



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Member / Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form

Original Amendment

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, B-81 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 Garamendi
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: Patricia Garamendi OR None
 b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: May 27th, 2019 Return: June 2nd, 2019
 b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ OR None
4. Departure City: Sacramento CA Destination: Prague, Czech Reput Return City: Washington D.C.
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: Aspen Institute's Congressional Program
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary): _____
It was a conference entitled "U.S. Policy toward Eurasia and the Role of the U.S. Congress." It was a series of roundtable discussions on foreign policy
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** the *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 attached sponsor's agenda. **Signify statement is true by checking the box:**
 b. If not, explain: _____

LEGISLATIVE RESOURCE CENTER
2019 JUN 11 AM 11:58

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.

Member / Officer Signature: _____

John Garamendi

Date: June 11, 2019



U.S. House of Representatives COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form

Original Amendment

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 ten 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): Prague, Czech Republic

3. Date of Departure: May 27, 2019 Date of Return: June 2, 2019

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Rep. John Garamendi and Patti Garamendi

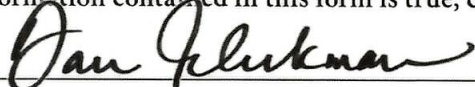
Note: You may list more than one traveler on a form only if *all* information is *identical* for each person listed.

5. Actual amount of expenses paid on behalf of, or reimbursed to, each individual named in Question 4:

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses	Total Other Expenses (dollar amount per item and description)
Traveler	\$5300	\$1200	\$605	\$362; Conference expenses incl. meeting space & AV services
Accompanying Family Member	\$6300	\$0	\$605	\$362; Conference expenses incl. meeting space & AV services

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:  Date: June 6, 2019

Name: Dan Glickman Title: Vice President

Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) Executive Director; Congressional Program

I am an officer of the above-named organization. Signify statement is true by checking box:

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

Telephone: Deputy General Counsel Lisa Jones: 202-736-5859 Email: 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 Garamendi
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying for the trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
3. Travel Destination(s): Prague, Czech Republic
4. a. Date of Departure: May 27th, 2019 Date of Return: June 2nd, 2019
 b. Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense? Yes No
 If yes, list dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? Yes No **If yes:**
 (1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: Patricia Garamendi
 (2) Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
 (3) Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age: Yes No
6. a. Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)? Yes No
 b. **If yes**, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night 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.**
Aspen Institute's Congressional Program (AICP) provides non-partisan educational forums for members of Congress on public policy issues that pertain to my work in Congress.
9. **Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved planning, organizing, requesting, 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.

Signature of Employing Member

John Garamendi

Date April 23, 2019



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 website (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 Corporation of New York foundation
The Henry Luce Foundation; Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation; Democracy Fund foundation
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 family member of the House invitee(s)? Yes No
6. Date of Departure: May 27, 2019 Date of Return: June 2, 2019
7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC or the district
b. Destination(s): Prague, Czech Republic
c. City of return: Washington, DC or the district
8. **Check only one.** I represent that:
 - 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 only 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 you checked this box, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted: _____



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

10. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities 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 only one of the following:**
- 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. *Not Applicable.* 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 or conducting the conference.
13. **Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary:**
- a. Mode of travel: Air Rail Bus Car Other (specify: _____)
 - 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. **Check only one.** I represent that either:
- 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): \$121
 - 2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: Prague enables scholars from Eurasia to participate and for a meeting with the Czech Republic Deputy Prime Minister
16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:
- Hotel Name: Alcron Hotel Prague City: Prague Cost Per Night: \$240
Reason(s) for Selecting: Offers required private meeting space, conference technology and security is 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:*

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:

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

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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
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): 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: sheintz@rbf.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): 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

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)

Theodore E. Deutch, Florida
Chairman

Kenny Marchant, Texas
Ranking Member

Grace Meng, New York
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Dean Phillips, Minnesota
Anthony Brown, Maryland

John Ratcliffe, Texas
George Holding, North Carolina
Jackie Walorski, Indiana
Michael Guest, Mississippi



ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

David W. Arrojo
Counsel to the Chairman

Christopher A. Donesa
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

May 20, 2019

The Honorable John Garamendi
U.S. House of Representatives
2368 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 the Czech Republic,¹ scheduled for May 27 to June 2, 2019, sponsored by the Aspen Institute, Inc., with financial support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Henry Luce Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Democracy Fund.

