



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, by email at gifttravelreports@mail.house.gov, 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: Jim Cooper
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: Mary Falls Cooper OR None ☐
b. Relationship to Traveler: ☒ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: May 29, 2022 Return: June 5, 2022
b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ OR None ☐
4. Departure City: Nashville, TN Destination: Geneva, Switzerland Return City: Nashville, TN
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: Aspen Institute
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary):
Agenda attached.

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 *Additional Sponsor Form(s)*;
 - 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: _____

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: _____

Date: 06/15/2022



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Jim Cooper
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip:
The Aspen Institute
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel : Geneva, Switzerland
4. a. Date of Departure: May 30, 2022 Date of Return: June 5, 2022
b. Yes ☐ No ☒ Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?
If yes, list dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Yes ☒ No ☐ Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? If yes:
(1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: Mary Falls
(2) Relationship to Traveler: ☒ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____
(3) Yes ☒ No ☐ Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age:
6. a. Yes ☐ No ☒ 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)?
b. If yes, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:
7. Yes ☒ No ☐ *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments and Additional Sponsor Forms.
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.
The Aspen Institute Congressional Program provides education sessions on public policy issues.
9. Yes ☐ No ☒ Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip?
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 _____ Date _____



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed trip sponsor form(s) and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection. This form and any attachments may be delivered to the Committee at 1015 Longworth or e-mailed to travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

Your completed request must be submitted to the Committee no less than 30 days before your proposed departure date. Absent exceptional circumstances, permission will not be granted for requests received less than 30 days before the trip commences. **You must receive explicit approval from the Committee before you depart on this trip.**

Name of Traveler: Jim Cooper

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

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

Signature: 

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For Staff (name of employing Member or Committee): _____

Office Address: 1536 Longworth HOB

Telephone Number: 202-225-4311

Email Address of Contact Person: katie.feldhaus@mail.house.gov

☐ Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet, the purpose of the trip is to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity, and these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 30 days before the trip departure date.

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

KEEP A COPY OF THIS FORM. Page 2 (but not this page) must be submitted to the Clerk as part of the post-travel disclosure required by House Rule 25. Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting paperwork for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

If there are any questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-1033 or via e-mail: travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

RECEIVED
2022 APR 27 AM 9:52
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS



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: _____
2. Travel Destination(s): _____
3. Date of Departure: _____ Date of Return: _____
4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): _____

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				
Accompanying Family Member				

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: _____

Name: _____ Title: _____

Organization: _____

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

Address: _____

Email: _____ Telephone: _____

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

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Democracy Fund
3. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes ☐ No ☒ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Joe Goldman  Digitally signed by Joe Goldman
Date: 2021.06.08 09:33:59 -04'00' Date: 06/08/2021

Name: Joe Goldman Title: President

Organization: Democracy Fund

Address: 1200 17th St., Suite 300 Washington, D.C. 20036

Email: jgoldman@democracyfund.org Telephone: (202) 420-7900



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: The Henry Luce Foundation
3. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes ☐ No ☒ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: _____

Date: 05/05/2021

Name: Toby Volkman

Title: Director of Policy Initiatives

Organization: The Henry Luce Foundation

Address: 51 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10010

Email: tvolkman@hluce.org

Telephone: (202) 489-7700



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund
3. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes ☐ No ☒ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:  Date: 06/22/2021

Name: Stephen Heintz Title: President and CEO

Organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Address: 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 900, New York, NY 10115

Email: echege@rbf.org Telephone: (212) 812-4208



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Carnegie Corporation of New York
3. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes ☐ No ☒ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Deana Arsenian Digitally signed by Deana Arsenian
Date: 2021.05.19 15:45:27 -04'00' Date: 05/19/2021

Name: Deana Arsenian Title: VP, International Program

Organization: Carnegie Corporation of New York

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

Email: da@carnegie.org Telephone: (212) 207-6283



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:

See attached appendix

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 appendix

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

6. Date of departure: May 30, 2022 Date of return: June 5, 2022

7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC or member's congressional district

b. Destination(s): Geneva, Switzerland

c. City of return: Washington, DC or member's congressional 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; **OR**

b. ☐ I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging; **OR**

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:

RECEIVED
2022 APR 27 AM 9:52
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS



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 nonpartisan educational forums for members of Congress on public policy issues. AICP organized and will conduct the conference and selected and invited the attendees. The foundations listed in 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 the 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):
- \$161**
- 2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip:
- See attached appendix**
16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:
- Hotel Name: Fairmont Hotel City: Geneva, Switzerland Cost Per Night: \$305
- Reason(s) for Selecting: Hotel has required technology and meeting space; Security 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 the box.*



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

18. Total Expenses for each Participant:

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates			
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$4550	\$1525	\$776
For each Accompanying Family Member	\$250	\$0	\$776

	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	\$1210	Private meeting & dining space, AV, conf. services
For each Accompanying Family Member	\$1210	Private meeting & dining space, AV, conf. services

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

19. Check only one:

- a. ☒ I certify that I am an officer of the organization listed below; **OR**
b. ☐ Not Applicable. Trip sponsor is an individual or a U.S. institution of higher education.

20. I certify by my signature that

- a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent; and
c. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Charles W. Dent Date: 04/06/2022

Name: Charles W. Dent Title: Vice President-The Aspen Institute, Inc.

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

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

Email: lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org Telephone: (202) 736-5859

INSTRUCTIONS

Complete the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* and submit the agenda, invitation list, any attachments, and any *Additional Trip Sponsor Forms* directly to the Travelers.

Written approval from the Committee on Ethics is required before traveling on this trip. The Committee on Ethics will notify the House invitees directly and will not notify the trip sponsors.

