COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

MEMBER/OFFICER POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM ☐ *Original* ■ *Amendme*

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for travel taken in connection with a Member or officer's official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual *Financial Disclosure Statement*. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, **you must complete this form and *file it with the Clerk of the House by email at* gifttravelreports@mail.house.gov, within 15 days after travel is completed.** Please *do not* file this form with the Committee on Ethics.

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

1. Name of Traveler: Robin Kelly
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: Ryan Hamilton *OR* ☐ None
   b. Relationship to Traveler: ☐ Spouse ■ Child ☐ Other (specify):
3. a. Dates: Departure: 2/17/24 Return: 2/24/24
   b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: *OR* ☐ None
4. Departure City: Chicago Destination: Cape Town, South Africa Return City: Chicago
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc.
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary):
   Discussed U.S. National Security Intersts in Africa, US work to combat HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria in Africa, issues of malnutrition, energy, chinese influences, and tech development.
7. Attached to this form are ***each*** of the following, *signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box*:
   a. ■ a completed *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form*;
   b. ■ the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* completed by the trip sponsor ***prior*** to the trip, ***including all*** attachments ***and*** the *Additional Sponsor Form(s)*;
   c. ■ page 2 of the completed *Traveler Form* submitted by the Member or officer; ***and***
   d. ■ the letter from the Committee on Ethics approving my participation on this trip.
8. a. ■ I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the attached sponsor's agenda. *Signify statement is true by checking the box.*
   b. If not, explain:

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge. I have determined that all of the expenses on the attached *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form* were necessary and that the travel was in connection with my duties as a Member or officer of the U.S. House of Representatives and would not create the appearance that I am using public office for private gain.

Member / Officer Signature: John L Kelly

Date: 3/14/24

last updated 7/2023

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

SPONSOR POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

☒ *Original* ☐ *Amendment*

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

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

1. Sponsor(s) who paid or provided in-kind support for the trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Travel Destination(s): Cape Town, South Africa
3. Date of Departure: Feb. 17, 2024 Date of Return: Feb. 24, 2024
4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Rep. Robin Kelly and Ryan Hamilton

   Note: You may list more than one traveler on a form only if ***all*** information is ***identical*** for each person listed.
5. **Actual amount** of expenses paid on behalf of, or reimbursed to, each individual named in Question 4:

	Total **Transportation** Expenses	Total **Lodging** Expenses	Total **Meal** Expenses	Total **Other** Expenses (dollar amount per item and description)
Traveler	$8,725	$1,045 (See Appendix)	$500	$1,973: AV, meeting rooms, conf. services, security
Accompanying Family Member	$8,725	-0-	$500	$1,973: AV, meeting rooms, conf. services, security

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

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

Signature: Charlie W Dent **Date:** March 7, 2024

Name: Charlie Dent **Title:** VP-Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

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

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

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

Telephone: lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org **Email:** 202-736-5859

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

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

last updated 7/2023

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed trip sponsor form(s) and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection.

This form and any attachments may be submitted at 1015 Longworth House Office Building or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

Your completed request must be submitted to the Committee no less than 30 days before your proposed departure date. Absent exceptional circumstances, permission will not be granted for requests received less than 30 days before the trip commences. **You must receive explicit approval from the Committee before you depart on this trip.**

Name of Traveler: Robin Kelly

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

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

Signature:

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For Staff (name of employing Member or Committee): _____

Office Address: 2329 Rayburn HOB

Telephone Number: 202-225-0773

Email Address of Contact Person: matt.mcmurray@mail.house.gov

☐ Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet, the purpose of the trip is to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity, *and* these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 30 days before the trip departure date.

NOTE: You must complete all of the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need to contact you if additional information is required.

KEEP A COPY OF THIS FORM. Page 2 (but not this page) must be submitted to the Clerk as part of the post-travel disclosure required by House Rule 25. Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting paperwork for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

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

last updated 7/2023

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Robin Kelly
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: South Africa
4. a. Date of Departure: 2/17/24 Date of Return: 2/24/24
   b. Yes ☐ No ☒ Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?
   If yes, list dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Yes ☒ No ☐ Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? **If yes:**
   (1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: Ryan Hamilton
   (2) Relationship to Traveler: ☐ Spouse ☒ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____
   (3) Yes ☒ No ☐ Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age?
6. a. Yes ☐ No ☒ Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)?
   b. **If yes**, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:
7. Yes ☒ No ☐ *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, invitation, invitee list, and any other attachments and Additional Sponsor Forms.
   NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.
8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to the traveler's individual official or representational duties. **Staff should include their job title and how the activities on the itinerary relate to their duties.**
   This will help me gain a better understanding of the national and economic security, global health, food and water security, nutrition, and other development challenges confronting Africa, and how Congress can help advance legislation to improve relations.
9. **Yes ☐ No ☒ Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip?**
10. For staff travelers, to be completed by your employing Member:

ADVANCED AUTHORIZATION OF EMPLOYEE TRAVEL

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

Signature of Employing Member: Robin L Kelly **Date:** 1/16/24

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

1. Sponsor who will be paying for the trip:
   The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. ☒ I represent that the trip will not be financed, in whole or in part, by a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent. *Signify that the statement is true by checking box.*
3. ***Check only one.*** I represent that:
   a. ☐ The primary trip sponsor has not accepted from any other source, funds intended directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip; **OR**
   b. ☐ The trip is arranged without regard to congressional participation and the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds only from entities that will receive a tangible benefit in exchange for those funds; **OR**
   c. ☒ The primary trip sponsor has accepted funds, services, or in-kind assistance from other source(s) intended directly or indirectly to finance all or part of this trip and has enclosed disclosure forms from each of those entities.
   If "c" is checked, list the names of the additional sponsors:
   The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation
4. Provide names and titles of **ALL** House Members *and* employees you are inviting. **For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited** (include additional pages if necessary):
   See Appendix
5. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?
6. Date of Departure: Feb. 17, 2024 Date of Return: Feb. 24, 2024
7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC or member's congressional district
   b. Destination(s): Cape Town, South Africa
   c. City of return: Washington, DC or member's congressional district
8. ***Check only one.*** I represent that
   a. ☐ The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965; **OR**
   b. ☒ The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent; **OR**
   c. ☐ The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist / foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.

9. ***Check only one of the following.***
   a. ☒ I checked 8(a) or (b) above; **OR**
   b. ☐ I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging; **OR**
   c. ☐ I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night; **OR**
   d. ☐ I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for two nights. If you checked this box, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted. _____

10. ☒ Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities House invitees will be participating in during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities for trip invitees). *Indicate agenda is attached by checking box.*

11. ***Check only one of the following.***
   a. ☒ I represent that a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip. *Signify the statement is true by clicking the box;* **OR**
   b. ☐ *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is a U.S. institution of higher education.

12. For ***each*** sponsor required to submit a sponsor form, describe the sponsor's interest in the subject matter of the trip ***and*** its role in organizing and/or conducting the trip:

Aspen Institute's Congressional Program (AICP) provides nonpartisan educational forums for members of Congress on public policy issues. AICP organized and will conduct the conference and selected and invited the attendees. The ~~foundation listed in 3C - Gates Foundation - did not play a role in organizing or conducting the conference.~~

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

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

15. ***Check only one.*** I represent that either:
   a. ☐ The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees; **OR**
   b. ☒ The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation. If "b" is checked:
      1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): $100 per day See Appendix
      2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: Cape Town provides access to educational sites visits & experts related to conference topic

16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:
   Hotel Name: Radisson Red Hotel City: Cape Town Cost Per Night: $190
   Reason(s) for Selecting: Required technology & meeting space; Security a key factor.
   Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
   Reason(s) for Selecting: _____
   Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
   Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

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

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

☐ Actual Amounts ☒ Good Faith Estimates	Total **Transportation** Expenses per Participant	Total **Lodging** Expenses per Participant	Total **Meal** Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	$8,725	$1,045 (See Appendix)	$500
For each Accompanying Family Member	$8,725	-0-	$500

	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	$1,973	AV, meeting rooms, conf. services, security
For each Accompanying Family Member	$1,973	AV, meeting rooms, conf. services, security

19. ***Check only one:***
   a. ☒ I certify that I am an officer of the organization listed below; **OR**
   b. ☐ *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is an individual or a U.S. institution of higher education.

20. **I certify by my signature that**
   a. **I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;**
   b. **I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent; and**
   c. **The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.**

Signature: _____ Date: Feb.2, 2024

Name: Charlie Dent Title: Vice President-The Aspen Institute, Inc.