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 and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

¹ Please be aware that the Committee's review of the proposed trip does not extend to either the security situation in the destination country or security related to foreign travel in general. We recommend you contact the Sergeant at Arms (SAA) for a safety and security briefing prior to your departure. SAA may be reached at (202) 226-2044 or ohsstaff@mail.house.gov. House travelers should also register for the U.S. State Department's Smart Traveler Enrollment Program at <https://step.state.gov>.

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

Sincerely,



Theodore E. Deutch
Chairman



Kenny Marchant
Ranking Member

TED/KM;jeb

Answer to Question 4 – House Ethics Primary Trip Sponsor Form

Aspen Institute – Prague Conference – May 27-June 2, 2019

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.

1. Rep. Jim Banks, IN, Committee on Armed Services
2. Rep. Don Beyer, VA, Committee on Ways and Means
3. Rep. Gerry Connolly, VA, Committee on Foreign Affairs
4. Rep. Diana DeGette, CO, Committee on Energy and Commerce
5. Rep. Ted Deutch, FL, Committee on Foreign Affairs
6. Rep. Jeff Fortenberry, NE, Committee on Appropriations
7. Rep. John Garamendi, CA, Committee on Armed Services
8. Rep. Andy Harris, MD, Committee on Appropriations
9. Rep. Vicky Hartzler, MO, Committee on Armed Services
10. Rep. Jim Himes, CT, Select Committee on Intelligence
11. Rep. Doug Lamborn, CO, Committee on Armed Services
12. Rep. Billy Long, MO, Committee on Energy and Commerce
13. Rep. David McKinley, WV, Committee on Energy and Commerce
14. Rep. Mark Meadows, NC, Committee on Oversight and Reform
15. Rep. David Price, NC, Committee on Appropriations
16. Rep. Tom Rice, SC, Committee on Ways and Means
17. Rep. John Sarbanes, MD, Committee on Energy and Commerce
18. Rep. Scott Tipton, CO, Committee on Financial Services

U.S. POLICY TOWARD EURASIA AND THE ROLE OF THE U.S. CONGRESS

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program

May 27 – June 2, 2019

Prague, Czech Republic

MONDAY, MAY 27

American participants depart the U.S. late afternoon and early evening

Rep. John Garamendi and Mrs. Garamendi depart Sacramento, CA at 11:15 am on United flight 5505.

TUESDAY, MAY 28

All participants arrive in Prague

Rep. Garamendi and Mrs. Garamendi arrive in Prague at 1:30 pm on Lufthansa flight 1396.

6:30 PM – 9:00 PM

Working Dinner

U.S. POLICY TOWARD EURASIA: A EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

Eastern Europe is the focal point on the dividing line between Eurasia and the western alliance. The former Speaker of the Czech Parliament will provide his perspective of the policy issues between the U.S. and Eurasia. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges and potential solutions regarding U.S. relations with Eurasia. 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.

*Jan Hamáček, Deputy Prime Minister, Former Speaker,
Chamber of Deputies, The Czech Parliament, Prague*

WEDNESDAY, MAY 29

7:30 AM – 9:00 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 AM – 11:00 AM

Roundtable Discussion

EURASIAN GEOPOLITICS AND GREAT POWER DYNAMICS: WHY IT MATTERS

Eurasia covers one third of the Earth's surface and is home to over five billion people—it is what British geographer Halford Mackinder once called "the world island." The bulk of this landmass is controlled by China and Russia, with whom the U.S. has been in competition and confrontation across different arenas and at different scales over the past decade. The two are both major

powers and near peer competitors to the United States, and are increasingly aligned in their foreign, security and even development policies and programs, potentially to the detriment of key U.S. interests. The annual threat assessment by the U.S. intelligence communities warns that China and Russia are more aligned now since the mid-1950s and that they are devoting resources into a "race for technological and military superiority."

