

RE-3 Senators and Officers Post Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses

Date/Time Stamp

Post Travel Filing Instructions: Complete this form within **30 days** of returning from travel. Submit all forms to the Office of Public Records in 232 Hart Building. **This form is a public disclosure. The form and all attachments will be made publicly available.**

Certification: In compliance with the Regulations Governing Privately Sponsored Travel, Senate Rule 35, and the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007, I certify that I accepted the following gift of privately sponsored travel:

Private Sponsor(s):

The Aspen Institute, Inc.

Travel Dates:

May 30, 2022 - June 5, 2022

Name of accompanying family member (if any):

Mrs. Gayle Wicker

Relationship to Traveler:

spouse

Total Expenses

Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meals Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
\$6050	\$1525	\$776	\$1210 private meeting/dining space

I also certify that attached to this form are all required documents for post travel disclosure, including:

- The final **Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form** with all attachments
- The final invitation
- The final approved itinerary

I certify that all trip information reflected in the attachments above accurately reflects the travel that I accepted. If there were any changes to the trip after I received approval from the Committee, the changes are described in ATTACHMENT 1.

I have made a determination that the expenses set out above in connections with travel described in the Employee Pre-Travel Authorization form, are necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses as defined in Rule 35.

2-17-23

Date



Signature of Senator/Officer

ATTACHMENT 1 – CHANGES FROM APPROVED PRE-TRAVEL

Note: Material changes to a trip that occur after the Committee has issued an approval letter may invalidate the Committee's approval. Please contact the Committee with any questions regarding changes to an approved trip.

Were there any changes to the pre-approved travel expenses? (Transportation, Meals, Lodging, Other)?

☐ Yes ☒ No

Expense Change	Revised Amount	Explanation

Were there any changes to the pre-approved itinerary?

☐ Yes ☒ No

Explanation:

Were there any additional changes to the pre-approved trip?

☐ Yes ☒ No

Explanation:



Charlie Dent

Executive Director

Congressional Program

October 11, 2021

The Honorable Roger Wicker
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Roger:

I would like to invite you and Gayle to participate in a congressional conference on **Global Challenges in an Unpredictable World**, which will be held February 19-25, 2022, including travel, in Geneva, Switzerland. We have limited space and must hear from you proactively as soon as possible if you wish to participate.

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

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

Attendance is by invitation only, with no outside observers, lobbyists, or congressional staff. Funding is provided solely by grants from established foundations—no government, individual, corporate or special interest funds are accepted.

Under guidelines established by the Senate Select Ethics Committee, we will provide you with a signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form affirming that no lobbyists fund this activity, that the Aspen Institute does not hire or retain lobbyists, and that no lobbyists will be present. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

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



2300 N St., NW

Suite 700

Washington, DC 20037

PH 202.736.5825

FX 202.785-2737

www.aspeninstitute.org



Page Two

Departure will be on Saturday, February 19th and we will return on Friday, February 25th. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the conference.

Travel expenses, including airfare, meals, lodging, and meeting facilities will be paid by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. Under the ethics rules, no expenses are covered for entertainment or recreation. Congressional participants are limited to only one accompanying family member, as allowed by ethics rules.

The Aspen Institute, an independent, nonprofit organization founded in 1950, provides a nonpartisan, neutral forum for leaders to discuss critical issues. The Institute's Congressional Program is designed to promote leadership on selected public policy issues in the Congress by bringing legislators together with internationally-recognized scholars and analysts in high-level discussion. Since the program's inception, over 468 Members of Congress have participated in the 144 conferences we have conducted.

I took over leadership of this program in February after the retirement of Dan Glickman, who led the program for the last decade. I served in the U.S. House of Representatives for nearly 14 years from 2005-2018 as a Republican on the Appropriations Committee and was Chair of the Ethics Committee.

Additionally, once covid conditions in the Capitol return to normal, we will resume our Thursday morning breakfasts in the Capitol throughout the year to keep Members of Congress up-to-date between our annual conferences. We hope you will be able to participate in the extended educational offerings of our breakfast series.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me on my cell phone at 484-553-1837.

