

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

MEMBER/OFFICER POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM Original Amendment

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for travel taken in connection with a Member or officer's official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual *Financial Disclosure Statement*. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, **you must complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House by email at gifttravelreports@mail.house.gov, 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: Raja Krishnamoorthi
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ **OR** None
b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: 12/6/2024 Return: 12/6/2024
b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ **OR** None
4. Departure City: Washington DC Destination: Williamsburg Return City: Chicago
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: Gates Global Policy
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary): _____

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: In order to attend events in IL-08, left the event early on 12/6.

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

Member / Officer Signature: _____



Date: 12/12/2024

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: Raja Krishnamoorthi

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): Raja Krishnamoorthi

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

Office Address: 2367 Rayburn House Office Building

Telephone Number: (202) 225-3711

Email Address of Contact Person: nicole.malec@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.

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Raja Krishnamoorthi
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: GATES GLOBAL POLICY CENTER FORUM
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: Williamsburg, VA
4. a. Date of Departure: 12/6 Date of Return: 12/7
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: _____
 - (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.**
Congressman Krishnamoorthi - The Gates Global Policy Center Forum is addressing a variety of topics related to the Select Committee on CCP - including US Sanction policies, economic statecraft, and others.
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: _____

Raja Krishnamoorthi

Date: _____

11/14/2024

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:

Robert M. Gates Global Policy Center

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: _____

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 attached paper.

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

6. Date of Departure: Friday, December 6th Date of Return: Saturday, December 8th

7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC

b. Destination(s): Williamsburg, VA

c. City of return: Washington, DC

8. **Check only one.** I represent that

- a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965; **OR**
- b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent; **OR**
- c. The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist / foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.

9. **Check only one of the following.**
- I checked 8(a) or (b) above; **OR**
 - I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging; **OR**
 - I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night; **OR**
 - 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.**
- 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*
 - 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:
See attached paper
-
13. **Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary:**
- Mode of travel: Air Rail Bus Car Other (specify: _____)
 - Class of travel: Coach Business First Charter Other (specify: car)
 - 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:
- 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**
 - The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation. If "b" is checked:
 - Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): _____
 - Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: _____
-
16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:
- Hotel Name: Williamsburg Lodge City: Williamsburg Cost Per Night: \$300.00
 Reason(s) for Selecting: Proximity to William&Mary (location of conference)
- Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
 Reason(s) for Selecting: _____
- Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
 Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

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

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

| <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates | Total Transportation Expenses per Participant | Total Lodging Expenses per Participant | Total Meal Expenses per Participant |
|---|--|---|--|
| For each Member, Officer, or Employee | \$189 Car | \$300.00 | \$160.00 |
| For each Accompanying Family Member | | | |

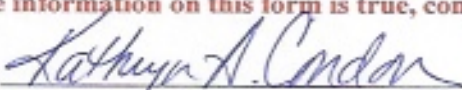
| | Other Expenses (dollar amount per item) | Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.) |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| For each Member, Officer, or Employee | \$10.00 | Parking |
| For each Accompanying Family Member | | |

19. **Check only one:**

- a. I certify that I am an officer of the organization listed below; **OR**
b. *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is an individual or a U.S. institution of higher education.

20. **I certify by my signature that**

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

Signature:  Date: 11/12/24

Name: Kathryn A. Condon Title: CFO

Organization: Robert M. Gates Global Policy Center

Address: PO Box 1257, Newington, Virginia 22122

Email: kathy@gatesglobalpolicy.org Telephone: (703) 505-8339

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

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
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 Arrojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

December 6, 2024

The Honorable Raja Krishnamoorthi
U.S. House of Representatives
2367 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to Williamsburg, Virginia, scheduled for December 6 to 7, 2024, sponsored by Gates Global Policy Center.

Committee travel regulations require that you submit your complete pre-trip approval request to the Committee at least 30 days before the commencement of the trip or it will not be granted. Despite your failure to do so in this instance, we are approving your current request. However, any future requests should adhere to the 30-day requirement.

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.