- How significant and how durable is this alignment?
- Has Washington paid it adequate attention? What U.S. interests are at stake in the region?
- What is the state of the U.S.-led international order with respect to Eurasia?
- Do Moscow and Beijing evince a genuinely shared vision, or is their alignment principally about countering U.S. influence?
- How have U.S. allies and partners across Eurasia responded?
- What have been the key pillars of U.S. strategy toward the region over the recent past?

*Thomas Graham, Managing Director, Kissinger Associates
Evan Feigenbaum, Vice President for Studies,
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace;
former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Central Asia
Matthew Rojansky, Director, The Kennan Institute,
The Wilson Center*

11:00 AM – 11:15 AM *Break*

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM Roundtable Discussion Continues

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding Eurasia.
Working Lunch

2:30 PM – 4:00 PM 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 Thomas Graham, Evan Feigenbaum, and Matthew Rojansky.
Individual Discussions

6:30 PM – 9:00 PM 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.-relations with Eurasia and their importance.
Working Dinner

THURSDAY, MAY 30

7:00 AM – 8:30 AM

Breakfast is Available

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM

Roundtable Discussion

CHINA'S INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES OF ITS BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE

The U.S. administration has accused China of expanding its economy, global political influence and military power at the expense of the U.S. and its allies. Under the mantle of its ambitious "Belt and Road Initiative," China has spent massively on building long-distance railway networks, communications, and energy infrastructure links connecting it to Eurasia, some of which have potential military applications. Freight rail service between China's east coast and European markets can now compete with shipping through the Straits of Malacca and the Suez Canal, while the opening of a Northern Sea route via the melting waterways of the Arctic ocean puts Russia-China maritime cooperation in the spotlight. Chinese President Xi Jinping visited many European capitals this Spring and secured a BRI agreement with Italy.

- How does Beijing see its position within Eurasia?
- Does Beijing harbor territorial ambitions, especially in Central Asia or Russia's Far East, parts of which were controlled by China in the past?
- Do China's internal challenges with its restive Muslim populations limit its ability to project power and influence into Central and South Asia or the greater Middle East?
- How does China use the newly established Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank to advance its influence with developing countries in the Eurasian region?

*Philippe Le Corre, Senior Fellow, Mossavar-Rahmani
Center for Business & Government,
Harvard Kennedy School*

*Robert Daly, Director, The Kissinger Institute,
The Wilson Center*

11:00 AM

Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM

Roundtable Discussion

RUSSIA'S INTERESTS AND INFLUENCE IN THE REGION

The freezing out of Russia from Western-led global markets and diplomatic formats following its invasion of Ukraine has pushed Moscow to regard China more as a potential partner in its efforts not only to defend against U.S. pressure, but to develop its own economy and ensure domestic political stability and security. Russia remains the dominant security actor in Eurasia, supplying its former Soviet clients, China and other regional states with advanced military hardware, and leading major military exercises in all domains, recently with Chinese participation. Meanwhile

cleavages within and between Europe and the United States have tested the traditional bonds of transatlantic solidarity.

- What does Moscow's assertion of its own "pivot to Asia" and a distinctive "Eurasian identity" actually mean?
- Do Russians think of Eurasia as something foreign, a "near abroad," or a "sphere of privileged influence?"
- How will the Kremlin respond to continuing political, economic and demographic change along its borders, especially in the former Soviet republics of Central Asia, a region bordering Russia, China and Afghanistan?
- What is the significance of Russian-led international groups like the Eurasian Economic Union, the Collective Security Treaty Organization, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization?
- How does U.S. policy regarding China take into account China's growing interests in Eurasia?

Dmitri Trenin, Director, Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM

Working Lunch

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

2:30 PM – 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 Philippe Le Corre, Robert Daly, and Dmitri Trenin.

6:30 PM – 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. Scholars will discuss with members of Congress their perspective on China's and Russia's interests in the context of U.S. relations with Eurasia.

