

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## EMPLOYEE POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM Original Amendment

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 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: Luke Zaro
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: \_\_\_\_\_ **OR**  None  
b. Relationship to Traveler:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
3. a. Dates: Departure: 03/12/26 Return: 03/14/26  
b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: 03/12/26 **OR**  None
4. Departure City: Washington, DC Destination: New York, NY Return City: Washington, DC
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: NYU Classical Liberal Institute
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended: I presented at the Global (Un-) Free Speech conference.
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 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 statement is true by checking the 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:  Date: Mar 24, 2026

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: Rep. Jim Jordan Date: 3/24/26

Signature of Supervising Member: 

# 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 in 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 or provided in-kind support for the trip: University of San Diego School of Law

2. Travel Destination(s): New York, NY

3. Date of Departure: 12 March 2026 Date of Return: 14 March 2026

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Luke Zaro

**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	\$507.84	\$530	\$100	
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: 26 March 2026

Name: Maimon Schwarzschild Title: Professor of Law

Organization: University of San Diego School of Law

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

Address: 5998 Alcalá Park, San Diego CA 92110

Telephone: 718.541.8100 Email: maimons@sandiego.edu

*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.

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Luke Zaro
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: The Classical Liberal Institute at NYU Law
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: New York, NY
4. a. Date of Departure: 3/12/26 Date of Return: 3/14/26  
b. Yes  No  Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?  
If yes, list dates at personal expense: 3/12/26
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, invitation, 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 currently serve as Chief Counsel for the Constitution and Limited Government at the House Judiciary Committee. That work includes conducting oversight regarding civil liberties, including free speech. The Committee has conducted extensive work regarding threats to free speech online, including foreign laws regulating speech. This is the subject of the law conference.

9. Yes  No  **Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved in 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: \_\_\_\_\_

2/10/26

# 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's website (ethics.house.gov) provides detailed instructions for filling out the form. The Committee will notify the House invitees directly of its decision and will not notify the trip sponsors.

**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. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.**

1. Sponsor who will be paying for the trip:

University of San Diego School of Law

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, services, or in-kind assistance 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 Classical Liberal Institute at NYU School of Law

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):

Luke Zaro, Senior Counsel, House Judiciary Committee (See attached pages)

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

6. Date of Departure: March 12, 2026 Date of Return: March 14, 2026

7. a. City of departure: Washington DC

b. Destination(s): New York, NY (NYU School of Law)

c. City of return: Washington DC

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. \_\_\_\_\_

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 the statement is true by clicking the 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 Attachment

13. **Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary:**
- a. Mode of travel: Air  Rail  Bus  Car  Other  (specify: \_\_\_\_\_)
  - b. Class of travel: Coach  Business  First  Charter  Other  (specify: \_\_\_\_\_)
  - c. If travel will be first class, or by chartered or private aircraft, explain why such travel is warranted: \_\_\_\_\_

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

15. **Check only one.** I represent that either:
- a.  The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees; **OR**
  - b.  The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation. If "b" is checked:
    - 1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): \_\_\_\_\_
    - 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: Washington Square Hotel City: New York, NY Cost Per Night: \$ 265

Reason(s) for Selecting: NYU Law has a pro-rated agreement with the hotel

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.*

18. **Total Expenses for each Participant:**

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates	Total <b>Transportation</b> Expenses per Participant	Total <b>Lodging</b> Expenses per Participant	Total <b>Meal</b> Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$600	\$265/night	\$140
For each Accompanying Family Member			

	<b>Other</b> 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		

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: Maimon Schwartzchild Date: 5 March 2026  
 Name: Maimon Schwartzchild Title: Professor of Law  
 Organization: University of San Diego School of Law  
 Address: 5998 Akala Park San Diego CA 92110  
 Email: maimons@sandiego.edu Telephone: 718.541.8100

If there are questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

Michael Guest, Mississippi  
*Chairman*  
Mark DeSaulnier, California  
*Ranking Member*