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

#4: Benjamin Frohman will accompany Representative Raja Krishnamoorthi to the Forum. Benjamin Frohman is the Congressman's National Security Advisor. Representative Raja Krishnamoorthi was personally selected by Secretary Robert M. Gates based on his background related to the Gates Forum topic – U.S. sanctions policies and approach to economic statecraft. All conferees were allowed to bring an expert plus-one to accompany them to the forum. Benjamin Frohman advises Representative Raja Krishnamoorthi on national security/foreign affairs issues.

#12: The Gates Global Policy Center (GGPC) forum will address the need to rethink U.S. sanctions policy and approach to economic statecraft. Participants will discuss the topic and allow the GGPC to craft recommendations for action that will lead to broad support in the administration and bipartisan support in Congress.

Robert M. Gates

August 29, 2024

The Honorable Raja Krishnamoorthi
U.S. House of Representatives

Dear Congressman Krishnamoorthi,

In the hope of providing a catalyst to rethink U.S. sanctions policies and approach to economic statecraft, I am hosting an intimate, closed-door convening at William & Mary in Williamsburg, VA on December 6-7 and inviting around a dozen individuals to tackle this issue in-person. The bipartisan group will include legislators, current and former administration officials, and several private sector experts. I will serve as chair and would welcome your participation.

Sanctions have become a go-to tool for U.S. policymakers seeking to punish and alter the behavior of foreign states, non-state actors, and certain individuals. The United States has been labeled “the only sanctions superpower,” but I am concerned that it often employs economic power in an indiscriminate, *ad hoc*, and counterproductive manner. Indeed, there are now literally thousands of U.S. sanctions in place. Despite the intelligence-driven modernization of sanctions tools, experts note that U.S. sanctions are generally too convoluted, inflexible, difficult to reverse, and increasingly easy to circumvent. Perhaps most importantly, sanctions have been poorly coordinated with other instruments of U.S. national power and often are not tied to attainable policy objectives.

This gathering is the third of our annual “Gates Forums.” In December 2022, we hosted a Forum on strategic communications and public diplomacy, and last year one on development assistance. I attach below the URL/links that will take you to our final reports on those two prior Forums, which I hope you will find of interest:

Strategic Communications: (Note – scroll down the page to access the full report)

<https://www.gatesglobalpolicy.org/reports-gfl-strategic-communications-public-diplomacy>

Development Assistance: (Note – scroll down the page to access the full report)

<https://www.gatesglobalpolicy.org/ggpc-reinvigorating-the-american-development-toolkit>

The objective of each Gates Forum is to come up with specific policy options – structural, programmatic, and budgetary – that offer the Executive Branch and Congress a road map with bipartisan support to significantly improve our capabilities and effectiveness. Our discussions are informed by original research produced by leading experts on the subject from around the country. To support our effort on sanctions and economic diplomacy this year, I have commissioned a series of original research papers on past U.S. success and failures, coordination with our allies and the private sector, integration with other levers of U.S. power, the role of the global south, the development of financial technologies, and the challenges posed by China’s rise.

To confirm your participation or for additional information, please contact General Peter Chiarelli (Retired), President of the Gates Global Policy Center, at Pete@GatesGlobalPolicy.org.

Robert M. Gates

August 29, 2024

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U.S. House of Representatives

Dear Congressman Krishnamoorthi,

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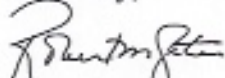
Development Assistance: (Note – scroll down the page to access the full report)
<https://www.gatesglobalpolicy.org/ggpc-reinvigorating-the-american-development-toolkit>

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To confirm your participation or for additional information, please contact General Peter Chiarelli (Retired), President of the Gates Global Policy Center, at Pete@GatesGlobalPolicy.org.

Thank you for your consideration. I hope I am able to host you at William & Mary this December.

