

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

18 JUN 14 PM 4:07

MEMBER / OFFICER POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

OFFICE OF THE CLERK
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for travel taken in connection with a Member or officer's official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual Financial Disclosure Statement. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, you must complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House, 135 Cannon House Office Building, within 15 days after travel is completed. Please do not file this form with the Committee on Ethics.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

1. Name of Traveler: John Sarbanes
2. a. Name of accompanying relative: Dina Sarbanes or None
b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates of departure and return: Departure: May 28, 2018 Return: June 4, 2018
b. Dates at personal expense: JUNE 3, 2018 Hotel stay or None
4. Departure city: BALTIMORE Destination: HELSINKI Return city: BALTIMORE
5. Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): THE ASPEN INSTITUTE INC. (CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM)
6. Describe meetings and events attended (attach additional pages if necessary): PLEASE SEE ATTACHED ITINERARY WITH ALL MEETINGS AND EVENTS PLUS DESCRIPTIONS.
7. Attached to this form are EACH of the following (signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box):
 - a. a completed Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form;
 - b. the Primary Trip Sponsor Form completed by the trip sponsor prior to the trip, including all attachments and Grantmaking or Non-Grantmaking Sponsor Forms;
 - c. page 2 of the completed Traveler Form submitted by the Member or officer; **and**
 - d. the letter from the Committee on Ethics approving my participation on this trip.
8. a. I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the sponsor's agenda. (Signify that statement is true by checking box):
b. If not, explain: _____

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 on the attached Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form 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:

John Sarbanes

DATE:

6/15/2018

**U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics**

SPONSOR POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

This form must be completed by an officer of any organization that served as the primary trip sponsor in providing travel expenses or reimbursement for travel expenses to House Members, officers, or employees under House Rule 25, clause 5. ***A completed copy of the form must be provided to each House Member, officer, or employee who participated on the trip within 10 days of their return.*** You must answer all questions, and check all boxes, on this form for your submission to comply with House rules and the Committee's travel regulations. Failure to comply with this requirement may result in the denial of future requests to sponsor trips and/or subject the current traveler to disciplinary action or a requirement to repay the trip expenses.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

1. Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): _____
The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Travel Destination(s): Helsinki, Finland and Tallinn, Estonia
3. Date of Departure: May 28, 2018 Date of Return: June 3, 2018
4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Rep. John Sarbanes and Dina Sarbanes
(NOTE: You may list more than one traveler on a form only if all information is identical for each person listed.)
5. **Actual amount** of expenses paid on behalf of, or reimbursed to, each individual named in response to Question 4:

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item and description)
Traveler	\$3,590	\$930	\$625	\$795 - meeting room expenses
Accompanying Relative	\$3,590	-0-	\$625	\$795 - meeting room expenses

6. All expenses connected to the trip were for actual costs incurred and not a *per diem* or lump sum payment. (Signify statement is true by checking box):

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

Signature: _____
 Name: Dan Glickman Title: VP-The Aspen Institute, Inc.
 Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc.

I am an officer of the above-named organization (signify statement is true by checking box):

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

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

Email Address: lisa.jones@aspeninst.org

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

If you have questions regarding your completion of this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at (202) 225-7103.

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: John Sarbanes
2. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): The Aspen Institute, Inc.
(Congressional Program)
3. Travel destination(s): Helsinki, Finland and Tallinn, Estonia
4. a. Date of departure May 28, 2018 Date of return: June 4, 2018
b. Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense? Yes No
If yes, dates at personal expense: JUNE 3RD Hotel Stay
5. a. Will you be accompanied by a relative at the sponsor's expense? Yes No
b. If yes:
(1) Name of accompanying relative: Dina Sarbanes
(2) Relationship to traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
(3) Accompanying relative is at least 18 years of age: Yes No
6. a. Did the trip sponsor answer "yes" to Question 9(d) on the Primary Trip Sponsor Form (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent and you are requesting lodging for two nights)? Yes No
b. If yes, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted:

7. Primary Trip Sponsor Form is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments and contributing sponsor forms: Yes No
NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.
8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to the traveler's individual official or representational duties. Staff should include their job title and how the activities on the itinerary relate to their duties.
PLEASE SEE Attached Sheet

9. Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved in planning, organizing, requesting, and/or arranging the trip? Yes No

10. **FOR STAFF TRAVELERS:**

TO BE COMPLETED BY YOUR EMPLOYING MEMBER:

ADVANCED AUTHORIZATION OF EMPLOYEE TRAVEL

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: _____

Signature of Employing Member

**U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics**

PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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 25, 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 together with a Traveler Form at least 30 days before the start date of the trip. The trip sponsor should NOT submit the form directly to the Committee. The Committee Web site (ethics.house.gov) provides detailed instructions for filling out the form.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips.

