens continued to cooperate with that same review; at no point was he made aware that the OCE was considering another allegation against him.

The OCE first told Representative Owens that he was facing not one, but two allegations when it sent him its Report and Findings to the Committee. This is a clear violation of both OCE Rule 7, which bars OCE from referring an allegation without first initiating a preliminary review of it, and of OCE Rule 11, which requires OCE to notify the Member at the preliminary review stage of each allegation being considered. These rules are not just technicalities. They provide Members with the ability to confront the charges against them, and ensure that the OCE Board considers the Member's response before it decides whether to refer the allegation to the Committee on Ethics. When that process is short-circuited, the Member loses the opportunity to make his case to the Board why the allegation should not be referred, and the Committee loses the benefit of a fully informed OCE recommendation. The effects of OCE's violation are particularly prejudicial where, as here, the allegation is unsupported by the law and facts.

2. OCE failed to show that the Chinese Culture University was not the true sponsor of the trip.

The OCE report concluded that "[b]ecause Representative Owens' trip was organized, conducted, and initially paid for by the government of Taiwan, the Chinese Culture University was not a

[21] OCE Rule 1.

[22] OCE Rules 7, 11(A).

permissible sponsor of the trip."[23] This conclusion reflects a basic misunderstanding of the travel rules. They do not bar foreign governments from helping to organize or conduct a trip that is sponsored by a private entity in its country. Once the Committee on Ethics determines that a sponsor's role and interest is sufficient, as it did here, there is no further basis for investigation unless it is shown that the sponsor made false or misleading representations to the Committee. There is no such allegation here.

The House Travel Guidelines and Regulations provide that "[e]xpenses may only be accepted from an entity or entities that have a significant role in organizing and conducting a trip, and that also have a clear and defined organizational interest in the purpose of the trip or location being visited."[24] The pre-approval forms ask the private sponsor to describe its role and interest in planning the trip, and the Committee on Ethics is tasked with determining whether that role and interest is sufficient. That is what happened here: [25]

- Question 12 of the form provides that "[p]rivate sponsors must have a direct and immediate relationship to the purpose of the trip or location being visited" and asks the sponsor to "[d]escribe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip." The University answered: "The Chinese Culture University is a private academic institution located in Taipei, Taiwan. The University constantly sponsors educational and fact-finding programs for international visitors to travel to Taiwan."

- Question 13 requires the sponsor to list its "organizational interest in the purpose of the trip." The University answered: "The Chinese Culture University aims to promote international cultural exchanges in order for it to thrive in a world increasingly engineered by an irresistible thrust towards globalization."

Based upon these representations, the Committee on Ethics approved the trip in December 2011. In its review, the OCE did not give proper weight to the University's role and interest. The University hosted Representative and Mrs. Owens for a dinner on their first night in Taipei. Such an event would have required substantial preparations by the University, and suggests that the University had input on planning and conducting the trip. The fact that a University dean attended a dinner with Representative and Mrs. Owens on the second night provides more evidence of the University's involvement. The OCE findings gave no weight to these facts, nor to the representations that the University made to the Committee on Ethics regarding its

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[23] OCE Findings at 10.

[24] http://ethics.house.gov/sites/ethics.house.gov/files/Pink_sheet_travel_regulations_0.pdf.

[25] OCE Exh. 1, Doc. Nos. 12-8236_0004-05.

significant institutional interest in the trip.

Instead, the OCE looked at the issue through the wrong side of the lens, finding that the Taiwanese government's role in organizing and conducting the trip made the University an improper sponsor.[26] But the travel rules do not work that way. Once the private entity demonstrates to the Committee on Ethics that it has a sufficient role and interest in the trip, as the University did here, it is a permissible sponsor. The rules do not prohibit persons *other than a lobbyist or foreign agent* from playing a role, even a significant one, in helping to organize or conduct a trip sponsored by another party.[27] That is particularly true where, as here, the sponsor is a foreign entity with no presence in the United States and the party assisting the sponsor is the host government.

3. An otherwise permissible trip is not illegal because a third party advances costs without the knowledge of the Member or staff.

In finding that Representative Owens accepted travel from an impermissible sponsor, the OCE also pointed to evidence that TECRO ***may have*** advanced certain travel costs that were reimbursed by the University. Based on a conversation with a "witness with knowledge of Representative Owens' flight arrangements," the OCE concluded that the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs paid China Airlines in the first instance for the cost of Representative Owens' airfare. Likewise, based on an email exchange with a representative of the Regent Taipei Hotel, the OCE concluded that Representative Owens' room payment was paid in the first instance by the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Both TECRO and the hotel affirmed that the University reimbursed the Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs for all costs.