Andrew R. Garbarino, New York  
Ashley Hinson, Iowa  
Nathaniel Moran, Texas  
Brad Knott, North Carolina

Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina  
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland  
Sylvia R. Garcia, Texas  
Suhas Subramanyam, Virginia



ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

## U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust  
*Staff Director and Chief Counsel*

Jordan Downs  
*Chief of Staff to the Chairman*

David Arrojo  
*Counsel to the Ranking Member*

1015 Longworth House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515-6328  
Telephone: (202) 225-7103  
<https://Ethics.House.gov>

March 10, 2026

Mr. Luke Zaro  
Committee on the Judiciary  
6220 O'Neill House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Zaro:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to New York, New York, scheduled for March 12 to 14, 2026, sponsored by New York University and University of San Diego. We note that this trip includes one day at your personal expense.

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 \$525 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.

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

Sincerely,

Michael Guest  
Chairman

Mark DeSaulnier  
Ranking Member

MG/MD:amr

## Primary Trip Sponsor Form – Attachments

### Question 4:

Luke Zaro is Senior Counsel to the House Judiciary Committee. He is directly engaged in the Committee's work on the implications of legal developments in Europe for free speech in the US, in particular preparation of the Committee's Report entitled "The Foreign Censorship Threat, Part II: Europe's Decade-Long Campaign to Censor the Global Internet and How it Harms Free Speech in the United States". The merits of this concern about developments in Europe and around the world are the prime topic of this conference.

The conference organisers also invited Congressman Jim Jordan to attend the conference. Congressman Jordan chairs the House Judiciary Committee, which has given extensive consideration in public hearings to the specific topic of this conference. Congressman Jordan is unable to attend, but has authorized his Senior Counsel Luke Zaro to participate in the conference.

### Question 12:

The University of San Diego School of Law is the sponsor and publisher of the Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues. The Journal regularly publishes articles presented and critiqued at symposia such as this one, and often sponsors such symposia. Professor Maimon Schwarzschild is editor of the Journal at this time. He has been a co-organiser of this conference, together with the faculty and staff associated with the Classical Liberal Institute (CLI) at New York university Law School. The topic of this conference, the implications for public debate and free speech in the US of legal developments in Europe, is of direct academic interest to USD Law School, with its engagement in the study of Constitutional and international law and policy. It is likewise of professional and academic interest to the Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues, which publishes scholarship in these areas.

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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**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. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.**

1. Sponsor who will be paying for the trip:

The Classical Liberal Institute at NYU Law

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, services, or in-kind assistance 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: University of San Diego School of Law

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): \_\_\_\_\_

Luke Zaro, Senior Counsel, House Judiciary Committee; See attached explanation page.

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

6. Date of Departure: March 12, 2026 Date of Return: March 14, 2026

7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC

b. Destination(s): New York, NY; NYU School of Law

c. City of return: Washington, DC

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. \_\_\_\_\_

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 the statement is true by clicking the 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:

The conference is intended to bring together scholars and others who are engaged with free-speech issues across the "developed" world. Freedom of speech and the study of civil liberties issues generally are the prime focus and raison-d'etre of the Classical Liberal Institute (CLI). CLI will be arranging the conference space, lodgings, and reimbursement of travel.

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

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

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

15. **Check only one.** I represent that either:

- a.  The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees; **OR**
- b.  The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation. If "b" is checked:
  - 1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): \_\_\_\_\_
  - 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: Washington Square Hotel City: New York Cost Per Night: 265  
Reason(s) for Selecting: NYU Law has a pro-rated agreement with the hotel  
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.*

18. **Total Expenses for each Participant:**

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates	Total <b>Transportation</b> Expenses per Participant	Total <b>Lodging</b> Expenses per Participant	Total <b>Meal</b> Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$600	\$265/night	\$140
For each Accompanying Family Member			

