



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](mailto: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 Costa
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: \_\_\_\_\_ OR None   
 b. Relationship to Traveler:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
3. a. Dates: Departure: 6/26/2022 Return: 7/1/2022  
 b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: 6/29, 6/30 OR None
4. Departure City: San Francisco Destination: Brussels Return City: Fresno
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: German Marshall Fund
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary):  
See attached agenda. I participated in the entire 3 day agenda.

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: 07/11/2022



U.S. House of Representatives

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## SPONSOR POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

Original  Amendment

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

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

1. Sponsor(s) who paid for the trip: The German Marshall Fund of the United States
2. Travel Destination(s): Brussels, Belgium
3. Date of Departure: June 26, 2022 Date of Return: July 1, 2022
4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): See Attachment B


*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                   | \$12,331.77                   | \$585                  | \$270               | N/A   |
| Accompanying Family Member | N/A                           | N/A                    | N/A                 | N/A   |

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:  Digitally signed by Laura-Hope Gammell Date: 2022.07.06 14:23:34 -04'00' Date: 07/06/2022

Name: Laura-Hope Gammell Title: Corporate Secretary & Chief of Staff

Organization: The German Marshall Fund of the United States

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

Address: 1744 R Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20009

Email: lgammell@gmfus.org Telephone: 1.202.683.2671

**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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# 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](mailto: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: Tim Costa

**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): Natasha Wood

For Staff (name of employing Member or Committee): Tim Costa (self)

Office Address: 2081 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington DC, 20515

Telephone Number: (202) 225 3341

Email Address of Contact Person: natasha.wood@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 202-225-7103 or via e-mail: [travel.requests@mail.house.gov](mailto:travel.requests@mail.house.gov).



### TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Jim Costa
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip:  
German Marshall Fund
3. City and State OR Foreign Country of Travel: Belgium
4. a. Date of Departure: 6/26/22 Date of Return: 7/1/2022  
b. Yes  No  Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?  
If yes, list dates at personal expense: June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2022 / June 29<sup>th</sup>, 2022
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: \_\_\_\_\_  
(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.  
I serve on the Europe Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs committee and therefore the topics covered during this event directly relate to my responsibilities. I am also the chair of the transatlantic legislators dialogue.
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 \_\_\_\_\_

5/27/22



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# 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](http://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 German Marshall Fund of the United States
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):  
Please see addendum A
5. Yes  No  Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?
6. Date of departure: June 26, 2022 Date of return: July 1, 2022
7. a. City of departure: San Francisco, CA  
b. Destination(s): Brussels, Belgium  
c. City of return: Fresno, CA
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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# 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:
- Please see addendum B
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: Doubletree Hilton City: Brussels, Belgium Cost Per Night: \$195.00  
Reason(s) for Selecting: conference site; hotel has the capacity and ability to serve as conference venue
- 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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# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

### 18. Total Expenses for each Participant:

| <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts<br><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates | Total Transportation Expenses per Participant | Total Lodging Expenses per Participant | Total Meal Expenses per Participant |
|---|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| For each Member, Officer, or Employee   | \$13,000                                      | \$195 (Doubletree Hilton: \$195/night) | \$90/day                            |
| For each Accompanying Family Member   | N/A   | N/A                                    | N/A                                 |

|                                       | 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 | N/A                                     | N/A  |
| For each Accompanying Family Member   | N/A                                     | N/A  |


**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:  Digitally signed by Laura-Hope Gammell  
Date: 2022.05.27 11:17:21 -04'00' Date: 05/27/2022

Name: Laura-Hope Gammell Title: Corporate Secretary & Chief of Staff

Organization: The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Address: 1744 R Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20009

Email: lgammell@gmfus.org Telephone: (202) 683-2650

## 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](mailto:ethicscommittee@mail.house.gov) | 202-225-7103  
More information and forms available at [ethics.house.gov](http://ethics.house.gov)

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

June 13, 2022

The Honorable Jim Costa  
U.S. House of Representatives  
2081 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 proposed trip to Belgium,<sup>1</sup> scheduled for June 26 to July 1, 2022, sponsored by the German Marshall Fund of the United States. We note that this trip includes two days at your personal expense.