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

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

Email: lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org Telephone: 202-736-5859

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

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation. **Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.**

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

1. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor for this trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation
3. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes ☐ No ☒ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. *Check one.* I certify that my organization:
   a. ☒ Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. **OR**
   b. ☐ Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to Destination: _____ on Date: _____ that is being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor. **OR**
   c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (*e.g.*, meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. ***Check only one:***
   a. ☒ My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent **OR**
   b. ☐ My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
7. **I certify by my signature that**
   a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
   b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
   c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
   d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: _____ Date: January 31, 2024

Name: Kimberly Webber Title: Senior Program Officer

Organization: Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

Address: 1300 I St NW Washington DC 20005

Telephone: 202-662-8195 Email: kim.webber@gatesfoundation.org

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

last updated 7/2023

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Keelie Broom
Counsel to the Chairman

David Arroyo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

February 6, 2024

The Honorable Robin L. Kelly
U.S. House of Representatives
2329 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your and your child's proposed trip to South Africa,[1] scheduled for February 17 to 24, 2024, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc. and Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

You must complete a Member/Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than $480 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House Members may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), gifts "of minimal value [currently $480] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of minimal value received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

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[1] Please be aware that the Committee's review of the proposed trip does not extend to either the security situation in the destination country or security related to foreign travel in general. We recommend you contact the Office of House Security (OHS) for a safety and security briefing prior to your departure. OHS may be reached at (202) 226-2044 or ohsstaff@mail.house.gov. House travelers should also register for the U.S. State Department's Smart Traveler Enrollment Program at https://step.state.gov.

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

Sincerely,

Michael Guest
Chairman

Susan Wild
Ranking Member

MG/SW:mc

HOUSE APPENDIX

Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Partnering with Africa: Advancing National Security, Development, and Economic Interests

February 17-24, 2024

Question 4: Provide names and titles of all House Members you are inviting. For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited.

These members are invited due to their subject matter interest and expertise in the geopolitical issues to be discussed at the conference.

Rep. Jim Baird, Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. Earl Blumenauer, Committee on Ways and Means
Rep. Julia Brownley, Committee on Veterans' Affairs
Rep. Larry Bucshon, Committee on Energy and Commerce
Rep. Lou Correa, Committee on Homeland Security
Rep. John Garamendi, Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Robin Kelly, Committee on Energy and Commerce
Rep. Darin LaHood, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
Rep. Doug Lamborn, Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Rick Larsen, Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure
Rep. Kathy Manning, Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. Lucy McBath, Committee on Education and the Workforce
Rep. Jim McGovern, Committee on Agriculture
Rep. Dan Newhouse, Committee on Appropriations

Question 15-B-1: Detail the cost per day of meals (approximate cost may be provided.):
The daily cost of meals is $100. This amount reflects the cost of the daily dinner. The accommodation costs include breakfast. The daily meeting fee includes lunch and snacks. The dinner costs are $67 over the dinner per diem of $33. To provide food with Western standard food handling and preparation practices, these dinner meals are more costly in South Africa and a cost that is reasonable and necessary.

Question 18: Total Lodging Expenses per Participant
The nightly room rate is $190 for five nights. On Feb. 23, a late check-out fee of $95 per room is included in the total room cost given travelers will depart for the airport between 3-6 pm to return to the U.S.

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM
aspen institute

Partnering with Africa: Advancing National Security, Development, and Economic Interests

February 17-24, 2024 | Cape Town, South Africa

AGENDA

Congressional Program Executive Director Charlie Dent moderates the discussion sessions, recognizes Members of Congress who have questions, and is assisted by a timekeeper to ensure the conversation is quick paced and every Member of Congress has an opportunity to ask questions and discuss the issues.

House Member	Depart US	Arrive Cape Town
Jim Baird	February 17 depart Washington, DC at 10 am	February 18 arrive Cape Town at 2:30 pm
Earl Blumenauer	February 17 depart Washington, DC at 6:40 pm	February 18 arrive Cape Town at 4:10 pm
Julia Brownley	February 17 depart Washington, DC at 10 am	February 18 arrive Cape Town at 2:30 pm
Larry Bucshon	**February 17 depart Washington, DC at 3:10 pm**	**February 18 arrive Cape Town at 6:15 pm**
Lou Correa	February 17 depart Los Angeles, CA at 8:50 pm	February 19 arrive Cape Town at 8:05 am
John Garamendi	February 17 depart Washington, DC at 10 am	February 18 arrive Cape Town at 2:30 pm
Robin Kelly	February 17 depart Chicago, IL at 1:10 pm	February 18 arrive Cape Town at 4:10 pm
Darin LaHood	February **18** depart Washington, DC at 4:30 pm	February **19** arrive Cape Town at 6 pm
Doug Lamborn	February 17 depart Washington, DC at 10 am	February 18 arrive Cape Town at 2:30 pm
Rick Larsen	February 17 depart Washington, DC at 10 am	February 18 arrive Cape Town at 2:30 pm
Kathy Manning	February 17 depart Washington, DC at 10 am	February 18 arrive Cape Town at 2:30 pm
Lucy McBath	February 17 depart Atlanta, GA at 10:10 pm	February **19** arrive Cape Town at 8:05 am
Jim McGovern	February 17 depart Boston, MA at 7:30 am	February 18 arrive Cape Town at 12 noon
Dan Newhouse	February **16** depart Washington, DC at 10:05 pm	February 18 arrive Cape Town at 8:05 am