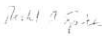
	<b>Other</b> Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or Employee		
For each Accompanying Family Member		

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 Richard Epstein  
Date: 2026.03.09 17:52:25 -04'00' Date: 03/9/2026

Name: Richard Epstein Title: Director

Organization: The Classical Liberal Institute

Address: NYU School of Law, W 3rd St, New York, NY 10012

Email: epsteinr@mercury.law.nyu.edu Telephone: (212) 992-8858

If there are questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

## Primary Trip Sponsor Form – Attachments

### Question 4:

Luke Zaro is Senior Counsel to the House Judiciary Committee. He is directly engaged in the Committee's work on the implications of legal developments in Europe for free speech in the US, in particular preparation of the Committee's Report entitled "The Foreign Censorship Threat, Part II: Europe's Decade-Long Campaign to Censor the Global Internet and How it Harms Free Speech in the United States". The merits of this concern about developments in Europe and around the world are the prime topic of this conference.

The conference organisers also invited Congressman Jim Jordan to attend the conference. Congressman Jordan chairs the House Judiciary Committee, which has given extensive consideration in public hearings to the specific topic of this conference. Congressman Jordan is unable to attend, but has authorized his Senior Counsel Luke Zaro to participate in the conference.

### Question 12:

The University of San Diego School of Law is the sponsor and publisher of the Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues. The Journal regularly publishes articles presented and critiqued at symposia such as this one, and often sponsors such symposia. Professor Maimon Schwarzschild is editor of the Journal at this time. He has been a co-organiser of this conference, together with the faculty and staff associated with the Classical Liberal Institute (CLI) at New York university Law School. The topic of this conference, the implications for public debate and free speech in the US of legal developments in Europe, is of direct academic interest to USD Law School, with its engagement in the study of Constitutional and international law and policy. It is likewise of professional and academic interest to the Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues, which publishes scholarship in these areas.



## Draft Conference Schedule

### Global (Un-) Free Speech

Please see the attached notes on the backgrounds and conference-paper topics of the conference speakers and participants, followed by a note on the working content of the days' sessions and the working dinner on Friday.

*Note: Each 90-minute panel will comprise two 45-minute presentations, one for each of two papers (15 minutes for the presenter, 30 minutes for discussion), with a (possible) 5 minute break between the two papers.*

Thursday, March 12, 2026; 12:40 PM Washington, DC (IAD) to NYC (LGA) March 12 2:18 PM

Luke Zaro, Senior Counsel, House Judiciary Committee; Arrives to NYC.

#### **Friday 13 March**

Welcome and Introduction: 9.30 to 10.00 am

Congressman Jim Jordan by Pre-Recorded Video

Panel 1. 10.00 to 11.30 pm

Bill Echikson

Jacob Mchangama

Panel 2. 11.30 am to 1.00 pm

John David Rosenthal

Luke Zaro

Lunch. 1.00 to 2.30 pm

Panel 3. 2.30 to 4.00 pm

Moderator: Nadine Strossen

Jonathan Turley

Eugene Volokh (Commentator)

Dinner. 6.00 – 8.00 pm

3-Giovanni Restaurant

548 La Guardia Place New York, NY 10012



**Saturday 14 March**

Panel 4. 10.30 to 12.00 noon

Sarah McLaughlin and Peter Henne  
Paul Coleman

Lunch Noon to 1.00 pm

Panel 5. 1.00 to 2.30 pm

Kate Klonick  
Richard Epstein

Concluding Remarks: 2.30 to 3.00 pm

**Saturday, March 14, 2026 7:29 PM NYC (LGA) to Washington, DC (IAD) March 14 8:57 PM**

Luke Zaro, Senior Counsel, House Judiciary Committee; Returns to Washington, DC.



## Conference Papers and Authors

-- William Echikson will present a paper on recent developments in the regulation by the European Union of content online.

William Echikson is a Nonresident Senior Fellow with the Tech Policy Program, and editor of the online tech policy journal *Bandwidth*, at the Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA).