You must complete a Member/Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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,



Theodore E. Deutch  
Chairman



Jackie Walorski  
Ranking Member

TED/JW:mc



The German Marshall Fund's  
**BRUSSELS FORUM**  
**2022**

**Brussels Forum Agenda**

**Winning the Strategic Future—In the Spirit of the Marshall Plan**

DoubleTree by Hilton Brussels City Hotel

**Saturday, June 25**

7:15 Jack Steinberg arrives in Brussels, Belgium and departs on personal time until conference begins

**Sunday, June 26**

7:15 Senator Chris Murphy, Jessica Elledge, William Connor, and Natasha Wood arrive in Brussels, Belgium and depart on personal time until conference begins.

**Monday, June 27** *On-the-Record Sessions- Location: Ballroom*

7:15 Congressman Ted Deutch arrives in Brussels, Belgium and departs on personal time until conference begins

7:45 Congressman Jim Costa arrives in Brussels, Belgium and departs on personal time until conference begins

9:30 Congressman Steve Cohen arrives in Brussels, Belgium and departs on personal time until conference begins

**Monday, June 27** *On-the-Record Sessions- Location: Ballroom*

13:45 – 14:30 **Welcome and Opening Remarks:**  
**Ms. Heather A. Conley**, President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**A Conversation: The Beginning of a New Era**  
**H.E. Alexander De Croo**, Prime Minister, Kingdom of Belgium  
**Moderator: Ms. Heather A. Conley**, President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

14:30 – 15:00 **A Conversation:**



The German Marshall Fund's  
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**Brussels Forum Agenda**

**H.E. Roberta Metsola**, President of the European Parliament  
**Moderator: Ms. Maïa De La Baume**, Reporter, Politico

15:00 – 15:30

*Executive Time*

15:30 – 16:15

**Session #1: A Marshall Plan for Ukraine**

**The Hon. Steve Cohen**, Member and Co-Chair of Helsinki Commission, US House of Representatives

**The Hon. Martin Klus**, Deputy Foreign Minister, Slovak Republic

**The Hon. Odile Renaud-Basso**, President, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

**The Hon. Olga Stefanishyna**, Deputy Prime Minister, Ukraine (*virtual*)

**Moderator: Mr. Ravi Agrawal**, Editor in Chief, Foreign Policy

**Spotlight: Dr. Sharon Fitzgerald**, Partner, DLA Piper

16:15 – 16:45

**A Conversation: A Marshall Plan for Eastern Europe**

**Ms. Katarina Mathernova**, Deputy Director General, Neighborhood and Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission

**The Hon. Nicu Popescu**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Moldova

**Moderator: Ms. Teri Schultz**, Freelance Journalist

16:45 – 17:15

**A Conversation: Climate Action in Uncertain Times**

**The Hon. Frans Timmermans**, Executive Vice President, European Commission

**Moderator: Ms. Fiona Harvey**, Environment Correspondent, The Guardian

17:15 – 18:00

*Executive Time*

18:00 – 18:30

**A Conversation: Energy Security and Energy Transition in Uncertain Times**

**Mr. Darren Woods**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, ExxonMobil

**Moderator: Mr. Tom Wilson**, Senior Energy Correspondent, Financial Times

18:30 – 19:30

Introduction: **H.E. Jens Stoltenberg**, Secretary General, NATO (*virtual*)



The German Marshall Fund's  
**BRUSSELS FORUM**  
**2022**

**Brussels Forum Agenda**

**Session #3: Re-establishing Europe's Ruptured Security Environment**

**The Hon. Jim Costa**, Member, U.S. House of Representatives

**The Hon. Mircea Geoană**, Deputy Secretary General, NATO

**The Hon. Artis Pabriks**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, Latvia

**Dr. Nathalie Tocci**, Director, Istituto Affari Internazionali

**Moderator: Mr. Shashank Joshi**, Defense Editor, The Economist

*Response: Ms. Maria Laine*, Vice President, International Business Development, Defense Space & Security and Global Services, Boeing