We hope you will join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

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

Charles W. Dent
Member (2005-2018)

GLOBAL CHALLENGES IN AN UNPREDICTABLE WORLD: THE PANDEMIC, POWER RIVALRIES, AND U.S. INTERESTS

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

February 19-25, 2022 Geneva, Switzerland

As of 10/11/21

AGENDA OVERVIEW

All participants are confirmed unless otherwise stated

SATURDAY, February 19:

American participants depart the USA

SUNDAY, February 20:

Arrival in Geneva, *Working Dinner*

MONDAY, February 21:

Roundtable Discussion, 9-11 am

A STATUS REPORT ON THE FIGHT AGAINST COVID-19

Maria Van Kerkhove, Lead, COVID-19 Response &
Head of Emerging Diseases Unit, World Health
Organization, Geneva (tentative)

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

Roundtable Discussion, 11 am-1 pm

MANAGING THE PANDEMIC'S ECONOMIC IMPACT

Beatrice Weder di Mauro, Professor of International
Economics, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

Charles Wyplosz, Editor of COVID Economics,
Professor Emeritus, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

Conversations Continue over Working Dinner

TUESDAY, February 22:

Roundtable Discussion, 9-11 am

PERSPECTIVES FROM THE U.S. AND EUROPE

Catherine Ashton, former EU High Representative for
Foreign Affairs, Chancellor, University of Warwick

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

Roundtable Discussion, 11 am-1 pm

EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY CHALLENGES

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

Natalie Tocci, Director, Institute of International
Affairs, Rome

Afternoon site visit, 3-5 pm

The WHO & discussion with staff scientists

Conversations Continue over Working Dinner

WEDNESDAY, February 23:

Roundtable Discussion, 9-11 am

THE WORLD AS SEEN FROM MOSCOW

Timofei Bordachev, Program Director, Valdai
Discussion Club, Moscow

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

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

Roundtable Discussion, 11 am-1 pm

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

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

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

Matt Rojansky, Director, The Kennan Institute, The
Wilson Center

Luncheon Discussion

ENGAGING MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON ON SYRIA

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

Conversations Continue over Working Dinner

THURSDAY, February 24:

Roundtable Discussion, 9-11 am

THE U.S. & THE POST-PANDEMIC WORLD ORDER

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

Roundtable Discussion, 11 am-1 pm

POLICY REFLECTIONS

Members of Congress only

Conversations Continue over Working Dinner

FRIDAY, February 25:

Participants return to U.S.

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

-
1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): _____
The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) _____
 2. Description of the trip: See attached appendix _____

 3. Dates of travel: May 30, 2022 - June 5, 2022 _____
 4. Place of travel: Geneva, Switzerland _____
 5. Name and title of Senate invitees: Sen. Dick Durbin; Sen. Cynthia Lummis; Sen. Roger Wicker _____
 6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
- OR -
☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
 7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
- AND -
☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
 8. I *certify* that:
☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
- AND -
☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

9. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)**

I *certify* that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

- ☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and **one** overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

- OR -

- ☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and **two** overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (*see questions 6 and 10*).

- OR -

- ☐ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)**

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is the sole sponsor of this conference and developed the agenda, organized the travel, planned the conference, and invited the participants.

See attached appendix

13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

The Aspen Institute, Inc., is a non-profit organization, and its broad mission is conducting nonpartisan forums and the exchange of ideas on issues impacting the U.S. and the world.

See attached appendix

14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:

AICP has conducted international and domestic conferences for members of Congress for over 35 years.

On occasion, other policy programs of The Aspen Institute, Inc. sponsor conferences that involve members of Congress.

15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

The Aspen Institute, Inc. holds numerous educational activities including conferences, round-table

briefings, and other nonpartisan forums on critical issues facing the U.S. and the world.

See attached appendix

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
☒ Good Faith estimate	\$6050 for the senator	\$1525 for the senator	\$776 for the senator	\$1210 for the senator & \$1210 for spouse
☐ Actual Amounts	\$6050 for the senator's spouse	\$0 for the senator's spouse	\$776 for the senator's spouse	for private meeting/dining space, AV & conference services
	See attached appendix			

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

The event is arranged specifically with regard to congressional participation.

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

Geneva allows for the participation of European experts and allows for a site visit and meeting with

scholars and scientists at the World Health Organization.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

Fairmont Hotel, Geneva, Switzerland

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

This hotel offers the required private meeting and dining space and conference technology.

Security a key factor.