Before joining (CEPA), he worked at Google for six and a half years, running corporate communications for Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. He began his career as a foreign correspondent in Europe for a series of US publications, including the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *New Yorker*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Fortune*, and *BusinessWeek*. He is the author of four books, including a study of the collapse of communism in Central Europe. He also directed and wrote documentaries for PBS and the BBC.

An American and Belgian citizen, Mr. Echikson graduated from Yale College with a *Magna Cum Laude* degree in history. He spent a year at the Harvard University Russian Research Center. He is based in Brussels.

-- Jacob Mchangama will present a paper entitled "Fighting Bad Speech With Better Speech".

Jacob Machangama is the Founder and Executive Director of The Future of Free Speech. He is a research professor at Vanderbilt University and a Senior Fellow at The Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression (FIRE). In 2018, he was a visiting scholar at Columbia's Global Freedom of Expression Center. He has commented extensively on free speech and human rights in outlets including the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *The Economist*, *Foreign Affairs*, and



Foreign Policy. Jacob Mchangama has published in academic and peer-reviewed journals, including *Human Rights Quarterly*, *Policy Review*, and *Amnesty International's Strategic Studies*. He is the producer and narrator of the podcast *Clear and Present Danger: A History of Free Speech*. He is also the author of the critically acclaimed book *Free Speech: A History From Socrates to Social Media* (Basic Books, 2022) and co-author with Jeff Kosseff of *The Future of Free Speech: Reversing the Global Decline of Democracy's Most Essential Freedom* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2026). He is the recipient of numerous awards for his work on free speech and human rights.

-- John David Rosenthal will present a paper entitled "Freedom of Speech Is Freedom of Reach"

John David Rosenthal is a journalist and political analyst who has been covering European politics for the last two decades. His writings have appeared in such publications as *Policy Review*, *World Affairs*, *The Weekly Standard*, *World Politics Review*, *Al-Monitor* and *Brussels Signal*, as well as in French and German in publications like *Les Temps Modernes* and *Die Weltwoche*. He holds a PhD in philosophy and previously taught political philosophy and the history of European philosophy at schools in both the United States and Europe. He is the author of "Make Speech Free Again: How the U.S. can defeat E.U. censorship" in the Spring 2025 issue of the *Claremont Review of Books*.

-- Kate Klonick will present a paper on the European Union's Digital Services Act.

Kate Klonick teaches Property, Internet Law, and a seminar on information privacy at St John's University Law School. Klonick's research focuses on law and technology, most recently on private platform governance of online speech.



Klonick's scholarly work has appeared in *The Yale Law Journal*, *Harvard Law Review*, *The Georgetown Law Journal*, the peer-reviewed *Copyright Journal of the U.S.A.*, *The Maryland Law Review*, and *The Southern California Law Review*. Her popular press writing has appeared in the *New Yorker*, *New York Times*, *The Atlantic*, *The Guardian*, *Lawfare*, *Slate*, *Vox* and numerous other publications.

Professor Klonick holds an A.B. with honors from Brown University where she studied both modern American History and cognitive neuroscience, a J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center where she was a Senior Editor on the *Georgetown Law Journal*, and a Ph.D. in Law from Yale Law School. She clerked for Hon. Eric N. Vitaliano of the Eastern District of New York and Hon. Richard C. Wesley of the Second Circuit. She is an affiliated fellow at the Yale Law School Information Society Project and a non-resident fellow at the Brookings Institution. She has been a Visiting Scholar at the Rebooting Social Media Institute at Harvard University.

-- Nadine Strossen will moderate the afternoon panel on Friday (at 2.30 pm).

Nadine Strossen is the John Marshall Harlan II Professor of Law Emerita at New York Law School and was National President of the American Civil Liberties Union from 1991-2008. She is a Senior Fellow with FIRE (the Foundation for Individual Rights and Education) and a leading expert and frequent speaker/media commentator on constitutional law and civil liberties. She testified before Congress on multiple occasions. She serves on the advisory boards of the ACLU, Academic Freedom Alliance, Heterodox Academy, National Coalition Against Censorship, and the University of Austin.