1. Sponsor (who will be paying for the trip): _____
The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) _____
2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent (signify that the statement is true by checking box):
3. *Check only one:* I represent that:
 - a. the primary trip sponsor has not accepted from any other source funds intended directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip *or*
 - b. the trip is arranged without regard to congressional participation and the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds only from entities that will receive a tangible benefit in exchange for those funds *or*.
 - c. the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds from other source(s) intended directly or indirectly to finance all or part of this trip and has enclosed disclosure forms from each of those entities.
If "c" is checked, list the names of the additional sponsors: _____
Carnegie of New York, Luce, Democracy Fund, Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundations _____
4. Provide names and titles of ALL House Members and employees you are inviting. For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional pages if necessary):
See attached list _____

5. Is travel being offered to an accompanying relative of the House invitee(s)? Yes No
6. Date of departure: May 28, 2018 Date of return: June 3, 2018
7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC or the district
b. Destination(s): Helsinki, Finland and Tallinn, Estonia
c. City of return: Washington, DC or the district
8. 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 registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent: *or*
 - c. The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist/foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.
9. Check one of the following:
 - a. I checked 8(a) or (b) above:
 - b. I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging:
 - c. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night: *or*
 - d. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for two nights:
If "d" is checked, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted: _____

10. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities the House invitees will be participating in during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities for trip invitees) (indicate agenda is attached by checking box):
11. Check one:
- a. I represent that a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip (signify that the statement is true by checking box): or
- b. N/A – trip sponsor is a U.S. institution of higher education.
12. For each sponsor required to submit a sponsor form, describe the sponsor's interest in the subject matter of the trip and its role in organizing and/or conducting the trip:

Aspen Institute's Congressional Program (AICP) provides non-partisan educational forums for members of Congress on public policy issues. AICP has organized and will conduct the Conference and has selected and invited the attendees. The foundations listed in Question 3C provide grant funding to AICP generally; they do not play a role in organizing and conducting the conference.

13. Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary.
- a. Mode of travel: Air Rail Bus Car Other (Specify: commercial ferry)
- b. Class of travel: Coach Business First Charter Other (Specify: _____)
- c. If travel will be first class or by chartered or private aircraft, explain why such travel is warranted:

14. I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the invitee(s). (signify that the statement is true by checking box):
15. 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 specifically *with regard* to congressional participation:

If "b" is checked:

- 1) Detail the cost per day of meals (approximate cost may be provided): _____
\$125
- 2) Provide reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: _____
Finland and Estonia provide the opportunity for regional scholars to participate and for the members of Congress to meet with the leaders in both countries.

16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:

Hotel name: Hotel Haven City: Helsinki, Finland Cost per night: \$190

Reason(s) for selecting: Hotel has required technology & meeting space with security & food safety a key factor

Hotel name: _____ City: _____ Cost per night: _____

Reason(s) for selecting: _____

Hotel name: _____ City: _____ Cost per night: _____

Reason(s) for selecting: _____

17. I represent that all expenses connected to the trip will be for actual costs incurred and not a per diem or lump sum payment. (signify that the statement is true by checking box):

18. TOTAL EXPENSES FOR EACH PARTICIPANT:

<input type="checkbox"/> actual amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> good faith estimates	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$4,000	\$930	\$625
For each accompanying relative	\$4,000	-0-	\$625

	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$795	meeting room expenses
For each accompanying relative	\$795	meeting room expenses

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

19. Check one:

- a. I certify that I am an officer of the organization listed below. *or*
- b. N/A – sponsor is an individual or a U.S. institution of higher education.

20. I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.

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

Signature: _____

Name: Dan Glickman

Title: Vice President, Aspen Institute; Executive Director, Congressional Program

Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc.

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

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

Email address: lisa.jones@aspeninst.org

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 (general fax)

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

GRANTMAKING TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by a public charity or private foundation (both as defined under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code) that provides a grant of funds to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation. Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips.