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Lodging is below the daily per diem rate and meals are \$12 above the daily per diem rate.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

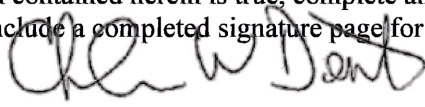
Roundtrip business class air travel and coach class ground transportation in Geneva

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

None

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (For trips involving more than one sponsor, you *must* include a completed signature page for each additional sponsor):

Signature of Travel Sponsor: 

Name and Title: Charles W. Dent, Vice President, The Aspen Institute, Inc. and Executive Director, AICP

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

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

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

Fax Number: NA

E-mail Address: lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org

Appendix

Senate Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form
"Putin's War in Ukraine, the Pandemic and U.S. Interests"
Geneva— May 30-June 5, 2022 - Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Question 2: Description of the trip

Members of Congress, along with scholars and experts on US-Russia policy, will focus on Russia's invasion of Ukraine, threats and opportunities involving Russia, and the impact of Russia on the U.S. and its allies. Given Geneva is the headquarters of the World Health Organization, the conference will also look at the pandemic, vaccines globally and planning for future pandemics.

Question 12: Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip.

The Aspen Institute has received general support and unrestricted funds from the Democracy Fund foundation, The Henry Luce Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and Carnegie Corporation of New York foundation, to support the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific trip and these foundations did not participate in organizing or conducting the trip.

Question 13: Briefly described the state mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission.

Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is a program of the Aspen Institute, Inc., that provides nonpartisan educational conferences and educational forums for members of Congress and senior congressional staff members. The Geneva conference, "Putin's War in Ukraine, the Pandemic and U.S. Interests" will examine U.S. policy related to Russia, to its European allies, the view from Moscow, and the invasion of Ukraine as well as the WHO.

Question 15: Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips)

AICP, specifically, offers nonpartisan educational events for members of Congress and senior congressional staff members, with each event offering a leading scholar on a key domestic or international issue.

Question 16: Break down of transportation expenses

Sen. Wicker: Roundtrip flight to Geneva: \$5800

Ground transportation in Geneva to include airport transfers and meeting sites: \$250

Mrs. Wicker: Roundtrip flight to Geneva: \$ 5800

Ground transportation in Geneva to include airport transfers and meeting sites: \$250

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

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

May 30-June 5, 2022 Geneva, Switzerland

SUNDAY, MAY 29

Sen. Roger Wicker, and his wife, Gayle Wicker depart Washington, DC at 1 pm on United 4442.

MONDAY, MAY 30

Members of Congress depart the U.S.

Sen. Wicker and Gayle Wicker arrive in Geneva at 7:30 am on United 956 and continue travel at personal expense.

TUESDAY, MAY 31

Arrive in Geneva

Sen. Wicker and Gayle Wicker continue travel at personal expense and join the conference.

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM

Working Dinner

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

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1

7:00 AM – 9:00 AM

Breakfast

9:00 AM – 9:15 AM

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

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

Charlie Dent, Executive Director,
Aspen Institute Congressional Program

9:15 AM – 10:30 AM

Roundtable Discussion

THE U.S. ROLE IN A NEW WORLD ORDER

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

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

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

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

10:30-10:45 AM

Break

10:45 AM – Noon

Roundtable Discussion Continues

Noon – 2:00 PM

Luncheon Discussion

COPING WITH THE NEXT PANDEMIC

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

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

2:00 PM – 4:00 PM

Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss policy topics raised during the conference. Scholars available to meet

individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the discussion sessions including Catherine Ashton, Andrew Michta, Reinhard Krumm, Sabine Fischer, Ekaterina Schulmann, Alexander Gabuev, Kadri Liik, Matt Rojansky, and David Petraeus.

6:00 PM – 7:00 PM

Pre-dinner Remarks

THE ROLE OF VACCINES IN GLOBAL HEALTH

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

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

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM

Working Dinner

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

THURSDAY, JUNE 2:

7:00 AM – 9:00 AM

Breakfast

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM

Roundtable Discussion

EUROPE'S ROLE IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

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

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

Oksana Antonenko, Director, Control Risks, London
Thomas Greminger, former Secretary General, OSCE;
Director, Geneva Center for Security Policy

11:00 AM-11:15 AM Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY CHALLENGES

Roundtable Discussion

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

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

Reinhard Krumm, Director of the Baltic States
Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Riga
Andrew Michta, Dean, George Marshall European
Center for Security Studies, Garmisch