Even if this finding is correct, it does not follow that Representative Owens accepted travel from an impermissible sponsor. The rules prohibit a sponsor from accepting earmarked contributions from third parties to defray the cost of a trip, and require the sponsor to certify on its Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form that it "has not accepted from any other source funds earmarked directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip."[28] But neither the rules, nor the form's instructions, specify whether an advance of funds by a non-sponsor is impermissible, when those funds are subsequently reimbursed by the sponsor.

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[26] *See* OCE Findings ¶¶ 25, 27, 28, 29.

[27] Had Congress meant to proscribe *all* non-sponsors from playing such a role, it would have replaced the terms "a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal" in Rule XXV(5)(c)(3) with "any person other than the sponsor." That it chose not to do so is significant. The OCE, meanwhile, cites to no law, rule, or regulation barring entities other than lobbyists or foreign agents from helping to plan or conduct a trip.

[28] http://ethics.house.gov/sites/ethics.house.gov/files/Sponsor%20certification%20form%203-2011.pdf

In a footnote, the OCE suggests that such advances might be impermissible, because House rules prohibit Members from accepting gifts from state governments when the cost is advanced by a lobbyist or consultant for the government.[29] But the House's decision to prohibit lobbyists and consultants from advancing the cost of otherwise permissible gifts does not imply that it meant to prohibit *any person* from advancing such costs. For instance, the instructions to the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form expressly provide that "House Members and staff may not accept travel funded by a federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent, *even when the lobbyist or foreign agent will be reimbursed by a client or employer.*"[30] On the other hand, the instructions state that trip sponsors may not accept from any other source funds earmarked directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip, but do not expressly provide that third party advances (to be reimbursed by the sponsor) are impermissible. That omission should be interpreted to mean that the strict prohibition on advances from lobbyists and foreign agents does not apply to other persons. Such a distinction would be consistent with the stricter treatment of lobbyists and registered agents under Rule XXV.

In any event, the record demonstrates nothing but a good faith compliance with the rules by Representative Owens and his staff. The record shows that the Chinese Culture University did, in fact, pay for the trip. The record finally shows that Representative Owens ultimately paid for the trip himself, so that there could be no question as to his personal compliance.

C. OCE Violated Its Rules By Drawing Prohibited Conclusions and Negative Inferences Against Representative Owens

The OCE Resolution prohibits OCE's Findings from containing "any conclusions regarding the validity of the allegations upon which it is based or the guilt or innocence of the individual who is the subject of the review . . . ."[31] Yet in the Findings' Table of Contents, OCE declares, in bold type, all in capital letters: "REPRESENTATIVE OWENS ACCEPTED PAYMENT OF TRAVEL EXPENSES FOR AN OFFICIALLY CONNECTED TRIP TO TAIWAN FROM AN IMPERMISSIBLE SOURCE, RESULTING IN AN IMPERMISSIBLE GIFT, IN VIOLATION OF FEDERAL LAW AND HOUSE RULES." This is an egregious violation of OCE's rules. In another matter, the Committee found OCE to violate the resolution by saying, for example, that a Member had shown "lack of candor" in an interview.[32]

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[29] OCE Findings n. 13.

[30] http://ethics.house.gov/sites/ethics.house.gov/files/Instructions_Sponsor_Certification_Form_2008.pdf (emphasis added).

[31] H. Res. 895 § 1(c)(2)(C)(ii)(II).

[32] H. Rep. 111-320, at 35 (2009) (In re Representative Graves).

But this is not the OCE's only violation of its rules. In the past, the OCE has tried to punish other Members for lack of cooperation by drawing an impermissible negative inference against them. Here, with Representative Owens having cooperated completely with its review, the OCE went even further. It drew a series of negative inferences from the non-cooperation of *third party witnesses,* none of whom was in any way under Representative Owens' control. One of these witnesses, the Chinese Culture University, is not only across the globe, but appears actually to have responded to OCE requests for information. It was the supposed insufficiency of its response, not its total non-response, which led the OCE to punish Representative Owens.

And it is Representative Owens who was punished. The OCE has jurisdiction solely over the conduct of Members, officers and employees of the House; it has no authority to refer violations of laws by overseas universities or private lobbyists.[33] To reach a prohibited conclusion about the validity of allegations against Representative Owens, because of the conduct of others, is an extraordinary violation of the OCE Resolution.

CONCLUSION

This matter never should have come before the Committee. Representative Owens' office acted consistently in good faith to engage in Committee-approved, privately paid, officially connected travel. When questions arose about the trip, Representative Owens immediately repaid the Chinese Culture University for the trip and arranged a private legal briefing for his staff.

After the OCE began its review, the Representative cooperated completely. He responded to OCE's requests. He and his staff submitted to interviews. The reasonableness of their conduct should have been evident from the information provided. It shows the steps his office took in advance to ensure that the trip complied with the rules. It also demonstrates nothing but good faith on the part of Representative Owens and his staff. Yet the OCE responded by referring the matter for still more investigation, in repeated violation of its own rules. Even if reimbursement of travel expenses was impermissible, Representative Owens had already repaid the University for the full cost of the travel, before any review had commenced.