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17:

U.S. participants depart the U.S.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 18:

U.S. participants arrive in Cape Town, South Africa throughout the day.

7 - 9 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. Discussions will focus on food security and health challenges across Africa.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19:

6:30 - 8 AM: Breakfast

8 - 9 AM: Welcome Remarks
Reuben Brigety, *U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa*

The U.S. partnership with Africa is a multifaceted and dynamic relationship that encompasses a wide array of political, economic, and social dimensions. As home to one of the world's fastest growing populations, largest free trade areas, and a significant U.N. voting bloc, Africa's importance to American national security and economic priorities is growing. To elevate the U.S.-African partnership, President Biden hosted leaders from across the continent at a summit in December 2022. Diplomats operating in this context play a crucial role in fostering cooperation, understanding, and mutual benefit between the United States and African nations. They navigate complex geopolitical landscapes, engage in high-level dialogue, and work towards common objectives such as promoting regional stability, countering terrorism and transnational crime, reverse democratic backsliding, and advancing economic development and trade, while also addressing global challenges like climate change, food insecurity and health crises. A diplomat's perspective on the U.S.-Africa partnership highlights the enduring commitment to forging stronger ties and partnerships that can lead to a brighter and more prosperous future for both sides. Ambassador Reuben Brigety is a seasoned diplomatic veteran having served as the U.S. top representative to the African Union a decade ago and as ambassador to South Africa since August 2022.

9 - 9:10 AM: Break

9:10 - 9:15 AM: Introduction and Framework of the Conference
This conference is organized into roundtable conversations, working lunches, site visits, pre-dinner remarks, and working dinners. 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 moderates the discussion sessions. He recognizes Members of Congress with questions, and a timekeeper ensures that every Member of Congress has an opportunity to participate in a discussion with scholars.

Speaker:
Charlie Dent, *Vice President, Aspen Institute*
Executive Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program

9:15 - 10:15 AM: Roundtable Discussion
BRICS and South Africa: Perspectives from the South African Government

The original BRICS membership consisting of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa represents a quarter of the world's wealth and 42 percent of the global population. Founded in 2009/2010, BRICS nations came together to improve the global economy, reform international financial institutions, and forge greater cooperation among its members. BRICS, however, has always faced challenges given their diverse set of priorities, unequal growth, and rivaling interests. Moreover, some members do not want their trade relations with the United States undermined by bloc policies and want to avoid being dragged into tensions between the U.S. and Russia as well as American competition with China. South Africa's participation in BRICS underscores its significance as a key player in global geopolitics and economics. As the only original African nation in the BRICS alliance, South Africa holds a unique position as a bridge between the African continent and the rest of the BRICS nations. This strategic role allows South Africa to facilitate economic cooperation, trade, and investment between Africa and the BRICS bloc. This panel will uncover South Africa's perspective on its geopolitical role in BRICS.

Speaker:
Anil Sooklal, *Ambassador at Large: Asia and BRICS, South Africa's Department of International Relations and Cooperation*

10:15 - 10:30 AM: Break

10:30 AM - Noon: Fireside Chat
U.S. National Security Interests in Africa
Although African nations have infrequently been perceived as central partners in the pursuit of U.S. national security and economic interests, currently and in the years to come, the people and countries in Africa will play a critical role in confronting global threats and challenges that are equally vital to America's well-being. Terrorist organizations, including ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and Al-Shabaab, take advantage of pockets of fragility in Africa, and their presence on the continent poses a direct threat to U.S. interests. The region is home to 30 percent of the world's supply of critical minerals, which are viewed as essential for U.S. national, economic, and environmental security. As U.S. competition and confrontation with China and Russia increases, Africa is becoming a focus of this entanglement. This panel will highlight U.S. national security interests on the continent, the nexus of security with American development and diplomatic efforts, as well as discuss policy opportunities to tackle pressing security challenges.