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM*Working Lunch*

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

2:30 PM – 5:30 PM*Educational Site Visit***SITE VISIT TO WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION HEADQUARTERS**

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

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

6:15 PM – 8:30 PM*Working Dinner*

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

FRIDAY, JUNE 3:**7:00 AM – 9:00 AM**

Breakfast

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM*Roundtable Discussion***THE WORLD AS SEEN FROM MOSCOW**

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

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

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

Timofei Bordachev, Program Director, Valdai
Discussion Club, Moscow

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

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

11:00 AM -11:15 AM Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM **RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: SPOILER, GREAT POWER, OR SOMETHING ELSE?**
Roundtable Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

1:00 PM – 2:30 PM
Luncheon Discussion

ENGAGING MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON ON SYRIA

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

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

2:30 PM – 4:00 PM
Individual Discussions

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

6:00 PM – 7:00 PM
Pre-dinner Remarks

UKRAINE'S PERSPECTIVE

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

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

Artem Rybchenko, Ukraine's Ambassador to Switzerland

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM
Working Dinner

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

SATURDAY, JUNE 4:

7:00 AM – 9:00 AM Breakfast

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM
Roundtable Discussion

U.S. POLICY IN AN UNPREDICTABLE WORLD

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

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

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

11:00 AM -11:15 AM Break

11:15 AM – 1:00 PM POLICY REFLECTIONS

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

1:00 PM – 2:00 PM Discussion continues between Members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy in an unpredictable world.
Working Lunch

2:00 PM – 4:00 PM Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss policy topics raised during the conference. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the discussion sessions including Catherine Ashton, Andrew Michta, Reinhard Krumm, Sabine Fischer, Ekaterina Schulmann, Alexander Gabuev, Kadri Liik, Matt Rojansky.
Individual Discussions

6:00 PM – 8:30 PM Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the global challenges in an unpredictable world.
Working Dinner

SUNDAY, JUNE 5:

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

Sen. Wicker and Gayle Wicker depart Geneva at 11:45 am on United 975 and arrive in Washington at 2:40 pm.

CHRISTOPHER A. COONS, DELAWARE, CHAIRMAN
JAMES LANKFORD, OKLAHOMA, VICE CHAIRMAN

BRIAN SCHATZ, HAWAII
JEANNE SHAHEEN, NEW HAMPSHIRE

JAMES E. RISCH, IDAHO
DEB FISCHER, NEBRASKA

SHANNON HAMILTON KOPPLIN, CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR
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United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

May 20, 2022

The Honorable Roger F. Wicker
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Wicker:

This responds to your recent correspondence requesting approval from the Select Committee on Ethics (the Committee) to accept an invitation you and your spouse received to travel to a congressional conference entitled *The World on Fire: Putin's War in Ukraine, the Pandemic & U.S. Interests*, in Geneva, Switzerland, on May 30–June 5, 2022, sponsored by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program, a program of the Aspen Institute (Aspen Institute). Provided that you adhere to the guidance set forth below, it appears that it is permissible for you to accept necessary expenses from the Aspen Institute in connection with this trip.

Background

Based on your communication with the Committee, the background in this matter is as follows.¹ The Aspen Institute invited you and your spouse to travel to a congressional conference entitled *The World on Fire: Putin's War in Ukraine, the Pandemic & U.S. Interests*, in Geneva, Switzerland, on May 30–June 5, 2022. The Aspen Institute certified to the Committee that it will pay the necessary expenses² related to the travel and that it is neither a lobbyist, lobbying firm, agent of a foreign principal, or otherwise acting as a representative or agent of a foreign government. The Aspen Institute has also certified that it does not retain or employ a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal and that no registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal will accompany you at any point throughout your trip.³

Additionally, you inform the Committee that you plan to extend your trip for a personal purpose. Based on the information you submitted, the Committee understands that, for a personal purpose, you intend to extend your trip in Geneva, Switzerland for less than two days before the beginning of officially related events. You must personally pay the cost of any additional expenses incurred as a result of extending your trip.

¹ If this letter does not correctly recite the facts, contact the Committee immediately.

² The term “necessary expenses” has a specific definition. See *Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms* at 8.

³ The term “any point throughout your trip” has a specific definition. See *Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms* at 2.