The Committee should dismiss the matter. Moreover, it should either withhold altogether the public release of the illegally tendered Report and Findings, or it should couple their release with an authoritative statement that repudiates them.

We appreciate the Committee's attention, and we are pleased to assist in a proper termination of this matter.

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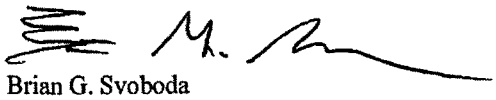
[33] H. Res. 895 § 1(c)(1)(A).

Very truly yours,



Brian G. Svoboda
Jonathan S. Berkon
Counsel to Representative Bill Owens

ADDENDUM A
Itinerary and Details Regarding Representative Owens' Trip to Taiwan

On December 27, 2011, Representative and Mrs. Owens embarked on a twenty-three hour series of flights to Taiwan, arriving late in the evening of December 28.[34] The trip involved an aggressive schedule of official activities. Awaking early on the morning of December 29, Representative Owens met with the Taiwanese President and Vice Minister of National Defense. Representative Owens followed that with back-to-back meetings with a Taiwanese legislator and with personnel at the American Chamber of Commerce. Representative Owens then attended a dinner hosted by the Chairman and President of the trip's sponsor, the Chinese Culture University, along with two University deans.[35] Following the dinner, Representative Owens took a train from Taipei to Zuoying, arriving late at night. The next morning, he visited a Navy base and then called on the customs office for the CSI/Mega-Port Project. After taking the train back to Taipei, Representative Owens met with the Chief Financial Officer of the Taiwanese Semiconductor Manufacturing Company ("TSMC"), the company that Representative Owens was trying to convince to build a new plant just outside his district. He then went to a dinner hosted by the Taiwanese foreign minister, which was attended by a dean from the Chinese Culture University.[36] On the third day, after visits to the National Palace Museum and the Tour Taipei 101 Financial Center and a meeting with the opposition leader, Representative and Mrs. Owens embarked on the journey home, arriving the next day.

[34] OCE Exh. 1, Doc. Nos. 12-8236_0012-15.

[35] Owens Interview ¶ 29.

[36] *Id.*

APPENDIX D

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VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL

The Honorable K. Michael Conaway
Chairman
Committee on Ethics
United States House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-6328

The Honorable Linda T. Sánchez
Ranking Minority Member
Committee on Ethics
United States House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
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Re: *The Honorable Peter Roskam's Response to the Office of Congressional Ethics' Referral in Review Number 13-9784*

Dear Chairman Conaway and Ranking Member Sánchez,

We respond on behalf of our client, Representative Peter Roskam, to the June 14, 2013 letter from the Chief Counsel of the Committee on Ethics (the "Committee"), notifying us that the Committee had received a referral from the Office of Congressional Ethics (the "OCE"). Specifically, we respond to the allegations contained in the OCE's Findings of Fact and Citations of Law (the "OCE Report") in the above-identified matter. For the reasons set forth below, we respectfully submit that the allegations in the OCE Report are wholly without merit and should be dismissed without further proceedings by the Committee. Representative Roskam's declaration is attached as Exhibit A.

Summary

In October 2011, Representative Peter Roskam and his wife travelled to Taiwan on a trip related to his official duties as a Member of Congress (the "Taiwan Trip"). The Taiwan Trip was sponsored by the Chinese Culture University ("CCU"), a private educational institution located in Taipei, Taiwan, and Representative Roskam participated in the trip at CCU's invitation. The University invited Representative Roskam and his wife on an "educational and fact-finding visit

to Taiwan as part of [its] effort to broaden relations through new exchange initiatives." OCE Report at Exh. 1. The trip included a visit to CCU, a meeting with CCU's President, a tour of the CCU campus, meetings with government and industry leaders, and events highlighting the culture and history of Taiwan.

Per House Rules, Representative Roskam sought pre-approval from the Committee for the Taiwan Trip, submitting on September 12, 2011 a Traveler Form for Members, Officers, and Employees, the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, and attachments that included the invitation letter from CCU and a preliminary itinerary. As discussed below, Representative Roskam disclosed in good faith all material information regarding the Taiwan Trip to the Committee in seeking its pre-approval. This trip was vetted by the Committee and subsequently approved on September 30, 2011. After returning from Taiwan, and within the required 15-day timeframe, Representative Roskam submitted the required Post-Travel Disclosure Form to the Committee.