Willful or knowing misrepresentation on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution under 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

For questions, please contact the Committee on Ethics at:

1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

ethicscommittee@mail.house.gov | 202-225-7103
More information and forms available at ethics.house.gov



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Democracy Fund
3. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes ☐ No ☒ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Joe Goldman Digitally signed by Joe Goldman
Date: 2021.06.08 09:33:53 -0400 Date: 06/08/2021

Name: Joe Goldman Title: President

Organization: Democracy Fund

Address: 1200 17th St., Suite 300 Washington, D.C. 20036

Email: jgoldman@democracyfund.org Telephone: (202) 420-7900

Version date 3/2021 by Committee on Ethics

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

2022 APR 27 AM 9:52

RECEIVED



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: The Henry Luce Foundation
3. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes ☐ No ☒ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Toby Volkman Date: 05/05/2021

Name: Toby Volkman Title: Director of Policy Initiatives

Organization: The Henry Luce Foundation

Address: 51 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10010

Email: tvolkman@hluce.org Telephone: (202) 489-7700

2022 APR 27 AM 9:52
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

RECEIVED



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund
3. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes ☐ No ☒ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Stephen Heintz Date: 06/22/2021

Name: Stephen Heintz Title: President and CEO

Organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Address: 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 900, New York, NY 10115

Email: echege@rbf.org Telephone: (212) 812-4208



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Carnegie Corporation of New York
3. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes ☐ No ☒ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Deana Arsenian

Digitally signed by Deana Arsenian
Date: 2021.05.19 15:45:27 -04'00'

Date: 05/19/2021

Name: Deana Arsenian

Title: VP, International Program

Organization: Carnegie Corporation of New York

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

Email: da@carnegie.org

Telephone: (212) 207-6283



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:
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:
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):
5. Yes ☐ No ☐ Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?
6. Date of departure: _____ Date of return: _____
7. a. City of departure: _____
b. Destination(s): _____
c. City of return: _____
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; **OR**
 - b. ☐ I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging; **OR**
 - 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:
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 the 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):
- 2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip:
16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:
- Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
- Reason(s) for Selecting: _____
- 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 the box.*



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

18. Total Expenses for each Participant:

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts <input 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			
For each Accompanying Family Member			

	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		
For each Accompanying Family Member		

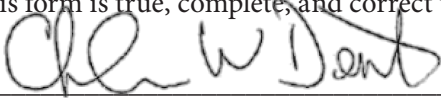
NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

19. **Check only one:**

- a. ☐ I certify that I am an officer of the organization listed below; **OR**
b. ☐ *Not Applicable*. Trip sponsor is an individual or a U.S. institution of higher education.

20. I certify by my signature that

- a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent; and
c. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:  Date: _____

Name: _____ Title: _____

Organization: _____

Address: _____

Email: _____ Telephone: _____

INSTRUCTIONS

Complete the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* and submit the agenda, invitation list, any attachments, and any *Additional Trip Sponsor Forms* directly to the Travelers.

Written approval from the Committee on Ethics is required before traveling on this trip. The Committee on Ethics will notify the House invitees directly and will not notify the trip sponsors.

Willful or knowing misrepresentation on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution under 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

For questions, please contact the Committee on Ethics at:

1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

ethicscommittee@mail.house.gov | 202-225-7103
More information and forms available at ethics.house.gov

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

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Theodore E. Deutch". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial "T" and "D".

Theodore E. Deutch
Chairman

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Jackie Walorski". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Jackie Walorski
Ranking Member

TED/JW:rp

Theodore E. Deutch, Florida
Chairman

Jackie Walorski, Indiana
Ranking Member

Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Dean Phillips, Minnesota
Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mondaire Jones, New York

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Dave Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Kelly Armstrong, North Dakota



ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

David W. Arrojo
Counsel to the Chairman

Kelle A. Strickland
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

May 24, 2022

The Honorable Jim Cooper
U.S. House of Representatives
1536 Longworth 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 Switzerland,¹ scheduled for May 30 to June 5, 2022, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc., Democracy Fund, Henry Luce Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and Carnegie Corporation of New York.

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 \$415 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 \$415] 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 Office of House Security (OHS) for a safety and security briefing prior to your departure. OHS 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>.

House Appendix
Aspen Institute Congressional Program – Geneva – May 30-June 5
"The World on Fire: Putin's War in Ukraine, the Pandemic and U.S. Interests"

Question 3C: List of additional sponsors

The foundations that are additional sponsors are: Carnegie Corporation of New York, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, The Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund.

Question 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.

Rep. Jim Baird; Committee on Science, Space, and Technology
Rep. Ami Bera; Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. Don Beyer; Committee on Ways and Means
Rep. Stephanie Bice; Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Earl Blumenauer; Committee on Ways and Means
Rep. Lisa Blunt Rochester; Committee on Energy and Commerce
Rep. David Cicilline; Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. Gerry Connolly; Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. Jim Cooper; Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Kevin Hern; Committee on Ways and Means
Rep. French Hill; Committee on Financial Services
Rep. Jim Himes; Committee on Financial Services
Rep. Darrell Issa; Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. John Katko; Committee on Homeland Security
Rep. Rick Larsen; Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Blake Moore; Committee on Armed Services
Rep. August Pfluger; Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. David Price; Committee on Appropriations
Rep. Guy Reschenthaler; Committee on Appropriations
Rep. David Rouzer; Committee on Agriculture
Rep. Jan Schakowsky; Committee on Energy and Commerce
Rep. Victoria Spartz; Committee on Education and Labor
Rep. Chris Stewart; Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Dina Titus; Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. Fred Upton; Committee on Energy and Commerce

Question 15 (b) 2: If trip involves events that are arranged specifically with regard to congressional participation, provide the reason for selecting the location of the trip.

Geneva allows for the participation of multiple European and Russian experts and scholars with lengthy experience and studies on the conference topic and access to the World Health Organization facilities for those conference sessions.

RECEIVED
2022 APR 27 PM 9:53
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

THE WORLD ON FIRE:

PUTIN'S WAR IN UKRAINE, THE PANDEMIC & U.S. INTERESTS

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

May 30-June 5, 2022 Geneva, Switzerland

SUNDAY, MAY 29

Rep. Jim Cooper departs Nashville at 11:17 am on United 287. His wife, Mary Falls, joins at personal airline travel expense.

MONDAY, MAY 30

Members of Congress depart the U.S.

Rep. Jim Cooper and Mary Falls arrive in Geneva at 7:30 am on United 956 and continue travel at personal expense.

TUESDAY, MAY 31

Arrive in Geneva

Rep. Jim Cooper and Mary Falls, continue travel at personal expense and join the conference.