Sincerely,



Robert M. Gates

Gates Forum III Economic Statecraft –Sanctions

Thursday, December 5

6:00-6:30 PM Shuttle from the Williamsburg Lodge to the Williamsburg Inn for dinner

6:30-7:30 PM Cocktail reception, East Lounge, Williamsburg Inn

7:30-9:00 PM Icebreaker dinner, East Lounge, Williamsburg Inn

9:00-9:30 PM Shuttle from the Williamsburg Inn to the Williamsburg Lodge

Friday, December 6

8:00-8:30 AM Shuttle from the Williamsburg Lodge to Alumni House

8:00-9:00 AM Breakfast at Alumni House

9:00-9:20 AM Welcome and introductions

President Rowe – Opening remarks

Chancellor Gates – Welcome

Introductions

Gen. (ret.) Pete Chiarelli - Administrative announcements *(The rules of engagement for the forum will be presented. All conferees will listen to the in-depth research presentations prior to discussions in the afternoon.)*

9:20-10:20 AM Discussion of Papers 1 + 2: The Sources of American Financial Power

Paper #1: **“The Sources of American Financial Power and its Challengers,”** by Dr. Daniel McDowell, Maxwell Advisory Board Professor of International Affairs, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University

Paper #2: **“Sanctions and the American Symphony of Power,”** by Dr. Daniel Drezner, Distinguished Professor of International Politics, Fletcher School of Diplomacy, Tufts University

Chancellor Gates leads discussion of topics raised by Papers 1+2

10:20-10:30 AM: BREAK

10:30-12 PM Discussion of Papers 3, 4, and 5: Building an Open Economic Order

Paper #3: **"A New World Re-Order: Geopolitical Shifts Arising from Tomorrow's Financial Systems"** by Yaya Fanusie, Director of Policy for AML & Cyber Risk, Crypto Council; Adjunct Fellow, Center for a New American Security

Paper #4: **"Weaponized Interdependence and the Global South,"** by Samantha Custer, Director of Policy Analysis, AidData

Paper #5: **"China's Economic Statecraft and Implications for the Open Economic Order,"** by Dr. Audrye Wong, Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations, University of Southern California; Jeane Kirkpatrick Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Chancellor Gates leads discussion of topics raised by Papers 3, 4, and 5

12:00-1:00 PM: LUNCH

1:00-2:00 PM: The Need for Coordination

Paper #6: **"Harnessing the Private Sector to Empower U.S. Economic Statecraft,"** by Dr. Will Norris, Associate Professor of International Affairs, The Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M

Paper #7: **"Toward a New Sanctions Multilateralism: How the United States Can Work Better with Allies on Economic Statecraft,"** by Edward Fishman, Senior Research Scholar, Center on Global Energy Policy, Columbia University

Chancellor Gates leads discussion of topics raised by Papers 6 + 7

2:00 to 3:00 PM: Framing the Problem and Identifying Solutions Pt. I *(After the paper presentations all conferees will discuss the presentations and provide their professional expertise to the presented research.)*

Discussion led by Eric Brown, Senior Research Scientist, W&M Global Research Institute; and Dr. Ryan A. Musto, Director of Forums and Research Initiatives, W&M Global Research Institute

3:00-3:15 PM: Break

3:15-4:15 PM: Framing the Problem and Identifying Solutions Pt. II *(After the first framing the problem session, the final afternoon session will continue to discuss potential solutions.)*

Discussion led by Eric Brown and Ryan A. Musto

4:15-4:30 PM: Day 1 Closing Remarks by Chancellor Gates

4:30-5:00 PM from the Alumni House to the Williamsburg Lodge

5:00-6:00 PM Executive Time

6:00-6:30 PM Shuttle from the Williamsburg Lodge to the Wren Building for dinner

6:00-7:00 PM Cocktails

7:00-8:30 PM President's Welcome Dinner (*The Secretary will have the opportunity in an informal session to recap the events of the day and prepare for the following day where the GGPC will listen to the conferee input and make potential options and recommendations.*)

8:30-9:00 PM Shuttle from the Wren Building to the Williamsburg Lodge

Saturday, December 7

8:00-8:30 AM Shuttle from the Williamsburg Lodge to the Alumni House

8:00-9:00 AM Breakfast at Alumni House

9:00-10:45 AM: Identification of possible recommendations

Discussion led by Chancellor Gates (*The GGPC will listen to the conferee input and make potential options and recommendations. A GGPC report will be produced.*)

10:45-11 AM: Break

11:00-12:00 PM **Implementation strategy** (*The last session will discuss how to implement the potential options*)

Discussion led by Chancellor Gates

12:00-12:30 PM Adjournment, boxed lunches to go

12:30-1:00 PM Shuttle from the Alumni House to the Williamsburg Lodge