On January 28, 2013, Representative Roskam was notified that the OCE Board had initiated a preliminary review into whether the Taiwan Trip constituted an impermissible gift. During the OCE's inquiry, Representative Roskam participated and cooperated to the fullest extent possible. In addition to sitting for an extensive and unrestricted interview and making his staff available for unrestricted interview, Representative Roskam produced emails, correspondence, and other documents related to the Taiwan Trip. Additionally, Representative Roskam took the extraordinary measure, at the express demand of the OCE, of waiving confidentiality of his exchanges with the Committee during the pre-approval process, authorizing the Committee to discuss its pre-approval of the Taiwan Trip directly with the OCE. *See* Rule 3(j), Rules of the Committee on Ethics (2013) ("Comm. Rules"). Despite his full and robust cooperation with the OCE review, the OCE ultimately issued Findings of Fact and Citations of Law referring this matter for further review by the Committee.

As discussed in detail below, the matter should be dismissed summarily by the Committee without further review for the following reasons:

First, the record reflects that Representative Roskam complied with all laws, rules, and procedures related to privately sponsored travel. The trip was vetted and approved by the Committee upon full, good-faith disclosure of all material information by Representative Roskam. As Representative Roskam indisputably acted in good faith—indeed even OCE does not allege that Representative Roskam acted in bad faith or withheld any material information from the Committee in obtaining pre-approval—he is permitted to rely upon the Committee's approval of the trip and therefore cannot and should not be the subject of adverse action by the Committee.

Second, there is *nothing* in the record—not a single document or witness statement—indicating that anyone other than CCU paid for Representative Roskam's Taiwan Trip. Indeed, nowhere in its Report does the OCE even conclude that CCU did not pay for the trip. Instead, the OCE merely asserts that *if* the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States ("TECRO") paid for the trip, it could not have done so under MECEA and would have been an impermissible source. But that conclusion—which we need not and do not challenge—is entirely irrelevant here, as there is nothing in the record indicating that TECRO paid for the Taiwan Trip. To the contrary, there is ample and uncontroverted evidence that the Taiwan Trip was, in fact, sponsored solely by CCU.

Third, the record clearly establishes that CCU, a private institution that does not employ a federally registered lobbyist or a registered foreign agent, was a perfectly permissible sponsor for the Taiwan Trip. Contrary to the OCE's erroneous assessment, the record also demonstrates that CCU played a significant role in organizing and conducting the Taiwan Trip, including extending the formal invitation to Representative Roskam, completing and sending the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, interacting with the Government of Taiwan to help facilitate the trip, and hosting the Congressman and his wife at the University for a substantial meeting with the CCU President and a campus tour during the trip. The mere fact that TECRO may have assisted with logistical aspects of the trip, as alleged in the OCE Report, does not nullify CCU's considerable and demonstrable participation in the organization and conduct of the Taiwan Trip. CCU was a permissible private sponsor, and the trip was not an impermissible gift.

Background

In order to allow for its Members to engage in a meaningful way with those outside of Washington D.C. and their district, while at the same time upholding the highest ethical standards, the House of Representatives has adopted rules for officially connected travel paid for by private sources. *See* Rule 25, Rules of the House of Representatives (2013) ("House Rules"). Similarly, the Committee has adopted rules specific to this type of travel, *see, e.g.,* Comm. Rule 3(f), and issued additional Travel Guidelines and Regulations. *See* Memorandum to All Members, Officers, and Employees from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, "Travel Guidelines and Regulations" (February 20, 2007) ("2007 Travel Guidelines").

Travel connected with a Member's official responsibilities may be paid for by a private source as long as certain standards are met. For example, the House Rules require that there be a nexus between the purpose of the trip, the location being visited, and the sponsor. *See* 2007 Travel Guidelines at 3. Additionally, the private source of funding, or sponsor, cannot retain a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal. House Rule 25, cl. 5(b)(1)(A). It is the sponsor's duty to "certify to the Committee that it has not accepted from any other source funds earmarked directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip." House Ethics Manual, 98

(2008). Further, the "sponsor must also certify that the trip was not financed (in whole or in part) by a federal lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal." *Id.*

The Committee requires Members to seek and receive pre-approval for any privately sponsored travel, House Rule 25, cl. 5(d)(2), and also mandates additional disclosures within 15 days of the conclusion of the trip. House Rule 25, cl. 5(b)(1)(A)(iii).

As discussed at length below, Representative Roskam and his congressional staff adhered strictly to these requirements throughout the planning, travel, and post-travel phases of the Taiwan Trip.

1. **The conduct alleged by the OCE is within the scope of the Committee's written pre-approval of the Taiwan Trip, upon which Representative Roskam was entitled to rely. Thus the Committee must dismiss this matter under Committee Rule 3(k).**

Representative Roskam followed all applicable rules and procedures in seeking—and receiving—pre-approval from the Committee for the Taiwan Trip and, as a result, the Committee is estopped from taking any adverse action against Representative Roskam for this trip.

