



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

MEMBER/OFFICER POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM Original Amendment

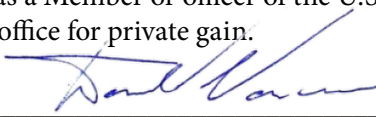
This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for travel taken in connection with a Member or officer's official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual *Financial Disclosure Statement*. In accordance 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: _____
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ **OR** None
 b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: _____ Return: _____
 b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ **OR** None
4. Departure City: _____ Destination: _____ Return City: _____
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: _____
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary):

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: _____



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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.



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TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Donald Norcross
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip:
The Aspen Institute, Inc.
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel : Cartagena, Colombia
4. a. Date of Departure: Feb 21, 2023 Date of Return: Feb 25, 2023
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: Andrea Doran
(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.
As a member of the House Armed Services Committee, participation in this conference directly relates to my work pertaining to our national security and our response to increased competition with China and indirect conflict with Russia.
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 _____



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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:



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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.*



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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 type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates			
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: Cher W Dent 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



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:  Date: 02/06/2023

Name: Deana Arsenian Title: VP, International Program

Organization: Carnegie Corporation of New York

Address: 437 Madison Avenue, New York, NY, 10022

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



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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: 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: 02/09/2023

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

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

Dave Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Kelle A. Strickland
Counsel to the Chairman

David Arrojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

February 16, 2023

The Honorable Donald Norcross
U.S. House of Representatives
2427 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your and your spouse's proposed trip to Colombia,¹ scheduled for February 21 to 25, 2023, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc., 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 the reporting threshold from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. That reporting threshold is currently \$415 but is set to adjust in 2023. 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>.

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 that reads "Michael Guest". The first letter "M" is large and loops around the start of the name.

Michael Guest
Chairman

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Susan Wild". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large loop at the end.

Susan Wild
Ranking Member

MG/SW:mc

House Appendix
Aspen Institute Congressional Program – Cartagena, Colombia – Feb. 21-25,
2023 “U.S. Leadership in a World in Conflict” Updated

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.

These members are invited due to their subject matter interest and expertise in the geopolitical issues to be discussed at the conference.

Rep. Jim Baird; Committee on Science, Space, and Technology
Rep. Earl Blumenauer; Committee on Ways and Means
Rep. Lou Correa; Committee on Homeland Security
Rep. John Curtis; Committee on Energy and Commerce
Rep. Jim Himes; Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
Rep. Dave Joyce; Committee on Appropriations
Rep. Robin Kelly; Committee on Energy and Commerce
Rep. Darin LaHood; Committee on Ways and Means
Rep. Doug Lamborn; Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Rick Larsen; Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure

Rep. Dan Newhouse; Committee on Appropriations
Rep. Donald Norcross; Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Linda Sanchez; Committee on Ways and Means
Rep. John Sarbanes; Committee on Energy and Commerce
Rep. Jan Schakowsky; Committee on Energy and Commerce
Rep. Pete Sessions; Committee on Financial Services
Rep. Beth Van Duyne; Committee on Ways and Means

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.

Colombia was selected as the location because the conference is exploring the US role in the world from the perspective of the global south which includes Latin American, Sub Saharan African and the Middle East. Colombia allows for an opportunity to meet with recently elected Colombian President Gustavo Petro and to visit the Port of Cartagena.



U.S. Leadership in a World in Conflict

February 21-25, 2023 | Cartagena, Colombia

AGENDA

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21:

U.S. participants travel to Cartagena and arrive late afternoon

Rep. Donald Norcross and his wife, Andrea Doran, depart Philadelphia at 8:20 am on American 2570 and arrive in Cartagena @ 3:10 pm on American 2173.

7-9 PM: Working Dinner

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

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22:

7-8:55 AM: Breakfast

9-9:15 AM: 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.

Speaker:

Charlie Dent, *Executive Director and Vice President,*
Aspen Institute Congressional Program

9-11 AM: Roundtable Discussion ***Defining U.S. Global Leadership***

President Biden has defined U.S. leadership in terms of strengthening and defending democracy globally versus authoritarian regimes. This democracy-centered approach to U.S. global leadership has dovetailed with a growing focus on the internal health of American democracy, which has in turn led to criticism from both ends of the political spectrum. Washington's rallying cry for democracies to confront challenges from

authoritarian regimes, such as Russia and China, has helped strengthen many traditional alliances, but it has also alienated some important partners that are seen to fall short on democracy.

