

U.S. Department of Justice  
Washington, DC 20530

**Supplemental Statement****Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended**For Six Month Period Ending April 30, 2019

(Insert date)

**I - REGISTRANT**

1. (a) Name of Registrant (b) Registration No.

The White House Writers Group, Inc. 6477

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant

1025 Thomas Jefferson Street, NW  
Suite 110G  
Washington, DC 20007

2. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following?

(a) If an individual:

(1) Residence address(es) Yes  No   
(2) Citizenship Yes  No   
(3) Occupation Yes  No

(b) If an organization:

(1) Name Yes  No   
(2) Ownership or control Yes  No   
(3) Branch offices Yes  No

(c) Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in Items (a) and (b) above.

**IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5(a).**3. If you have previously filed Exhibit C<sup>1</sup>, state whether any changes therein have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.Yes  No If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C? Yes  No 

If no, please attach the required amendment.

<sup>1</sup> The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

4. (a) Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position	Date Connection Ended
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(b) Have any persons become partners, officers, directors or similar officials during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
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5. (a) Has any person named in Item 4(b) rendered services directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal?

Yes  No  Not Applicable

If yes, identify each such person and describe the service rendered.

(b) During this six month reporting period, has the registrant hired as employees or in any other capacity, any persons who rendered or will render services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal(s) in other than a clerical or secretarial, or in a related or similar capacity? Yes  No

Name	Residence Address	Citizenship	Position	Date Assumed
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See Attachment 1: address changes

(c) Have any employees or individuals, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their employment or connection with the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position or Connection	Date Terminated
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(d) Have any employees or individuals, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their connection with any foreign principal during this 6 month reporting period? Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position or Connection	Foreign Principal	Date Terminated
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6. Have short form registration statements been filed by all of the persons named in Items 5(a) and 5(b) of the supplemental statement?

Yes  No  Not Applicable

If no, list names of persons who have not filed the required statement.

**II - FOREIGN PRINCIPAL**

7. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period? Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Foreign Principal

Date of Termination

8. Have you acquired any new foreign principal(s)<sup>2</sup> during this 6 month reporting period? Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name and Address of Foreign Principal(s)

Date Acquired

9. In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principal(s)<sup>2</sup> whom you continued to represent during the 6 month reporting period.

Polish National Foundation

10. (a) Have you filed exhibits for the newly acquired foreign principal(s), if any, listed in Item 8?

Exhibit A<sup>3</sup> Yes  No  Not Applicable

Exhibit B<sup>4</sup> Yes  No

If no, please attach the required exhibit.

- (b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during this six month period? Yes  No

If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes  No

If no, please attach the required amendment.

<sup>2</sup> The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a) (9)). A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

<sup>3</sup> The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form NSD-3, sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

<sup>4</sup> The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form NSD-4, sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

**III - ACTIVITIES**

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11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes  No

If yes, identify each foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

See Attachment 2

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12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity<sup>5</sup> as defined below? Yes  No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.

See Attachment 2

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13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits your foreign principal(s)? Yes  No

If yes, describe fully.

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<sup>5</sup> "Political activity," as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act, means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

## IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

## 14. (a) RECEIPTS-MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes  No

If no, explain why.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies.<sup>6</sup>

Date	From Whom	Purpose	Amount
See Attachment 3			

\$779,592.25

Total

## (b) RECEIPTS - FUNDRAISING CAMPAIGN

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received, as part of a fundraising campaign<sup>7</sup>, any money on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes  No

If yes, have you filed an Exhibit D<sup>8</sup> to your registration? Yes  No

If yes, indicate the date the Exhibit D was filed. Date \_\_\_\_\_

## (c) RECEIPTS-THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value<sup>9</sup> other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Foreign Principal	Date Received	Thing of Value	Purpose
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6, 7 A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, moneys, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fundraising campaign. (See Rule 201(c)).

8 An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fundraising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

9 Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

15. (a) **DISBURSEMENTS-MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you

(1) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement? Yes  No

(2) transmitted monies to any such foreign principal? Yes  No

If no, explain in full detail why there were no disbursements made on behalf of any foreign principal.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

Date	To Whom	Purpose	Amount
See			
Attachment 4			

\$400,442.76

Total

**(b) DISBURSEMENTS-THINGS OF VALUE**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value<sup>10</sup> other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, or 9 of this statement?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date	Recipient	Foreign Principal	Thing of Value	Purpose
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**(c) DISBURSEMENTS-POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you from your own funds and on your own behalf either directly or through any other person, made any contributions of money or other things of value<sup>11</sup> in connection with an election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for political office?

Yes  No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date	Amount or Thing of Value	Political Organization or Candidate	Location of Event
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<sup>10, 11</sup> Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

## V - INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

16. (a) During this 6 month reporting period, did you prepare, disseminate or cause to be disseminated any informational materials?<sup>12</sup>  
 Yes  No

If Yes, go to Item 17.

(b) If you answered No to Item 16(a), do you disseminate any material in connection with your registration?  
 Yes  No

If Yes, please forward the materials disseminated during the six month period to the Registration Unit for review.

17. Identify each such foreign principal.

Polish National Foundation

18. During this 6 month reporting period, has any foreign principal established a budget or allocated a specified sum of money to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating informational materials? Yes  No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify amount, and indicate for what period of time.

19. During this 6 month reporting period, did your activities in preparing, disseminating or causing the dissemination of informational materials include the use of any of the following:

- Radio or TV broadcasts       Magazine or newspaper       Motion picture films       Letters or telegrams  
 Advertising campaigns       Press releases       Pamphlets or other publications       Lectures or speeches  
 Other (specify) Social media available to public

**Electronic Communications**

- Email  
 Website URL(s): See Attachment 5  
 Social media websites URL(s): See Attachment 5  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

20. During this 6 month reporting period, did you disseminate or cause to be disseminated informational materials among any of the following groups:

- Public officials       Newspapers       Libraries  
 Legislators       Editors       Educational institutions  
 Government agencies       Civic groups or associations       Nationality groups  
 Other (specify) Public through social media

21. What language was used in the informational materials:

- English       Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

22. Did you file with the Registration Unit, U.S. Department of Justice a copy of each item of such informational materials disseminated or caused to be disseminated during this 6 month reporting period? Yes  No  See Attachment 5

23. Did you label each item of such informational materials with the statement required by Section 4(b) of the Act? Yes  No  See Attachment 5

<sup>12</sup> The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

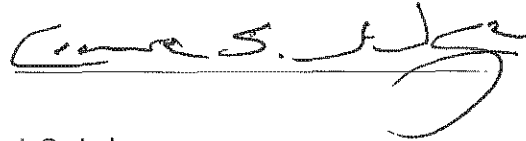
**VI - EXECUTION**

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature)

(Print or type name under each signature or provide electronic signature<sup>13</sup>)

May 30, 2019 \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



Clark S. Judge \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

<sup>13</sup> This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

**ATTACHMENT 1**

Question 5(b)

<b>Name</b>	<b>Residence Address</b>
NOTE: Residence Address Change for Matthew Sabas	609 Newton Pl. NW - Apt. B Washington, DC 20010 (effective 3/15/19)
NOTE: Residence Address Change for Michael Cialdella	116 31st Ave. N - #306 Nashville, TN 37203 (effective 11/19/18)

## ATTACHMENT 2

Questions 11 & 12

### Activities (Polish National Foundation)

- Advised Polish National Foundation ("PNF") re: communications and media strategy, specifically including --
  - Drafted, and pitched to journalists in various media outlets, op-eds, press releases, and fact sheets;
  - Managed website (PolandPerspectives.org) and social media accounts -- Twitter (@Polish\_Fndtn) and Instagram (@HeartofPoland) (See Attachment 5);
  - Managed Poland Perspectives YouTube (See Attachment 5);
  - Assisted PNF in creation and placement of PNF-labelled television advertisement(s) (See Attachment 5);
  - Assisted cultural diplomacy efforts of Consul General of Poland in New York;
  - Supervised Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.'s professional services in support of PNF.
- Met with US business leaders and Polish government officials and facilitated meetings between the two groups.
- Corresponded and met with US government officials re: speaking engagements and US-Polish relations.
- Planned various panels, conferences, and academic programs, specifically including venues, topics, speakers, sponsors, and event production.
  - Contacted think tanks and foundations re: participation in panels, conferences, and academic programs;
  - Organized February 7, 2019 panel discussion in Miami, FL - "Poland's Transition to Democracy: Lessons for Latin America";
    - Created event-related informational materials (See Attachment 5), including electronic invitations and registrations.
  - Organized April 5, 2019 panel discussion in Washington, DC - "Poland, the US, & NATO: Confronting the Russian Threat";
    - Created event-related informational materials (See Attachment 5), including electronic invitations and registrations.
  - Organized May 3, 2019 panel discussion in Chicago, IL - "Poland & the US in the Defense of Freedom: From Defeating Communism to Preserving National Sovereignty";

- Created event-related informational materials (See Attachment 5), including electronic invitations and registrations.
- Organized May 13, 2019 half-day conference in London, UK - "Europe at a Crossroads: The Virtue of Nationalism";
  - Created event-related informational materials (See Attachment 5), including electronic invitations and registrations.
- Began planning possible half-day conference in Rome, Italy - time and title TBD.

Contacts with US Government Officials (Polish National Foundation)

<b>Date</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Contact With</b>	<b>Topic/Issue</b>
April 17, 2019	Clark Judge	Meeting	Marie Kissel, Senior Advisor, Secretary of State	US-Polish relations
Various Dates (Nov. 2018 - Apr. 2019)	Anna C. Wellisz	Email correspondence; meeting	Amb. Georgette Mosbacher (Poland)	US-Polish relations
Various Dates (Nov. 2018 - Apr. 2019)	Monika Jablonska	Email correspondence; meeting	Amb. Callista Gingrich (Holy See)	Potential Rome conference re: President Reagan & Pope John Paul II

## ATTACHMENT 3

Question 14(a)

Receipts-Monies

<b>Date</b>	<b>From Whom</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Amount</b>
11/21/18	Polish National Foundation	Fees	\$180,000.00
11/29/18	Polish National Foundation	Expenses	\$1,469.22
12/17/18	Polish National Foundation	Fees	\$90,000.00
12/27/18	Polish National Foundation	Expenses	\$132,444.99
12/27/18	Polish National Foundation	Expenses	\$7,195.40
12/31/18	Polish National Foundation	Expenses	\$8,482.64
1/18/19	Polish National Foundation	Fees	\$90,000.00
4/29/19	Polish National Foundation	Fees	\$270,000.00
		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$779,592.25</b>

## ATTACHMENT 4

Question 15(a)

Disbursements (Polish National Foundation)

<b>Date</b>	<b>To Whom</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Amount</b>
11/1/18	McGrath & Associates	Legal Fees	\$342.25
11/1/18	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Professional Services	\$20,000.00
11/1/18	Hotel Bristol	Lodging	\$765.60
11/2/18	SAS	Airfare	\$6,419.31
11/2/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$39.62
11/4/18	Uber	Transportation	\$44.72
11/4/18	Wix	Website Maintenance	\$300.00
11/5/18	ECOCAR	Transportation	\$3.39
11/7/18	TO TAXI SP ZO.O	Transportation	\$7.10
11/8/18	Hotel Bristol	Lodging	\$248.52
11/8/18	Checker Airport Taxi	Transportation	\$78.75
11/8/18	SAS	Airfare	\$1,381.00
11/8/18	SuperColor Digital	Printing	\$524.12
11/8/18	SegaFredo	Meals	\$14.03
11/8/18	SumUp*Prestige	Meals	\$9.12
11/8/18	Restaurac Bijenka	Meals	\$10.11
11/9/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$157.76
11/9/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$99.00
11/13/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$715.81
11/14/18	Michael Cialdella	Travel Expenses	\$150.53
11/14/18	FedEx Office	USB Drive	\$12.44
11/15/18	4Media Group Inc.	Media Consulting	\$15,000.00
11/15/18	Bangkok Joe's	Meals	\$70.00
11/20/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$315.59
11/21/18	American Airlines	Airfare	\$8,272.13
11/27/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$114.10
11/27/18	Evolving Strategies, LLC	Polling	\$10,000.00
11/28/18	Dyllan's	Meals	\$8.00

11/28/18	Dyllan's	Meals	\$20.00
11/29/18	Dyllan's	Meals	\$63.00
11/29/18	QuikPark, Inc.	Parking	\$32.00
11/30/18	Harvard Club	Lodging	\$1,446.40
11/30/18	Beacon Hotel	Meals	\$51.92
11/30/18	Cosi	Meals	\$12.62
11/30/18	Penn Parking	Parking	\$20.00
11/30/18	US Treasury	FARA Filing Fees	\$305.00
12/1/18	LAZ Parking	Parking	\$10.00
12/1/18	Grill Concepts	Meals	\$65.00
12/1/18	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Professional Services	\$20,000.00
12/2/18	AMPOLISHINS	Conference Fee	\$759.20
12/2/18	Expedia	Airfare	\$1,332.90
12/2/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$84.38
12/3/18	Anna Maria Costa	Travel Expenses	\$608.40
12/3/18	McGrath & Associates	Legal Fees	\$9,090.00
12/6/18	Federal Parking	Parking	\$18.00
12/6/18	ASG	Parking	\$22.00
12/9/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$99.00
12/9/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$114.48
12/10/18	Colonial Parking	Parking	\$22.00
12/13/18	v-Fluence	Travel Expenses	\$3,727.49
12/13/18	AKA Whitehouse	Parking	\$10.00
12/14/18	Elephant & Castle	Meals	\$40.00
12/14/18	LAZ Parking	Parking	\$22.00
12/14/18	LAZ Parking	Parking	\$56.00
12/16/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$116.14
12/17/18	Uber	Transportation	\$20.95
12/17/18	Uber	Transportation	\$11.52
12/19/18	PMI	Parking	\$22.00
12/20/18	ASG	Parking	\$18.00
12/23/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$240.87
12/30/18	Twitter	Advertising	\$242.00
12/31/18	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Professional Services	\$1,666.99

1/2/19	McGrath & Associates	Legal Fees	\$3,300.00
1/2/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$31.38
1/4/19	IRS	Residency Certificate	\$185.00
1/5/19	LAZ Parking	Parking	\$35.00
1/9/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$99.00
1/9/19	ASG	Parking	\$18.00
1/9/19	Penn Parking	Parking	\$20.00
1/9/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$126.35
1/10/19	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Professional Services	\$20,000.00
1/11/19	PMI	Parking	\$22.00
1/15/19	Event Strategies	Event Management	\$12,500.00
1/16/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$142.97
1/17/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$967.02
1/17/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$2,572.65
1/17/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$1,608.61
1/17/19	Ristorante Piccolo	Meals	\$95.00
1/18/19	Expedia	Lodging	\$2,634.99
1/18/19	SAS	Airfare	\$3,132.55
1/18/19	LOT	Airfare	\$3,614.11
1/19/19	Colonial Parking	Parking	\$24.00
1/19/19	Uber	Transportation	\$5.00
1/19/19	Uber	Transportation	\$12.64
1/19/19	Uber	Transportation	\$74.17
1/19/19	Uber	Transportation	\$23.77
1/19/19	Uber	Transportation	\$5.00
1/19/19	Uber	Transportation	\$18.54
1/19/19	Amtrak	Travel	\$551.00
1/19/19	Amtrak	Travel	\$309.00
1/22/19	Uber	Transportation	\$7.22
1/22/19	Claudia Rosett	Travel Expenses	\$703.00
1/22/19	Kelly's Irish Times	Meals	\$92.00
1/22/19	La Ferme	Meals	\$206.14
1/23/19	Uber	Transportation	\$4.51
1/23/19	Bangkok Joe's	Meals	\$49.50

1/23/19	Starbucks	Meals	\$4.73
1/23/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$119.00
1/24/19	Hotel Bristol	Lodging	\$198.65
1/24/19	Uber	Transportation	\$143.41
1/24/19	Bangkok Joe's	Meals	\$56.29
1/25/19	Pawel Styra	Research & Writing Consultant Fees	\$4,020.00
1/26/19	Uber	Transportation	\$4.26
1/26/19	Starbucks	Meals	\$125.27
1/27/19	Hotel Bristol	Lodging	\$379.00
1/27/19	Uber	Transportation	\$7.24
1/27/19	Uber	Transportation	\$3.73
1/28/19	Hotel Bristol	Lodging	\$197.43
1/28/19	Jlazaro Design	Graphic Design	\$500.00
1/29/19	Jet Blue	Airfare	\$150.30
1/30/19	Claudia Rosett	Honorarium	\$1,000.00
1/30/19	Otto Reich	Honorarium	\$1,000.00
1/30/19	Tim Cosentino	Honorarium	\$1,000.00
1/31/19	Hotel Bristol	Lodging	\$981.27
1/31/19	Uber	Transportation	\$76.21
1/31/19	American Airlines	Airfare	\$174.30
1/31/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$119.00
1/31/19	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Travel Expenses	\$1,091.14
2/1/19	McGrath & Associates	Legal Fees	\$3,750.00
2/1/19	SuperColor Digital	Printing	\$2,542.33
2/1/19	Google Domain	Website Name Registration	\$12.00
2/1/19	Google Domain	Website Name Registration	\$12.00
2/1/19	Google Domain	Website Name Registration	\$12.00
2/2/19	Eden Roc	Venue Rent & Audio Visual & Catering	\$21,704.75
2/2/19	Fontainbleau	Lodging	\$182.40
2/2/19	Fontainbleau	Lodging	\$72.96
2/2/19	Displays2Go	Office Supplies	\$1,270.86
2/2/19	Southwest	Airfare	\$241.99
2/2/19	United	Airfare	\$9.00
2/2/19	United	Airfare	\$381.30

2/2/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$190.57
2/3/19	United	Airfare	\$30.00
2/3/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$49.77
2/4/19	Displays2Go	Office Supplies	\$556.06
2/4/19	Uber	Transportation	\$58.99
2/4/19	Uber	Transportation	\$45.59
2/4/19	Uber	Transportation	\$5.00
2/4/19	Jet Blue	Airfare	\$40.00
2/5/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$1,153.36
2/6/19	FedEx Office	Printing	\$388.95
2/6/19	Uber	Transportation	\$28.92
2/6/19	Uber	Transportation	\$10.00
2/6/19	Uber	Transportation	\$3.00
2/6/19	Uber	Transportation	\$10.00
2/7/19	Uber	Transportation	\$42.35
2/7/19	NOBU Miami	Meals	\$357.26
2/8/19	Eden Roc	Meals	\$1,011.68
2/8/19	Eden Roc	Meals	\$300.00
2/9/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$502.72
2/9/19	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Professional Services	\$20,000.00
2/10/19	Key Transportation	Transportation	\$131.50
2/10/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$99.00
2/11/19	Uber	Transportation	\$6.59
2/11/19	TAXI CAB	Transportation	\$43.75
2/11/19	GOSQ.com	Transportation	\$65.38
2/11/19	American Airlines	Airfare	\$228.30
2/11/19	American Airlines	Airfare	\$31.78
2/11/19	American Airlines	Airfare	\$42.00
2/12/19	Claudia Rosett	Travel Expenses	\$315.07
2/12/19	Michael Cialdella	Travel Expenses	\$674.31
2/12/19	Fontainbleau	Lodging	\$945.22
2/12/19	Tom Cosentino	Travel Expenses	\$633.51
2/12/19	Event Strategies	Event Management	\$1,865.35
2/12/19	American Airlines	Airfare	\$30.00

2/13/19	Capitol Crew Staffing	Video Services	\$1,300.69
2/14/19	SuperColor Digital	Printing	\$2,210.60
2/14/19	BabyBird, LLC	Video Services	\$662.00
2/15/19	Pawel Styra	Research & Writing Consultant Fees	\$9,600.00
2/16/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$115.99
2/20/19	InterCollegiate Studies	Conference Fees	\$300.00
2/20/19	Ritz-Carlton	Parking	\$15.00
2/20/19	Federal Express	Postage	\$11.50
2/20/19	SuperColor Digital	Printing	\$1,224.14
2/20/19	Ritz-Carlton	Meals	\$60.00
2/21/19	Eden Roc	Meals	\$1,811.60
2/22/19	Ritz-Carlton	Meals	\$91.00
2/23/19	Amazon Digital	Reference Materials	\$20.13
2/23/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$183.18
2/25/19	Wix	Website Maintenance	\$67.08
2/25/19	Wix	Website Maintenance	\$24.85
2/26/19	Ritz-Carlton	Parking	\$15.00
2/26/19	Ritz-Carlton	Meals	\$80.00
3/1/19	McGrath & Associates	Legal Fees	\$2,430.00
3/1/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$149.78
3/2/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$13.54
3/4/19	Ristorante Piccolo	Meals	\$87.00
3/6/19	Federal Express	Shipping	\$170.19
3/6/19	Ritz-Carlton	Meals	\$66.00
3/8/19	Colonial Parking	Parking	\$22.00
3/9/19	ASG	Parking	\$18.00
3/9/19	White House Historical Assoc.	Venue Rent	\$2,600.00
3/9/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$163.85
3/9/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$99.00
3/9/19	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Professional Services	\$20,000.00
3/11/19	Event Strategies	Event Management	\$12,500.00
3/12/19	SuperColor Digital	Printing	\$579.91
3/13/19	BabyBird, LLC	Video Services	\$612.00
3/14/19	Federal Express	Shipping	\$22.66

3/15/19	Tom Cosentino	Airfare	\$540.60
3/17/19	Uber	Transportation	\$45.68
3/17/19	SAS	Airfare	\$7,024.86
3/17/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$282.09
3/19/19	Uber	Transportation	\$9.09
3/20/19	Uber	Transportation	\$2.11
3/21/19	Southwest	Airfare	\$314.98
3/21/19	Southwest	Airfare	\$314.98
3/22/19	Hotel Bristol	Lodging	\$1,496.81
3/22/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$275.42
3/22/19	Uber	Transportation	\$5.01
3/22/19	Uber	Transportation	\$5.97
3/22/19	Uber	Transportation	\$7.25
3/22/19	Uber	Transportation	\$77.13
3/22/19	Uber	Transportation	\$6.61
3/22/19	Uber	Transportation	\$4.37
3/22/19	SAS	Airfare	\$366.93
3/24/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$403.32
3/25/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$1,523.77
3/25/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$492.26
3/25/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$57.07
3/25/19	Southwest	Airfare	\$349.98
3/26/19	Hooligan & Co.	Video Production	\$7,683.00
3/27/19	Wix	Website Maintenance	\$110.00
3/27/19	SuperColor Digital	Printing	\$3,664.53
3/29/19	Uline	Office Supplies	\$1,422.42
3/31/19	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Expenses	\$485.92
3/31/19	Southwest	Airfare	\$84.00
3/31/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$403.88
4/1/19	Uber	Transportation	\$69.68
4/1/19	Southwest	Travel Expenses	\$8.00
4/2/19	Paddle.net	Software	\$48.00
4/2/19	Renaissance	Lodging	\$738.01
4/2/19	Seamless	Meals	\$153.00

4/2/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$296.86
4/2/19	Tom Cosentino	Honorium	\$1,000.00
4/2/19	Claudia Rosett	Honorium	\$1,000.00
4/2/19	John Lenzowski	Honorium	\$1,000.00
4/2/19	Joe Lazaro	Graphic Design	\$150.00
4/2/19	McGrath & Associates	Legal Fees	\$1,665.00
4/3/19	Amazon Digital	Reference Materials	\$43.24
4/3/19	ASG	Parking	\$5.00
4/3/19	McGrath & Associates	Legal Fees	\$1,665.00
4/4/19	Ritz-Carlton	Parking	\$7.50
4/4/19	Ritz-Carlton	Parking	\$74.40
4/5/19	RCI Systems	Audio Visual Production	\$3,529.53
4/5/19	HighStreet	Meals	\$30.00
4/5/19	Event Strategies	Event Management	\$10,250.00
4/6/19	The Blackstone	Venue Rent	\$805.00
4/8/19	Claudia Rosett	Travel Expenses	\$807.68
4/8/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$677.24
4/8/19	Ritz-Carlton	Meals	\$95.00
4/8/19	Claudia Rosett	Honorarium	\$2,000.00
4/9/19	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Professional Services	\$20,000.00
4/9/19	La Prima	Event Catering	\$6,336.13
4/9/19	Farmers Fishers Bakers	Meals	\$70.00
4/9/19	Aer Lingus	Airfare	\$1,652.97
4/9/19	ASG	Parking	\$15.00
4/10/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$81.83
4/10/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$99.00
4/10/19	Windrose Media	Video Production	\$3,216.00
4/11/19	American Airlines	Airfare	\$329.76
4/11/19	Colonial Parking	Parking	\$14.00
4/12/19	Trump Hotel	Lodging	\$698.54
4/12/19	Trump Hotel	Lodging	\$698.54
4/16/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$445.26
4/16/19	SuperColor Digital	Printing	\$1,470.00
4/17/19	NYC Taxi	Transportation	\$20.35

4/17/19	Amtrak	Travel	\$408.00
4/17/19	Uber	Transportation	\$34.30
4/17/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$113.74
4/18/19	Uber	Transportation	\$16.63
4/18/19	Amtrak	Meals	\$15.00
4/18/19	Amtrak	Travel	\$111.00
4/18/19	Aramark	Meals	\$17.80
4/18/19	Uber	Transportation	\$5.00
4/18/19	Uber	Transportation	\$21.67
4/18/19	Uber	Transportation	\$5.00
4/23/19	Ritz-Carlton	Meals	\$60.00
4/24/19	SuperColor Digital	Printing	\$1,296.00
4/24/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$482.91
4/26/19	Bangkok Joe's	Meals	\$25.00
4/28/19	Twitter	Advertising	\$502.86
4/28/19	Central Hall	Venue Rent	\$6,516.22
4/29/19	Southwest	Airfare	\$753.96
4/29/19	Steve Hayward	Honorarium	\$1,000.00
4/29/19	Tom Cosentino	Honorarium	\$1,000.00
4/29/19	Charles Lipson	Honorarium	\$1,000.00
4/29/19	British Airways	Airfare	\$364.00
4/29/19	British Airways	Airfare	\$124.00
4/29/19	British Airways	Airfare	\$1,624.76
4/29/19	British Airways	Airfare	\$1,624.76
4/29/19	British Airways	Airfare	\$1,634.76
4/30/19	Hotels.com	Lodging	\$2,778.36
4/30/19	Monika Jablonska	Consultant Fees	\$2,000.00
4/30/19	United	Airfare	\$752.60
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>\$400,442.76</b>

**ATTACHMENT 5**

Questions 22 & 23

Informational Materials (Polish National Foundation)

Websites/Social Media

The White House Writers Group ("WHWG") operates a website (PolandPerspectives.org) on behalf of the Polish National Foundation ("PNF"). A copy of the current home page is attached at Tab A. That website contains links to PNF sites on Twitter and Instagram, which are operated by WHWG on behalf of PNF. Copies of these PNF social media account home pages are attached at Tabs B and C.

WHWG operates a Poland Perspectives YouTube channel on behalf of PNF. A copy of the current home page is attached at Tab D.

WHWG operates a website (RR-JP2.com) with information re: conference entitled "Ronald Reagan & Pope John Paul II: The Partnership that Changed the World". A copy of the current home page is attached at Tab E.

Print Materials

Copies of the event-related informational materials are attached at Tab F, G, H, & I.

Television Broadcast

The "Veterans Day" television ad (which aired in November on FoxNews, CNBC, etc.) can be viewed at Poland Perspectives' website, Twitter account, and YouTube channel. (See Tabs A, B, and D.)

TAB A – WEBSITE

5/29/19 3:54 PM

**POLAND PERSPECTIVES**  
A Project of Polish National Foundation

NEWSFEED FACTLIBRARY HISTORY VIDEOS More

**POLAND IS NOT EAST OR WEST.  
POLAND IS AT THE CENTER OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.**  
— Ronald Reagan

**NEWS FEED**

**Brexit is a symptom of Europe's problems**  
by ANNA MARIA ANDERS  
Theresa May's decision after the fall of the Brexit wall, Europe is once...

**Poland's Vision for Europe**  
by MATEUSZ MORAWIECKI  
WARSAW — The European Union is stuck in a vicious cycle of crises. #Brexit

**TWITTER FEED**

**Poland Perspectives** @PL\_Perspectives  
Tweets 1.3K Following 201 Followers 4.7K

**Chancellor of the Prir** @PremierRP\_en 10 hrs  
#EU Institutions face ambitious challenges. Prime Minister @morraviecki believes that we should appoint candidates who wi...

**Poland Perspectives** @PL\_Perspectives 131  
#ENNO: "Poland's Law and Justice party held off a multi-party attack from an organized left-wing coalition and won a majority that suggests it will win the forthcoming national elections." @PremierRP\_en

**FEATURED CONTENT**

Europe at a Crossroads: The Virtue of Nationalism  
featuring Yoram Hazony

Europe at a Crossroads: The Virtue of Nat... Watch later Share

**EUROPE AT A CROSSROADS:  
The Virtue of Nationalism**

featuring  
**YORAM HAZONY**

**INSTAGRAM FEED**

@heartofpoland #heartofpoland

POLAND PERSPECTIVES | info@pandperspectives.org | Instagram: @heartofpoland | Twitter: @PL\_Perspectives

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TAB B – TWITTER

5/29/19 3:39 PM

The screenshot shows the Twitter profile page for 'Poland Perspectives' (@PL\_Perspectives). The header features a banner image of the Polish flag with a red circular logo containing the text 'POLAND PERSPECTIVES'. Below the banner, the profile statistics are listed: 1,272 Tweets, 201 Following, 4,698 Followers, 2,036 Likes, 0 Lists, and 0 Moments. An 'Edit profile' button is visible on the right.

The main content area is divided into three sections:

- Left Column:** Profile bio for 'Poland Perspectives' (@PL\_Perspectives), including a description of their mission to correct mainstream media narratives, their website (polandperspectives.org), and a note that they joined in December 2017. Below the bio are thumbnails for 64 photos and videos.
- Center Column:** A tweet from the 'Chancellery of the Prime Minister of Poland' (@PremierIP\_en) retweeted by the user. The tweet text reads: '#EU institutions face ambitious challenges. Prime Minister @Moralawie39IM believes that we should appoint candidates who will ensure dynamic and sustainable development. #EUCC'. Below the text is a graphic with a photo of a man in a suit and the text: 'We want people in key positions in Brussels to work for the creation of a strong EU. One free from protectionism, oriented towards building the single market and ensuring a good budget (...). People with political experience, who are able to build compromises, and are not confrontational against'.
- Right Column:** 'Your Tweet activity' section showing that the user's tweets earned 4,761 impressions over the last 24 hours, accompanied by a bar chart. Below this is the 'Who to follow' section, which includes a recommendation for 'Włodzimierz Czarzasty' with a 'Follow' button.

TAB C – INSTAGRAM

5/29/19 3:47 PM

@ | Instagram

Search



heartofpoland [Edit Profile](#)

89 posts 55 followers 59 following

The Heart of Poland by the Polish National Foundation 🇵🇱



4.23

POSTS IGTV SAVED TAGGED



TAB D – YOUTUBE

5/29/19 3:52 PM

The screenshot shows the YouTube channel page for 'Poland Perspectives'. The channel has 12 subscribers. The main banner features a red flag waving against a blue sky with clouds. Below the banner, there are navigation tabs for HOME, VIDEOS, PLAYLISTS, CHANNELS, DISCUSSION, and ABOUT. The 'Uploads' section displays a row of six video thumbnails with their respective titles and view counts:

- Poland & the US in Defense of Freedom: From Defeating...** (54 views • 3 weeks ago)
- Poland, the US, & NATO: Confronting the Russian...** (129 views • 1 month ago)
- Amb Otto Reich - President Trump and Latin America** (20 views • 2 months ago)
- Amb Otto Reich - On Ronald Reagan's Political Will** (3 views • 2 months ago)
- Brig. Gen Tom Costantino - US Troops and Venezuela** (5 views • 2 months ago)
- Brig. Gen Tom Costantino - We Need to Back the Allies** (5 views • 2 months ago)

On the left side, there is a sidebar menu with options like Home, Trending, Subscriptions, Library, History, Watch later, and The Kuklinski M... (partially visible). Below that, there are sections for 'SUBSCRIPTIONS' (Popular on YouTu..., Music, Sports, Gaming) and 'MORE FROM YOUTUBE' (YouTube Premium, Movies & Shows).

HOME VIDEOS & TRANSCRIPTS PARTICIPANTS SPONSORS

# RONALD REAGAN & POPE JOHN PAUL II

The Partnership that Changed the World

SEPTEMBER 26,  
2018

WASHINGTON,  
DC

With the extraordinary power of their will and their words, an American President and a Polish Pope liberated Europe and forever changed the world.

A recent conference in Washington, DC examined key similarities between the two men, the remarkable events of their presidency and papacy, and their lasting legacy today.

### VIDEOS & TRANSCRIPTS



### IN THE NEWS

[President Reagan, Pope John Paul II Hailed as "Dynamic Duo" of the Cold War](#)  
by John Gizi, *Newtimes*

[Conference Celebrates "Partnership" Between Reagan, St. John Paul II](#)  
by Mark Pattison, *America Magazine*

[Longtime Polish Photographer Talks About Life Behind The Lens](#)  
by Mark Pattison, *Catholic News Service*

[The Eponymous Reagan](#) by Craig Shirley, *Townhall*

[C-SPAN Coverage](#)

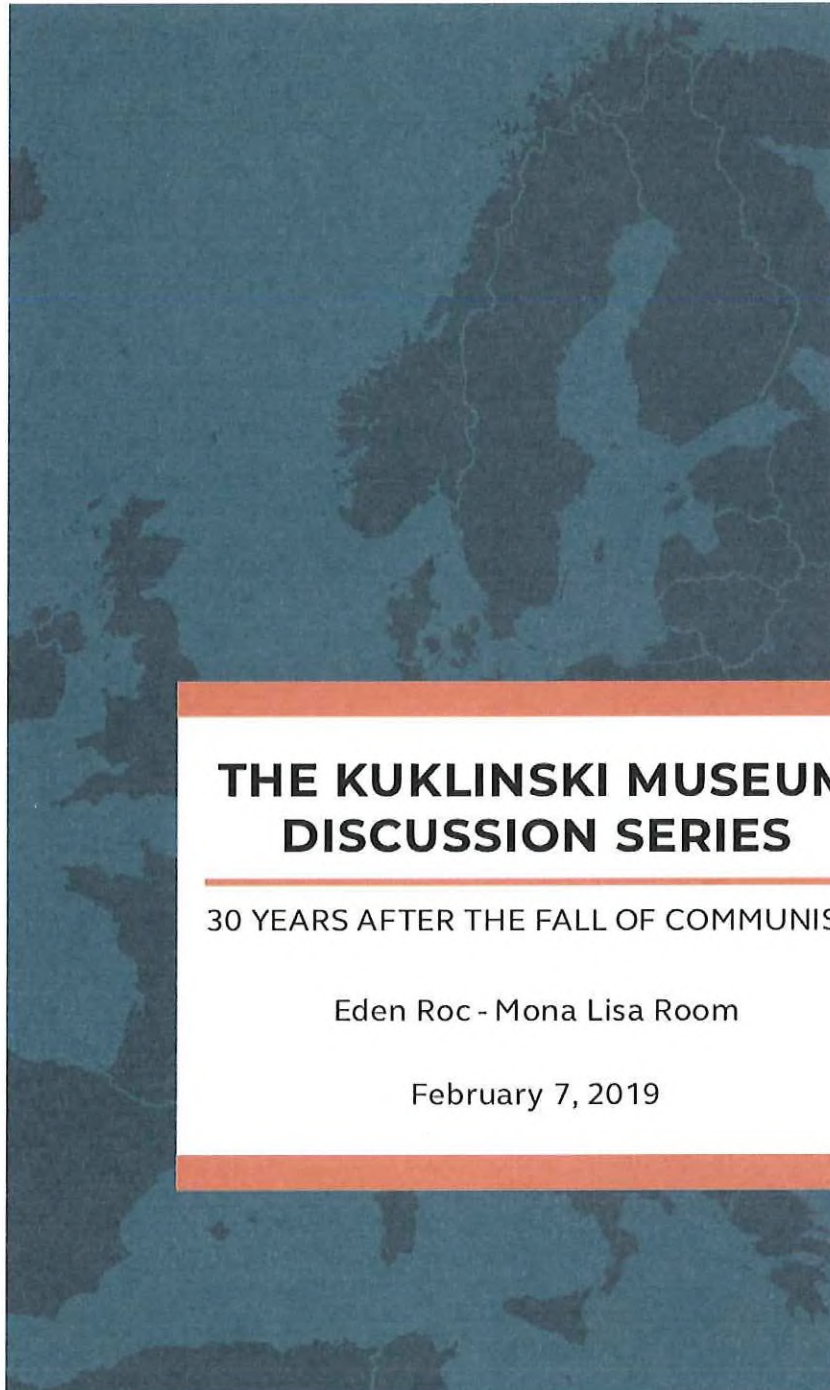
The conference featured an all-star lineup of men and women who worked closely with President Reagan or Pope John Paul II, leaders of countries they helped liberate, and notable historians of the era.

It was sponsored by prominent think tanks, institutes, and foundations in Washington and Warsaw.

Thank you to everyone who helped make the event possible.

Created by White House Writers Group, Inc. ©/to the Polish National Foundation and other conference sponsors.

Tab F – Event Program



**THE KUKLINSKI MUSEUM  
DISCUSSION SERIES**

---

30 YEARS AFTER THE FALL OF COMMUNISM

Eden Roc - Mona Lisa Room

February 7, 2019

# PROGRAM

## Poland's Transition to Democracy: Lessons for Latin America

### Moderator

Claudia Rosett

### Panelists

Min. Anna Maria Anders

Brig. Gen. Tom Cosenzino (Ret.)

Amb. Otto J. Reich

# PARTICIPANTS

## Claudia Rosett



Claudia Rosett is an award-winning journalist who has reported over more than three decades from Asia, the former Soviet Union, Latin America and the Middle East. She is widely credited with groundbreaking reporting on corruption at the United Nations.

Ms. Rosett is currently a Foreign Policy Fellow with the Independent Women's Forum, focusing on threats posed to U.S. security by despotic regimes. She has contributed to numerous publications, makes frequent appearances on TV and radio, has testified before six U.S. congressional committees on such topics as the Iran-North Korea strategic alliance, and U.N. reform, and is the author of the Encounter Books Broadside, "What To Do About the UN." From 1984-2002 she was a staff writer at The Wall Street Journal, serving as a member of the Editorial Board in New York (1997-2002); reporter and then bureau chief in Moscow (1993-96); editorial-page editor of The Asian Wall Street Journal in Hong Kong (1986-93); and book review editor in New York (1984-86). From 2003-2015 she was journalist-in-residence with the Foundation for Defense of Democracies.

Ms. Rosett is a winner of the Journalism Leadership Eagle Award of the New York Respect for Law Alliance (2013), the Eric Breindel Award (2005) and the Mightier Pen Award (2005). For her on-site coverage of China's 1989 Tiananmen Square uprising, Ms. Rosett won an Overseas Press Club Citation for Excellence. She holds a B.A. from Yale University, an M.A. in English from Columbia University, and an M.B.A. from the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business.



### Min. Anna Maria Anders

Anna Maria Anders is a Polish Senator and a Minister in the Polish government. She is the Secretary of State in the government of Poland's Prime Minister, Mateusz Morawiecki, where she is Plenipotentiary for International Dialogue. In March 2016, she was elected to Poland's Senate, representing Poland's eastern flank. She also represents Poland in the Women in Parliaments Global Forum, a global network of female parliamentarians that supports greater participation of women in politics. Minister Anders is the daughter of General Wladyslaw Anders, the legendary World War II Commander of the Polish Forces at the Battle of Monte Cassino, and well-known singer and actress Irena Renata Anders. She was born in London, England. In 1986, Anna Maria Anders married United States Army Colonel Robert Alexander Costa. Their son is an officer in the US Army.

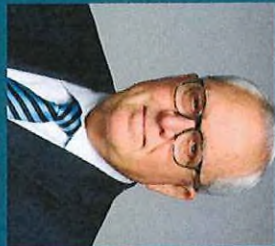


### Brig. Gen. Tom Cosenino

Following an Army career that included numerous operational and strategic assignments over a 30 year span, retired Army Brigadier General Guy "Tom" Cosenino now serves as BENS' Chief Operating Officer, overseeing BENS' day to day operations, while also improving outreach to, and strategic dialogue with, senior civilian and uniformed national security leaders. Tom joined BENS in September 2015 following his last military assignment where he served as the 28th Commandant of the National War College – the premier institution for the education of strategic leaders for the United States Military, other departments of the United States Government, and 29 allied nations.

Prior to assuming command of the National War College, Tom served as Deputy Director for Political and Military Affairs, providing military advice to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of Defense. He also served previously as the Deputy Commanding General for Regional Support, NATO Training Mission Afghanistan, and as the Chief of Strategy, Plans, and Assessments for the Multi-National Security Transition Command in Iraq where he developed U.S. plans to man, train, and equip over four hundred thousand Iraqi Army and Police Forces.

Tom earned a B.S. in political science at the University of the State of New York and holds master's degrees in international relations from Georgetown University and national security and strategic studies from the Naval War College. Tom is also a PhD candidate in the Public Policy Program at the University of Maryland.



## Amb. Otto J. Reich

Ambassador Otto Juan Reich is President of Otto Reich Associates, LLC, a consulting firm which provides government relations and strategic advice to US and multinational clients. He has spent most of his professional life in foreign affairs, primarily related to Latin America and the Caribbean, in private enterprise, the US government and U.S. military.

In 2001 Ambassador Reich was appointed as the Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs. In 2003 he became President George W. Bush's Special Envoy for Western Hemisphere Initiatives, and Senior Staff Member of the National Security Council, returning to the private sector in June 2004.

From 1989 to 2001, Ambassador Reich was a private consultant, advising clients on international government relations, market access and strategic planning, first as a partner in the Brock Group and later as head of his own consulting firm. In 1991 and 1992, as a private citizen and at the request of President George H. W. Bush, Ambassador Reich served as Alternate U.S. Representative to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

In the 1980's, Reich received three appointments from President Ronald Reagan: From 1986 to 1989 he served as U.S.

Ambassador to Venezuela, for which he was awarded the highest commendations of both the State Department and the Republic of Venezuela. From 1983 to 1986, as Special Advisor to the Secretary of State, he directed the Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean, which received the Department's Meritorious Honor Award. From 1981 to 1983, he was Assistant Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in charge of multi-billion-dollar U.S. economic assistance to Latin America and the Caribbean. He received two Superior Honor and other awards from the State Department.

His prior experience includes service as Washington Director of the Council of the Americas; Community Development Coordinator for the City of Miami; International Representative of the State of Florida Department of Commerce; and staff assistant in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Ambassador Reich received a Bachelor's degree in International Studies from the University of North Carolina (1966) and a Master's degree in Latin American Studies from Georgetown University (1973). His military service (1966 - 1969) included duty as a Lieutenant in the U.S. Army's 3rd Civil Affairs Group (Airborne), in the Panama Canal Zone. He received the US Army Commendation Medal for his armed forces service.

Reich appears regularly on US and Latin American media as a commentator on foreign affairs.



## SPONSORS

### **Polish National Foundation**

The Polish National Foundation is a Warsaw-based non-profit organization whose mission is to promote Poland's cultural heritage, celebrate its achievements, and support its growth.

### **General Kuklinski Museum**

The Kuklinski Museum in Warsaw, Poland is dedicated to preserving the memory and artifacts of Polish General Ryszard Kuklinski. General Kuklinski is often referred to as the "first Polish officer in NATO" for his valiant efforts to pass top secret Warsaw Pact documents to the CIA. These secrets covered Soviet plans regarding nuclear weapons, the whereabouts of military bases and personnel, and other important topics. Notably, Kuklinski was not a CIA asset - just a patriot who acted out of love for his country. General Kuklinski's heroic actions are widely credited in helping prevent the outbreak of a Third World War.

Tab G – Event Program



**THE KUKLINSKI MUSEUM  
DISCUSSION SERIES**

30 YEARS AFTER THE FALL OF  
COMMUNISM IN EUROPE

**Poland, the US, & NATO:  
Confronting the Russian Threat**

White House Historical Association  
April 5, 2019



# PROGRAM

## Poland, the US, & NATO: Confronting the Russian Threat

### Moderator

Claudia Rosett

### Panelists

Min. Anna Maria Anders

Brig. Gen. Tom Cosentino (Ret.)

Dr. John Lenczowski





# PARTICIPANTS



## **Min. Anna Maria Anders**

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Tom earned a B.S. in political science at the University of the State of New York and holds master’s degrees in international relations from Georgetown University and national security and strategic studies from the Naval War College. Tom is also a Ph.D. candidate in the Public Policy Program at the University of Maryland.



## Dr. John Lenczowski

John Lenczowski is founder and president of The Institute of World Politics, an independent graduate school of national security and international affairs in Washington, DC. From 1981 to 1983, Dr. Lenczowski served in the State Department in the Bureau of European Affairs and as Special Advisor to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs. From 1983 to 1987 he was Director of European and Soviet Affairs at the National Security Council. In that capacity, he served as principal Soviet affairs adviser to President Reagan. He has since been associated with Georgetown University, the University of Maryland, the American Enterprise Institute, the Ethics and Public Policy Center, the Council for Inter-American Security, and the International Freedom Foundation. He is the author of *Soviet Perceptions of U.S. Foreign Policy*, *The Sources of Soviet Perestroika*, *Cultural Diplomacy: A Multi-faceted Strategic Asset of Soviet Power*, *Full Spectrum Diplomacy and Grand Strategy*, and numerous other writings on U.S. foreign policy, diplomacy, political warfare, Soviet/Russian affairs, comparative ideologies, intelligence, strategic deception, counterintelligence, and integrated strategy.



## Claudia Rosett

Claudia Rosett is an award-winning journalist who has reported over more than three decades from Asia, the former Soviet Union, Latin America and the Middle East. She is widely credited with groundbreaking reporting on corruption at the United Nations.

Ms. Rosett is currently a Foreign Policy Fellow with the Independent Women's Forum, focusing on threats posed to U.S. security by despotic regimes. She has contributed to numerous publications, makes frequent appearances on TV and radio, has testified before six U.S. congressional committees on such topics as the Iran-North Korea strategic alliance, and UN reform, and is the author of the Encounter Books Broadside, "What To Do About the UN." From 1984-2002 she was a staff writer at The Wall Street Journal, serving as a member of the Editorial Board in New York (1997-2002); reporter and then bureau chief in Moscow (1993-96); editorial-page editor of The Asian Wall Street Journal in Hong Kong (1986-93); and book review editor in New York (1984-86). From 2003-2015 she was journalist-in-residence with the Foundation for Defense of Democracies.

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## **The Institute of World Politics**

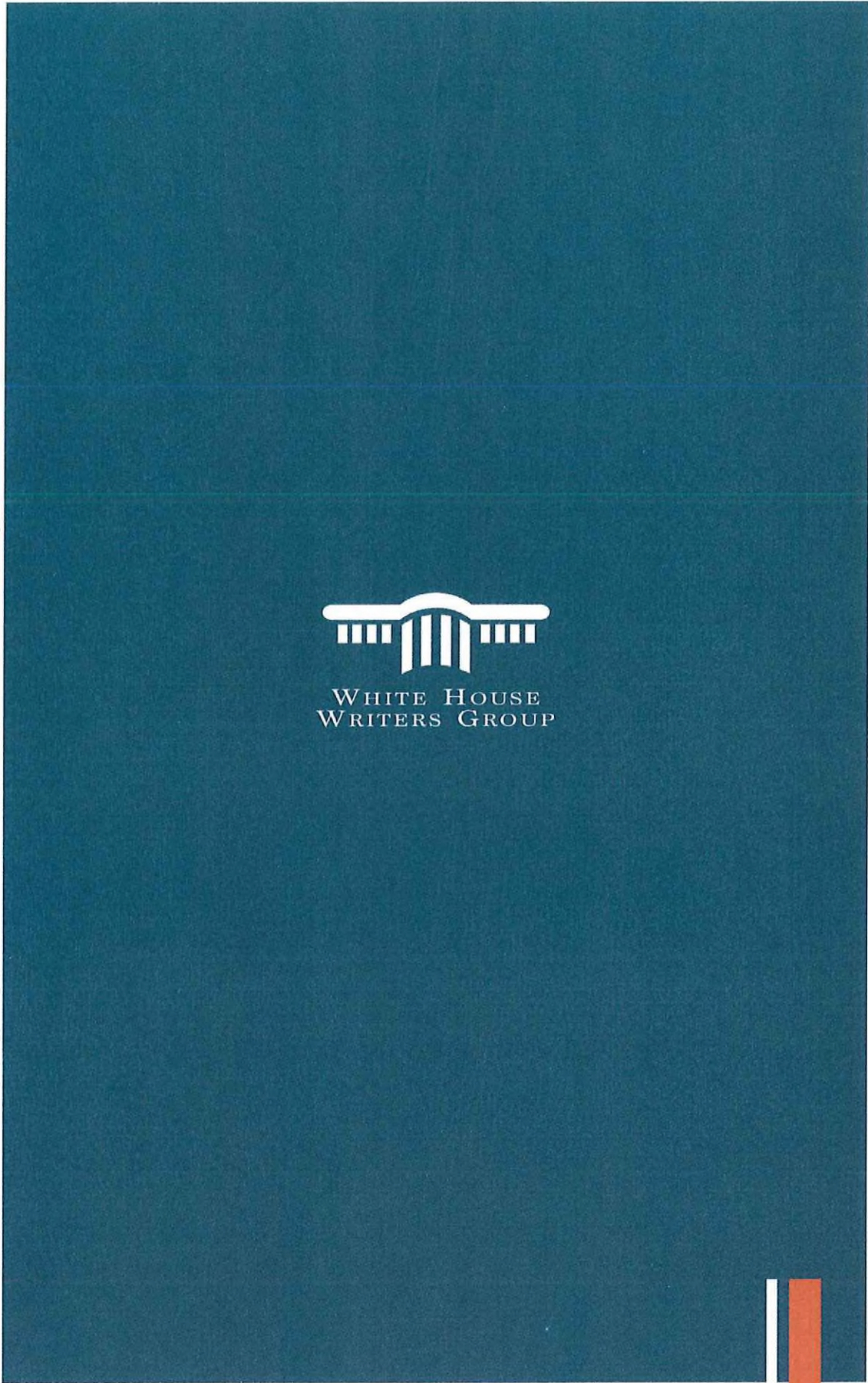
The Institute of World Politics is a graduate school of national security and international affairs, dedicated to developing leaders with a sound understanding of international realities and the ethical conduct of statecraft, based on knowledge and appreciation of the principles of the American political economy and the Western moral tradition.

## **Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation**

The Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation is a Washington, DC-based educational and human rights nonprofit foundation devoted to commemorating the more than 100 million victims of communism around the world and to the freedom of those still living under totalitarian regimes. Our mission is to educate this generation and future generations about the ideology, history, and legacy of communism.

## **General Ryszard Kuklinski Museum**

The Kuklinski Museum in Warsaw, Poland is dedicated to preserving the memory and artifacts of Polish General Ryszard Kuklinski. General Kuklinski is often referred to as the "first Polish officer in NATO" for his valiant efforts to pass top secret Warsaw Pact documents to the CIA. These secrets covered Soviet plans regarding nuclear weapons, the whereabouts of military bases and personnel, and other important topics. Notably, Kuklinski was not a CIA asset - just a patriot who acted out of love for his country. General Kuklinski's heroic actions are widely credited in helping prevent the outbreak of a Third World War.



WHITE HOUSE  
WRITERS GROUP



Tab H – Event Program



**THE KUKLINSKI MUSEUM  
DISCUSSION SERIES**

30 YEARS AFTER THE FALL OF  
COMMUNISM IN EUROPE

**Poland & the US in Defense of Freedom:  
From Defeating Communism to  
Preserving National Sovereignty**

The Blackstone Hotel  
May 3, 2019



# PROGRAM

## Poland & the US in Defense of Freedom: From Defeating Communism to Preserving National Sovereignty

### Moderator

Dr. Charles Lipson

### Panelists

Brig. Gen. Tom Cosentino (Ret.)

Steven F. Hayward

Antoni Macierewicz

## SPECIAL GUEST



### Filip Frackowiak

Filip Frackowiak is currently the Director of the General Kuklinski Museum in Warsaw, Poland and a member of the City Council of Warsaw. Previously, Filip worked as a foreign correspondent for Polish Television and as the deputy director of the satellite channel TVP Polonia. He is the author of

“Jozef Szaniawski - the Last Political Prisoner of Communist Poland.” Filip obtained a master’s degree in international relations at Collegium Civitas in Warsaw.



# PARTICIPANTS



## Brig. Gen. Tom Cosentino

Following an Army career that included numerous operational and strategic assignments over a 30-year span, retired Army Brigadier General Guy “Tom” Cosentino now serves as BENS’ Chief Operating Officer, overseeing BENS’ day-to-day operations, while also improving outreach to, and strategic dialogue with, senior civilian and uniformed national security leaders. Tom joined BENS in September 2015 following his last military assignment where he served as the 28th Commandant of the National War College – the premier institution for the education of strategic leaders for the United States military, other departments of the United States government, and 29 allied nations.

Prior to assuming command of the National War College, Tom served as Deputy Director for Political and Military Affairs, providing military advice to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of Defense. He also served previously as the Deputy Commanding General for Regional Support, NATO Training Mission Afghanistan, and as the Chief of Strategy, Plans, and Assessments for the Multi-National Security Transition Command in Iraq where he developed U.S. plans to man, train, and equip over four hundred thousand Iraqi Army and Police Forces.

Tom earned a B.S. in political science at the University of the State of New York and holds master’s degrees in international relations from Georgetown University and national security and strategic studies from the Naval War College. Tom is also a Ph.D. candidate in the Public Policy Program at the University of Maryland.



## Steven F. Hayward

Steven F. Hayward is currently senior resident scholar at the Institute of Governmental Studies at UC Berkeley, a visiting lecturer at Berkeley Law and the Goldman School of Public Policy, and a fellow with the Bipartisan Policy Center in Washington DC. He was previously the Ronald Reagan Distinguished Visiting Professor at Pepperdine University's Graduate School of Public Policy, and was the inaugural visiting scholar in conservative thought and policy at the University of Colorado at Boulder in 2013-14. From 2002 to 2012 he was the F.K Weyerhaeuser Fellow in Law and Economics at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington DC, and has been senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute in San Francisco since 1991.

He writes frequently for the Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Washington Post, National Review, the Washington Examiner, the Claremont Review of Books, and other publications. The author of six books including a two-volume chronicle of Reagan and his times entitled *The Age of Reagan: The Fall of the Old Liberal Order, 1964-1980*, and *The Age of Reagan: The Conservative Counter-Revolution, 1980-1989*, and the *Almanac of Environmental Trends*. His most recent book is *Patriotism is Not Enough: Harry Jaffa, Walter Berns, and the Arguments That Redefined American Conservatism*. He writes daily on [Powerlineblog.com](http://Powerlineblog.com), one of the nation's most read political websites.



## Dr. Charles Lipson

Charles Lipson taught international relations at the University of Chicago, where he was the Peter B. Ritzma Professor in Political Science and the College. His research deals with international cooperation and conflict and with political aspects of the world economy. His most recent book on international relations, *Reliable Partners: How Democracies Have Made a Separate Peace*, explains one of the most striking features in world politics: why democracies do not fight wars against each other. (Princeton University Press, 2003). Dr. Lipson has also written extensively on international trade, debt, and investment. His book, *Standing Guard: Protecting Foreign Capital in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, has been widely praised for combining politics and economics. It is concerned with the problems faced by successful corporations when they operate in difficult political environments around the world. Professor Lipson's most recent work deals with the problems of forging international cooperation after the Cold War. He is currently writing about the sources of international order in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.



## Antoni Macierewicz

Antoni Macierewicz is the legendary leader of the anti-communist resistance in the Polish People's Republic. He founded the Workers Defense Committee (KOR), the forerunner of Solidarity, later directing Solidarity's Center for Social Research. He also established Głos, one of the first independent publications of the communist era. A former political prisoner, he was arrested over 20 times.

Since the fall of communism, Minister Macierewicz has served at the highest levels of government. He is Deputy Leader of Poland's governing party, Law and Justice. Minister Macierewicz has been the Minister of National Defense, Minister of Internal Affairs, Head of the Military Counterintelligence Service, and Chairman of the Verification Commission. He heads the governmental inquiry into the 2010 Polish Air Force Tu-154 crash. In 2015, Minister Macierewicz was reelected for a sixth term as a Member of the Sejm.

An academic, Minister Macierewicz has been on faculty at the Department of Iberian Studies of the University of Warsaw and has taught Polish history at the Jagiellonian University. He has written numerous scholarly articles published in Polish Ethnography.

Minister Macierewicz is a Knight of the Order of Polonia Restituta, bestowed upon him in 1990 by the President of Poland in exile, and was awarded the Cross of Freedom and Solidarity by the Institute of National Remembrance. He was named the 2010 Person of the Year by Gazeta Polska. In 2015, Minister Macierewicz inaugurated the Rutgers Council on Public and International Affairs World Leaders Forum, and is actively engaged in the work of the International Security Forum.

Minister Macierewicz holds a Masters degree from the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw. He is married to Hanna Macierewicz. They have one daughter, Aleksandra, and are proud of their four grandchildren.



# SPONSORS

## **Polish National Foundation**

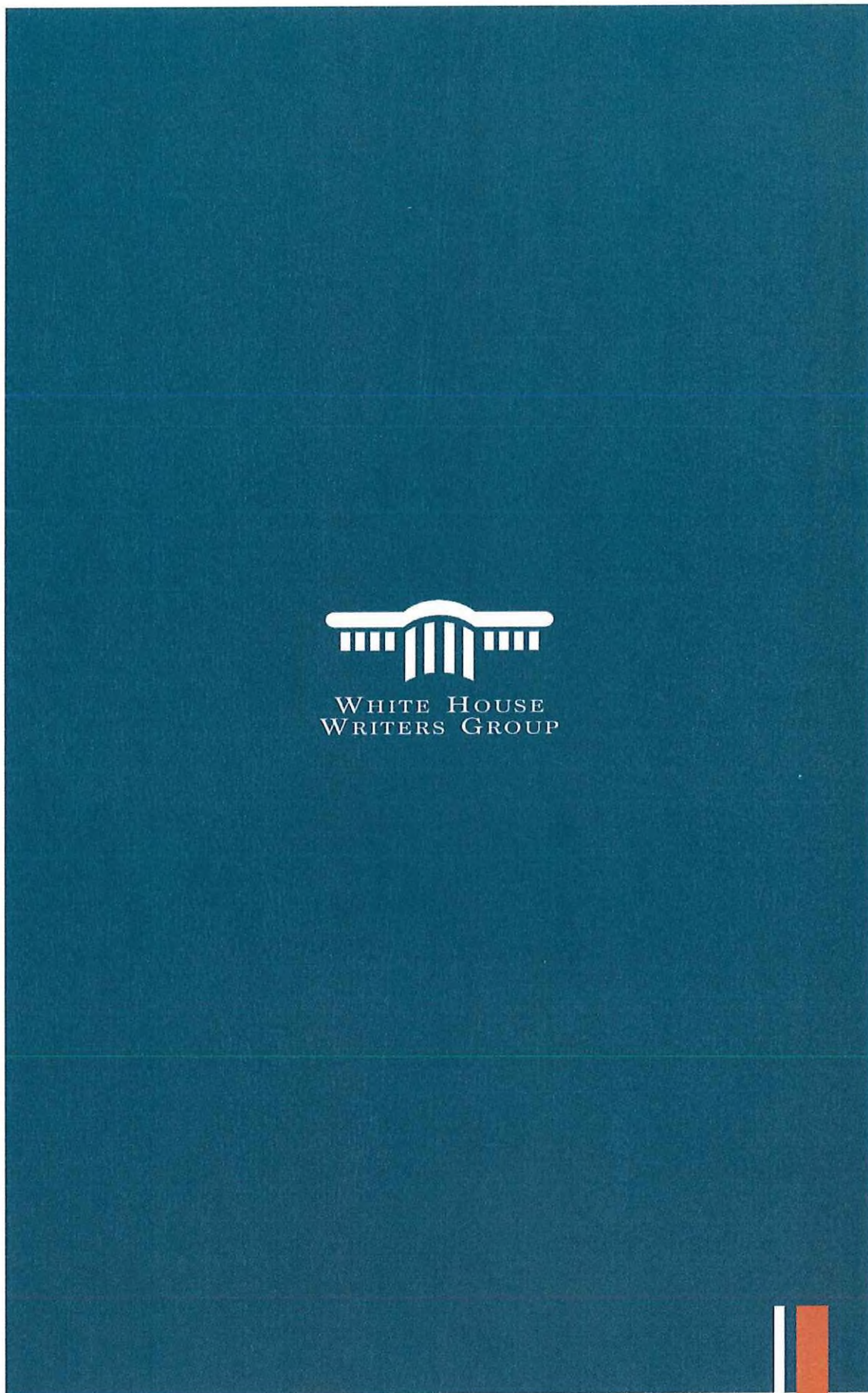
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Tab I – Event Program



**EUROPE AT A CROSSROADS**

The Virtue of Nationalism

feat. Yoram Hazony

**CONFERENCE PROGRAM**

May 13, 2019



# PROGRAM

**Opening Remarks by John O'Sullivan**

**Keynote Speech by Yoram Hazony**

**Panel 1: "Europe of Nations?"**

Moderator: John O'Sullivan

Panelists:

- John Fonte
- Yoram Hazony
- Melvin Schut

**Interview with Anna Maria Anders, Daniel Kawczynski, and Balazs Orban**

Interviewer: John O'Sullivan

**Speech by Roger Scruton**

Introduction: Ben Harris-Quinney

**Panel 2: "The Future of Europe"**

Moderator: John O'Sullivan

Panelists:

- Anna Maria Anders
- Phillip Blond
- Nile Gardiner
- Marion Smith

**Interview with Daniel Hannan**

Interviewer: John O'Sullivan



# PARTICIPANTS



## YORAM HAZONY

Yoram Hazony is the President of the Herzl Institute in Jerusalem and Director of the John Templeton Foundation's project in Jewish Philosophical Theology. His latest book *The Virtue of Nationalism* was recently selected as the Conservative Book of the Year for 2019 and was an Amazon #1 best-seller in both International Diplomacy and Nationalism. His work has appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, *Fox News*, *CNN*, *NPR*, *Time Magazine*, *The New Republic*, *National Review*, *Commentary*, *First Things*, and *American Affairs*, among others. His previous books include *The Philosophy of Hebrew Scripture*, *The Jewish State: The Struggle for Israel's Soul*, and *God and Politics in Esther*. In April 2016, he appeared with Morgan Freeman in the hit National Geographic miniseries "The Story of God."

Dr. Hazony graduated from Princeton University with a B.A. in East Asian Studies and completed his Ph.D. at Rutgers University in Political Theory. He lives in Jerusalem with his wife Yael Hazony and their nine children.



## ANNA MARIA ANDERS

Anna Maria Anders is a Polish Senator and a Minister in the Polish government. She is the Secretary of State in the government of Poland's Prime Minister, Mateusz Morawiecki, where she is Plenipotentiary for International Dialogue. In March 2016, she was elected to Poland's Senate, representing Poland's eastern flank. She also represents Poland in the Women in Parliaments Global Forum, a global network of female parliamentarians that supports greater participation of women in politics. Minister Anders is the daughter of General Wladyslaw Anders, the legendary World War II Commander of the Polish Forces at the Battle of Monte Cassino, and well-known singer and actress Irena Renata Anders. She was born in London, England. In 1986, Anna Maria Anders married United States Army Colonel Robert Alexander Costa. Their son is an officer in the US Army.



## PHILLIP BLOND

Phillip Blond is the founder and director of Respublica, an independent think tank based on the principles of a post-liberal vision of the future which moves beyond the traditional political dichotomies of left and right and prioritises the need to recover the language and practice of the common good. Phillip's ideas have strongly influenced the agenda around devolution and public services in the UK. He has written extensively in the British and foreign press including *The Guardian*, the *Financial Times*, and *The New York Times*.



## JOHN FONTE

John Fonte is a Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for American Common Culture at the Hudson Institute. He is the author of *Sovereignty or Submission: Will Americans Rule Themselves or be Ruled by Others?*, winner of the



Intercollegiate Studies Institute's Paolucci-Bagehot book award for 2012 and a #1 Amazon best-seller in international law. Fonte's ideas on "lawfare" were cited in the annual *New York Times Magazine's* "Year in Ideas" as among the most noteworthy of 2004. Dr. Fonte has been published and appeared on television throughout the world. He received his Ph.D. in World History from the University of Chicago, and his M.A. and B.A. in History from the University of Arizona.



#### **NILE GARDINER**

Nile Gardiner is Director of The Heritage Foundation's Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom. His key areas of specialization include: the Anglo-American "special relationship," the United Nations, post-war Iraq, and the role of Great Britain and Europe in the U.S.-led alliance against international terrorism and "rogue states," including Iran. He was recently named one of the 50 most influential Britons in the United States by the *London Daily Telegraph*. Gardiner received a doctorate in history and two masters degrees from Yale University and a master's degree and bachelor's degree in modern history from Oxford University.



#### **DANIEL HANNAN**

Daniel Hannan is a writer and journalist. After 17 years as a Member of the European Parliament, campaigning for British withdrawal from the EU, he succeeded in abolishing his job in the Brexit referendum on 23 June 2016. He is the author of nine books, including *New York Times* best-seller *Inventing Freedom: How the English-Speaking Peoples Made the Modern World*, and *Sunday Times* best-seller *Vote Leave*. His latest book is *What Next: How to get the best from Brexit*.



#### **DANIEL KAWCZYNSKI**

Daniel Kawczynski is a British Conservative Party politician and Member of Parliament for Shrewsbury and Atcham in Shropshire, England. The first British MP born in Poland, he was brought up in the United Kingdom from the age of six. He is the chairman of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Poland in 2014.



#### **BALZAS ORBAN**

Balzas Orban is the Deputy Minister of the Office of the Prime Minister of Hungary. Mr. Orban started his career at the Ministry of Justice and soon afterwards joined the Szazadveg Group. As the Director of Research at the Szazadveg Foundation between 2013 and 2018, he was responsible for public law and public policy research. Since the fall of 2015, he has also worked as the General Director of the Migration Research Institute founded jointly by the Szazadveg Foundation and the Mathias Corvinus Collegium. He studied at the Eotvos Lorand University (ELTE) where he graduated as a lawyer in 2009 and as a political scientist in 2011. He is currently an assistant lecturer at the National University of Public Service and a visiting lecturer at the Budapest Metropolitan University.



### JOHN O'SULLIVAN

John O'Sullivan is currently President and founder of the Danube Institute in Budapest, international editor of *Quadrant Magazine* in Sydney, Australia, and associate editor of the *Hungarian Review*. John O'Sullivan is also currently a fellow of the National Review Institute and a co-founder and director of Twenty-First Century Initiatives, a DC-based think tank. In 1987-88, he served as a Special Adviser to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Downing Street. He also served informally as a speechwriter for the Prime Minister, was the principal author of the 1987 Conservative election manifesto and was one of the small team that assisted Lady Thatcher in the writing of her two volumes of memoirs.



### MELVIN L. SCHUT

Melvin L. Schut teaches "Theme Course: Political Science, Law, Economics", "Classical and Modern Political Thought" and "The Politics of Modernity." In previous years he has also taught "European and International Institutions." Dr. Schut is a Board Member of the Amstel Institute for the Liberal Arts and Sciences (AILAS), an education foundation dedicated to teaching fundamental texts. Dr. Schut has further taught political philosophy at Leiden University's Institute for Philosophy, and both legal philosophy and law at Leiden University's Law School. Dr. Schut studied law and history at Leiden University and Sciences Po (Paris), intellectual history at Cambridge, and politics and political philosophy at Oxford and the University of Chicago, where he received his PhD with a thesis on Alexis de Tocqueville's conception of freedom.



### SIR ROGER SCRUTON

Sir Roger Scruton is a writer and philosopher who has published more than forty books in philosophy, aesthetics, and politics. He is widely translated. He is a fellow of the British Academy and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. He teaches in both England and America and is a Senior Fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington D.C. He is currently teaching an MA in Philosophy for the University of Buckingham.



### MARION SMITH

Marion Smith is executive director of the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation, president of the Common Sense Society, and chairman of the National Civic Art Society in Washington, D.C. He was previously a visiting fellow at the B. Kenneth Simon Center for Principles and Politics at the Heritage Foundation. His articles have appeared in publications including *USA Today*, *The Hill*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Politico*, and *National Review*. He is a regular guest analyst on major network and cable television news channels, including ABC, NBC, MSNBC, Fox News, and CNN.



# SPONSORS

## BOW GROUP

The Bow Group is the United Kingdom's oldest conservative think tank. Founded in 1951, the Bow Group exists to publish the research of its members, stimulate policy debate through an events programme and to provide an intellectual home to conservatives in the United Kingdom. Although firmly housed in the conservative family, the Bow Group does not take a corporate view and it represents all strands of conservative opinion.

The Group aims to preserve the academic rigour of its policy papers, whilst promoting an inclusive environment for political thought; to cleverly brand policy ideas without compromising the political ideas that underlie them; to work with the political parties of the day but not to shy away from pointing out their weaknesses. Most importantly, the Group aims to provide an excellent service to its members and to enable them to have a direct impact on political discourse and the life of the nation.

## COMMON SENSE SOCIETY

The Common Sense Society celebrates the Western heritage, wherein the ideas of liberty and equality have been asserted, tested, and proven over the course of four millennia. This same history reveals that mankind does not progress inevitably toward freedom or justice. Indeed, many attempts to ignore history, deny human nature, and engineer a utopian vision have initiated some of the most horrific episodes in human memory. Because ideas have consequences, CSS continues the noble tradition of argumentation and debate by providing regular forums for the exchange of these ideas. We are not bystanders to the development of our civilization; we are participants in defining our future of sustainable freedom.

## DANUBE INSTITUTE

The Danube Institute exists to provide an independent center of intellectual debate for conservatives and classical liberals and their democratic opponents in Central Europe. Based in Budapest and Washington it seeks to engage with center-right institutions, scholars, political parties and individuals of achievement across the region to discuss problems of mutual interest. The Institute also seeks to establish a two-way transmission belt for centre-right ideas, policies and people between Central Europe, Western Europe, and the English speaking world, and to provide an authoritative source of rational and commonsens reporting and commentary for those covering Central Europe for the world outside the region and the Western moral tradition.



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### **INTERNATIONAL REAGAN THATCHER SOCIETY**

The International Reagan-Thatcher Society (IRTS) advocates adoption of the successful conservative philosophies and policies of President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher whose devotion to an historic alliance strengthened both nations and provided the foundation for defeating Communism in the 20th Century.

### **POLISH NATIONAL FOUNDATION**

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