To ensure that the requirements for privately sponsored travel are met, Members must have all such travel plans pre-approved by the Committee. House Rule 25, cl. 5(d)(2); Comm. Rule 3(f). At the time of the Taiwan Trip, Members were required to seek pre-approval at least 14 days prior to their departure, *see* Memorandum to All Members, Officers, and Employees from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, "Changes to the Pre-Approval Process for Officially-Connected Travel Paid for by a Private Source," at 1 (September 23, 2008), though the Committee generally requested that the necessary paperwork be submitted at least 30 days prior to departure.[1] *See* Memorandum to All Members, Officers, and Employees from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, "Travel Approval Requests Must Be Submitted in a Timely Manner," at 1 (June 20, 2007). The pre-approval submission generally consists of the Traveler Form for Members, Officers, and Employees, the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, and any necessary attachments.[2] Comm. Rule 3(f)(2); *see also* House Rule 25, cl. 5(b)(5) (requiring submission of "all advance authorizations, certifications, and disclosures"). A Member may not engage in privately sponsored travel without first receiving approval from the Committee. *See* House Rule 25, cl. 5(d)(2); Comm. Rule 3(f).

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[1] Recently this time period was increased; requiring Members to seek pre-approval for privately sponsored travel 30 days prior to departure. *See* Memorandum to All Members, Officers, and Employees from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, "Travel Guidelines and Regulations," at 1 (December 27, 2012).

[2] Anyone who knowingly and willfully falsifies part of this submission may be subject to criminal liability pursuant to the False Statements Act, 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Comm. Rule 3(f)(3).

Significantly, once the Committee has approved a Member's privately sponsored travel, "[t]he Committee may take no adverse action in regard to any conduct that has been undertaken in reliance on a written opinion if the conduct conforms to the specific facts addressed in the opinion." Comm. Rule 3(k). Indeed, as long as the Member acts in good faith, the Committee may not even conduct an investigation. House Ethics Manual, 21 (2008)(citing 2 U.S.C. § 29d(i)(4); 5 U.S.C. app. 4 § 504(b); Comm. Rule 3(j)-(k)).

Representative Roskam sought timely pre-approval from the Committee by submitting his Traveler Form for Members, Officers, and Employees, the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form completed by CCU, and three attachments[3] on September 12, 2011, over a month prior to his scheduled departure for Taiwan. OCE Report at Exh. 1. These documents clearly identify CCU as the sponsor of the trip and reflect CCU's direct and significant involvement in its planning. In a follow-up conversation with a member of the Committee's staff, Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant identified TECRO, and specifically TECRO employee Gordon Yang, as the primary point of contact for the trip.[4] OCE Report at ¶¶ 84-87. In a follow up e-mail on September 27, 2011, Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant sent Mr. Yang's contact information to the Committee's staff member. OCE Report at ¶ 87; Exh. 22. Shortly thereafter, the Taiwan Trip was officially approved by the Committee. OCE Report ¶ 92; Exh. 1.

Throughout the pre-approval process Representative Roskam and his congressional staff were completely candid with the Committee. All of the required documentation he was provided was submitted to the Committee for its consideration in granting pre-approval. Contact information for both CCU and TECRO was provided to the Committee prior to approval and no material information was withheld from the Committee during this process. Tellingly, OCE does not even allege that any material information was withheld or that Representative Roskam did not act in complete good faith. Moreover, the actual Taiwan Trip conformed with the information submitted to the Committee. Representative Roskam met with the President of CCU and toured the campus. OCE Report at ¶ 74. He and his wife engaged in a variety of different meetings and events designed to promote Taiwanese culture. Taken as a whole, Representative Roskam

[3] The attachments included: (1) a letter from Wannyih Wu, President of CCU, inviting Representative Roskam to Taiwan; (2) a list of Members invited on the Taiwan Trip; and (3) a tentative itinerary for the Taiwan Trip. OCE Report at Exh. 1.

[4] Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant's conduct during the preparations for the Taiwan Trip was exemplary and entirely transparent. He repeatedly sought guidance from the Committee during the lead up to the Taiwan Trip. For example, in late July 2011 Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant spoke with Ethics regarding whether the travel request had to be re-submitted after the dates of the trip changed. *See* OCE Report at Exh. 10. Similarly, Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant sought guidance from Ethics regarding the allocation of certain travel expenses. *See* OCE Report at Exh. 18.

through both his actions and those of his staff acted in good faith throughout the pre-approval process as well as during and after the actual Taiwan Trip.

In light of this transparent and good-faith disclosure and cooperation, and regardless of the OCE's pointless critique of CCU's and TECRO's comparative roles in planning and conducting the official travel, the Committee's pre-approval of Representative Roskam's Taiwan Trip cannot now be investigated by the Committee and never should have been questioned by the OCE. Of note, this explanation was repeatedly brought to the OCE's attention during its review process in this matter. *See, e.g.*, OCE Report at ¶ 93, n. 109. In the spirit of full cooperation, Representative Roskam agreed to the unprecedented measure of waiving his confidential relationship with the Committee and allowing the OCE to request information related to the Taiwan Trip directly from the Committee. As noted in its report, however, the OCE was "unable to assess" this claim because it did not receive a formal response from the Committee related to the approval process. OCE Report at ¶ 93.