While advocates maintain that U.S. prosperity and security depend on continuing global leadership, critics argue that the costs of pax Americana are unsustainable.

- How has the need and the opportunity for U.S. global leadership evolved since the end of the Cold War?
- Is it useful to think of geopolitics in terms of a global contest between democracy and autocracy? Where does that leave states that may be aligned with the U.S. on security or economic interests, but fall short on democratic values?
- How does the advent of renewed great power competition, especially with China and Russia, impact U.S. global leadership?
- What internal factors, political, social, economic, technological, etc. limit or enhance U.S. capacity for leadership on the world stage?

Speakers:

Daryl Press, *Professor of Government and the Director of the Dartmouth Initiative on Global Security, Dartmouth College*

Kori Schake, *Senior Fellow and the Director of Foreign and Defense Policy Studies, the American Enterprise Institute (AEI)*

11-11:15 AM: Break

11:15 AM – 1 PM: Roundtable Discussion

America's Backyard?: U.S. Leadership in the Western Hemisphere

At the turn of the last century, American engineers completed the Panama Canal, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and helping launch what came to be called the American Century. A project that took far longer and cost more in lives and fortune than any of its architects, the Canal was an American venture steeped in Monroe Doctrine hubris and Roosevelt's "big stick" diplomacy. Indeed, the Republic of Panama broke away from Colombia in 1903 with Washington's substantial support and swift recognition. While this history is hardly forgotten in South and Central America, the U.S. is still a welcome partner for trade, development, and security throughout the region. Yet extreme inequality, climate change, and migration, among other challenges, are stressing the region's relations with its northern neighbor, while China, Russia and other outside powers have extended their reach.

- What are the principal challenges for U.S. leadership in the Western hemisphere?
- Have geopolitical tensions, including with great power rivals like China and Russia, displaced trade, migration and counter-trafficking as Washington's principal focus in Latin America?
- How welcome is a strong U.S. role in shaping developments in the region, and what role can be played by U.S. partners and allies?

- Are institutions for security, political and economic cooperation in the Western hemisphere, e.g. North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Organization of American States (OAS), Caribbean Community (CARICOM), etc. well suited to the challenges of today?

Speakers:

Vladimir Rouvinski, *Associate Professor, Department of Political Science; Director, PoInt, University Icesi (Colombia)*

Cynthia Arnson, *Distinguished Fellow and Former Director of the Latin American Program, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.*

1-2 PM: Working Lunch

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on U.S. leadership in the Western hemisphere.

3 PM: Depart for the Port of Cartagena

3:30-6:15 PM: Educational Site Visit – Port of Cartagena

The Port of Cartagena is a great success story of cooperation between Colombia and the United States. Many U.S. government agencies work in collaboration with this port which serves as a primary artery into Colombia and South America as a whole. The Port of Colombia has had many recent seizures of narcotics that were intended for distribution in the U.S. and Europe. This port is Colombia's main oil port and a major export point for coffee and platinum. It is also a center for the manufacture of tobacco products, sugar, textiles, cosmetics, fertilizer, and leather products. Tourism is a growing sector of the local economy.

7-9 PM: Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on U.S. leadership in the Western Hemisphere.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23:

7-8:55 AM: Breakfast

9 -11:45 AM: Roundtable Discussion:

The “World Island”: U.S. Leadership in Europe and Eurasia

In 1904, British geographer Halford Mackinder famously claimed that control over Eastern Europe was the key to dominating the “world island” of Europe and Asia. A full year into Vladimir Putin’s expanded invasion of Ukraine, the consequences of a renewed large-scale land war in the Eurasian heartland are still being felt worldwide. Moscow has not abandoned its goal of blocking NATO and EU enlargement by force, and while U.S. leadership has helped forge a coalition to support Ukraine and punish Russia, many important players remain ambivalent.

- How has Putin's expanded invasion of Ukraine, launched one year ago this week, changed the landscape for U.S. leadership in Europe and Eurasia? Are these changes likely to be enduring?
- Has the Washington-led international response to the war in Ukraine galvanized a Eurasian "axis" of Russia, China, Iran and other anti-Western powers?
- What is the right balance between U.S. and European leadership in the region?
- Where does Turkey fit into an increasingly divided and contested European and Eurasian space? Has Ankara damaged its position as a key U.S. ally in pursuit of its own agenda with Moscow?