Moderator:
Liz Schrayer, *President & CEO, U.S. Global Leadership Coalition*

Speakers:
Richard Myers, *Retired U.S. Air Force General and 15th Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff*
Kenneth Ekman, *Major General, United States Air Force; Director, Strategy, Engagement and Programs, U.S. Africa Command, Stuttgart Möhringen, Germany*

Noon - 12:45 PM: Working Lunch
Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on U.S. national security interests with Africa.

1 - 4 PM: Educational Site Visit – Global Fund
The Global Fund has been actively involved in supporting and funding various initiatives across Africa to combat HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis (TB), and malaria. Specifically, the organization has been instrumental in funding initiatives aimed at preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS, providing widespread testing, facilitating access to antiretroviral therapy (ART), and implementing prevention programs. Additionally, the Global Fund has supported TB control efforts, focusing on improving diagnosis, treatment, and prevention strategies. While malaria is not as widespread in South Africa compared to other African countries, the Global Fund contributes to malaria control by distributing bed nets, conducting malaria testing, and providing treatment. Recognizing the importance of robust healthcare systems, the Global Fund invests in health system strengthening, involving infrastructure improvement, healthcare worker training, and overall enhancement of healthcare delivery. The organization prioritizes community engagement and empowerment, working collaboratively with local communities to raise awareness, reduce stigma, and ensure accessible and responsive health services tailored to community needs. Members of Congress will visit a Global Fund facility and hear about the program's impact from beneficiaries.

6 - 8 PM: Pre-Dinner Group Conversation

8 - 9:30 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. Discussions will focus on the site visit today, BRICS, and Global Fund programs in Africa.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20:

6:30 - 7:45 AM: Breakfast

8 - 9:30 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
Supporting Africa's Health Challenges
In recognition of the critical importance of a healthy population for economic and social development, the United States has long been committed to supporting the severe health difficulties facing the continent through various initiatives and partnerships. These efforts encompass a wide range of interventions, from combating infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS, malaria, and Ebola, to strengthening healthcare systems, building healthcare infrastructure, and promoting access to essential medicines and vaccines. The U.S. has also played a pivotal role in global health organizations and initiatives, collaborating with African governments, non-governmental organizations, and international partners to improve healthcare delivery and outcomes. Despite these

successful efforts, much more needs to be done. This panel will focus on how the United States can increase efforts to save lives and build local capacity, but also foster long-term resilience and prosperity in Africa by addressing one of the most fundamental prerequisites for development – good health.

Speakers:
Peter Sands, *Executive Director, The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria*
John N. Nkengasong, *the U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator and Special Representative for Global Health Diplomacy, PEPFAR*
Helen Rees, *Executive Director, Wits Reproductive Health and HIV Institute (RHI)*

9:30 - 9:45 AM: Break

9:45 AM - 11:15 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
The Growing Threats of Food Insecurity and Malnutrition Across Africa
Food insecurity and malnutrition, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, have increased dramatically in recent years due to multiple factors, including the global pandemic, a deepening climate crisis, high energy and fertilizer costs, weakened supply chains, and protracted conflicts, including the war in Ukraine. According to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), in 2022, over 20 million people and at least 10 million children faced severe food shortages in Africa following crop failures and four consecutive dry seasons. Diplomats and aid workers believe that Africa is experiencing a food crisis that is bigger and more complex than the continent has ever seen.

One consequence of the rise in food insecurity is the acute degree of malnutrition. In sub-Saharan Africa, the morbidity and mortality rate from malnutrition is increasing more than in any other place in the world. Young children especially are experiencing the brunt of the lack of adequate nutrition. Globally, malnutrition is responsible for nearly 3 million lives of children under the age of five, representing nearly half of all deaths of young children. Malnutrition kills more children than malaria, tuberculosis, and HIV/AIDS combined. Moreover, child malnutrition has a lifelong compounding impact on health, society, and economies. Malnourished children are subject to physical and cognitive delays, often impeding them from reaching their complete developmental potential with significant and lifelong health, social, and economic implications. The U.S. Government is addressing food security and nutrition challenges through programs such as USAID's Feed the Future and humanitarian food aid support. This panel will brainstorm other policy opportunities that can address malnutrition in Africa.

Speakers:
Christopher Barrett, *Professor of Applied Economics and Management, Cornell University*
William Moore, *Chief Executive Officer, the Eleanor Crook Foundation*

11:30 AM - 12:30 PM: Working Lunch

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on addressing health and malnutrition issues in Africa.

1 - 3:30 PM: Educational Site Visit – PEPFAR/DREAMS
As part of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), the DREAMS program, launched in 2015, offers a comprehensive, multi-sectoral, age-appropriate package of core interventions to address key factors that make girls and young women particularly vulnerable to HIV. Adolescent girls and young women account for 74 percent of new HIV infections among all adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa, and nearly 1,000 adolescent girls and young women are infected with HIV daily. Social isolation, poverty, discriminatory cultural norms, orphanhood, gender-based violence, and inadequate schooling all contribute to their vulnerability to HIV and a life not lived to its full potential. The DREAMS partnership goes beyond individual health initiatives to address these factors. In countries where DREAMS programs are active, including South Africa, new HIV diagnoses among adolescent girls and young women are 25 percent less than in other parts of the continent. Members of Congress will visit a nearby PEPFAR/DREAMS site.

5 - 7 PM: Meeting with Todd Haskell, *U.S. Consul General in Cape Town,* and Members of the South African Parliament and Other Government Officials
Members of Congress will have the opportunity to engage in small group and one-on-one conversations with members of the South African parliamentarians along with Consul General Haskell. These free-flowing discussions will cover topics addressed in the conference as well as other matters of importance to U.S.-South African relations.

7 - 9 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. Discussions will focus on AIDS, malaria, and health challenges across Africa.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21:

6:30 - 8:45 AM: Breakfast

9 - 10:30 AM: Roundtable Discussion
The Importance of the Energy Sector to Africa's Economic Growth
Access to reliable and affordable energy is a linchpin for Africa's economic growth, holding the key to unlocking the continent's vast potential. It underpins industrialization by providing the necessary power for manufacturing and technological advancement, stimulates agricultural productivity, and supports infrastructure development critical for trade and connectivity. Furthermore, access to reliable energy improves education and healthcare services, fostering human capital development. Africa's substantial energy resources, including renewables, also offer opportunities for sustainable development and global leadership in the transition to cleaner energy sources. A well-functioning energy sector not only attracts foreign investment but also

mitigates economic vulnerabilities, making it an essential driver of prosperity and resilience across the continent. There are numerous opportunities for the United States, particularly through the multi-agency Power Africa Initiative that includes investments supported by the U.S. Agency for International Development, the U.S. Development Finance Corporation, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, and others, to partner with African nations and the private sector to strengthen energy capacity across the continent that is critical to Africa's long-term and sustainable economic growth.

Speakers:
David Thompson, *Acting Coordinator, U.S. Power Africa*
Brian Dames, *Chief Executive Officer, African Rainbow Energy and Power*

10:30 - 10:45 AM: Break

10:45 AM - 12:15 PM: Roundtable Discussion:
China and Russia: Geopolitical Interests and Influences in Africa
China and Russia, in particular, exerts considerable influence on the African continent, given its status as Africa's largest trading partner and its growing diplomatic presence and political influence. South Africa's inclusion in BRICS has further amplified this influence, as it enables the country to leverage collective BRICS resources and negotiate more effectively with China. China's extensive investments in African infrastructure, industries, and development projects have reshaped the continent's economic landscape, making South Africa's role in BRICS crucial in navigating these complex dynamics and ensuring mutually beneficial partnerships between China and Africa.

Speaker:
Sanusha Naidu, *Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Global Dialogue, Pretoria*
Philani Mthembu, *Executive Director, Institute for Global Dialogue, Pretoria*

12:30 - 1:15 PM: Working Lunch
Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on Russia's and China's engagement with Africa.

2:30 - 5:30 PM: Members of Congress Meeting with South African President Cyril Ramaphosa
President Cyril Ramaphosa welcomed a bipartisan U.S. Congressional delegation to Cape Town. Discussions highlighted the strong South Africa-U.S. relationship, with a focus on economic, political, and social cooperation. Ramaphosa noted his appreciation of U.S. support in combating HIV/AIDS through PEPFAR. The president and Members of Congress also discussed economic opportunities under AGOA, commitments to peace, security, and development.

7 - 9 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. Discussions will focus on energy as a catalyst for African economic growth, the role of BRICS in the global economy, and China's influence in Africa.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22:

6:30 - 8:45 AM: Breakfast

9 - 11 AM: Site Visit – Amazon Web Services Skills Center
Amazon Web Services (AWS) provides cloud computing services globally, often investing in education and training programs to help individuals and organizations acquire the skills needed to use AWS technologies effectively.

Since 2004, South African organizations have leveraged AWS to bring their visions to life, enhancing the daily experiences of individuals and communities not only within the country but also across the broader African continent and the globe. Innovation persists in ushering in a promising new era, enhancing support for the 43 million South Africans reliant on public healthcare with innovations such as pharmacy dispensing units and smart lockers. South Africa has one of the highest youth unemployment levels in the world with 43 percent of those under 35 without a job. The AWS Skills Center in Cape Town offers free training for young community members with aspirations of working in cloud computing, providing career networking and job placement events with local employers and organizations. Members of Congress will visit the AWS facility to hear more about how the Center helps local job seekers and tech companies in times of employment shortages in South Africa, the continent's most developed economy.

11 AM - 1:30 PM: Lunch and Site Visit – Ener-G-Africa (EGA)
Ener-G-Africa (EGA) was founded in 2017 in Malawi as a solar wholesale company after recognizing the demand for quality sustainable energy products, including solar panels and biomass stoves, outpaced supplies in the country. As only the second such facility in sub-Saharan Africa, Ener-G is 100 percent women operated and partners with the U.S. multi-agency Power Africa Initiative.

Ener-G-Africa is a champion of sustainability in Africa, addressing the obstacles posed by climate change through locally developed sustainable energy solutions and clean energy products, spanning the entire continent. The African continent is rich in possibility and EGA is at the forefront of unlocking its renewable energy potential and building a value chain of manufacturers, suppliers, and distributors across the product spectrum.

Within the last three years, EGA has experienced remarkable growth and diversification. In 2020, the company witnessed a 500 percent surge in stove manufacturing capacity, a doubling of solar product sales, and a 300 percent increase in stove implementation programs. The following year, EGA expanded its operations by establishing a new stove manufacturing facility in Cape Town, resulting in a twofold increase in production output. In 2022, the company took a significant step by commissioning a solar panel assembly plant at its Cape Town headquarters. As of 2023, the solar plant has commenced production, and EGA has inaugurated its second manufacturing plant in Paarl, South Africa, specializing in Advanced Biomass Stoves, cookstove components,

and a cookware line. During this site visit, members of Congress will learn more about how these strategic moves position EGA for continued growth and progress in the renewable energy sector and how the United States supports those efforts.

1:30 - 4 PM: Site Visit – Citrus Farm, African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) Discussion
The African Growth and Opportunity Act, a U.S. trade preference program, provides eligible sub-Saharan African countries, including South Africa, with duty-free access to the U.S. market for a wide range of goods. AGOA aims to promote economic development and integration of African economies into the global trading system.

Among the multiple sectors supported by AGOA is citrus farming in South Africa involving both large commercial farms and smaller-scale operations. South Africa is a major exporter of citrus fruits, including oranges, grapefruits, and lemons. The country's citrus industry is well-established and plays a significant role in the agricultural sector. During this visit to a citrus farm, members of Congress will get a better understanding of how the AGOA initiative, which is up for reauthorization in 2025, contributes to U.S. and local economies.

5 - 6 PM: Pre-Dinner discussion with Paul Siguqa, *Founder, Klein Goederust*
Paul Siguqa, born during the apartheid era in South Africa to a mother who worked as a wine farm laborer and cellar worker for 37 years, is owner of the only fully black-owned winery in Franschhoek, one of South Africa's most prestigious wine valleys. He has an inspiring story about how a poor, black South African, raised in his early years under the apartheid regime, graduated from university, started his own business, and after 15 years of saving money, in 2019 purchased and restored the Klein Goederust Winery. Together with his childhood friend and now winemaker, Rodney Zimba, they transformed the 1905-established winery that had fallen into serious disrepair into a high-quality boutique Franschhoek winery. Members of Congress will hear about his long road to success.

6 - 7:30 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. Discussions will focus on U.S. opportunities and challenges in Africa.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23:

6:30 - 7:30 AM: Breakfast

7:45 AM - Noon: Educational Site Visit – Robben Island and the Nelson Mandela Prison Cell
Robben Island, situated 6.9 kilometers west of Cape Town, is renowned for its historical role as a political prison during the apartheid era. Operating as a maximum-security

prison from the 17th century until 1996, Robben Island held political prisoners, notably Nelson Mandela, for 18 years of his 27-year sentence. Mandela's spartan cell, measuring 2.4 by 2.1 meters, symbolized resistance to apartheid, showcasing harsh conditions and a demanding daily routine. Post-apartheid, the island became a UNESCO World Heritage Site and a museum. Members of Congress will visit these significant symbols in South Africa's history, marking the transition from apartheid oppression to the triumph of democracy.

12:30 - 2 PM: Policy Reflections for Members of Congress

All attendees may remain in the meeting room; however, speaking time is granted only to Members of Congress to discuss policy ideas.

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

3 - 6 PM: Participants depart the hotel for the airport to return to the U.S.

House Member	Depart Cape Town	Arrive US
Jim Baird	February 23 depart Cape Town at 8:50 pm	February 24 arrive Indianapolis, IN at 10:56 am
Earl Blumenauer	February **26** depart Cape Town at 8:50 pm	February **27** arrive Washington, DC at 11:42 am
Julia Brownley	February 23 depart Cape Town at 8:50 pm	February 24 arrive Los Angeles, CA at 11:23 am
Larry Bucshon	February 24 depart Cape Town at 12:03 am	February 24 arrive Washington, DC at 4:40 pm
Lou Correa	February 23 depart Cape Town at 6:45 pm	February 24 arrive Los Angeles, CA at 1:25 pm
John Garamendi	February 23 depart Cape Town at 8:50 pm	February 24 arrive Sacramento, CA at 1:35 pm
Robin Kelly	February 23 depart Cape Town at 8:50 pm	February 24 arrive Chicago, IL at 9:46 am
Darin LaHood	February 24 depart Cape Town at 8:50 pm	February **25** arrive Chicago, IL at 10:35 am
Doug Lamborn	February 23 depart Cape Town at 8:50 pm	February 24 arrive Denver, CO at 10:23 am
Rick Larsen	February 24 depart Cape Town at 12:35 am	February 24 arrive Washington, DC at 3:45 pm
Kathy Manning	February 23 depart Cape Town at 11:30 am	*Personally paying for return airfare and extended time*
Lucy McBath	February 23 depart Cape Town at 8:55 pm	February 24 arrive Atlanta, GA at 8:15 pm
Jim McGovern	February 23 depart Cape Town at 6:45 pm	February 24 arrive Boston, MA at 2:05 pm
Dan Newhouse	February 23 depart Cape Town at 6:45 pm	February 24 arrive Pasco, WA at 8:30 pm
Joan Galvin(spouse)	February 23 depart Cape Town at 6:45 pm	February 25 arrive Sarasota, FL at 10:48 am

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24:

U.S. participants arrive in the United States.

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM
aspen institute

The Honorable Robin Kelly

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0306

Dear Representative Kelly,

I would like to invite you and your son, Ryan, to save the date for our bipartisan, bicameral congressional conference on ***Partnering with Africa: Advancing National Security, Development, and Economic Interests*** in **Cape Town, South Africa, February 18-24, 2024**, including travel dates. While we await the 2024 congressional calendar, please get back to us with your interest to attend the conference **by Friday, October 20, 2023**. These conference spots fill up quickly, so please RSVP as soon as possible.

This educational conference will address a wide array of important issues that have consequences for both the United States and Africa. Through a combination of roundtable discussions led by subject experts, participants will explore national and economic security, global health, food and water security, nutrition, and other development challenges confronting Africa, and how the United States can be a good partner in helping the continent address them. The agenda will include conversations around threats to U.S. national security across Africa and the increasing presence of China on the continent. South Africa recently hosted a meeting of the BRICS bloc (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), agreeing to add six nations to the group. Participants will hear about the implications of this expansion for the United States. Energy is a critical challenge across Africa, including South Africa, and the program will address ways in which the U.S. government and American businesses can help address the problem of inadequate power. Participants will also have the opportunity to engage with South African politicians who will be in session at their Parliament located in Cape Town. The agenda is forthcoming.

Attendance is by invitation only, no outside observers, no lobbyists, no congressional staff, and no media. All conference sessions are off-the-record. No foreign governments or special interest funds are accepted to fund the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. As required by the House and Senate ethics rules, we will provide congressional participants with ethics private sponsor forms completed and signed.

Travel expenses, including business class airfare, meals and lodging will be paid for by the Aspen Institute; no expenses for entertainment or recreation are paid for in compliance with ethics rules.

The Congressional Program is part of the Aspen Institute, Inc. a nonprofit organization founded in 1950. The Congressional Program was created to promote leadership on public policy by bringing together legislators from both political parties with internationally renowned scholars for high level discussions and analysis. Since our program's inception, more than 523 members of Congress have participated in the 156 domestic and international conferences.

We hope you can join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

Chl ~ Dent

Charlie Dent

Charles W. Dent
Former Member, U.S. Congress (PA-15th, 2005-2018)
Vice President and Executive Director
Aspen Institute Congressional Program
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