As Representative Roskam received pre-approval for the Taiwan Trip based upon a full disclosure to the Committee, and because he acted in good faith, we respectfully request that the Committee dismiss this matter without further inquiry.

2. There is no indication that anyone other than CCU paid for the Taiwan Trip.

Importantly, OCE did *not* find or even allege that CCU did not pay for the Taiwan Trip, but rather merely argues that *if* TECRO paid for the trip, it would have been an impermissible source. OCE Report at ¶¶ 25-36.[5] With no evidence even suggesting that TECRO paid for any

[5] The OCE Report at footnote 31 states in conclusory fashion that no travel expenses could have been accepted from the government of Taiwan under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act ("FGDA") because Representative Roskam's trip originated in the United States. The House Ethics Manual does not support this statement. The House Ethics Manual states:

> Under the FGDA, any travel paid for by a foreign government must take place totally outside of the United States, must be consistent with the interests of the United States, and must be permitted under FGDA regulations issued by the Standards Committee. The intent of this provision . . . is to allow an individual who is already overseas (as on a CODEL or third-party sponsored fact-finding trip) to take advantage of fact-finding opportunities by the host country. . . . The regulations also allow the acceptance of travel expenses by an accompanying spouse or dependent.

House Ethics Manual at 109. The House Ethics Manual also contains this example concerning the application of FGDA to foreign travel:

> Example 11. The Chinese Agricultural Ministry invites the Members of the Agriculture Committee on a ten-day tour of Chinese farm cooperatives. The tour is not part of an approved cultural exchange program. The Members may, consistent with the FGDA, accept expenses for

of the trip expenses, the OCE simply dodges the question of payment. Rather than draw *any* conclusion on the source of payment—nowhere in its Report does the OCE commit to identifying either TECRO or CCU as payor—the OCE instead relies on those entities' respective roles in organizing and conducting the trip in order to argue that *neither* entity could have paid for the trip. This "heads I win, tails you lose" approach is unjust, and does not reflect the reality of CCU's significant participation in planning and conducting Representative Roskam's Taiwan Trip. But the OCE's alternative—and ultimately irrelevant—argument that TECRO would have been an impermissible source is easily dispensed with: There is *nothing* in the record—not a single document or witness statement—indicating that TECRO paid for Representative Roskam's Taiwan Trip.

All available evidence indicates that CCU was the sponsor of the Taiwan Trip. First, it was CCU that completed and submitted the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form to Representative Roskam's office. OCE Report at Exh. 1. In addition to CCU being identified as the sponsor, the university, through its representative Chiung-Li Kuo, certified that it "has not accepted from any other source funds earmarked directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip." OCE Report at Exh. 1. This form was submitted by CCU under threat of criminal liability for any false statements. *See* Comm. Rule 3(f)(3). These documents also include clear indicia that they did in fact originate from CCU. Not only does the fax header on this form indicate that it is "From: CCU," but the originating fax number is identical to the fax number provided by CCU on page three of the form. OCE Report at Exh. 1. Similarly, in that same submission to Ethics there is a letter from CCU President Wannyih Wu—on CCU letterhead—extending the formal invitation to Representative Roskam to participate in the Taiwan Trip. *Id.*

Other evidence in the record also indicates that CCU sponsored the Taiwan Trip. Beginning with the first itinerary provided by TECRO on June 7, 2011 the host of the trip is consistently identified as the CCU. *See* OCE Report at Exh. 5. In that regard, this initial itinerary mirrors the request form submitted to Ethics on September 12, 2011, *see* OCE Report at Exh. 1; the post-travel disclosure form submitted on November 2, 2011, *see id.*; and every other iteration of the itinerary, all of which consistently identified CCU as the trip's sponsor. *See, e.g.*, OCE Report at Exhs. 14, 15, 19. Similarly, a memo regarding the upcoming trip to Taiwan, provided to

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> themselves and their spouses while they are in China, but they may not accept airfare to and from China from the Chinese government. They must disclose the receipt of these expenses for themselves and spouses on an FGDA disclosure form within 30 days of leaving China. They need not report the trip on their annual Financial Disclosure Statements.

Id. at 111. Accordingly, even assuming for the sake of argument only that the government of Taiwan did pay for a portion of Representative Roskam and his wife's travel *in* Taiwan, such payments would have been permissible under the FGDA contrary to the OCE Report. Regardless, there is *nothing* in the record to suggest that *any* portion of the trip was paid for by anyone other than CCU, the trip's sponsor.

Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant on October 7, 2011, begins, "The Chinese Culture University of the Republic of China (Taiwan) hosts your trip, which has been approved by the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Standards of Official Conduct." *See* OCE Report at Exh. 19.