19:30 – 21:30

*Networking Dinner Reception*

*Location: Jardin Hospice*

21:45

Chatham House Rule Night Owls

**Session 1 - A Simulation: What If? Russian and Chinese Opportunism in Africa**

*Location: Marshall Lounge*

**Mr. Laurent Kasindi**, Global Program Quality Specialist, Search for Common Ground

**Dr. Janka Oertel**, Director, Asia Program, European Council on Foreign Relations

**Mr. Manuel Lafont Rapnouil**, Head of Policy Planning, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, France

**Amb. Michael McFaul**, Director, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University

**Moderator: Ms. Kristina Kausch**, Resident Senior Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Session 2: Implications of NATO Enlargement**

*Location: Oak Room*

**Mr. Carl Bildt**, Co-Chair, European Council on Foreign Relations

**Amb. Baiba Braže**, Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, NATO

**The Hon. Ted Deutch**, Member, US House of Representatives

**Moderator: Mr. Kevin Baron**, Executive Editor, Defense One

**Session 3: US Midterm Elections: What to Watch?**

*Location: Mulberry Room*



The German Marshall Fund's  
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**2022**

**Brussels Forum Agenda**

**Mr. Will Hurd**, Managing Director, Allen & Company LLC  
**Dr. Tim Naftali**, Clinical Associate Professor, New York University  
**Ms. Jessica Taylor**, Senate and Governors Editor, The Cook Political Report with Amy Walter  
**Moderator: Dr. Stefan Grobe**, Brussels Correspondent, Euronews

**Tuesday, June 28**

8:00 – 9:00 Chatham House Rule Breakfast Session

**Russia after Putin**

*Location: Marshall Lounge*

**Ms. Olga Irisova**, Political Analyst, Co-Founder and Editor in Chief, Riddle

**Mr. Vladimir Milov**, Russian Opposition Politician

**Ms. Galina Timchenko**, Executive Director, Meduza

**Moderator: Ms. Julia Ioffe**, Founding Partner and Washington Correspondent, Puck News

9:15 – 9:45 **Spotlight: The Global Economy in Turmoil?**

**Dr. Maria Demertzis**, Deputy Director, Bruegel

**Amb. John B. Emerson**, Vice Chairman, Capital International

**Moderator: Dr. Jacob Kirkegaard**, Senior Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

9:45 – 10:30 **Session #4: Natural and Man-Made: Today's Food and Climate Insecurity**

**The Hon. Jim Costa**, Member, US House of Representatives

**Ms. Megan Greene**, Senior Fellow, Harvard Kennedy School

**Mr. Bernhard Lorentz**, Founder, Deloitte Center for Sustainable Progress, Deloitte

**Ms. Eileen O'Connor**, Senior Vice President for Strategic Communication and Policy, Rockefeller Foundation

**Moderator: Ms. Matina Stevis-Gridneff**, Brussels Bureau Chief, The New York Times

10:30 – 11:00 *Executive Time*

11:00 – 11:30 **Session #5: Bridging the Transatlantic and Transpacific**

**The Hon. David McAllister**, Member of the European Parliament, MMF '00



The German Marshall Fund's  
**BRUSSELS FORUM**  
**2022**

**Brussels Forum Agenda**

**The Hon. James Risch**, Member, US Senate  
**Moderator: Ms. Heather A. Conley**, President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

11:30 – 12:15

**Session #6: Democracy at Home and Abroad**  
**The Hon. Chris Murphy**, Member, US Senate  
**Ms. Laura Thornton**, Director, Alliance for Securing Democracy, The German Marshall Fund of the United States  
**The Hon. Joseph Wu**, Foreign Minister, Taiwan *(virtual)*  
**Moderator: Ms. Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian**, China Reporter, Axios

12:15 – 14:15

*Networking Lunch*

14:15 – 15:00

**Session #7: The Foreign Policy of Technology**  
**The Hon. Eva Kaili**, Vice President and Member of the European Parliament  
**Mr. Peter Harrell**, Special Assistant to the President, Senior Director for International Economics and Competitiveness, White House National Security Council  
**Ms. Karen Massin**, Head of Government Affairs and Public Policy, EU Institutions, Google  
**Moderator: Amb. Karen Kornbluh**, Senior Fellow and Director, Digital Innovation and Democracy Initiative, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