1. I certify that (name of your organization): Carnegie Corporation of New York
has been designated a § 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service.
 Yes No
2. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute Congressional Program
3. I certify that my organization (*complete a or b*):
 - a. Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. *or*
 - b. Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
(destination) _____ on (date) _____ that is
being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor.
4. Check one:
 - a. My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent *or*
 - b. My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
5. I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.
6. I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Deana Arsenian

Name: Deana Arsenian Title: VP, International Program

Organization: Carnegie Corporation of New York

Address: 437 Madison Ave., New York, NY, 10022

Telephone number: 212-207-6283 Email: DA@CARNEGIE.ORG

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

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U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
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NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips.

1. I certify that (name of your organization): The Henry Luce Foundation
has been designated a § 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service.
 Yes No
2. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute Congressional Program
3. I certify that my organization (complete a or b):
 - a. Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. *or*
 - b. Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
(destination) _____ on (date) _____ that is
being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor.
4. Check one:
 - a. My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent *or*
 - b. My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
5. I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.
6. I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:

Toby Alice Volkman

Name:

Toby Alice Volkman

Title: *Secretary + Director of Policy Initiatives*

Organization:

The Henry Luce Foundation

Address:

51 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10010

Telephone number:

212-489-7700

Email:

tvolkman@hluce.org

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

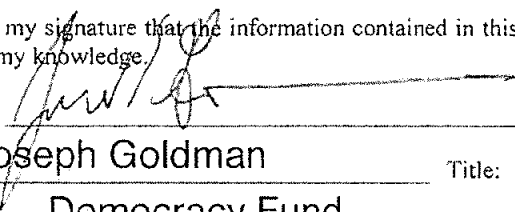
Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
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U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

GRANTMAKING TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by a public charity or private foundation (both as defined under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code) that provides a grant of funds to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation. Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips.

1. I certify that (name of your organization): Democracy Fund
has been designated a § 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service.
 Yes No
2. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute
3. I certify that my organization (*complete a or b*):
 - a. Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. *or*
 - b. Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
(destination) _____ on (date) _____ that is
being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor.
4. Check one:
 - a. My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent *or*
 - b. My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
5. I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.
6. I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.
Signature: 
Name: Joseph Goldman Title: President
Organization: Democracy Fund
Address: 1333 New Hampshire Ave, Suite 730, Washington DC 20036
Telephone number: 202-465-8525 Email: jgoldman@democracyfund.org

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Washington, DC 20515
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U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

GRANTMAKING TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by a public charity or private foundation (both as defined under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code) that provides a grant of funds to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation. Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips.

1. I certify that (name of your organization): Rockefeller Brothers Fund
has been designated a § 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service.
 Yes No
2. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute Congressional Program
3. I certify that my organization (complete a or b):
 - a. Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. or
 - b. Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
(destination) _____ on (date) _____ that is
being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor.
4. Check one:
 - a. My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent or
 - b. My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
5. I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.
6. I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: 

Name: STEPHEN HEINTZ

Title: PRESIDENT

Organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Address: 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115

Telephone number: 212-812-4389

Email: shaintz@rbf.org

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

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U.S. House of Representatives
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Susan W. Brooks, Indiana
Chairwoman
Theodore E. Deutch, Florida
Ranking Member

Kenny Marchant, Texas
Leonard Lance, New Jersey
Mimi Walters, California
John Ratcliffe, Texas

Yvette D. Clarke, New York
Jared Polis, Colorado
Anthony Brown, Maryland
Steve Cohen, Tennessee



ONE HUNDRED FIFTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

May 16, 2018

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Donna Herbert
Director of Administration

Megan Savage
*Chief of Staff and Counsel to
the Chairwoman*

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

The Honorable John P. Sarbanes
U.S. House of Representatives
2444 Rayburn 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 Finland and Estonia, scheduled for May 28 to June 4, 2018, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc., with financial support from Carnegie Corporation of New York, Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund. We note that this trip includes one day at your personal expense.