These documents are consistent with representations made by Mr. Yang throughout the process. As explained by Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant, Mr. Yang continually referred to the Chinese Culture University as the trip sponsor. The documents reflect this, as well. On June 15, 2011, Mr. Yang promises to provide Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant with a copy of "the private sponsor certification form signed by the Chinese Culture University" for the trip to Taiwan. *See* OCE Report at Exh. 6. Similarly, on September 2, 2011, Yang writes to Representative Roskam's Executive Assistant, "I've got the new ethics form from the Chinese Culture University. I plan to stop by your office on Tuesday to deliver it to you." *See* OCE Report at Exh. 16.

Conversely, the record in this matter contains *no* evidence that the Government of Taiwan sponsored Representative Roskam's Taiwan Trip. The OCE Report focuses on communications exchanged at the very outset of planning *a* trip to Taiwan, prior to CCU's involvement in sponsoring *the* Taiwan Trip on which Representative Roskam ultimately actually travelled. For example, the OCE notes that an initial invitation from the Government of Taiwan identified a trip the Government proposed to conduct as part of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act ("MECEA"). *See, e.g.*, OCE Report at ¶¶ 27, 32. But that contemplated MECEA trip simply was not the trip that Representative Roskam ultimately attended. As noted above, the actual Taiwan Trip was not a MECEA trip and the Government of Taiwan was not the sponsor. Preliminary discussions with TECRO about a potential MECEA trip that never occurred are entirely irrelevant to the distinct, privately-sponsored trip for which Representative Roskam received Committee pre-approval months later.

Notably, in the fall of 2012 the OCE referred another officially connected trip to Taiwan sponsored by CCU for additional investigation by the Committee. It is apparent that that unrelated OCE review heavily influenced the OCE's inquiry into Representative Roskam's Taiwan Trip.[6] But in its haste to draw parallels, the OCE ignored that the circumstances surrounding that trip, involving Representative Bill Owens, are easily and materially distinguishable from Representative Roskam's Taiwan Trip. For example, the OCE found that Park Strategies, LLC, a lobbying firm, played an integral role in the development and planning of Representative Owens' trip, whereas there is no allegation whatsoever that lobbyists were

[6] For example, the Rule 4(F) letter provided by the OCE to Representative Roskam on May 17, 2013 erroneously includes a reference to "Representative and Mrs. Owens." Letter from Omar S. Ashmawy, OCE Staff Director and Chief Counsel, to The Honorable Peter Roskam, U.S. Representative (May 17, 2013).

involved in Representative Roskam's Taiwan Trip. Additionally, the documents in that Owens matter contained multiple references to travel expenses being paid for by the Government of Taiwan, not CCU, whereas there is not a single document or witness statement indicating that anyone other than CCU paid for Representative Roskam's Taiwan Trip.

The record in this matter uniformly indicates that the Taiwan Trip was sponsored by CCU, and not by the Government of Taiwan. Thus the OCE's conclusion that TECRO would have been an impermissible payment source is immaterial to determining whether Representative Roskam's Taiwan Trip constituted an impermissible gift.

3. The OCE's contention that CCU did not play a significant role in the organization and conduct of the Taiwan Trip is belied by the record.

Unable to cite a single document or witness statement even suggesting that TECRO paid for the trip, the OCE resorts to an alternative theory that the Taiwan Trip "appears to have been organized and conducted by the government of Taiwan, with little to no involvement by the University," and, as a result, CCU's sponsorship of the trip constituted an impermissible gift. OCE Report at ¶ 3. There is, however, ample—and indeed uncontroverted—evidence in the record that CCU played a substantial role in the planning, execution, and conduct of the Taiwan Trip.

Pursuant to the travel guidelines issued by the Committee, "[e]xpenses may only be accepted from an entity or entities that have a significant role in organizing and conducting a trip, and that also have a clear and defined organization interest in the purpose of the trip or location being visited." *See* 2007 Travel Guidelines at 3. Stated another way, "[e]xpenses may not be accepted from a source that has merely donated monetary or in-kind support to the trip but does not have a significant role in organizing and conducting the trip." *Id.* As the use of the term "significant" makes clear, neither the House Rules nor the guidelines established by the Committee require the sponsor to be the *sole* entity participating in organization and conduct of privately funded Member travel.

As discussed at length above, CCU participated significantly in the planning and conduct of the Taiwan Trip, including by: (1) formally inviting the Congressman to Taiwan via letter; (2) completing and faxing the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form; (3) interfacing with TECRO regarding the logistics of the trip; (4) coordinating the Congressman's visit to CCU's campus and a meeting with University officials; and (5) ultimately hosting the Congressman and his wife at the University during the trip, including a lengthy meeting with the University's president and a tour of the CCU campus. Clearly, CCU did not "merely donate[ ] monetary or in-kind support to the trip." *See* Memorandum to All Members, Officers, and Employees from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, "Travel Guidelines and Regulations," at 3 (February 20, 2007). CCU was a full participant in the process.

What the Committee well understands, but the OCE fails to acknowledge, is that the involvement of TECRO as a liaison for the trip is neither unusual nor impermissible. TECRO is the principal point of contact for all United States citizens travelling to Taiwan. Interaction with TECRO would have been required to get travel visas for the trip. Relying upon TECRO to alleviate the significant logistical challenges of officially connected travel in a foreign country is not impermissible. Indeed, it would have been extraordinary had TECRO not been involved in planning *officially* connected travel to Taiwan. As noted by CCU in its submission to the OCE,

> In view of Mr. Roskam's important status as a member of U.S. Congress and the lack of staff of this university stationed in the United States, the program for Representative Roskam's visit was coordinated through the kind assistance of Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States.

OCE Report at Exh. 21. Limited by its resources and separated by a language, an international date line, and a culture, it simply was not feasible—nor required by governing law or House Rules—for CCU to interface directly with Representative Roskam's office.[7]

In a recent matter where the funding for Members' travel was found to have come from an entity that did not organize and conduct the trip, the Committee noted a complete disconnect between the identified sponsor and the actual source of funding for the trip. *See* Comm. on Standards of Official Conduct, In the Matter of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multi-National Business Conference in 2007 and 2008, H. Rep. 111-422, 111th Cong., 2d Sess. (2010) ("Carib News Report"). Representative Bennie G. Thompson, among others, was invited to two conferences by the Carib News Foundation. Carib News Report at 168. It was the Carib News Foundation that completed the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, certifying that it alone was funding the proposed travel, and that organized the conference. Carib News Report at 169. But it was not the Carib News Foundation that incurred the expenses related to the travel; rather it was a series of corporations that specifically earmarked donations for the Members' travel. Carib News Report at 170. These actual sponsors played no role in the planning and conduct of the conference, and indeed had no connection to the conference whatsoever. Carib News Report at 17. Here, however, there is no such disconnect. There is uniformity between the sponsor of the trip (i.e., CCU), the entity that completed the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form (i.e., CCU), the itinerary (i.e., including a tour of CCU), and the purpose of the trip ("to introduce [Representative Roskam] to Taiwan"). *See* OCE Report at Exh. 1.

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[7] Given these significant limitations, the OCE's assertion that CCU and Representative Roskam's office could have corresponded via email is petty and misses the point. *See* OCE Report at ¶ 83.

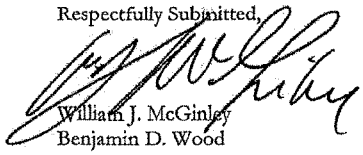
As previously discussed, a private sponsor is permitted to pay for a Member's travel on an officially connected trip. House Rule 25, cl. 5(b)(1)(A). CCU is "a private university founded in 1962" in Taipei, Taiwan. OCE Report at Exh. 21; *see also* OCE Report at Exh. 1 (letter from Wannyih Wu, President of CCU, inviting Representative Roskam to Taiwan). The University does not employ a federally registered lobbyist or a registered foreign agent. OCE Report at Exh. 1. Therefore, CCU is a permissible sponsor for a Member's privately funded, officially connected travel.

Faced with no evidence that CCU did not in fact sponsor the trip as reported, the OCE attempts to ensnare Representative Roskam in a "Catch-22," alleging that the Taiwan Trip constituted an impermissible gift whether CCU paid for the trip or not. Yet the record in this matter uniformly shows not only that CCU paid for the trip expenses, but that CCU also fully participated significantly in the organization and conduct of the privately sponsored travel. As a result, CCU was an appropriate and permissible sponsor for the trip and, therefore, its payment of trip expenses did not constitute an impermissible gift.

Conclusion

On behalf of Representative Roskam, we respectfully submit that his trip to Taiwan in October 2011 was appropriately vetted and approved by the Committee, with full disclosure of all material information and pursuant to all the applicable rules and procedures, and therefore cannot form the basis for an investigation by the Committee. Moreover, there is no basis to conclude that the Taiwan Trip—a trip sponsored, organized, and conducted by a legally permissible sponsor, CCU—constituted an impermissible gift. We therefore respectfully request that the Committee dismiss the OCE referral without further proceedings.

Respectfully Submitted,



William J. McGinley
Benjamin D. Wood

Attachment (Representative Roskam's Declaration)

Declaration

I, Representative Peter Roskam, declare (certify, verify, or state) under penalty of perjury that the response and factual assertions contained in the attached letter dated June 28, 2013, relating to my response to the June 14, 2013, Committee on Ethics letter, are true and correct.

Signature: [signature]

Name: Representative Peter Roskam

Date: June 27, 2013