15:15 – 16:15

Chatham House Rule Break-out Sessions

**1. Digital Democratic Ukraine**

*Location: Oak Room*

**Dr. Andreas Eberhardt**, Founding Director and CEO,  
Alfred Landecker Foundation

**Mr. Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff**, Vice President and Executive Director, Berlin office,  
The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Ms. Marta Prochwicz-Jazowska**, Program Manager and Analyst, The German  
Marshall Fund of the United States

**Moderator: Ms. Karolina Grzegorzcyk**, UX Design, Techlab.ee

**2. Assessing Transatlantic Competitiveness in Times of Crisis**

*Location: Mulberry Room*



The German Marshall Fund's  
**BRUSSELS FORUM**  
**2022**

**Brussels Forum Agenda**

**Ms. Heidi Crebo-Rediker**, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations  
**Dr. Jan Mischke**, Partner, McKinsey Global Institute  
**Moderator: Dr. Jacob Kirkegaard**, Senior Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**#3: Refugee Protection: Boosted or Busted?**

*Location: Marshall Lounge*

**Ms. Britta Behrendt**, Head of Taskforce for Ukrainian Refugees, Interior Ministry, Germany

**Mr. Ralph Genetzke**, Director, International Center for Migration Policy Development, Brussels

**Mr. Patrice Quesada**, Senior Emergency and Post-Crisis Specialist, International Organization on Migration, Brussels

**Mr. Girmay Zahilay**, Council Member, King County Council, Washington State; TILN '22

**Moderator: Ms. Astrid Ziebarth**, Senior Fellow Tech and Society, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Response: Ms. Nilufer Ramazanova**, Regional Distribution Lead, World Central Kitchen

15:56 Congressman Cohen and William Connor depart on their train to London

16:30 – 17:00 **Session #8: The Role of Cities in Fortifying Democracy**  
Introduction: **Mr. Steven Bosacker**, Director, GMF Cities Program, The German Marshall Fund of the United States  
**The Hon. Rafał Trzaskowski**, Mayor, City of Warsaw  
**Moderator: Ms. Cathryn Clüver Ashbrook**, Executive Vice President and Senior Advisor, Bertelsmann Foundation

17:00 – 17:45 **Session #9: Rebuilding Trust in Elections**  
**Mr. Jamie Fly**, President, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Manfred Wörner Alumni '04  
**Mr. Will Hurd**, Managing Director, Allen & Company LLC  
**Ms. Therese Pearce Laanela**, Head, Electoral Processes, International IDEA  
**Moderator: Ms. Laura Thornton**, Director, Alliance for Securing Democracy, The German Marshall Fund of the United States



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17:45 – 19:00

**Intelligence Squared Debate: Should We Isolate Russia?**

*For:*

**The Hon. Radan Kanev**, Member of the European Parliament

**Amb. Michael McFaul**, Director, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University

*Against:*

**Ms. Emma Ashford**, Senior Resident Fellow, Atlantic Council

**Dr. Jonas Shaende**, Chief Economist, Fiscal Policy Institute

Moderator: **Mr. David Ariosto**, Host and Moderator, Intelligence Squared

19:00 – 21:30

*Break-Out Dinners*

21:45

Chatham House Rule Night Owls

**#1: How Unlimited Is the “No Limits” Partnership? A Discussion on Sino-Russian Relations** *Location: Oak Room*

**Ms. Kristine Berzina**, Senior Fellow and Head, Geopolitics Team, Alliance for Securing Democracy, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Dr. Janka Oertel**, Director, Asia Program, European Council on Foreign Relations

**Mr. Chris Socha**, Staff Director, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

Moderator: **Mr. Andrew Small**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, Asia Program, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**#2: Approaching the Tipping Point— Can We Still Avoid a Climate Crisis?**

*Location: Mulberry Room*

**Mr. Hans van der Loo**, Chairman, Institute for Integrated Economic Research

Moderator: **Ms. Megan Richards**, Visiting Senior Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**#3: Democracy vs. Authoritarianism: Who Is Winning the Fight?**