The *National Law Journal* has named Strossen one of America's "100 Most Influential Lawyers," and several other publications have named her one of the country's most influential women. Her many honorary degrees and awards include the American Bar Association's prestigious Margaret Brent Women Lawyers of Achievement Award (2017). In 2023, the National Coalition Against Censorship (an alliance of more than 50 national non-profit organizations) selected Strossen for its Judy Blume Lifetime Achievement Award for Free Speech.



When Strossen stepped down as ACLU President, three (ideologically diverse) Supreme Court Justices participated in her farewell/tribute luncheon: Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Antonin Scalia, and David Souter.

She is the author of *HATE: Why We Should Resist It with Free Speech, Not Censorship* (2018) and *Free Speech: What Everyone Needs to Know®* (2023). She is also the Host and Project Consultant for *Free To Speak*, a 3-hour documentary film series on free speech that was released on public television in 2023

-- Jonathan Turley will present a paper on the implications of European media regulation for freedom of public debate and free speech in the US.

Jonathan Turley is Professor of Law at George Washington University School of Law. He is a nationally recognized legal scholar who has written extensively in areas ranging from constitutional law to legal theory to tort law. After a stint at Tulane Law School, Professor Turley joined the GW Law faculty in 1990, and in 1998, became the youngest chaired professor in the school's history.

He is the founder and executive director of the Project for Older Prisoners (POPS). He has written more than three dozen academic articles that have appeared in a variety of leading law journals including those of Cornell, Duke, Georgetown, Harvard, and Northwestern Universities, among others. He most recently completed a three-part study of the historical and constitutional evolution of the military system.

He has served as a consultant on homeland security and constitutional issues, and is a frequent witness before the House and Senate on constitutional and statutory issues as well as tort reform legislation. He also is a nationally recognized legal commentator; he ranked 38th in the top 100 most cited 'public intellectuals' in a recent study by Judge Richard Posner and was found to be the second most cited law professor in the country.



-- Eugene Volokh, a leading First Amendment scholar, will serve as commentator to several of the papers.

Eugene Volokh is the Thomas M. Siebel Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution. For thirty years, he has been a professor at the University of California Los Angeles School of Law, where he taught First Amendment law, copyright law, criminal law, tort law, and firearms regulation policy.

Volokh is the author of the textbooks *The First Amendment and Related Statutes* (7th ed., 2020) and *Academic Legal Writing* (5th ed., 2016), as well as more than one hundred law review articles. He is a member of the American Law Institute and of the *American Heritage Dictionary* Usage Panel, and the founder and coauthor of *The Volokh Conspiracy*, a leading legal blog. His work has been cited in more three hundred court opinions, including ten Supreme Court cases, as well as over five thousand academic articles.

-- Sarah McLaughlin and Peter Henne will present a co-authored paper entitled "The New Name of Blasphemy Laws: How Europe and the United Nations Are Using Other Measures to Breathe New Life into an Archaic Idea".

Sarah McLaughlin is Senior Scholar on Global Expression at the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression (FIRE) in Philadelphia, PA.

Peter Henne is Professor of Political Science at the University of Vermont (Burlington, VT) and Director of Middle East Studies in the Global and Regional Studies Program in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Vermont.

-- Paul Coleman will present a paper entitled "The Digital Services Act and 21st Century Speech Regulation: What Hath the EU Wrought?"



Paul Coleman is executive director of ADF International from its headquarters in Vienna, Austria, where he oversees the strategic legal advocacy and programs of the global, alliance-building legal organization. A leading voice on free speech, Coleman is the author of “Censored: How European Hate Speech Laws are Threatening Free Speech”, and participates regularly with speaking engagements in global forums. He has authored numerous scholarly articles and books, and his opinion pieces have appeared in leading publications in Europe and the U.S. including First Things, The Spectator, and Newsweek.