You must complete a Member/Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$390 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House Members may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), gifts "of minimal value [currently \$390] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of minimal value received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments filed with the Committee, 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,



Susan W. Brooks
Chairwoman



Theodore E. Deutch
Ranking Member

SWB/TED:wfs

January 22, 2018

Dan Glickman

Executive Director

Congressional Program

The Honorable John Sarbanes
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear John:

I would like to invite you and Dina to participate in a congressional conference on ***U.S.-Russia Relations: Policy Challenges in a New Era***, May 28-June 3, 2018, in Helsinki, Finland, and Tallinn, Estonia during the Memorial Day recess. We have limited space and must hear from you proactively as soon as possible if you wish to participate.

A severely strained U.S.-Russia relationship continues to raise risks for U.S. national security. Accusations have been made that each country is violating the arms control framework that maintains stability between the world's two leading nuclear powers, while NATO and Russia have increased deployments and exercises in close proximity to one another. Casualties continue to rise in Ukraine and strict sanctions on Russia may remain in place for years to come. In response, Russia has deepened its ties with China and governments that share its hostility toward the U.S. Concerns about Russia's ongoing cyberattacks, information war and other meddling in the domestic politics of Western democracies underscore the difficulty and the stakes of managing U.S.-Russia conflict. All these issues and more will be analyzed in a comprehensive focus reflected on the attached agenda outline.

We will have a mix of contributors from Russia, the UK, Estonia, Finland and Ukraine as well as prominent American scholars to assist our discussions. Attendance is by invitation only, with no outside observers, lobbyists, or congressional staff. Funding is provided solely by grants from foundations—no government, individual, corporate or special interest funds are accepted.

Under guidelines established by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, we will provide you with a signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form affirming that no lobbyists fund this activity, that the Aspen Institute does not hire or retain lobbyists, and that no lobbyists will be present. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

If your accompanying spouse or family member is a registered lobbyist, under the ethics rules of the House, their participation would not be allowed. Guidance from the Committee will not allow us to accept any enrollments less than one month prior to the conference.

Departure will be on Monday, May 28th and we will return on Sunday, June 3rd. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the conference.



2300 N St., NW

Suite 700

Washington, DC 20037

PH 202.736.5825

FX 202.785-2737

www.aspeninstitute.org



The Honorable John Sarbanes
January 22, 2018
Page Two

Expenses for you and Dina, including airfare on a carrier with whom we have negotiated a fare, lodging and meals will be paid by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. Under the ethics rules, no expenses are covered for entertainment or recreation. Congressional participants are limited to only one accompanying family member.

The Aspen Institute, an independent, nonprofit organization founded in 1950, provides a nonpartisan, neutral forum for leaders to discuss critical issues. The Institute's Congressional Program is designed to promote leadership on selected public policy issues in the Congress by bringing legislators together with internationally-recognized scholars and analysts in high-level discussion. Since the program's inception, over 450 Members of Congress have participated in the 135 conferences we have conducted.

Enclosed is a fact sheet on the program. In addition to answering any questions you may have, it has proven to be useful in responding to public and press inquiries.

Additionally, we hold breakfast meetings in the Capitol throughout the year to keep Members of Congress up-to-date between our annual conferences. We hope you will be able to participate in the extended educational offerings of our breakfast series.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 202-736-5825. I hope you and Dina will join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Dan". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Dan Glickman

Enclosures

U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS: POLICY CHALLENGES IN A NEW ERA

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

May 28-June 3, 2018 Helsinki, Finland and Tallinn, Estonia

Agenda overview as of 1/19/2018

MONDAY, May 28:

American participants depart the USA

TUESDAY, May 29:

Dinner Speaker

U.S.-RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVES: A VIEW FROM HELSINKI

Sauli Niinisto, *President of Finland**

WEDNESDAY, May 30:

Roundtable Discussion, 9 am-1 pm

U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS:

WHAT IS AT STAKE, WHAT IS POSSIBLE, AND WHY IT MATTERS

John Beyrle, *former U.S. Ambassador to Russia*

Robert Legvold, *Professor Emeritus,
Department of Political Science, Columbia
University*

Dmitri Trenin, *Director, Carnegie Moscow
Center, Moscow*

Luncheon Speaker, 1 pm-2:30 pm

A RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVE ON THE U.S.- RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP

Sergey Kislyak, *First Deputy, Foreign Relations
Committee, Russian Federation Council, (former
ambassador to the U.S.) Moscow*

THURSDAY, May 31:

Roundtable Discussion, 9 am-11 am

RUSSIA-U.S. TENSIONS OVER NATO, EUROPEAN SECURITY, UKRAINE AND THE BALTICS

Oleksandr Chalyi, *former Deputy Ukrainian
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kiev*