Speakers:

Emma Ashford, *Senior Fellow, Reimagining US Grand Strategy Program, Stimson Center*

Michael Kimmage, *Professor of History, Catholic University of America*

Noon-1:30 PM: Working Lunch

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on U.S. leadership in the Indo-Pacific.

1:45 -4:30 PM: Meeting with Colombian President Gustavo Petro

Colombian President Gustavo Petro delivers opening remarks on the significance of U.S.-Colombian partnership followed by a question-and-answer session with members of Congress.

7-9 PM: Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on U.S. leadership in Europe and Eurasia.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24:

7-8:55 AM: Breakfast

9-11 AM: Roundtable Discussion:

Interconnected and Contested: U.S. Leadership in the Indo-Pacific

Over the past two decades, the U.S.-China relationship premised on embracing interdependence and shared investment in a rules-based international order has pivoted towards more overt competition and even confrontation. Beijing has sustained growing investment in its military power projection capabilities, as well as its economic and diplomatic leverage throughout the region and beyond. Repeated attempts by Washington to commit greater attention and resources to East Asia, meanwhile, have stumbled over the flare-up of crises in Europe and the Greater Middle East. U.S.

leadership depends on regional partners and allies, yet Washington has missed opportunities to deepen partnerships even with like-minded states, while keeping other potential partners at arms' length over their records on human rights and democracy.

- Recent U.S. administrations have emphasized the importance of the Indo-Pacific to U.S. national security and economic interests: have efforts to shift U.S. focus and resources to this region been successful?
- Are we headed for a new Cold War with China?
- What do U.S. regional allies and partners want from Washington, and what can they contribute to greater security and prosperity for the region?

Speakers:

Jennifer Lind, *Associate Professor of Government, Dartmouth College*

Robert Daly, *Director, Kissinger Institute of China and the United States, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars*

11-11:15 AM: Break

11:15 AM-1 PM: Roundtable Discussion:

Not Turning Away: U.S. Leadership in the Middle East and Africa

Two decades after 9/11, U.S. leadership in Africa and the greater Middle East remains principally focused on security. Together, the states of this region constitute close to half the membership of the United Nations, making mutually beneficial diplomatic and trade engagement with them essential for the future of global governance. Yet despite considerable natural resource wealth and youthful populations, the region has lagged behind on most development indicators. With notable exceptions like PEPFAR and the 2014 Ebola response, the overwhelming majority of U.S. investment in the region has been aimed at either energy extraction or security and counter-terrorism assistance, including direct U.S. military engagements in Somalia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Libya.

- How has U.S. power and influence in the greater Middle East changed in the two decades that have passed since the U.S. invasion of Iraq?
- In the wake of the U.S.-brokered Abraham Accords, what are the prospects for increased coordination and cooperation among U.S. allies Israel and the Gulf States against an Iranian-led axis of terrorist and insurgent groups?
- What are the key challenges and opportunities for U.S. engagement with the states of the African continent? Which other outside powers are actively engaged in Africa?
- Which regional states are positioned to become leaders within Africa, and how can the U.S. partner more effectively with these states to advance its interests?

Speakers:

Karim Sadjadpour, *Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

Gayle Smith, *CEO, The ONE Campaign*

6-7 PM: Pre-Dinner Remarks:
US Economic Power and Global Leadership

Speaker: Bob Zoellick, *Senior Counselor, Brunswick Group; Former President, World Bank (2007-12)*

7-9 PM: Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on U.S. leadership in the Indo-Pacific.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25:

6:30- 7:55 AM: Breakfast

8-10 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
The Unbounded Domain: U.S. Leadership in Cyberspace

The interconnected system of global trade and finance on which U.S. prosperity depends is in turn dependent on cutting edge information technology. The frontiers of space-based communications and the so-called metaverse promise to accelerate this interdependence. Yet the more our modern economic, social and even political lives rest on cyber infrastructure, the more potentially vulnerable they may be to cyber attacks aimed at changing the balance of power and influence in the real world. Chinese-backed cyber industrial espionage, Russia's electoral interference campaigns throughout the democratic West, and relentless assaults by state-sponsored and freelance hackers present a growing challenge for U.S. global leadership in a vital domain that defies traditional international boundaries.

- How should U.S. policymakers think about leadership in the cyber domain?
- To what degree are rivalries among traditional major powers replicated in cyberspace? Where might there be overlapping interests among otherwise rival powers?
- Are current U.S. cyber capabilities adequate to challenges driven by rapid technological change?
- What is the role of non-state actors, including criminals and the private sector, in enabling or opposing U.S. leadership in cyberspace?