Discussion

Privately-sponsored travel includes any gift of travel and travel-related expenses for travel outside the Senate duty station, including transportation, lodging, food and refreshments, and conference fees and materials, whether paid for directly, reimbursed, or provided directly, from a private individual or entity, in connection with a Member's, officer's, or employee's official Senate duties. Incorporating reforms from the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007 (HLOGA), Pub. L. 110–81 (2007), Senate Rule 35.2 permits Members, officers, and employees to accept privately-sponsored travel only with the prior written approval of the Committee.

The Committee's approval process is governed by the *Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel and Glossary of Terms* (collectively, *Travel Regulations*). The *Travel Regulations* contain detailed requirements regarding who may sponsor travel; time limits for trips; and the type and amount of expenses that can be reimbursed.

Entities that do not retain or employ a lobbyist or foreign agent and all non-profit organizations designated as tax-exempt organizations under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, regardless of whether they retain or employ a lobbyist or foreign agent, may sponsor foreign trips for up to seven days. The seven-day limitation means seven 24-hour periods, calculated from the time of arrival in the trip location to the time of departure from the trip location. For such trips, neither lobbyists nor foreign agents may accompany a Senate invitee at any point throughout the trip, other than in a *de minimis* way.⁴ This means that neither lobbyists nor foreign agents may accompany Senate invitees at any point to and from the event, at the event itself, or at the location being visited.⁵

The Committee has determined that § 501(c)(3) non-profit organizations that are classified as private foundations, as opposed to public charities, may not pay for transportation from the United States to a foreign country.⁶ However, the Aspen Institute represented to the Committee that it is a § 501(c)(3) public charity, as opposed to a private foundation, pursuant to the Internal Revenue Code.⁷

Under Senate Rule 35, a Senator or officer who receives payment or reimbursement for necessary expenses related to fact-finding travel must disclose those expenses to the Secretary of the Senate by filing the completed *Senators and Officers Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses* (Form RE-3), along with a copy of the *Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form*, and

⁴ The term "*de minimis*" has a specific definition. See *Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms* at 3.

⁵ See *Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel* at 5; see also *Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms* at 2-3.

⁶ See 26 U.S.C. § 4941 et seq. Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code broadly defines non-profit, charitable, tax-exempt organizations. These § 501(c)(3) organizations are then further defined or designated as "public charities" and "private foundations."

⁷ 26 U.S.C. § 501(c)(3).

all relevant attachments (e.g., the private sponsor's invitation and itinerary) **within 30 days of the conclusion of Privately-Sponsored Travel.**⁸

Consistent with these standards and Committee precedent, the Aspen Institute's factual representations, and the guidance contained in this letter regarding extending your trip for a personal purpose, it appears that it is permissible for you to accept necessary expenses from the Aspen Institute in connection with this trip, provided that the actual travel and travel-related expenses conform to the information and materials you provided, and the travel and all required documents are disclosed to the Secretary of the Senate (Office of Public Records). Necessary expenses may include travel expenses for the spouse of a Member if the Member determines that the attendance of the spouse is appropriate to assist in the representation of the Senate.

Please be advised that the United States Constitution prohibits the acceptance of any gift, including a meal, from a foreign government without the consent of Congress. In the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), Congress consented to the acceptance by federal government officials of: (1) gifts of minimal value and (2) travel or the expenses for travel taking place entirely outside the United States, from a foreign government (which includes those acting as a representative or agent of a foreign government).⁹ The Senate has defined minimal value as \$100 or less. Further, pursuant to FGDA, there are certain reporting and procedural requirements that are imposed upon Members, officers, and employees who accept gifts from a foreign government. Please review the Committee's "Dear Colleague" letter of January 11, 2019, setting forth the items to be included in filing that report.

Finally, Senate Rule 34 requires a Member, on his or her Financial Disclosure Report, to make an annual disclosure of the receipt of payments or reimbursements under Senate Rule 35 from a private sponsor for officially-related travel expenses where, in the aggregate, travel expenses exceed \$415 from that sponsor during a calendar year. However, if a Member, officer, or employee properly reports the receipt of necessary expenses for such travel to the Secretary of the Senate within 30 days of the travel, as discussed above, the travel expenses need not be disclosed a second time on their Financial Disclosure Report.

I hope you find this information helpful. If you have any additional questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee.

Sincerely,



Shannon Hamilton Kopplin
Chief Counsel and Staff Director

Enclosure: Travel Checklist

⁸ Trip extensions for any purpose do not extend this deadline.

⁹ 5 U.S.C. § 7342.