-- Luke Zaro is Senior Counsel to the House Judiciary Committee in Washington, DC. He will speak on the Judiciary Committee’s work on the implications of legal developments in Europe for free speech in the US, in particular the Report entitled “The Foreign Censorship Threat, Part II: Europe’s Decade-Long Campaign to Censor the Global Internet and How it Harms American Speech in the United States” and will comment and engage in discussions with other participants throughout the conference.

-- Richard Epstein will co-chair the conference and will present a paper on global free speech issues and liberal theory.

Richard Epstein is Professor of Law at NYU School of Law and serves as Director of the Classical Liberal Institute, which he helped found in 2013. He has served as a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution since 2000. He is Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Law and a Senior Lecturer at the University of Chicago. He has been a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1985, and has been a Senior Fellow of the Center for Clinical Medical Ethics at the University of Chicago Division of Biological Sciences since 1983. He has published numerous articles on a wide range of legal and interdisciplinary subjects, as well as over 15 books.



## Note on the Working Content of the Days' Sessions

The conference sessions will begin at 9.30 am on Friday 13 March 2026, and continue till 4.00 pm or slightly later that day, with a brief break for a working lunch provided by NYU catering. Each formal conference session will be devoted to presentations of papers related to the topic of the conference and to discussions of these papers.

On Friday there will follow a working conference dinner for all participants that evening. The dinner will take place from 6.00 – 8.00 pm at 3-Giovanni Restaurant, 548 La Guardia Place, New York, NY 10012. The entirety of the working dinner will be devoted to discussion of the overall topic of the conference and the papers presented thereat.

On Saturday 14 March 2026 there will be further formal sessions with the same format as followed on Friday (including a brief working lunch provided by NYU catering) at NYU Law School on Saturday 14 March 2026, beginning at 10.30 am and continuing until 3.00 pm (or slightly later). Saturday's sessions, like Friday's, will be entirely devoted to the substantive consideration of the conference topic.

Throughout the conference, the entirety of the allotted time both during the formal daytime sessions, the brief working lunches, and the working dinner on Friday evening will be spent devoted to officially-connected activity.



Congressman Jim Jordan  
2056 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

18 May 2025

Dear Congressman Jordan,

The Classical Liberal Institute at New York University has undertaken to sponsor a conference, to be held at NYU on Friday and Saturday, March 13-14, 2026, on "The Globalization of (Un-) Free Speech".

The conference will bring together officials, scholars, and others who are engaged with free-speech issues across the developed world. The conference is intended to explore the trans-national implications of legal developments affecting digital and other communications, and the implications for freedom of expression.

Among the relevant issues: To what extent are the various rival and interacting free-speech laws, policies, and cultures – in the US, the EU, Britain, and other countries -- affecting each other? Do legal developments in the EU, the UK, Brazil, and elsewhere affect the degree and character of "content moderation" by digital and other media in the US? What are the implications of recent US Supreme Court decisions in this area?

If there is a trend towards more censorship and control, in the US or elsewhere, can the trend be effectively contested or reversed? Should it be? And if so how?

Our goal is for participants in the conference at NYU to explore various facets of these issues. Participants will have the opportunity to present papers for discussion at the symposium. The Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues at the University of San Diego has undertaken to publish the papers.

The Congressman has spoken and written eloquently and with great expertise about these issues. We would be honoured and delighted if the Congressman could join us for the symposium, in person or electronically. Alternatively, we would warmly welcome a member of the Congressman's staff who has been working with the Congressman on these issues.

The NYU Classical Liberal Institute will of course cover expenses of travel, accommodation, and attendance. Participants contributing papers will be asked to let us have a conference draft by mid-to-late-February 2026 (we can be a little flexible about this), with time for revision looking toward publication after conference.

Respectfully,

Maimon Schwarzschild

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