Speakers:

Dmitri Alperovitch, *Co-Founder and Executive Chairman, Siverado Policy Accelerator*

Christopher Krebs, *U.S. Cybersecurity Group Co-chair, Senior Newmark Fellow in Cybersecurity, The Aspen Institute*

10-11:15 AM: Roundtable Discussion:

Key Conference Takeaways with Rapporteur Matthew Rojansky

Policy Reflections (Members of Congress only)

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.

11:40 AM: Participants depart the hotel for the airport to return to the U.S. Rep. Donald Norcross and his wife, Andrea Doran, depart Cartagena @ 2:30 pm on American 1144 and arrive in Philadelphia at 10:33 pm on American 1892.



The Honorable Donald Norcross
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-3001

Dear Donald,

I would like to invite you and Andrea to participate in a bipartisan, bicameral congressional conference on ***U.S. Leadership in a World in Conflict*** in **Cartagena, Colombia, February 21-25, 2023**. Participants will depart the U.S. on Tuesday, February 21 and return to the U.S. the evening of Saturday, February 25. We have limited space and need to hear from you proactively if you would like to participate.

We will have scholars and experts to lead our discussions to focus on our country's role in the world and the geopolitical challenges the world faces today. We have developed a rigorous program examining how the need and opportunity for U.S. global leadership evolved since the Cold War, how the advent of great power competition with China and Russia affects U.S. global leadership, and how the rest of the world, including cyberspace, fits into this competition.

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

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

The Congressional Program is part of the Aspen Institute, Inc. a nonprofit organization founded in 1950. The Congressional Program is celebrating its 40th year in 2023 and is designed to promote leadership on public policy by bringing together legislators from both political parties with internationally renowned scholars for high level discussions and analysis. Since our program's inception, more than 485 members of Congress have participated in the 151 domestic and international conferences.

We hope you can join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

Charlie Dent

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



U.S. Leadership in a World in Conflict

February 21-25, 2023 - Cartagena, Colombia

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 21:

U.S. participants travel to Cartagena and arrive late afternoon

7-9 PM - Working dinner

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22:

7:30-8:55 AM: Breakfast

9-11 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
Defining U.S. Global Leadership

Scholars (to be confirmed):

Mat Burrows, *The Stimson Center*

Kori Schake, *American Enterprise Institute*

11-11:15 AM: Break

11:15 AM – 1 PM: Roundtable Discussion:
America's Backyard?: U.S. Leadership in the Western Hemisphere

Scholars (to be confirmed):

Carlos Pascual, *IHS and Columbia University*;

Shannon O'Neil, *Council on Foreign Relations*;

Vladimir Rouvinski, *Icesi University, Cali, Colombia*

1-2:30 PM: Working Lunch

7-9 PM: Working dinner

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23:

7:30-8:55 AM - Breakfast

9 AM-12 PM - Roundtable Discussion:
The "World Island": U.S. Leadership in Europe and Eurasia

Scholars (to be confirmed):

Emma Ashford, *Stimson Center*;

Michael Kimmage, *The Catholic University of America*

Andrea Kendall-Taylor, *Center for a New American Security*

1-2 PM: Working Lunch

2-5PM: Educational Site Visit

7-9PM: Working Dinner

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24:

7:30-8:55 AM: Breakfast

9-11 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
Interconnected and Contested: U.S. Leadership in the Indo-Pacific

Scholars (to be confirmed):

Jennifer Lind, *Dartmouth College*;

Robert Daly, *The Wilson Center*

11-11:15: Break

11:15 AM-1 PM: Roundtable Discussion:
Not Turning Away: U.S. Leadership in the Middle East and Africa

Scholars (to be confirmed):

Karim Sadjadpour, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*;

Gayle Smith, *ONE Campaign*

1-2:30 PM: Working lunch

6-7 PM: Pre-Dinner Remarks:

US Economic Power and Global Leadership

Speaker (to be confirmed):

Bob Zoellick, *former World Bank President*

7-9 PM: Working Dinner

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25:

6:30-7:55 AM: Breakfast

8-10 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
The Unbounded Domain: U.S. Leadership in Cyberspace

Scholars (to be confirmed):

Dmitri Alperovitch, *Silverado Policy Accelerator*;

Chris Krabs, *Aspen Institute, former CISA Director*

10-11:30 AM: Roundtable Discussion:

POLICY REFLECTIONS - Members of Congress only

12:30 PM: Participants depart hotel for airport to return to the U.S.