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the global challenges in an unpredictable world.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1

7:00 AM – 9:00 AM

Breakfast

9:00 AM – 9:15 AM

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

This conference is organized into roundtable conversations, luncheons, and pre-dinner remarks. This segment will highlight how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized, and how responses will be timed to allow for as much engagement as possible.

Charlie Dent, Executive Director,
Aspen Institute Congressional Program

9:15 AM – 10:30 AM

Roundtable Discussion

THE U.S. ROLE IN A NEW WORLD ORDER

Russia's invasion of Ukraine, on the heels of two years of the global pandemic, poses the greatest test for American statecraft since the end of the Cold War. The U.S. and its European allies and partners have demonstrated unity in opposition to Russia's aggression, yet multilateral

institutions have failed to prevent this catastrophic conflict, and Russia's illegal use of force may presage a more violent global future. At the same time, the ongoing pandemic reminds that multilateral approaches are essential to confront threats that cannot be contained within territorial boundaries. What is the role of U.S. diplomatic leadership—including the traps and delusions the United States must avoid—in the context of current crises?

- What is the connection between U.S. global leadership and our domestic priorities?
- What are positive and negative lessons we can draw on from similar transformational moments in history?
- Are the State Department and foreign service adequately resourced for these challenges?
- How can the U.S. sort out unilateral versus multilateral interests in Europe?
- What are the dividing lines between conflict and cooperation on major policy objectives between the U.S., Russia, China, and Europe?

Catherine Ashton, *former EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs; Distinguished Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center*
General David Petraeus, *(U.S. Army, Ret.) former Commander of U.S. forces in Iraq; former CIA Director; Chairman, KKR Global Institute*

10:30-10:45 AM

Break

10:45 AM – Noon

Roundtable Discussion Continues

Noon – 2:00 PM

Luncheon Discussion

COPING WITH THE NEXT PANDEMIC

With new variants of the covid-19 virus emerging, continuing strains on public health infrastructure and economies underscore the need for prevention as well as resilience. The Director-General of the world's premier intergovernmental health organization will offer his vision of the steps that countries and the international community can take today to move from responding to the current crisis to preparing for the next one.

Dr. Tedros Ghebreyesus, *Director-General, World Health Organization*

2:00 PM – 4:00 PM
Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss policy topics raised during the conference. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the discussion sessions including Catherine Ashton, Andrew Michta, Reinhard Krumm, Sabine Fischer, Ekaterina Schulmann, Alexander Gabuev, Kadri Liik, Matt Rojansky, and David Petraeus.

6:00 PM – 7:00 PM
Pre-dinner Remarks

THE ROLE OF VACCINES IN GLOBAL HEALTH

Gavi, founded in 2000, now vaccinates almost half of the world's children. Through COVAX, it has delivered 1.4 billion doses of covid vaccinations in 92 lower income countries. This volume allowed it to negotiate affordable prices and to remove the commercial risks that previously kept manufacturers from serving these poorer countries. The cost of fully immunizing a child with all 11 WHO-recommended childhood vaccines now costs about \$28 in Gavi-supported countries, compared to approximately \$1,200 in the U.S. The leader of this unique multilateral institution will explain its role and function in achieving global immunization goals.

Dr. Seth Berkley, CEO, Gavi, The Vaccine Alliance, Geneva

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM
Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the U.S. role in the new world order and steps necessary to prevent the next pandemic.

THURSDAY, JUNE 2:

7:00 AM – 9:00 AM Breakfast

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM
Roundtable Discussion

EUROPE'S ROLE IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

Cooperation between Washington and U.S. allies and partners in Europe has in some respects never been closer, from unity in opposition to Russia's war in Ukraine and a reinvigoration of the NATO alliance, to the U.S. role in lessening Europe's dependence on Russian energy sources and coordinated support for the massive influx of Ukrainian refugees. All this while the transatlantic community continues to address the ongoing covid-19 pandemic. Both U.S. and European leaders have called for renewed attention and creative thinking about transatlantic relations in view of the rise of new threats, new technologies and new global power players.

11:00 AM-11:15 AM

Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM

EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY CHALLENGES

Roundtable Discussion

In the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and with rising concerns

about escalation, including the risk of WMD use by Russia, NATO appears to have a clear mission and more unity than ever. Yet the war in Ukraine might easily be the beginning of an era of more, not less, use of force in Europe, while the demise of key Cold War era security treaties, like the INF and Open Skies agreements, signals a clear decline in the broader landscape of strategic stability. The Euro-Atlantic region faces growing threats from private and state-sponsored cyber criminals and from homegrown terrorists and spillover from conflict regions around the world. While some regional states view China as a vital partner for economic development and strategic balancing, others see Beijing as a major looming threat.

- What are the principal threats to security in the Euro-Atlantic region today?
- What should be the roles of non-European powers, including the United States and China, in European security?
- Is there a place to include Russia in Euro-Atlantic cooperative security, or is the future inevitably more about collective defense against threats from Moscow?

Reinhard Krumm, Director of the Baltic States

Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Riga

Andrew Michta, Dean, George Marshall European

Center for Security Studies, Garmisch

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM
Working Lunch

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy in the context of Russia's invasion of Ukraine

2:30 PM – 5:30 PM
Educational Site Visit

SITE VISIT TO WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION HEADQUARTERS

The World Health Organization, founded in 1948 and headquartered in Geneva, is coordinating the international efforts against covid-19. More than 6 million people—including nearly one million Americans—have died from covid-19 and globally over 10,000 a day are still dying from it. There remain vast disparities in vaccination rates between the developed and undeveloped world. The U.S. provides 15% of its budget. The previous administration proposed that the U.S. withdraw from the WHO, a plan that was reversed by the current administration. The U.S. spent \$3.5 billion for distribution of vaccines in the undeveloped world, yet it remains a challenge to get the vaccine from airports into arms. Senior WHO scientists will explain about the status of the efforts to end the global pandemic, how to best be prepared for future outbreaks, what lessons have been learned, and when, if ever, will the virus be vanquished.

Kate O'Brien, Director, Department of Immunizations, Vaccines and Biologicals, WHO
Soumya Swaminathan, Chief Scientist, WHO

6:15 PM – 8:30 PM
Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the global challenges in an unpredictable world.

FRIDAY, JUNE 3:

7:00 AM – 9:00 AM Breakfast

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM
Roundtable Discussion

THE WORLD AS SEEN FROM MOSCOW

In the years before his 2022 invasion of Ukraine, Vladimir Putin tightened his grip on power in Russia, and could easily remain in control through 2036 and perhaps even beyond. Yet as Putin cracks down on internal and external challenges to his power, he has stretched his economy and military to an extreme degree and relies increasingly on elements within the Russian state that view the world in zero sum terms. Moscow now finds itself subject to unrelenting Western sanctions pressure and risks increasing dependency on China and other

authoritarian partners as a result. The Kremlin therefore faces enormous external challenges plus those of its own making, while continuing to rely on a resource extraction economic model and international relationships that may not stand the test of time.

- How is Putin likely to approach preserving his own power and the system he has built in Russia?
- What are the economic realities facing the Kremlin and can Russia grow its way out of the overlapping challenges of COVID-19, conflict with the West, and over-dependency on energy exports?
- Is Russia committed to seeking strategic alignment with China for the long term?
- Have Moscow's atrocities in Ukraine irreversibly split it from the West?
- What does Russia's future portend?

Timofei Bordachev, Program Director, Valdai Discussion Club, Moscow

Sabine Fischer, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

Ekaterina Schulmann, Associate Professor, Moscow School of Social & Economic Sciences

11:00 AM -11:15 AM Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM
Roundtable Discussion

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: SPOILER, GREAT POWER, OR SOMETHING ELSE?

Vladimir Putin talks about "multipolarity," and rejects what he describes as Washington's attempts to "impose its will" on other powers. At the same time, the Kremlin insists that other states, especially in its former Soviet "near abroad" must take its interests and preferences into account, often deploying political, economic, and even military leverage to secure outcomes. Ukraine is just the most recent example of this. Russia has also sought to project power from the Middle East to Latin America, giving rise to the perception of Moscow as a "spoiler" in regions and on issues of importance to the United States. In recent years, Russia's direct interference in U.S. and other Western democratic politics has provoked even more acute enmity, even recalling the Cold War era conflict between two rival political and economic systems.

- What goals and interests drive Russian foreign policy in former Soviet regions and in the wider international context?

- Should Moscow and Beijing be seen as de facto allies?
- Does the Cold War offer lessons for managing today's competition in regional security, information, and cyberspace?
- Can Washington and Moscow cooperate in managing regional hotspots such as Syria, Libya, Iran and North Korea?
- Do Russia and the West have common interests on cross-cutting global issues, for example, in countering the pandemic and terrorism?

Alexander Gabuev, Chair, *Russia in the Asia-Pacific Program*,
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Moscow

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

Olga Oliker, Program Director, *Europe and Central Asia*,
International Crisis Group, Brussels

1:00 PM – 2:30 PM
Luncheon Discussion

ENGAGING MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON ON SYRIA

Over 600,000 Syrians have been killed and over 13 million displaced since the country's popular uprisings against Bashar Assad began in 2011, which has fueled radical groups such as ISIS. Since its large-scale military intervention in 2015, Russia has played a pivotal role in sustaining the Assad regime and has shifted the balance of forces in the wider region. The UN Secretary General's Special Envoy for Syria will provide an update on developments in Syria and Lebanon, including the prospects for diplomacy engaging regional players as well as Moscow and Washington.

Geir Pedersen, Special Envoy of the
UN Secretary-General for Syria

2:30 PM – 4:00 PM
Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss policy topics raised during the conference. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the discussion sessions including Catherine Ashton, Andrew Michta, Reinhard Krumm, Sabine Fischer, Ekaterina Schulmann, Alexander Gabuev, Kadri Liik, Matt Rojansky, and David Petraeus.

6:00 PM – 7:00 PM
Pre-dinner Remarks

UKRAINE'S PERSPECTIVE

Ukraine has experienced immeasurable suffering and damage from Putin's unprovoked and illegal invasion last February. This aggression has unified Europe and the U.S. to confront Russia and led to the imposition of crippling economic sanctions against Russia, substantial

military assistance to Ukraine, millions of Ukrainian refugees fleeing its borders, and great uncertainty about the country's future. Ukraine's ambassador to Switzerland will provide a Ukrainian perspective on the current strife.

Artem Rybchenko, Ukraine's Ambassador to Switzerland

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM
Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the global challenges in an unpredictable world.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4:

7:00 AM – 9:00 AM Breakfast

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM
Roundtable Discussion

U.S. POLICY IN AN UNPREDICTABLE WORLD

Putin's war in Ukraine has thrown Europe into the most tense security crisis for decades with the world's two nuclear superpowers edging closer toward uncertain territory ahead. The destruction, devastation, and immense human suffering and will pose substantial reconstruction challenges ahead. Europe faces huge challenges to cope with assisting the influx of millions of Ukrainian refugees. The return of a polarized world and the questionable role of China either as a facilitator or arbiter of an off-ramp remains to be seen. The economic pressures inside Russia are substantial, and Europe is challenged to stop financing Russia's war by weaning itself from Russia's energy. The U.S. is seen as the key global player, but how it can best help remedy the situation is uncertain.

- Is the Ukraine crisis creating a new world order of democracies versus autocracies?
- Are multilateral institutions such as NATO and the UN adequately equipped to address these challenges?
- To what degree is this a pivot point in U.S.-Russia relations?
- How real is the threat of nuclear war and what steps can be taken to avert it?
- Is globalization still a workable concept? Can and should the U.S. continue to trade with political adversaries?
- What are the implications for U.S.-China relations?
- Will energy security take on a greater role in foreign policy?

Matt Rojansky, CEO, U.S.-Russia Foundation

11:00 AM -11:15 AM Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM POLICY REFLECTIONS

Roundtable Discussion

This time is set aside for Members of Congress to reflect on what they have learned during the conference and discuss their views on implications for U.S. policy.

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM

Working Lunch

Discussion continues between Members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy in an unpredictable world.

2:00 PM – 4:00 PM

Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss policy topics raised during the conference. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the discussion sessions including Catherine Ashton, Andrew Michta, Reinhard Krumm, Sabine Fischer, Ekaterina Schulmann, Alexander Gabuev, Kadri Liik, Matt Rojansky.

6:00 PM – 8:30 PM

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the global challenges in an unpredictable world.

SUNDAY, JUNE 5:

Members of Congress depart from Geneva, arrive back in the U.S.

Rep. Jim Cooper departs Geneva at 11:45 am on United 975 and arrives in Nashville at 5:56 pm on United 2403. Mary Falls joins him at personal airline travel expense.

- Should Moscow and Beijing be seen as de facto allies?
- Does the Cold War offer lessons for managing today's competition in regional security, information, and cyberspace?
- Can Washington and Moscow cooperate in managing regional hotspots such as Syria, Libya, Iran and North Korea?
- Do Russia and the West have common interests on cross-cutting global issues, for example, in countering the pandemic and terrorism?

Alexander Gabuev, Chair, *Russia in the Asia-Pacific Program*,
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Moscow

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

Olga Oliker, Program Director, *Europe and Central Asia*,
International Crisis Group, Brussels

1:00 PM – 2:30 PM
Luncheon Discussion

ENGAGING MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON ON SYRIA

Over 600,000 Syrians have been killed and over 13 million displaced since the country's popular uprisings against Bashar Assad began in 2011, which has fueled radical groups such as ISIS. Since its large-scale military intervention in 2015, Russia has played a pivotal role in sustaining the Assad regime and has shifted the balance of forces in the wider region. The UN Secretary General's Special Envoy for Syria will provide an update on developments in Syria and Lebanon, including the prospects for diplomacy engaging regional players as well as Moscow and Washington.

Geir Pedersen, Special Envoy of the
UN Secretary-General for Syria

2:30 PM – 4:00 PM
Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss policy topics raised during the conference. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the discussion sessions including Catherine Ashton, Andrew Michta, Reinhard Krumm, Sabine Fischer, Ekaterina Schulmann, Alexander Gabuev, Kadri Liik, Matt Rojansky, and David Petraeus.

6:00 PM – 7:00 PM
Pre-dinner Remarks

UKRAINE'S PERSPECTIVE

Ukraine has experienced immeasurable suffering and damage from Putin's unprovoked and illegal invasion last February. This aggression has unified Europe and the U.S. to confront Russia and led to the imposition of crippling economic sanctions against Russia, substantial

military assistance to Ukraine, millions of Ukrainian refugees fleeing its borders, and great uncertainty about the country's future. Ukraine's ambassador to Switzerland will provide a Ukrainian perspective on the current strife.

Artem Rybchenko, Ukraine's Ambassador to Switzerland

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM
Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the global challenges in an unpredictable world.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4:

7:00 AM – 9:00 AM Breakfast

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM
Roundtable Discussion

U.S. POLICY IN AN UNPREDICTABLE WORLD

Putin's war in Ukraine has thrown Europe into the most tense security crisis for decades with the world's two nuclear superpowers edging closer toward uncertain territory ahead. The destruction, devastation, and immense human suffering and will pose substantial reconstruction challenges ahead. Europe faces huge challenges to cope with assisting the influx of millions of Ukrainian refugees. The return of a polarized world and the questionable role of China either as a facilitator or arbiter of an off-ramp remains to be seen. The economic pressures inside Russia are substantial, and Europe is challenged to stop financing Russia's war by weaning itself from Russia's energy. The U.S. is seen as the key global player, but how it can best help remedy the situation is uncertain.

- Is the Ukraine crisis creating a new world order of democracies versus autocracies?
- Are multilateral institutions such as NATO and the UN adequately equipped to address these challenges?
- To what degree is this a pivot point in U.S.-Russia relations?
- How real is the threat of nuclear war and what steps can be taken to avert it?
- Is globalization still a workable concept? Can and should the U.S. continue to trade with political adversaries?
- What are the implications for U.S.-China relations?
- Will energy security take on a greater role in foreign policy?

Matt Rojansky, CEO, U.S.-Russia Foundation

11:00 AM -11:15 AM Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM POLICY REFLECTIONS

Roundtable Discussion

This time is set aside for Members of Congress to reflect on what they have learned during the conference and discuss their views on implications for U.S. policy.

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM

Working Lunch

Discussion continues between Members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy in an unpredictable world.

2:00 PM – 4:00 PM

Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss policy topics raised during the conference. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the discussion sessions including Catherine Ashton, Andrew Michta, Reinhard Krumm, Sabine Fischer, Ekaterina Schulmann, Alexander Gabuev, Kadri Liik, Matt Rojansky.

6:00 PM – 8:30 PM

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the global challenges in an unpredictable world.

SUNDAY, JUNE 5:

Members of Congress depart from Geneva, arrive back in the U.S.

Rep. Jim Cooper departs Geneva at 11:45 am on United 975 and arrives in Nashville at 5:56 pm on United 2403. Mary Falls joins him at personal airline travel expense.



Charles W. Dent

Executive Director

Congressional Program

April 4, 2022

The Honorable Jim Cooper
US House
Washington, DC 20515-4205

Dear Jim:

I would like to invite you and Mary to participate in a congressional conference on **The World on Fire: Putin's War in Ukraine, the Pandemic and U.S. Interests**, which will be held May 30-June 5, 2022, including travel, in Geneva, Switzerland. We have limited space and must hear from you proactively as soon as possible if you wish to participate.

After consulting with Swiss authorities, we extend this invitation with the optimism that Covid conditions will continue to improve and allow us to convene in Geneva next May and June. We will follow safety protocols required by Swiss authorities.

We have assembled a team of renown experts to lead our discussions, including retired General David Petraeus, former CIA director; Catherine Ashton, former foreign affairs director for the European Union; Seth Berkley, Director of GAVI, the global vaccine alliance; as well as prominent voices from Europe and Russian perspectives. The agenda will cover the status of combating the covid pandemic and its global economic impact, perspectives from Europe and Russia, and a look forward for U.S. interests in a post-pandemic world. We will also visit the headquarters of the World Health Organization, which has played a central role in managing the pandemic.

Attendance is by invitation only, with no outside observers, lobbyists, or congressional staff. No foreign government or special interest funds are accepted in the funding of the Congressional Program.

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.

This program is designed for Members of both the Senate and the House. Please note that because the House has adopted rules that preclude registered lobbyists from attending our events, if your accompanying spouse or family member is a registered lobbyist, the rules would bar their participation.

2300 N St., NW

Suite 700

Washington, DC 20037

PH 202.736.5825

FX 202.785-2737

www.aspeninstitute.org

Page Two

Departure will be on Monday, May 30th and we will return on Sunday, June 5th. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the conference.

Travel expenses, including airfare, meals, lodging, and meeting facilities 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, as allowed by ethics rules.

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 468 Members of Congress have participated in the 144 conferences we have conducted.

Additionally, we offer Thursday morning breakfasts 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 on my cell phone at 484-553-1837.

We hope you will join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "C. W. Dent".

Charles W. Dent
Member (2005-2018)

THE WORLD ON FIRE: PUTIN'S WAR IN UKRAINE, THE PANDEMIC, & U.S. INTERESTS

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM
May 30-June 5, 2022 Geneva, Switzerland
AGENDA OVERVIEW

All participants are confirmed unless otherwise noted

MONDAY, May 30:

American participants depart the USA

TUESDAY, May 31:

Arrival in Geneva, Working Dinner

WEDNESDAY, June 1:

Roundtable Discussion, 9 am-Noon

THE U.S. ROLE IN A NEW WORLD ORDER

Catherine Ashton, former EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs; Distinguished Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center

David Petraeus, former Commander of U.S. forces in Iraq; former CIA Director; Chairman, KKR Global Institute

Luncheon Discussion, Noon-2 pm

PREVENTING THE NEXT PANDEMIC

Tedros Ghebreyesus, Director General, World Health Organization, Geneva

Pre-dinner Remarks, 6-7 pm

THE ROLE OF VACCINES IN GLOBAL HEALTH

Seth Berkley, CEO, GAVI, The Vaccine Alliance, Geneva

Conversations Continue over Working Dinner

THURSDAY, June 2:

Roundtable Discussion, 9-11 am

EUROPE'S ROLE IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

Oksana Antonenko, Director, Control Risks, London

Thomas Greminger, former Secretary General, OSCE; Director, Geneva Center for Security Policy

Roundtable Discussion, 11 am-1 pm

EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY CHALLENGES

Reinhard Krumm, Director for the Baltic States, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Riga

Andrew Michta, Dean, George Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Garmisch

Afternoon site visit, 3-5 pm

The WHO & discussion with staff scientists

Conversations Continue over Working Dinner

FRIDAY, June 3:

Roundtable Discussion, 9-11 am

THE WORLD AS SEEN FROM MOSCOW

Timofei Bordachev, Program Director, Valdai Discussion Club, Moscow

Sabine Fischer, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

Ekaterina Schulmann, Associate Professor, Moscow School of Social & Economic Sciences

Roundtable Discussion, 11 am-1 pm

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: SPOILER, GREAT POWER, OR SOMETHING ELSE?

Alexander Gabuev, Chair, Russia in the Asia-Pacific Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Moscow

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

Olga Oliker, Program Director, Europe and Central Asia, International Crisis Group, Brussels

Luncheon Discussion, 1-2:30 pm

ENGAGING MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON ON SYRIA

Geir Pedersen, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for Syria, Geneva (tentative)

Pre-dinner Remarks, 6-7 pm

UKRAINE'S PERSPECTIVE

Artem Rybchenko, Ukraine's Ambassador to Switzerland (invited)

Conversations Continue over Working Dinner

SATURDAY, June 4:

Roundtable Discussion, 9-11 am

U.S. POLICY IN AN UNPREDICTABLE WORLD

Matt Rojansky, CEO, U.S.-Russia Foundation

Roundtable Discussion, 11 am-1 pm

POLICY REFLECTIONS

Members of Congress only

Conversations Continue over Working Dinner

SUNDAY, June 5:

Participants return to U.S.

THE WORLD ON FIRE: PUTIN'S WAR IN UKRAINE, THE PANDEMIC, & U.S. INTERESTS

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program
May 30-June 5, 2022
Geneva, Switzerland

CONFERENCE AGENDA

SUNDAY, MAY 29

Rep. Jim Cooper departs Nashville at 11:17 am on United 287. His wife, Mary Falls, joins at personal airline travel expense.

MONDAY, MAY 30

Members of Congress depart the U.S.

Rep. Jim Cooper and Mary Falls arrive in Geneva and continue travel at personal expense

TUESDAY, MAY 31

Arrive in Geneva

Rep. Jim Cooper and Mary Falls join the conference.

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the war in Ukraine, the pandemic and U.S. interests.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1

7:00 AM – 8:55 AM

Breakfast

9:00 AM – 9:15 AM

Introduction

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

This conference is organized into roundtable conversations, a luncheon and pre-dinner remarks. This segment will highlight how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized, and how responses will be timed to allow for as much engagement as possible.

Charlie Dent, Executive Director,
Aspen Institute Congressional Program

9:15 AM – 10:30 AM

Roundtable Discussion

THE U.S. ROLE IN A NEW WORLD ORDER

Russia's invasion of Ukraine, on the heels of two years of the global pandemic, poses the greatest test for American statecraft since the end of the Cold War. The U.S. and its European allies and partners have demonstrated unity in opposition to Russia's aggression, yet multilateral institutions have failed to prevent this catastrophic conflict, and Russia's illegal use of force may presage a more violent global future. At the same time, the ongoing pandemic reminds that multilateral approaches are essential to confront threats that cannot be contained within territorial boundaries. What is the role of U.S. diplomatic leadership—including the traps and delusions the United States must avoid—in the context of current crises?

- What are positive and negative lessons we can draw on from similar transformational moments in history?
- How can the U.S. sort out unilateral versus multilateral interests in Europe?
- What are the dividing lines between conflict and cooperation on major policy objectives between the U.S., Russia, China, and Europe?
- What is the connection between U.S. global leadership and our domestic priorities?
- Are the State Department and foreign service adequately resourced for these challenges?

Baroness Catherine Ashton, former EU High
Representative for Foreign Affairs;
Distinguished Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center

10:30-10:45 AM

Break

10:45 AM – Noon

Roundtable Discussion

Roundtable Discussion Continues

Noon – 2:00 PM*Luncheon Discussion***COPING WITH THE NEXT PANDEMIC**

With new variants of the COVID-19 virus emerging, continuing strains on public health infrastructure and economies underscore the need for prevention as well as resilience. The Director-General of the world's premier intergovernmental health organization will offer his vision of the steps that countries and the international community can take today to move from responding to the current crisis to preparing for the next one.

Dr. Tedros Ghebreyesus, *Director-General,
World Health Organization*

2:00 PM – 4:00 PM*Individual Discussions*

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss policy topics raised during the conference. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the discussion sessions including Catherine Ashton, Andrew Michta, Oksana Antonenko, Vasyl Filipchuk, Thomas Greminger, Reinhard Krumm, Sabine Fischer, Ekaterina Schulmann, Alexander Gabuev, Kadri Liik, Olga Oliker, Pavel Podvig, Matt Rojansky, and Max Trudolubov.

6:00 PM – 7:00 PM*Pre-dinner Remarks***THE ROLE OF VACCINES IN GLOBAL HEALTH**

Gavi, founded in 2000, now vaccinates almost half of the world's children. Through COVAX, it has delivered 1.4 billion doses of covid vaccinations in 92 lower income countries. This volume allowed it to negotiate affordable prices and to remove the commercial risks that previously kept manufacturers from serving these poorer countries. The cost of fully immunizing a child with all 11 WHO-recommended childhood vaccines now costs about \$28 in Gavi-supported countries, compared to approximately \$1,200 in the U.S. The leader of this unique multilateral institution will explain its role and function in achieving global immunization goals.

Dr. Seth Berkley, *CEO, Gavi,
The Vaccine Alliance, Geneva*

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM*Working Dinner*

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas.

Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the war in Ukraine and steps necessary to prevent the next pandemic.

THURSDAY, JUNE 2:

7:00 AM – 8:55 AM

Breakfast

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM

EUROPE'S ROLE IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

Roundtable Discussion

Cooperation between Washington and U.S. allies and partners in Europe has in some respects never been closer, from unity in opposition to Russia's war in Ukraine and a reinvigoration of the NATO alliance, to the U.S. role in lessening Europe's dependence on Russian energy sources and coordinated support for the massive influx of Ukrainian refugees. All this unfolds while the transatlantic community continues to address the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. Both U.S. and European leaders have called for renewed attention and creative thinking about transatlantic relations in view of the rise of new threats, new technologies and new global power players.

- What is the state of transatlantic relations today? Have the rifts on display over recent years been mended?
- Are the institutions built to manage U.S.-European ties over half a century ago adequate to address current challenges?
- How have the U.S. and Europe coped with shared political challenges like rising populism and inequality?

Oksana Antonenko, *Director, Control Risks, London*

Thomas Greminger, *former Secretary General, OSCE;
Director, Geneva Center for Security Policy*

11:00 AM-11:15 AM

Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM

EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY CHALLENGES

Roundtable Discussion

In the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and with rising concerns about escalation, including the risk of WMD use by Russia, NATO appears to have a clear mission and more unity than ever. Yet the war in Ukraine might easily be the beginning of an

era of more, not less, use of force in Europe, while the demise of key Cold War era security treaties such as the INF and Open Skies agreements signal a clear decline in the broader landscape of strategic stability. The Euro-Atlantic region faces growing threats from private and state-sponsored cyber criminals and from homegrown terrorists and spillover from conflict regions around the world. While some regional states view China as a vital partner for economic development and strategic balancing, others see Beijing as a major looming threat.

- What are the principal threats to security in the Euro-Atlantic region today?
- What should be the roles of non-European powers, including the United States and China, in European security?
- Is there a place to include Russia in Euro-Atlantic cooperative security, or is the future inevitably more about collective defense against threats from Moscow?

Vasyl Filipchuk, Senior Advisor,
International Center for Policy Studies, Kyiv
Andrew Michta, Dean, George Marshall European
Center for Security Studies, Garmisch

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM
Working Lunch

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy in the context of Russia's invasion of Ukraine

2:30 PM – 5:30 PM
Educational Site Visit

SITE VISIT TO WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION HEADQUARTERS
The World Health Organization, founded in 1948 and headquartered in Geneva, is coordinating the international efforts against COVID-19. Approximately 15 million people—including nearly one million Americans—have died from COVID-19 and globally over 10,000 a day are still dying from it. There remain vast disparities in vaccination rates between the developed and undeveloped world. The U.S. provides 15% of WHO's budget. The previous administration proposed that the U.S. withdraw from the WHO, a plan that was reversed by the current administration. The

U.S. spent \$3.5 billion for distribution of vaccines in the undeveloped world, yet it remains a challenge to get the vaccine from airports into arms. Senior WHO scientists will explain the status of efforts to end the global pandemic, how to best be prepared for future outbreaks, what lessons have been learned, and when, if ever, will the virus be vanquished.

Hanan Balkhy, Assistant General,
Antimicrobial Resistance, WHO

Sylvie Briand, Director, Epidemic and Pandemic
Preparedness and Prevention, WHO

Meg Doherty, Director, Department of Global HIV,
Hepatitis and Sexually Transmitted Infections, WHO

Ibrahima Socé Fall, Assistant Director General for
Emergency Response, WHO

Maria Van Kerkhove, Technical Lead,
COVID-19 Response, WHO

Rosamund Lewis, Technical Lead,
Monkeypox and Smallpox, WHO

Alaf Musani, Director, Emergency
Health Interventions, WHO

Soumya Swaminathan, Chief Scientist, WHO

Stewart Simonson, Assistant Director-General, WHO

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the war in Ukraine and steps necessary to prevent the next pandemic.

