

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

EMPLOYEE POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

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

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

1. Name of Traveler: Travis Trejo
2. a. Name of accompanying relative: _____ or None
b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates of departure and return: Departure: 08/26/2018 Return: 08/31/2018
b. Dates at personal expense (if any): _____ or None
4. Departure city: Dulles, VA Destination: Tallinn, Estonia Return city: Dulles, VA
5. Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): Aspen Institute Congressional Program
6. Describe meetings and events attended: Discussed U.S. Russia Bilateral Relationship; Role of Nato in the Baltics; Ukraine and the Baltics; Factors driving Russian public opinion; Met with scholars near Russian border and discussed issues with Russian speaking people in Estonia
7. Attached to this form are EACH of the following (signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box):
 - a. a completed Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form;
 - b. the Primary Trip Sponsor Form completed by the trip sponsor prior to the trip, including all attachments and Grantmaking or Non-Grantmaking Sponsor Forms;
 - c. page 2 of the completed Traveler Form submitted by the employee; *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 that statement is true by checking box):
b. If not, explain: _____

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

SIGNATURE OF TRAVELER: T. Trejo DATE: 09/14/2018

I authorized this travel in advance. I have determined that all of the expenses listed on the attached Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure form were necessary and that the travel was in connection with the employee's official duties and would not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

NAME OF SUPERVISING MEMBER: Andy Harris DATE: 09/14/2018

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISING MEMBER: [Signature]

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

SPONSOR POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

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

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

1. Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): _____
The Aspen Institute Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Travel Destination(s): Tallinn and Narva, Estonia
3. Date of Departure: August 26, 2018 Date of Return: August 31, 2018
4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Travis Trejo
 (NOTE: You may list more than one traveler on a form only if all information is identical for each person listed.)
5. **Actual amount** of expenses paid on behalf of, or reimbursed to, each individual named in response to Question 4:

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item and description)
Traveler	\$1,600	\$524	\$300	\$93 for meeting room expenses
Accompanying Relative				

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

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

Signature: _____
 Name: Dan Glickman Title: Vice President
 Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc.

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

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

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

Email Address: lisa.jones@aspenninst.org

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

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

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Travis William Trejo
2. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
3. Travel destination(s): Tallinn, Estonia
4. a. Date of departure August 26, 2018 Date of return: August 31, 2018
b. Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense? Yes No
If yes, dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Will you be accompanied by a relative at the sponsor's expense? Yes No
b. If yes:
(1) Name of accompanying relative: _____
(2) Relationship to traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
(3) Accompanying relative is at least 18 years of age: Yes No
6. a. Did the trip sponsor answer "yes" to Question 9(d) on the Primary Trip Sponsor Form (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent and you are requesting lodging for two nights)? Yes No
b. If yes, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted:

7. Primary Trip Sponsor Form is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments and contributing sponsor forms: Yes No
NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.

I am a
staff
assistant

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.
I'm legislative staff for Rep. Andy Harris, who makes decisions on federal spending including defense and State Dept. spending. Additionally, I meet with constituents regarding veterans and military issues.
9. Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved in planning, organizing, requesting, and/or arranging the trip? Yes No

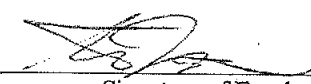
10. FOR STAFF TRAVELERS:

TO BE COMPLETED BY YOUR EMPLOYING MEMBER:

ADVANCED AUTHORIZATION OF EMPLOYEE TRAVEL

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

Date: 7/26/2018



Signature of Employing Member

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers, or employees under House Rule 25, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer, or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee together with a Traveler Form at least 30 days before the start date of the trip. The trip sponsor should NOT submit the form directly to the Committee. The Committee Web site (ethics.house.gov) provides detailed instructions for filling out the form.

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

1. Sponsor (who will be paying for the trip): _____
The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent (signify that the statement is true by checking box):
3. Check only one: I represent that:
 - a. the primary trip sponsor has not accepted from any other source funds intended directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip *or*
 - b. the trip is arranged without regard to congressional participation and the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds only from entities that will receive a tangible benefit in exchange for those funds *or*.
 - c. the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds from other source(s) intended directly or indirectly to finance all or part of this trip and has enclosed disclosure forms from each of those entities.If "c" is checked, list the names of the additional sponsors: _____
The Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation
4. Provide names and titles of ALL House Members and employees you are inviting. For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional pages if necessary):
See attached list
5. Is travel being offered to an accompanying relative of the House invitee(s)? Yes No
6. Date of departure: August 26, 2018 Date of return: August 31, 2018
7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC or the district
b. Destination(s): Tallinn, Estonia
c. City of return: Washington, DC or the district
8. I represent that (check one of the following):
 - a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965: *or*
 - b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent: *or*
 - c. The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist/foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.
9. Check one of the following:
 - a. I checked 8(a) or (b) above:
 - b. I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging:
 - c. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night: *or*
 - d. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for two nights:If "d" is checked, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted: _____

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

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

13. Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary.

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

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

15. I represent that either (check one of the following):

- a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized without regard to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees: or
- b. The trip involves events that are arranged specifically with regard to congressional participation:

If "b" is checked:

1) Detail the cost per day of meals (approximate cost may be provided): _____
 \$75

2) Provide reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: _____
Tallinn, Estonia provides a central meeting point for international scholars including Russians and experts from the region to provide analysis of Ukraine, Baltics and Russia and their impact on U.S. foreign policy.

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

Hotel name: Solo Sokos Hotel Estoria City: Tallinn, Estonia Cost per night: \$131

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

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

Reason(s) for selecting: _____

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

Reason(s) for selecting: _____

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

18. **TOTAL EXPENSES FOR EACH PARTICIPANT:**

<input type="checkbox"/> actual amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> good faith estimates	Total <i>Transportation</i> Expenses per Participant	Total <i>Lodging</i> Expenses per Participant	Total <i>Meal</i> Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$1,600	\$524	\$300
For each accompanying relative			

	<i>Other</i> Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$93	meeting room expenses
For each accompanying relative		

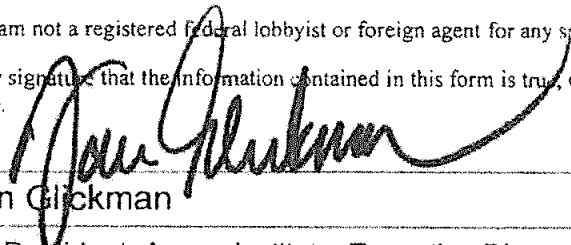
NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

19. Check one:

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

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

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

Signature: 

Name: Dan Glickman

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

Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc.

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

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

Email address: lisa.jones@aspeninst.org

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

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

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

GRANTMAKING TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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

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

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

Signature: Toby Alice Volkman

Name: Toby Alice Volkman

Organization: The Henry Luce Foundation

Address: 51 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10010

Telephone number: 212-489-7700

Email: tvolkman@hluce.org

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

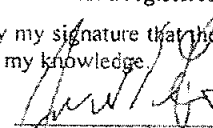
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U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

GRANTMAKING TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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

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

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

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

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

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

GRANTMAKING TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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

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

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

Signature: [Handwritten Signature]
Name: STEPHEN HEINTZ Title: PRESIDENT
Organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund
Address: 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115
Telephone number: 212-812-4389 Email: sheintz@rbf.org

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

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

Version data 4/2013 by Committee on Ethics

Susan W. Brooks, Indiana
Chairwoman
Theodore E. Deutch, Florida
Ranking Member

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

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



ONE HUNDRED FIFTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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Director of Administration

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*Chief of Staff and Counsel to
the Chairwoman*

Daniel J. Taylor
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

August 21, 2018

Mr. Travis William Trejo
Office of the Honorable Andy Harris
1533 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Trejo:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to Estonia, scheduled for August 26 to 31, 2018, sponsored by Aspen Institute, with financial support from the Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

You must complete an Employee Post-Travel Disclosure Form (which your employing Member must also sign) 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. If you are required to file an annual Financial Disclosure Statement, you must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$390 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

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

Mr. Travis William Trejo
Page 2

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

Sincerely,



Susan W. Brooks
Chairwoman



Theodore E. Deutch
Ranking Member

SWB/TED:smm

**Answer to Question 4 – House Ethics Primary Trip Sponsor Form
Aspen Institute – Tallinn Conference – 2018**

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.

The invitees reflect a bipartisan delegation representing different geographical areas of the country, having various assignments with relevance to policy issues dealing with foreign policy. These congressional staff members have an interest in deeper analysis with the benefit of American and international scholars.

Jeff Billman, Deputy Chief of Staff, Rep. Peter Roskam
Maria Bowie, Deputy Chief of Staff, Rep. Tom Cole
Andrew Braun, Military Affairs Legislative Assistant, Rep. Doug Lamborn
Jaclyn Cahan, Counsel, Rep. Stephen Lynch
Josh Connolly, Chief of Staff, Rep. Jackie Speier
Mace Flitter, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Rep. Brian Fitzpatrick
Jay Gerstema, Chief of Staff, Rep. Dina Titus
Walter Gonzales, Legislative Director, Rep. C.A. Ruppertsberger
Mark Henson, Chief of Staff, Rep. Jim Himes
Thomas Hester, Legislative Director, Rep. Michael McCaul
Allison Jarus, Senior Policy Advisor, Rep. Mike Quigley
Kyra Murphy, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Rep. Steve Russell
Josh Rogin, Chief of Staff, Rep. Ted Deutch
Terra Sabag, Deputy Chief of Staff, Rep. Rick Larsen
Shira Siegel, Senior Legislative Assistant, Rep. Nita Lowey
Michael Tehrani, Legislative Director, Rep. Austin Scott
Betsy Thompson, Military Legislative Assistant, Rep. John Garamendi
Travis Trejo, Legislative Assistant, Rep. Andy Harris
Sarah Trister, Legislative Director, Rep. David Cicilline
Glenn Wavrunek, Chief of Staff, Rep. Mark Pocan
Justin Wein, Deputy Chief of Staff, Rep. David Price
Brandon White, Military Legislative Assistant, Rep. Paul Cook
Chad Yelinski, Legislative Director, Rep. Mark Meadows

THE BALTICS, UKRAINE AND RUSSIA: CHALLENGES FOR U.S. POLICY

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

Conference for Congressional Staff

AGENDA

August 26-31, 2018

Tallinn, Estonia

SUNDAY, August 26:

Congressional staff participants depart Washington, DC at 5:15 pm on SAS #926.

MONDAY, August 27:

Congressional staff participants arrive in Tallinn at 4:00 pm on SAS #1786.

6:30-7:00 pm

Pre-Dinner Remarks

SETTING THE STAGE

Matthew Rojansky, Director, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center

7:00-9:00 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on the Baltics, Ukraine and Russia and the challenges for U.S. policy.

TUESDAY, August 28:

7:30-9:00 am

Breakfast available for all participants

9:00 am

Roundtable Discussions

THE U.S.-RUSSIA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP: A NEW COLD WAR?

U.S.-Russia relations appear to be at their lowest point for decades, with little prospect of improvement in the near term. Tensions spiked over Ukraine and Syria, and have been exacerbated by allegations that Russia “hacked” the 2016 U.S. election and continues to mount a cyber offensive against U.S. and allied targets. Yet the relationship between Moscow and Washington is arguably the single most consequential bilateral relationship for U.S. and global security. Are the two countries set on an inevitable “collision course” in their respective foreign policies, dictated by divergent national interests and worldviews, or is the current impasse more a function of specific policy disagreements or tensions between stakeholders?

- What are Russia's national interests? What are Russia's aspirations for its role in the world?

- How do Russia's perceptions of its national interests affect Russia's policy toward the U.S., the European Union, former Soviet states? Does Russia view the U.S. and its European neighbors as threats?
- What are the risks of continued or deepening U.S.-Russia conflict?
- How does each side perceive the role of "hacking" and "cyber attacks" during the 2016 U.S. election and how does this impact core foreign policy concerns?
- What kind of U.S. policies are likely to lead to an outcome where Russia is less of a threat and/or adversary?

Samuel Greene, Director, Russia Initiative, King's College, London
Ivan Timofeev, Russian International Affairs Council, Moscow

10:45 am

Break

11:00 am

THE ROLE OF NATO, OSCE, AND MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS IN EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY.

The vision of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and the Charter of Paris of 1990 was a European and Eurasian region united, not divided, by a common and comprehensive understanding of security. That vision seems far away from today's reality. Russians now assert that two decades of NATO enlargement have demonstrated Washington's indifference to their security concerns, while U.S. allies in NATO identify Russia as an acute threat to their security, and point to Russia's "hybrid" and conventional attacks on Ukraine, Georgia, Estonia and other states as proof of Moscow's aggressive intentions. With both Moscow and Washington accusing the other side of violating foundational nuclear arms control treaties, frequent "near miss" incidents in the air and at sea, and increasing concentrations of conventional military forces operating in close proximity to one another in the Baltic, Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean regions, the risks of escalation are serious with potentially disastrous consequences.

- Why does Russia see NATO enlargement as a threat?
- What is the risk of military conflict between Russia and NATO, and what can be done to reduce that risk?
- What are the prospects for additional negotiated or unilateral nuclear weapons reductions by the U.S. and Russia?
- How does each side think about "stability"? Is a strategically stable relationship between nuclear powers desirable, or even possible?
- Can the OSCE, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as the legacy institution of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, play a more significant role in reconciling increasing divergent conceptions of security in the region?
- What would be necessary to restore the "inclusive" and "comprehensive" thinking about Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security that helped bring the Cold War to a peaceful end?

Reinhard Krumm, Director, Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vienna
Andrei Sushentsov, Program Director, Valdai Discussion Club Foundation, Moscow

- 1:00 pm-2:30 pm Luncheon Remarks
NATO'S ROLE IN THE BALTICS
*Wing Commander Mark Attrill, Chief of Staff,
 NATO Force Integration Unit, Tallinn*
- 2:30 pm-4:00 pm *Individual Discussions*
 Congressional staff and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with congressional staff for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include Samuel Greene, Ivan Timofeev, Reinhard Krumm, and Andrei Sushentsov.
- 7:00-9:00 pm *Working Dinner*
 Scholars and congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on the Baltics, Ukraine and Russia and the challenges for U.S. policy.

WEDNESDAY, August 29:

7:30-9:00 am Breakfast available for all participants

9:00 am

Roundtable Discussions

UKRAINE AND THE BALTICS: LEARNING FROM THREE DECADES OF BALANCING REFORM AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The ongoing conflict in Ukraine's Eastern region costs more lives than any other in the post-Soviet region, and appears to be an effective Russian "veto" over Ukraine's closer cooperation with the West, including with NATO. Moreover, the ongoing conflict complicates debates around domestic problems in Ukraine, where oligarchs still exercise a degree of control over politics, media and the economy reminiscent of the pre-Maidan era, "fake news" is ubiquitous, and nationalist forces peddle simplistic but divisive populism. In contrast, despite serious security challenges, the Baltic region has advanced far ahead of other East European and former Soviet neighbors, achieving impressive domestic political and economic reforms, and joining both NATO and the European Union.

- What is the state of the conflict in Ukraine now?
- What is Russia's motivation for intervening in Ukraine? How does it see U.S. and European involvement there?
- Can the Minsk agreements be salvaged as a framework for managing and resolving the Donbas conflict?
- What is the likelihood of further major Russian interference in the former Soviet space? How vulnerable are other states in the post-Soviet region, such as Moldova, Georgia, or Belarus?
- What are the prospects for the dispute over Crimea? Will this be an indefinite obstacle to productive relations between Ukraine and Russia, and between Russia and the West?

- What U.S. and European policies are likely to help lessen the Russian threat to its neighbors?
- How do NATO allies bordering on Russia, such as Estonia, think about their own security and the broader problems for the region?
- What are the lessons from the Baltic States' experience for Ukraine's successful development in the face of severe security challenges?

Kadri Lük, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Affairs, Tallinn
Mikhail Minakov, Associate Professor, Mohylo Academy, Kyiv
Oleksii Semeni, Director, Institute for Global Transformations, Kyiv

10:45 am

Break

11:00 am

FACTORS DRIVING RUSSIAN PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD THE WEST: SANCTIONS, MEDIA, AND NARRATIVE

Under Western sanctions and formal diplomatic isolation since the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis in 2014, Russia has suffered economic decline exacerbated by low global energy and commodity prices and its own lack of structural reform. At various times, thousands of young Russians have turned out in protest against official corruption, in cities across the country, often prompted by online activism. Yet the Russian economy appears set to grow, albeit slowly, and the re-election of President Vladimir Putin in March sets him on a path to remain in power at least through 2024.

- What is the national mood in Russia today, and what are people's main concerns?
- What is the state of the Russian media, civil society, and independent political activity?
- What is the role of nationalism and the politics of historical memory/mythology in Russian politics?
- Is Russia effectively isolated as a result of Western sanctions? How has it pursued non-Western economic relationships and developed new trading blocs as an alternative?
- Is Russia a state in decline or a rising global power? What are Russia's aspirations regarding its role in the world?
- What is the explanation for Vladimir Putin's continuing high popularity? Is it appropriate to think in terms of the longevity of the "Putin system"?

Ekaterina Schulmann, Senior Lecturer, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy, columnist for Vedomosti, Moscow
Ilya Krasilshchik, Founder and Editor, Meduza Media, Riga, Latvia

1:00-2:30 pm

Luncheon Remarks

U.S. POLICY IN THE BALTICS

Elizabeth Horst, Deputy Chief of Mission, U.S. Embassy, Tallinn

2:30 pm-4:00 pm

Individual Discussions

Congressional staff and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with congressional staff for in-depth

discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include Kadri Liik, Mikhail Minakov, Oleksiy Seminiy, Ekaterina Schulmann, and Ilya Krasilshchik.

6:30-8:30 pm *Working Dinner*
Scholars and congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on the Baltics, Ukraine and Russia and the challenges for U.S. policy.

THURSDAY, August 30:

Educational Day Visit to Narva, on the Russian Border

We will take a day trip to Narva, approximately 120 miles east of Tallinn on the Russian border. Approximately 95 percent of Narva's 60,000 residents speak Russian. Comparisons have been made between eastern Estonia and Crimea as well as Donbas (Eastern Ukraine) due to the superficial similarities that a majority of the population identifies with the Russian language and culture and consumes Russian media. Our meetings in Narva are intended to give participants a basis for assessing whether these comparisons have merit or not.

6:00-6:30 am Breakfast for all participants

6:30 am Depart hotel for train station

7:07 am Train departs Tallinn for Narva, Estonia
Briefing in transit to Narva
**LESSONS FROM UKRAINE FOR RUSSIAN-SPEAKING ESTONIA:
COULD NARVA BE THE NEXT LUHANSK?**
Riina Kaljurand, Research Fellow, International Centre for Defence and Security, Tallinn

9:45 am Arrive in Narva

10:15 am *Educational Visit to ETV+ Television Studio*
Explanation of the Concept of Estonia's Russian language television broadcasts
Sergei Stepanov, ETV+, Narva Studio Production Manager

11:00 am-12:30 pm **HOW RUSSIAN-SPEAKING ESTONIANS COPE WITH RUSSIAN
IDENTITY IN A NATO COUNTRY**
Kristina Kallas, Director, University of Tartu, Narva College, Narva
Irene Kaosaar, Director, Estonian Integration Foundation, Narva
Vjatseslav Konovalov, former Deputy Mayor, Narva

12:30-2:00 pm *Working Lunch*
Discussion continues between congressional staff and scholars on the challenges for the U.S. policy regarding Russia.

2:00 -5:00 pm Return transit by bus to Tallinn

6:30 pm-7:00 pm

Pre-Dinner Remarks

A CONTEXT FOR U.S. POLICY

Matthew Rojansky, Director, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center

7:00-9:00 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on the Baltics, Ukraine and Russia and the challenges for U.S. policy.

FRIDAY, August 31:

Congressional staff participants depart Tallinn at 6:30 am on SAS #1791 and arrive in Washington, DC at 3:00 pm on SAS #925.