Fyodor Lukyanov, *Editor-in-Chief, Russia in
Global Affairs, Moscow**

Kadri Liik, *Senior Policy Fellow, European
Council on Foreign Relations, Tallinn*

Olga Oliker, *Director, Russia and Eurasia
Program, Center for Strategic & International
Studies*

Roundtable Discussion, 11 am-1 pm

NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PROLIFERATION, AND STRATEGIC STABILITY

Desmond Browne, *Member of the House of
Lords, former UK Defence Secretary, London*

Stephen Rademaker, *Counsel, Covington &
Burling, former Assistant Secretary of State for
Arms Control and International Security*

Vladimir Orlov, *Founder, PIR Center, Moscow**

FRIDAY, June 1:

Roundtable Discussion, 9 am-11 am

WESTERN SANCTIONS AND ENERGY FACTORS IN U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS

Oksana Antonenko, *Visiting Fellow, Institute
of Global Affairs, London School of Economics*

Markku Kivinen, *Director, Aleksanteri Institute
for Excellence in Russian Studies, Helsinki*

Chris Miller, *Assistant Professor, Fletcher
School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University*

Roundtable Discussion, 11 am-1 pm

POLICY REFLECTIONS (MEMBERS ONLY)

SATURDAY, June 2:

Day Trip to Tallinn

*Individual meetings with scholars on the ferry
ride to Tallinn*

A BALTIC PERSPECTIVE ON U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS

Kersti Kaljulaid, *President of Estonia*

SUNDAY, June 3:

Participants return to U.S.

Resource Scholars

René Nyberg, *former Finnish Ambassador to
Moscow, Helsinki*

Katri Pynnöniemi, *Assistant Professor of
Russian Security Policy, Aleksanteri Institute,
University of Helsinki, Helsinki*

Arkady Moshes, *Program Director, Finnish
Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki*

*=invited



THE ASPEN INSTITUTE
CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

FACT SHEET

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program is a nongovernmental, nonpartisan educational program for members of the U.S. Congress. It provides lawmakers with a stronger grasp of critical public policy issues by convening high-level conferences in which legislators are brought together with internationally recognized academics, experts and leaders to study their ideas and to explore various policy alternatives. Political neutrality is essential to the educational mission of the program. There is no identification with a political or party viewpoint and no endorsement of specific legislation. Its Executive Director is former Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman and its founder was former Senator Dick Clark. Projects in 2018 focusing on U.S. policy challenges include: U.S.-Russia Relations, Finding a Diplomatic Solution to the North Korean Crisis; Africa's Economic, Security and Development Challenges, and Energy Policy Opportunities.

- **Participation.** Since the program's inception, 450 members of Congress (including 35% of the current Congress), 194 international parliamentarians, political and government leaders, and 921 scholar/experts have been involved. Participation is limited to these individuals, their spouses and foundation representatives. No lobbyists, congressional staff or outside observers are permitted.
- **Funding.** Since its inception, the Congressional Program has been funded solely by established foundations: Funding is not accepted from lobbyists, governments, or corporations; and honoraria are not paid to members of Congress or scholars. Legislators feel free to engage openly because of their confidence in the integrity of the program. In 2018, funding is provided by the following foundations: the Asia Foundation, Carnegie Corporation (foundation) of New York, The Democracy Fund, the Ford Foundation, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Heising-Simons Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, Charles Koch Institute, the Henry Luce Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Open Society Policy Center, the Rockefeller Foundation, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund.
- **Ethics.** The Congressional Program is in full compliance with the rules adopted by the House in 2007, and also conforms to provisions in the "Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007." Lobbyists have no role whatsoever: they do not plan, fund, or participate in program activities. The Aspen Institute does not employ or retain registered lobbyists. All conference agendas are reviewed by the House and Senate ethics committees.
- **Venues.** Members of Congress face massive demands on their time. Convening conferences outside Washington gives lawmakers an opportunity to devote time, over a four-day period, for serious learning and reflection without interruption. To supplement the annual conferences, 20-25 breakfast meetings are held each year in the Capitol featuring distinguished scholars and international experts with both academic and practical experience on program topics.

Dan Glickman, Executive Director
(202) 736-5825
www.aspeninstitute.org/congressional

As a member of the Energy and Commerce Committee, we have jurisdiction over many of the issues that will be discussed during this trip, most notably energy, cyber security and foreign commerce. I also sit on the Oversight and Government Reform Committee's National Security Subcommittee which has primary responsibility to oversee the Departments of State, Defense, and Homeland Security, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Additionally, the Maryland National Guard has a longstanding partnership with the National Guard in Estonia, dating back to 1993. This partnership is one of 22 European partnerships that make up the U.S. European Command State Partnership program. The focus of the Maryland-Estonia Partnership is purely military and includes many of the topics that will be explored in our meetings.

U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS: POLICY CHALLENGES IN A NEW ERA

Agenda overview as of 4/23/2018 THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM
May 28-June 3, 2018 Helsinki, Finland and Tallinn, Estonia

MONDAY, May 28:

American participants depart the USA

Rep. John Sarbanes and his wife, Dina Sarbanes, depart Baltimore at 8:30 pm on Icelandair #642.

TUESDAY, May 29:

All participants arrive in Helsinki

Rep. John Sarbanes and his wife, Dina Sarbanes, arrive in Helsinki at 2:45 pm on Icelandair #346,

6:00-7:00 pm

Pre-Dinner Remarks

U.S.-RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVES: A VIEW FROM HELSINKI

Sauli Niinistö, President of Finland

7:00-9:00 pm

Working Dinner

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

WEDNESDAY, May 30:

7:00-8:55 am

Breakfast is available

8:00 am

Breakfast Meeting for Conference Scholars

9:00 am

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

*Dan Glickman, Executive Director,
Aspen Institute Congressional Program*

9:15-11:00 am

Roundtable Discussion

U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS: WHAT IS AT STAKE, WHAT IS POSSIBLE, AND WHY IT MATTERS

U.S.-Russia relations are at their lowest point in decades, comparable in some respects to the tensest years of the Cold War. Washington accuses Moscow of meddling in the 2016 U.S. election, attempting brazen attacks on U.S. and European targets, and undermining peaceful resolution of the Syria and Ukraine conflicts, and the North Korean nuclear standoff. A collapse of diplomatic relations has brought mutual expulsions of diplomats and shuttering of consulates, while both sides accuse each other of violating arms control agreements, and both are developing and

deploying new military capabilities aimed at one another. Are the US and Russia set on an inevitable "collision course" in their respective foreign policies, dictated by divergent national interests and worldviews, or is the current impasse more a function of specific policy disagreements and clashes of personalities and institutions?

- How do Russians define their national interests, and how do they see their role in the world?
- How do Russian domestic politics shape Russia's view of the United States?
- Why does Russia matter for U.S. national interests? Is it a threat?
- What are the risks of continued or deepening U.S.-Russia conflict?
- What U.S. policy approaches are likely to lead to an outcome where Russia is less of a threat and/or adversary?
- Are there prospects for improving the U.S.-Russia relationship? What are our common interests?
- How can the U.S. and Russia manage conflict in the cyber domain, including the fallout of Russian election hacking in 2016, and the risks for 2018?
- Social media has driven a transformation in the global economy and in democratic politics. How can freedom of expression and innovation be protected while deterring states from abusing social media to wage information warfare?
- How does the U.S. Congress (and the Russian Duma and Federation Council) engage on U.S.-Russia relations? Which have been the most significant impacts of legislative action on the relationship?
- Are our current formats for official, second track and unofficial engagement adequate? Are other arrangements needed to manage this relationship?

***John Beyrle**, former U.S. Ambassador to Russia*

***Robert Legvold**, Professor Emeritus in the Department of Political Science, Columbia University, New York*

***Matthew Rojansky**, Director, The Kennan Institute, The Wilson Center*

***Dmitri Trenin**, Director, Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow*

11:00 am	Break
11:15 am-1:00 pm	<i>Roundtable Discussion Continues</i>
1:00-2:00 pm	<i>Working Luncheon</i> Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for the U.S. policy regarding Russia.
2:30-4:00 pm	<i>Individual Discussions</i>

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include John Beyrle, Robert Legvold, Matthew Rojansky, and Dmitri Trenin.

6:00-7:00 pm

Pre-Dinner Speaker

A RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVE ON THE U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP

*Sergey Kislyak, First Deputy, Foreign Relations Committee,
Russian Federation Council, (former ambassador to the U.S.) Moscow*

7:00-9:00 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and members of Congress will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the key policy issues at stake in U.S.-Russia relations and their importance.