FRIDAY, JUNE 3:

7:00 AM – 8:55 AM

Breakfast

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM

Roundtable Discussion

THE WORLD AS SEEN FROM MOSCOW

In the years before his 2022 invasion of Ukraine, Vladimir Putin tightened his grip on power in Russia, and could easily remain in

control through 2036 and perhaps even beyond. Yet as Putin cracks down on internal and external challenges to his power, he has stretched his economy and military to an extreme degree, and relies increasingly on elements within the Russian state that view the world in zero sum terms. Moscow now finds itself subject to unrelenting Western sanctions pressure and risks increasing dependency on China and other authoritarian partners as a result. The Kremlin therefore faces enormous external challenges plus those of its own making, while continuing to rely on a resource extraction economic model and international relationships that may not stand the test of time.

- What are the economic realities facing the Kremlin and can Russia grow its way out of the overlapping challenges of COVID-19, conflict with the West, and over-dependency on energy exports?
- Is Russia committed to seeking strategic alignment with China for the long term?
- Have Moscow's atrocities in Ukraine irreversibly split it from the West?
- What does Russia's future portend?
- How is Putin likely to approach preserving his own power and the system he has built in Russia?

Sabine Fischer, *German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin*

Ekaterina Schulmann, *Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow, The Bosch Foundation, Berlin*

Max Trudolubov, *Editor at Large, Meduza, Vilnius*

11:00 AM - 11:15 AM Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM
Roundtable Discussion

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: SPOILER, GREAT POWER, OR SOMETHING ELSE?

Vladimir Putin talks about "multipolarity," and rejects what he describes as Washington's attempts to "impose its will" on other powers. At the same time, the Kremlin insists that other states, especially in its former Soviet "near abroad" must take its interests and preferences into account, often deploying political, economic

and even military leverage to secure outcomes. Ukraine is just the most recent example of this. Russia has also sought to project power from the Middle East to Latin America, giving rise to the perception of Moscow as a “spoiler” in regions and on issues of importance to the United States. In recent years, Russia’s direct interference in U.S. and other Western democratic politics has provoked even more acute enmity, even recalling the Cold War era conflict between two rival political and economic systems.

- What goals and interests drive Russian foreign policy in former Soviet regions and in the wider international context?
- Should Moscow and Beijing be seen as de facto allies?
- Does the Cold War offer lessons for managing today’s competition in regional security, information, and cyberspace?
- Can Washington and Moscow cooperate in managing regional hotspots such as Syria, Libya, Iran and North Korea?
- Do Russia and the West have common interests on cross-cutting global issues, for example, in countering the pandemic and terrorism?

Alexander Gabuev, *Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

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

Pavel Podvig, *Senior Researcher, WMD Program UN Institute for Disarmament Research, Geneva*

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM

Working Lunch

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy in the context of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine

2:00 PM – 4:00 PM

Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss policy topics raised during the conference. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the discussion sessions including Catherine Ashton, Andrew Michta, Oksana Antonenko, Vasyl Filipchuk, Thomas Greminger, Reinhard Krumm, Sabine Fischer,

Ekaterina Schulmann, Alexander Gabuev, Kadri Liik, Olga Oliker, Pavel Podvig, Matt Rojansky, and Max Trudolubov.

6:00 PM – 7:00 PM

Pre-dinner Remarks

UKRAINE'S PERSPECTIVE

Ukraine has experienced immeasurable suffering and damage from Putin's unprovoked and illegal invasion. This aggression has unified Europe and the U.S. to confront Russia and led to the imposition of crippling economic sanctions against Russia, substantial military assistance to Ukraine, millions of Ukrainian refugees fleeing its borders, and great uncertainty about the country's future. Ukraine's ambassador to Switzerland will provide a Ukrainian perspective on the current strife.

Oleksandr Chalyi, former Deputy Ukrainian Foreign Minister, Kyiv

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the war in Ukraine and steps necessary to prevent the next pandemic.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4:

7:00 AM – 8:55 AM

Breakfast, concurrent with COVID-19 testing required for return flights to the U.S.

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM

Roundtable Discussion

U.S. POLICY IN AN UNPREDICTABLE WORLD

Putin's war in Ukraine has thrown Europe into the most tense security crisis for decades with the world's two nuclear superpowers edging closer toward uncertain territory ahead. The destruction, devastation, and immense human suffering and will pose substantial reconstruction challenges ahead. Europe faces huge challenges to cope with assisting the influx of millions of Ukrainian refugees. The return of a polarized world and the questionable role of China either as a facilitator or arbiter of an off-ramp remains to be seen. The economic pressures inside Russia are substantial, and Europe is challenged to stop financing Russia's war by weaning

itself from Russia's energy. The U.S. is seen as the key global player, but how it can best help remedy the situation is uncertain.

- Is the Ukraine crisis creating a new world order of democracies versus autocracies?
- Are economic sanctions an effective tool to achieve foreign policy goals?
- Are multilateral institutions such as NATO and the UN adequately equipped to address these challenges?
- To what degree is this a pivot point in U.S.-Russia relations?
- How real is the threat of nuclear war and what steps can be taken to avert it?
- Is globalization still a workable concept? Can and should the U.S. continue to trade with political adversaries?
- What are the implications for U.S.-China relations?
- Will energy security take on a greater role in foreign policy?

Matt Rojansky, CEO, U.S.-Russia Foundation

11:00 AM -11:15 AM

Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM

Roundtable Discussion

POLICY REFLECTIONS

This time is set aside for Members of Congress to reflect on what they have learned during the conference and discuss their views on implications for U.S. policy.

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM

Working Lunch

Discussion continues between Members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy in an unpredictable world.

2:00 PM – 4:00 PM

Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss policy topics raised during the conference. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the discussion sessions including Catherine Ashton, Andrew Michta, Oksana Antonenko, Vasyl Filipchuk, Thomas Greminger, Reinhard Krumm, Sabine Fischer, Ekaterina Schulmann, Alexander Gabuev, Kadri Liik, Olga Oliker, Pavel Podvig, Matt Rojansky, and Max Trudolubov.

6:00 PM – 8:30 PM

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the war in Ukraine and steps necessary to prevent the next pandemic.

SUNDAY, JUNE 5:

Members of Congress depart from Geneva, arrive back in the U.S.

Rep. Jim Cooper and Mary Falls, (flying at personal expense) depart Geneva at 9:20 am on United 957 and arrive in Nashville at 4:50 pm on United 2096.