FRIDAY, MAY 31

7:30 AM – 8:30 AM

Breakfast is Available

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM

Roundtable Discussion

U.S. STRATEGY, ALLIES, AND RESOURCES IN EURASIA

The Administration and Congress have responded to Russia's regional and global challenges with strong sanctions, expulsions of Russian diplomats, a bulked-up NATO forward presence and military assistance to Ukraine. Despite ostensibly positive personal relations between Presidents Trump and Xi, the U.S. has also taken on China with renewed vigor, imposing tariffs on hundreds of billions of dollars of Chinese imports and threatening further retaliatory action for Chinese pressure on U.S. companies, theft of

intellectual property, or aggression in the South China Sea. The U.S. has increased military spending, jettisoned the Iran nuclear deal and the Intermediate Nuclear Forces agreement, and also launched ambitious denuclearization negotiations with North Korea. Eurasia is also a focal point of competition between China and the U.S. over which Superpower will be the dominant supplier of the new 5G digital technology, which presents a new realm of high-tech security concerns.

- To what degree has the U.S. actually “pivoted” toward Asia in the past decade?
- What have been and what should be Washington’s principal policy goals toward the region as a whole?
- How should the U.S. balance its broader regional goals with its interests regarding individual regional states?
- What instruments have proven most effective in advancing U.S. interests, and how available are they today?
- How has U.S. policy been understood by allies and partners in the region?
- Are Beijing or Moscow effectively able to drive wedges between the U.S. and its regional allies?

*Stacy Closson, Adjunct Professional Lecturer,
School of International Service, American University;
and Global Fellow, Kennan Institute, The Wilson Center
Nikolas Gvosdev, Professor of National Security Affairs,
U.S. Naval War College*

11:00 AM

Break

11:15 – 1:00 PM

Roundtable Discussion Continues

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM

Working Lunch

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

2:30 PM – 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 Stacy Closson and Nikolas Gvosdev.

6:30 PM – 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. Scholars will discuss with members of Congress their perspective on the evolving threats from new technologies such as cyber, social media and information operations and their policy implications.

Saturday, June 1

7:00 AM – 8:30 AM

Breakfast is Available

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM

Roundtable Discussion

NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND EVOLVING THREATS: CYBER, SOCIAL MEDIA, AND INFORMATION OPERATIONS

The potential alignment between Chinese and Russian interests has security as well as economic implications for the U.S. beyond Eurasia, including the security of U.S. interests in cyberspace, domestic political processes, and the U.S. homeland itself. U.S. officials have confirmed that Russia and China are both major sponsors of cyber attacks, internet-based influence and radicalization campaigns, including election meddling, and the increasing use of artificial intelligence as a military tool against U.S. targets. As the Director of National Intelligence has said, “the warning lights are blinking red” about what is coming next—more interference, attacks, and near miss incidents, any of which could lead to dramatic escalation.

- How does each of the major Eurasian powers consider information and technology tools as part of its national security strategy?
- What lessons from addressing past threats and challenges can apply to these new threat vectors?
- How does the rapid improvement of artificial intelligence capabilities affect these challenges?
- How do difficulties with attribution affect the availability of deterrence as a response to Russian or Chinese cyber and information threats?
- Is there a risk of escalation from cyber to conventional or even nuclear conflict?
- Do the U.S. and its near peer rivals have common interests, for example, in countering online radicalization?
- Are common approaches feasible, such as a convention on limiting the means or methods of cyber conflict?

Ivana Karásková, Research Fellow, Association for International Affairs; Founder, Chinfluence, Prague

Emily Parker, Future Tense Fellow, New America Foundation

11:00 AM

Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM

*Policy Reflections
(MEMBERS ONLY)*

Members of Congress will reflect on the previous discussions and offer their ideas for policy implications.

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM

Working Lunch

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

2:30 PM – 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 Ivana Karásková and Emily Parker.

6:30 PM – 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. Scholars and members of Congress will reflect on the discussions and analysis of the past four days to reach conclusions for the most appropriate policies for U.S. relations with Eurasia.

Resource Scholars:

Jiří Schneider, Executive Director, Aspen Institute Central Europe, Prague
Igor Zevelev, Professor of National Security Studies, George Marshall Center, Garmisch

SUNDAY, JUNE 2

Participants depart Prague mid-morning and arrive in the United States mid- to late afternoon

Rep. Garamendi and Mrs. Garamendi depart Prague at 1:10 pm on Lufthansa flight 1691 and arrive in Sacramento at 10:19 pm on United flight 515.