THURSDAY, May 31:

7:00-8:55 am

Breakfast is available

9:00-11:00 am

Roundtable Discussion

U.S.-RUSSIA TENSIONS OVER NATO, EUROPEAN SECURITY, UKRAINE AND THE BALTICS

The fighting in Ukraine has become the latest and most costly failure of the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security architecture since the end of the Cold War. More than 10,000 have been killed, and millions have been displaced, with the damage to infrastructure and economies reaching into the hundreds of billions of dollars. Russians argue that rapid enlargement of NATO and the EU over two decades has demonstrated the West's indifference to Russian concerns and objections, while U.S. allies in the region identify Russia as an acute threat to their security, and point to Russia's intervention in Ukraine as proof of Moscow's aggressive intentions. Does an "America First" approach lessen the U.S. commitment to NATO?

- What is the risk of military conflict between Russia and NATO?
- How do European states closest to Russia (the Baltics, Poland, and the Black Sea region) think about their own security and the broader problems for the region?
- What is the motivation for Russia's policy in Ukraine? How does it see U.S. and European involvement in Ukraine?
- Can the Minsk agreements be salvaged as a framework for managing and resolving the Donbas conflict?
- How can Russia's behavior be modified? What U.S. policies are likely to help lessen the Russian threat?
- Are U.S. and EU policies likely to aggravate Russia's aggressive tendencies or reduce risks of Russian interference in the former Soviet space?

- What are the prospects for the dispute over Crimea? Will this be an indefinite obstacle to productive relations between Ukraine and Russia, and between Russia and the West?

***Oleksandr Chalyi**, former Deputy Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kiev*
***Kadri Liik**, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, Tallinn*
***Fyodor Lukyanov**, Editor-in-Chief, Russia in Global Affairs, Moscow*
***Olga Oliker**, Director, Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic & International Studies*

11:00 am Break

11:15 am-1:00 pm *Roundtable Discussion*

NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PROLIFERATION, CYBERSECURITY AND STRATEGIC STABILITY

Russia and the United States possess over 90% of the world's nuclear weapons, and each has the ability to destroy the other in less than one hour. Presidents Trump and Putin have discussed the U.S.-Russia nuclear relationship and have dispatched officials to hold initial talks, but a return to major bilateral arms control negotiations now seems unlikely. The sides accuse one another of violating the 1987 INF treaty, and both are committed to significant modernization investments in their nuclear arsenals. Russia views rapidly advancing U.S. anti-missile defense, space weapons, and high precision conventional weapons as game changers, and the U.S. is deeply concerned about Russia's defense doctrine, which apparently lowers the threshold for nuclear use in case of conflict.

- Is it necessary and if so, is it possible, to save the nuclear arms control regime?
- How does each side think about "stability"? Is a strategically stable relationship between nuclear powers desirable, or even possible?
- What's the significance of the relationship between offensive and defensive capabilities (such as Ballistic Missile Defense), and between nuclear and non-nuclear capabilities (such as space, cyber, long-range precision strike)?
- Does either side view nuclear first use as legitimate? What is meant by the "escalate to de-escalate" doctrine?
- How does each side see the threat from North Korea's ongoing nuclear activities? If the Iran nuclear deal collapses, how is Russia likely to respond? What can be done to address these threats?

***Andrey Baklitskiy**, Researcher, PIR Center, Moscow*
***Desmond Browne**, Member of the House of Lords, former UK Defence Secretary, London*
***Elaine Bunn**, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear and Defense Policy*

1:00-2:00 pm *Working Luncheon*

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for the U.S. policy regarding Russia.

2:30-4:00 pm

Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include Andrey Baklitsky, Desmond Browne, Oleksandr Chalyi, Kadri Liik, Fyodor Lukyanov, Olga Oliker, and Elaine Bunn.

6:30-8:30 pm

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss with members of Congress their perspective on the challenge of arms control, and the role of NATO, Ukraine and the Baltics in the context of U.S.-Russia relations.

FRIDAY, June 1:

7:00-8:55 am

Breakfast is available

9:00-11:00 am

Roundtable Discussion

WESTERN SANCTIONS AND ENERGY FACTORS IN U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS

Under pressure from low energy prices and Western sanctions, Russia has seen a significant real GDP decline and a collapse of the Russian stock market since 2014. Yet in 2017, the Russian economy was set to grow by around 2%, and Russia's government has not suffered anywhere near the negative political consequences that many Western experts predicted at the start of the recent downturn. Although ordinary Russians resent corrupt officials and oligarchs, they do not seem to associate flat or declining wages and living standards with their own government's policies, and Mr. Putin has remained popular going into his fourth presidential term of six years.

- What is the current state of the Russian economy? What is the state of the federal budget? Is Russia in recession?
- How does the state of the Russian economy influence Russian domestic politics and foreign policy?
- Is Russia a state in decline or a rising global power? How does this reality constrain or drive Russia's aspirations regarding its role in the world?
- Is Russia effectively isolated as a result of Western sanctions? How has it pursued non-Western economic relationships and developed new trading blocs as an alternative?
- What are Russia's strongest economic partnerships and how has Russia's trade progressed in the context of its isolation from the West?

- How accurate are the frequent statements from U.S. leaders of both major political parties that Russia “doesn’t make anything” other than natural resource exports? How dependent is Russia on commodity prices?
- How have sanctions, low energy prices, and structural factors impacted Russia’s economic situation over the past several years? Are sanctions effective to impose significant “costs” on Russia?

***Oksana Antonenko**, London School of Economics
Markku Kivinen, Director, Aleksanteri Institute for
 Excellence in Russian Studies, Helsinki
Chris Miller, Assistant Professor,
 Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, Tufts University*

11:00 am	Break
11:15 am-1:00 pm	<i>Roundtable Discussion</i> POLICY REFLECTIONS (MEMBERS ONLY) Members of Congress will reflect on the previous discussions and offer their ideas for policy implications.
1:00-2:00 pm	<i>Working Luncheon</i> Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for the U.S. policy regarding Russia.
2:30-4:00 pm	<i>Individual Discussions</i> Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include Oksana Antonenko, Markku Kivinen, and Chris Miller.
6:30-8:30 pm	<i>Working Dinner</i> Scholars and members of Congress will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss with members of Congress their perspective on the purpose and effectiveness of western sanctions against Russia, as well as the role of energy in the U.S.-Russia relationship and its policy implications.

SATURDAY, June 2:

6:00-6:30 am Breakfast is available

6:30 am Depart hotel for ferry dock

7:30 am Ferry departs Helsinki for Tallinn

7:30-9:30 am

On-Board Briefing

THE BALTIC FACTOR IN U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS

Estonian resident and scholar Kadri Liik will lead a briefing in a private area on the ferry for Members of Congress to provide analysis of the perspective of the Baltic states in U.S.-Russia relations and implications for U.S. policy.

Kadri Liik, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, Tallinn

9:30 am

Arrive in Tallinn

10:30 am-12:30 pm

Remarks by the President of Estonia

A BALTIC VIEW OF U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS

Kersti Kaljulaid, President of Estonia

12:30-2:30 pm

Working Luncheon

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for the U.S. policy regarding Russia.

2:30-3:30 pm

EDUCATIONAL WALK THROUGH HISTORIC TALLINN

Estonian resident and scholar Kadri Liik will lead a walking educational visit through historic Tallinn, explaining the country's historic connections to both Russia and Europe and highlighting its current perspective on policy challenges as a NATO member which borders Russia.

Kadri Liik, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, Tallinn

3:30 pm

Depart city center for ferry dock

4:30-6:30 pm

Return on Ferry to Helsinki

7:00 pm

Arrive at hotel

7:30-9:30 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and members of Congress will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Scholars and members of Congress will reflect on the discussions an analysis of the past four days to reach conclusions for the most appropriate policies for U.S.-Russia relations.

SUNDAY, June 3:

All participants depart Helsinki

Rep. John Sarbanes and his wife, Dina Sarbanes, continue travel at personal expense.

MONDAY, June 4:

Rep. John Sarbanes and his wife, Dina Sarbanes, depart Helsinki at 3:35 pm on Icelandair #343 and arrive in Baltimore at 7:20 pm on Icelandair # 643.

Resource Scholars:

Arkady Moshes, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki

Rene Nyberg, former Finnish Ambassador to Moscow, Helsinki

Katri Pynnöniemi, Assistant Professor of Russian Security Policy,
Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, Helsinki