*Location: Marshall Lounge*

**Mr. Jamie Fly**, President, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Manfred Wörner Alumni '04

**The Hon. Mária Kolíková**, Minister of Justice, Slovakia

**Ms. Katarina Mathernova**, Deputy Director General, Neighborhood and



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Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission

**Mr. Valeriu Paşa**, Policy Expert and Program Manager, WatchDog.MD, Policy Designers Network Alumni '20

**Dr. Alexander Sokolowski**, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Europe and Eurasia, United States Agency for International Development

Moderator: **Mr. Jonathan Katz**, Senior Fellow and Director, Democracy Initiatives, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Wednesday, June 29**

8:00 – 8:45

Chatham House Rule Breakfast Session

Location: Marshall Lounge

**#1: Türkiye: What Now, What Next?**

**Mr. Özgür Ünlühisarcıklı**, Director, Ankara office, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Dr. Ian Lesser**, Vice President,  
The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Moderator: Ms. Xenia Wickett**, Director, Wickett Advisory

8:55– 9:00

**Scene Setter: Dr. Ian Lesser**, Vice President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

9:00 – 9:50

Introduction: **Mr. Charles Powell**, Director, Elcano Royal Institute (*virtual*)

**Session #10: NATO Public Forum Live from Madrid—NATO in an Era of Great Power Competition, Part I: A Conversation with Leaders**

9:50 – 10:35

**Session #11: NATO Public Forum Live from Madrid—NATO in an Era of Great Power Competition, Part II: Panel Discussion**

**Mr. Carl Bildt**, Co-Chair, European Council on Foreign Relations

**Ms. Alice Ekman**, Senior Analyst Asia, European Union Institute for Security Studies, Paris

**Mr. David Ignatius**, Columnist, The Washington Post

**Ms. Julia Ioffe**, Founding Partner and Washington Correspondent, Puck News (*virtual*)

**Mr. Luis Simon**, Director, Brussels Office and Senior Analyst, Elcano Royal



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Institute (*virtual*)

**Moderator: Ms. Heather A. Conley**, President, The German Marshall fund of the United States (*virtual*)

10:10

Senator Chris Murphy departs from Brussels on his return flight

10:35 – 11:20

**Session #12: NATO Public Forum Panel Live from Madrid – Tech Trends Today, Tech Threats Tomorrow: Is NATO Fit for the Digital Age?**

**Mr. Kevin Baron**, Executive Editor, Defense One

**Ms. Francesca Bria**, President, Italian National Innovation Fund (*virtual*)

**Amb. Casper Klyngne**, Vice President for European Government Affairs, Microsoft, MMF '09

**Mr. Alex Romero**, Chief Operating Officer, Constella Intelligence (*virtual*)

**Mr. David Van Weel**, Assistant Secretary General, Emerging Security Challenges, NATO (*virtual*)

Moderator: **Ms. Natalia Drozdiak**, EU Foreign Policy Reporter, Bloomberg News (*virtual*)

11:20 – 12:00

**Closing Session: Winning the Strategic Future – What Does It Take?**

**Ms. Heather A. Conley**, President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States (*virtual*)

**Prof. Timothy Garton Ash**, Professor of European Studies, Oxford University

**Dr. Ian Lesser**, Vice President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

12:00

Congressman Ted Deutch, Jack Steinberg, and Jessica Elledge depart from Brussels on their return flight

**Thursday, June 30<sup>th</sup>**

14:00

Natasha Wood departs from Brussels on her return flight

**Friday, July 1<sup>st</sup>**

12:00

Congressman Jim Costa departs from Brussels on his return flight

## **House Ethics Addendum A**

### **Brussels Forum 2022**

**The following Members and staffers were invited due to their expertise and legislative responsibilities in the various policy areas that will be explored at the conference.**

**Members:**

- Congresswoman Steve Cohen (D-TN)
- Congressman Jim Costa (D-CA)
- Congressman Ted Deutch (D-FL)

**Staff:**

- Natasha Wood, Legislative Assistant, Congressman Jim Costa
- Jack Steinberg, Staff Associate, House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa and Global Counterterrorism
- William Connor, Senior House Staff Representative, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe