

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

MEMBER/OFFICER POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM Original Amendment

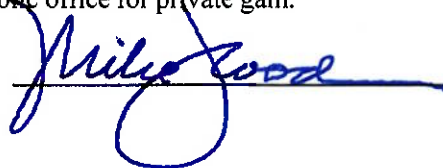
This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for travel taken in connection with a Member or officer's official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual *Financial Disclosure Statement*. In accordance 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: Mike Flood
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ **OR** None
b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: 3/13/25 Return: 3/14/25
b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ **OR** None
4. Departure City: Washington, D.C. Destination: Sea Island, GA Return City: _____
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: American Enterprise Institute
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary): The meetings and events allowed
have discussions with other members and world leaders about economic policy, education reform,
US foreign policy, science and technology, and domestic policy which brought potential solutions
that can be implemented in my role as a member.
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 had to leave Thursday night, so I did not participate in all of the events that were
and Sunday.

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: 3/31/25

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: American Enterprise Institute

2. Travel Destination(s): Sea Island, GA

3. Date of Departure: March 13, 2025 Date of Return: March 14, 2025

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Rep. Mike Flood

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	\$1065.57 (\$491 for coach-class airfare, \$574.57 for ground transportation)	\$612.62	\$700.17	
Accompanying Family Member				

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

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

Signature:  Date: 03/18/2025

Name: S. Christopher Gavin Title: Director, Government Relations

Organization: American Enterprise Institute

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

Address: 1789 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington DC 20036

Telephone: 202-419-5250 Email: chris.gavin@aei.org

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

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

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

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: Mike Flood

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: 343 Cannon House Office Building

Telephone Number: 202-225-4806

Email Address of Contact Person: shelby.mckee@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: Mike Flood
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: American Enterprise Institute
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: Sea Island, GA
4. a. Date of Departure: 3/13/25 Date of Return: 3/16/25
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.**
Attending the World Forum will allow the me to have discussions with other members and world leaders about economic policy, education reform, US foreign policy, science and technology, and domestic policy to discover solutions that can be implemented in my role as a member of Congress.
9. **Yes No Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip?**
10. For staff travelers, to be completed by your employing Member:

ADVANCED AUTHORIZATION OF EMPLOYEE TRAVEL

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

Signature of Employing Member:  Date: 02/11/25

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:

American Enterprise Institute

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 addendum

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

6. Date of Departure: March 13, 2025 Date of Return: March 16, 2025

7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC

b. Destination(s): Sea Island, GA

c. City of return: Member's discretion

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:

AEI is a non-profit, tax-exempt public policy research organization. AEI plans, sponsors, and pays for the entirety of World Forum. The World Forum addresses public policy issues important to AEI research, including the status of economic policy, reforms in higher education, US foreign policy, science and technology, and domestic policy.

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

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

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

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

- a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees; **OR**
- b. The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation. If "b" is checked:

1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): _____

2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: _____

16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:

Hotel Name: The Cloister at Sea Island City: Sea Island, GA Cost Per Night: \$688.73

Reason(s) for Selecting: This is the only lodging option as it's a private island and is the only hotel.

Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____

Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____

Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

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

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

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	See addendum	See addendum	See addendum
For each Accompanying Family Member	See addendum	See addendum	See addendum


	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	N/A	
For each Accompanying Family Member	N/A	

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: 02/07/2025
 Name: S. Christopher Gavin Title: Director, Government Relations
 Organization: American Enterprise Institute
 Address: 1789 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington DC 20036
 Email: chris.gavin@aei.org Telephone: 480-868-1823

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

2025 AEI World Forum

Addendum

Question 4:

Jodey Arrington: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Budget Committee and House Ways and Means Committee.

Ami Bera: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Brendan Boyle: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Budget Committee and House Ways and Means Committee.

Buddy Carter: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Budget Committee and House Energy and Commerce Committee.

Chris Deluzio: This member was invited because of his position on the House Armed Services Committee.

Mario Diaz-Balart: This member was invited because of his position on the House Appropriations Committee.

Byron Donalds: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Committee on Financial Services and House Committee on Oversight.

Mike Flood: This member was invited because of his position on the House Financial Services Committee.

Mike Johnson: This member was invited because of his position as Speaker of the House.

Tom Kean: This member was invited because of his position on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mike Lawler: This member was invited because of his position on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Lisa McClain: This member was invited because of her position in the House Republican Conference, on the House Financial Services Committee, and on the Education and Workforce Committee

John Moolenaar: This member was invited because of his position on the House Select Committee on China.

Blake Moore: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Budget Committee and House Ways and Means Committee.

Jared Moskowitz: This member was invited because of his position on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Jimmy Panetta: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Committee on Armed Services and the Ways and Means Committee.

Scott Peters: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Budget Committee and House Energy and Commerce Committee.

August Pfluger: This member was invited because of his position on the Republican Study Committee, the House Committee on Homeland Security, and on the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

Mike Rogers: This member was invited because of his position on the House Armed Services Committee.

Steve Scalise: This member was invited because of his role as House Majority Leader.

Austin Scott: This member was invited because of his position on the House Armed Services Committee.

Jason Smith: This member was invited because of his role as Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and Joint Committee on Taxation.

Tom Suozzi: This member was invited because of his position on the House Ways and Means Committee.

Ritchie Torres: This member was invited because of his position on the House Financial Services Committee and the Select Committee on China.

Question 18 Addendum:

For each Members, Officer, or Employee

- Total Transportation per Participant: \$976.57 (\$402* for airfare, \$574.57 round trip for ground transportation from JAX to Sea Island.
 - Ground transportation is only charged once per couple and includes taxes and fees
 - *Avg. roundtrip for coach-class airfare, DCA-JAX. Final costs subject to airfare availability, travel dates, and specific return destination.
- Total Lodging per Participant: MAX: \$2,066.19 (\$688.73/night)
 - Lodging rates subject to decrease based on final room availability, room-type assignment, and length of stay.
 - The \$694.90 nightly rate is the maximum rate (including taxes and fees) for the standard room type at Sea Island.
- Total Meal Expenses per Participant: MAX: \$2,177.36 per person. Total also includes \$568.23 in service charges, taxes, and fees.
- (3 Breakfast, \$261 total)(3 Lunch, \$234 total) (3 Receptions, \$202.13 total)(3 Dinner, \$912 total)

For each Accompanying Family Member

- Total Transportation per Participant: \$402 (airfare \$402*)
 - *Avg. roundtrip for coach-class airfare, DCA-JAX. Final costs subject to airfare
- Total Meal Expenses per Participant: MAX: \$2,177.36 per person. Total also includes \$568.23 in service charges, taxes, and fees.
(3 Breakfast, \$261 total)(3 Lunch, \$234 total) (3 Receptions, \$202.13 total)(3 Dinner, \$912 total)

2025 AEI World Forum Agenda



Thursday, March 13

All Day

Registration

Colonial Lounge

3:00–4:15 p.m.

Book Seminars

The Cloister

Tides of Fortune: The Rise and Decline of Great Militaries

Zack Cooper

Kori Schake (Introduction)

Zack Cooper will discuss his recently released book, *Tides of Fortune: The Rise and Decline of Great Militaries*, from Yale University Press. Drawing on a decade of research and his experience at the White House and the Pentagon, Dr. Cooper outlines a novel explanation for how militaries change as they rise and decline. For centuries, the world's most powerful militaries have adhered to a remarkably consistent pattern of behavior. His book tracks the paths of the six great powers of the 20th century and argues that the American and Chinese militaries are following the same well-trodden path. To get on the right side of history, the United States must change course, and quickly.

The Fate of the Day: The War for America, Fort Ticonderoga to Charleston, 1777–1780

Rick Atkinson

Aaron MacLean (Moderator)

The year 2025 marks the 250th anniversary of the start of the American Revolution. An essential part of the story of our nation's founding is our improbable military triumph against Britain. Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Rick Atkinson has been studying this conflict for years, and the second book in his Revolution Trilogy, *The Fate of the Day: The War for America, Fort Ticonderoga to Charleston, 1777–1780*, comes out this spring. Please join him for a seminar on this new book, covering the middle years of the war, including the Battle of Saratoga, Valley Forge, and France's entry. Mr. Atkinson's powerful narrative adds new dimensions to the people and events that won our nation its independence.

5:00–6:00 p.m.

Reception

The Beach Club

6:00–6:10 p.m.

Welcome Remarks

The Beach Club

Robert Doar

6:10–7:15 p.m.

Opening Conversation

The Beach Club

Leadership in the States

Brian Kemp

Ned Lamont

Kevin Stitt

Marc A. Thiessen (Moderator)

Each day, America's governors act as salespeople for their state, negotiators with a legislature, advocates to Washington and the world, responders to disasters, and leaders of an executive branch. With these powers and responsibilities, they must steer their states to balance a budget, grow their economy, educate their youth, provide for public safety, and navigate energy and technological transitions that will upend how their predecessors have done all these things. Please join AEI's Marc A. Thiessen as he welcomes Connecticut Governor Ned Lamont, Georgia Governor Brian Kemp, and Oklahoma Governor J. Kevin Stitt for a conversation on leadership in their states.

7:15–8:30 p.m.

Dinner

The Beach Club

8:30–9:30 p.m.

Evening Conversation

The Beach Club

A Conversation with Jason Smith

David Rubenstein (Moderator)

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8:30–10:15 p.m.

Post-Dinner Reception

Spanish Lounge

Friday, March 14

7:30–9:30 a.m.

Breakfast Available

The Cloister

8:00–9:00 a.m.

Early Bird Sessions

The Cloister

China’s Foreign Influence Operations

John Moolenaar
Derek Scissors
Brandon Wales
Yaqui Wang
Ami Bera
Audrye Wong (Moderator)

How is the Chinese Communist Party trying to manipulate ethnic Chinese communities in the United States and elsewhere? What are the implications of recent Chinese hacking attempts on US infrastructure and telecommunications? To what extent have multinational corporations fallen under the sway of the Chinese government’s demands? And how is the US government responding to China’s wide-ranging influence attempts? This panel will examine the multifaceted nature of Beijing’s political interference and foreign influence activities and assess the threats to US national security and the health of liberal democracies.

How to Understand Gen Z

Kristen Soltis Anderson
Daniel A. Cox
Ramesh Ponnuru (Moderator)

The young are always a mystery to their elders, but today’s young Americans seem to be living exceptionally different lives than their parents and grandparents did. Technology has changed how they learn, work, and socialize, and longstanding norms around dating, marriage, work, play, and politics have seemingly melted away. But are Gen Z Americans really that different from other generations? Join pollster Kristen Soltis Anderson and AEI’s Survey Center director Daniel A. Cox for a conversation about kids today and tomorrow.

The Situation Room: The Wars in Ukraine and the Middle East

Frederick W. Kagan
Kimberly Kagan

Special Exhibit

Black Banks Parlor

Frederick W. Kagan and the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at AEI work closely with their research partner, the Institute for the Study of War (ISW), led by Kimberly Kagan. CTP and ISW are analyzing the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Israel-Hamas war, Syria, and Iran’s activities in the Middle East. The daily update maps are actively used by most major media outlets, including the BBC, CNN, *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, and Reuters. This session will showcase the most recent CTP-ISW assessments of the conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East and provide up-to-date information on the crises.

9:30–10:30 a.m.

Breakout Sessions

The Cloister

A Conversation with Priscilla Chan (tent.)

John Bailey (Moderator)

AI, Cybersecurity, and the Future of American Security

Mike Gallagher
Kevin Mandia
Paul Nakasone
Raj Shah (tentative for this panel)
Klon Kitchen (Moderator)

Artificial intelligence is reshaping the battlefield of cybersecurity, amplifying both threats and defenses. Former Congressman Mike Gallagher, former Director of the National Security Agency Paul Nakasone, and cybersecurity expert

Kevin Mandia examine how AI is transforming cyber operations, the implications for national security, and the urgent need for collaboration between government and industry. This discussion will explore the risks, opportunities, and policies shaping America's ability to defend itself in the AI-driven cyber era.

How America Can Arm Ukraine for Lasting Peace—Without US Taxpayer Dollars

Frederick W. Kagan
Danielle Pletka
Rob Portman
Marc A. Thiessen (Moderator)

As President Donald Trump negotiates an end to Russia's war on Ukraine, he has pledged to continue to provide Kyiv with weapons. But President Trump does not want taxpayers to foot the bill, and he's right. The American people have already been extremely generous, providing \$183 billion in aid to help Ukraine defend itself. So how can the US arm Ukraine without US taxpayer dollars? This panel will discuss how to do so by transitioning Ukraine from being an aid recipient to a defense consumer, using frozen Russian assets and loans guaranteed by Ukraine's natural resources to buy weapons from US defense manufacturers.

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m.

Morning Conversations

The Cloister Ballroom

10:45 a.m.–11:30 a.m.

A Conversation with America's CEOs

Larry Culp
Judy Marks
Joshua Bolten (Moderator)

As a new administration takes office, American businesses are facing broad uncertainty. Tax reform, deregulation, and technological innovation could potentially unlock growth, but geopolitical competition, trade barriers, and a heated political climate pose novel challenges to business leaders: How should businesses respond and adapt, and what does successful corporate leadership look like in 2025? Join former White House Chief of Staff Joshua Bolten and two of America's leading CEOs for a conversation about the present and future of America's business environment.

11:30 a.m.–12:15 p.m.

Executive Power in a New Era

Jack Goldsmith
Don McGahn
Jeff Rosen
Adam White (Moderator)

In returning to the presidency, President Trump has pledged to use the power of the presidential office more aggressively and effectively. How should we expect the new administration to use its authorities, approach the other branches, and shape the separation of powers? And what kinds of challenges might President Trump's approach to his office confront in the coming years? Join leading scholars of the executive branch and former Trump administration officials to think about the legislative branch in President Trump's second term.

12:30–2:00 p.m.

Luncheon

The Beach Club

The Future of America's Political Parties

Karl Rove
Mark Penn
Matthew Continetti (Moderator)

In 2024, President Trump won the presidency for a second time by a decisive margin. The Republican Party made significant gains among black, Hispanic, and rural voters and middle- and lower-income households. And yet, while President Trump's vote share increased significantly from 2016 to 2020, American society remains deeply divided. More Americans than ever are distrustful of their neighbors, skeptical of institutions, and pessimistic about the future. In this polarized climate, can the Democratic Party rebuild its fractured coalition? Or will the realigned GOP continue to expand among traditionally progressive groups and establish a firm hold on American politics?

2:15–3:30 p.m.

Afternoon Sessions

The Cloister

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As of 2/6/2025

Antisemitism at the United Nations: A Global Stain

Hillel Neuer
Brett Schaefer
Danielle Pletka (Moderator, TBD)

Whether it's Secretary-General António Guterres explaining away October 7 with "context," UNRWA's "mind meld" with Hamas, the International Criminal Court's unbalanced vendetta against Israel, the Human Rights Council's disturbing obsession with Israel, or the General Assembly's efforts to reward Hamas for its terrorism, the past year and a half has ripped the mask off the entire UN system's problem with Jews. Nor is this the UN's only blind spot: It was infiltrated agencywide by the Chinese Community Party and incapable of managing the COVID pandemic. The real question is, is the United Nations redeemable?

Solving America's Housing Crisis

Jay Cross
Eric Johnson
Gene Sperling
Ed Glaeser (Moderator)

America's housing market is deeply unbalanced, with demand growing faster than supply and home prices rising faster than many Americans' incomes. To address this, politicians typically want to subsidize homebuyers—putting additional upward pressure on prices. Increasing supply, in contrast, would put more Americans in homes while slowing the growth of prices. Supply constraints are challenging to address because they are set by localities responsive to pressure from current homeowners. But addressing them is crucial: Homeownership is central to the American Dream, wealth accumulation, and strong communities.

The US Economy in 2025: Inflation, Disruption, and Growth

Jason Furman
Jan Hatzius
Michael R. Strain
Mark Zandi
James Pethokoukis (Moderator)

What is the state of the economy in the first quarter of 2025? Is inflation stuck above the Fed's target? Can the expansion withstand President Trump's trade and immigration policies? How big an economic boost will deregulation and tax cuts provide? Will AI spending dwarf the negative effect of policy errors? What role will heightened geopolitical tensions play? Join our panel of leading economists to discuss their outlook for 2025.

3:30–5:00 p.m.

Afternoon Break

3:45–4:45 p.m.

Special Exhibit

Black Banks Parlor

The Situation Room: The Wars in Ukraine and the Middle East

Frederick W. Kagan
Kimberly Kagan

Frederick W. Kagan and the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at AEI work closely with their research partner, the Institute for the Study of War (ISW), led by Kimberly Kagan. CTP and ISW are analyzing the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Israel-Hamas war, Syria, and Iran's activities in the Middle East. The daily update maps are actively used by most major media outlets, including the BBC, CNN, *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, and Reuters. This session will showcase the most recent CTP-ISW assessments of the conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East and provide up-to-date information on the crises.

5:00–6:30 p.m.

Evening Conversations

The Cloister Ballroom

5:00–5:45 p.m.

A Conversation with Eva Moskowitz

Robert Doar (Moderator)

Success Academy Charter Schools in New York City is one of the most successful school systems in the country. Founded in 2006 with just one school serving 165 kindergarteners and first graders, it has grown to over 57 schools serving over 22,000 students. On test scores, graduation rates, college admissions, and other metrics, its students—many of whom are minorities or from single-parent families—are high achievers. As Success Academy's

founder and CEO since day one, Eva Moskowitz has been the driving force behind these accomplishments. Join her and AEI President Robert Doar for a conversation about how she does it and what lessons American schools can learn from Success Academy.

5:45–6:30 p.m.

A Conversation with Jonathan Haidt

Yuval Levin (Moderator)

Scheduling constraint: needs to be on Friday

Jonathan Haidt has become America's leading advocate for replacing the "phone-based childhood" by recovering the "play-based childhood." What's at stake in the war over screens and social media in children's lives? What's the role of public policy, and education and culture, in advancing this agenda? And what is the evidence behind his concerns? Dr. Haidt joins AEI's Yuval Levin for a conversation about the future of childhood in America.

6:30–7:15 p.m.

Reception

The Cloister

7:15–8:30 p.m.

Dinner

The Cloister

8:30–10:15 p.m.

Post-Dinner Reception

The Cloister

8:45–9:45 p.m.

Starlight Chats

The Cloister

A Conversation with Allen C. Guelzo

Ben Sasse (Moderator)

The Civil War never loses its resonance. In every generation, in light of new challenges, reflecting on our greatest national crisis offers us fresh ways to think about American ideals and the nature of statesmanship. Join Allen C. Guelzo (our greatest living Civil War historian) and Senator Ben Sasse (himself a historian, and a political and educational leader) for a conversation about the meaning of that era and the importance of teaching and learning history in 21st-century America.

A Conversation with Masih Alinejad

Kori Schake (Moderator)

Masih Alinejad is one of the most important voices for women's rights and human rights in Iran today. Born and raised in the country, she started her career as a political journalist and columnist, exposing corruption and challenging the Islamic Republic's leaders until she was forced into exile after the disputed 2009 presidential election. Living in America, she has continued to document the regime's abuses and challenge discrimination against women through civil disobedience campaigns, work which has made her the target of kidnapping and assassination attempts. Join her and AEI's Kori Schake for a conversation about Ms. Alinejad's work and the past, present, and future of Iran's regime.

A Conversation with Phil Gramm on Free Trade, Free Markets, and Free People

Michael R. Strain (Moderator)

Phil Gramm was a leader in the US Senate, serving as chairman of the Banking Committee. Since leaving Congress, he has been a leader in the public square. Most recently, Senator Gramm has been one of the strongest voices in favor of free trade. This should come as no surprise, as he has long been an important voice for free markets and free people. Join him in conversation with Michael R. Strain to discuss the importance of economic liberty, the state of politics, and Senator Gramm's life and career.

Saturday, March 15

7:30–9:30 a.m.

Breakfast Available

The Cloister

8:00–9:00 a.m.

Early Bird Sessions

The Cloister

A Conversation on the Future of the Press

Chris Best

A. G. Sulzberger

Chris Stirewalt (Moderator)

The news media is being disrupted by new technology. Many media leaders also worry about disruption from politics. How will longstanding institutions evolve, and how are new media companies reimagining journalism? Are First Amendment press freedoms safe? Join A. G. Sulzberger, publisher of *The New York Times*, and Chris Best, the cofounder and CEO of Substack, for a conversation on journalism.

What does the life of Zhou Enlai teach us about China today?

Audrye Wong (Moderator)

From the Chinese Communist Party's revolutionary roots to China's growing global engagement, Zhou Enlai played a central role as architect and executor of Chairman Mao Zedong's domestic and foreign policies. He has been exalted as a consummate statesman but also criticized for his self-preserving loyalty to Mao despite the latter's disastrous and violent excesses. In an impressive new biography, Jian Chen, a leading historian of the Cold War and China's foreign policy, investigates the origins and legacies of a crucial figure in modern Chinese history. Join us to discuss how Zhou's aspirations and paradoxes illuminate the CCP's trajectory and China's contemporary transformation into a global power.

8:00–10:30 a.m.

Special Exhibit

Black Banks Parlor

The Situation Room: The Wars in Ukraine and the Middle East

Frederick W. Kagan
Kimberly Kagan

Frederick W. Kagan and the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at AEI work closely with their research partner, the Institute for the Study of War (ISW), led by Kimberly Kagan. CTP and ISW are analyzing the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Israel-Hamas war, Syria, and Iran's activities in the Middle East. The daily update maps are actively used by most major media outlets, including the BBC, CNN, *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, and Reuters. This session will showcase the most recent CTP-ISW assessments of the conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East and provide up-to-date information on the crises.

9:30–10:30 a.m.

Breakout Sessions

The Cloister

Fixing the Crumbling Foundations of America's Military

Mark Bowden
Mackenzie Eaglen
Heather Wilson
Raj Shah (tentative for this panel)
Kori Schake (Moderator)

America has typically avoided war to achieve political objectives. Once underway, our citizenry demands no fair fight. But the portion of the defense budget that yields combat power to deter mercantilist China and revisionist Russia has collapsed, and innovation in the armed forces is completely stalled. Great ideas from tech or venture capital companies are almost never fielded at scale. Cultural resistance in the bureaucracy keeps defense primes on autopilot. The defense industrial base must be strengthened and broadened so military investments can better bolster combat forces and restore deterrence in a fiscally responsible way. Is America up to the task?

How Will Artificial Intelligence Change the World?

Greg Brockman
Erik Brynjolfsson
Scott Gottlieb
Connor Zwick
John Bailey (Moderator)

AI has captured the imaginations of scholars, business leaders, and government officials. The year 2023 will be remembered as a turning point in history—the year when humans and machines could converse in natural language and chatbots passed the Turing test. Since then, investors have poured huge sums into AI infrastructure. But beyond impressive chatbots, how specifically will AI change the world? Join this panel of scholars and technology leaders to learn about current and potential ways to apply AI to education, language acquisition, drug development, medical care, and more.

Tax Reform: Here We Go Again

Brian Deese
Glenn Hubbard
Alex Brill (Moderator)

CONFIDENTIAL

In 2017, Republicans in Congress and President Donald Trump enacted historic tax reform, reducing the corporate tax rate and temporarily cutting household taxes. Those temporary cuts expire at the end of this year, and extending them is a top priority for the second Trump administration and congressional Republicans. But how? Will Congress roll back the 2017 cap on the state and local tax deduction? Will the corporate rate come down further? Will any households see their taxes increase? What about Trump's promise to eliminate the tax on tips? And how will Congress avoid blowing out the deficit? Join our panel of experts and members of Congress to find out what changes are on the horizon.

10:45–12:00 p.m.

Morning Conversation

The Cloister Ballroom

A Conversation with University Presidents

James Clements
Ron Daniels
Daniel Diermeier
Benjamin Storey (Moderator)

From battles over free expression and affirmative action to an explosion of antisemitism, campus controversies have been rampant in recent years. But not all elite universities are alike. How do academic leaders who perceive the problem with campus politicization seek to address it and preserve the academic ethos? The presidents of Clemson University, Johns Hopkins University, and Vanderbilt University join AEI's Benjamin Storey for a conversation about the future of the academy.

12:15–1:45 p.m.

Luncheon

The Beach Club

A Conversation with Alexander Karp

Joe Lonsdale (Moderator, not confirmed)

Alexander Karp has grown Palantir into a world-class software company by applying cutting-edge innovation to advance national security and competing against market incumbents and an ossified federal procurement bureaucracy. How can the Trump administration and Congress clear obstacles to American innovation and encourage the renaissance in hardware and software development for national security that a world full of dangers will require? Join Palantir founder and CEO Dr. Karp and investor Joe Lonsdale for a one-on-one conversation on this urgent challenge facing America and the West.

2:00–3:15 p.m.

Afternoon Sessions

The Cloister

Congress in a New Era

Moderator TBD

Our politics tends to focus on the presidency, but durable policy change must happen in Congress. With the narrowest House majority in generations and a closely divided Senate, how do members now think about advancing their agendas? How do they regard the president's assertions of power? And what are the prospects for progress on the country's long-term challenges?

"Drill, Baby, Drill": Energy Markets in the Age of Trump and AI

Greg Brockman
Chris Miller
Marc Sumerlin
Daniel Yergin
Roger Pielke, Jr. (Moderator)

In his inaugural address, President Trump promised to declare a national energy emergency to increase domestic energy production, saying "we will drill, baby, drill." Simultaneously, the likely energy demands of AI technology has increased interest in energy production from a variety of sources, including some that were recently taboo, such as nuclear power. What is the future of energy technology and production? How will markets respond?

Israel and the Middle East

Elliott Abrams
Eyal Hulata
Walter Russell Mead
Danielle Pletka (Moderator, tent.)

After the devastating attacks of October 7, Israel has upended the entire region. Iran and its terrorist proxies, Lebanon, and Syria are shadows of their former selves. Iran has never been so weak. Can Israel capitalize on this moment to forge a new era? Can President Donald Trump pull off another Abraham Accords–style miracle? Or, as the Hamas war winds to a close, will it be back to the future, with Hamas again in charge of Gaza, Hezbollah in charge of Lebanon, and Iran in possession of a nuclear weapon?

3:15–5:00 p.m.	Afternoon Break	
3:30–4:45 p.m.	Special Exhibit	Black Banks Parlor

The Situation Room: The Wars in Ukraine and the Middle East

Frederick W. Kagan
Kimberly Kagan

Frederick W. Kagan and the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at AEI work closely with their research partner, the Institute for the Study of War (ISW), led by Kimberly Kagan. CTP and ISW are analyzing the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Israel-Hamas war, Syria, and Iran’s activities in the Middle East. The daily update maps are actively used by most major media outlets, including the BBC, CNN, *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, and Reuters. This session will showcase the most recent CTP-ISW assessments of the conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East and provide up-to-date information on the crises.

5:00–6:00 p.m.	Evening Conversation	The Cloister Ballroom
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Evening Conversation

5:00 p.m.	Shuttle Departs for Mass* <i>*Mass will begin at 5:30 p.m. at St. William Catholic Church. Shuttles will return to the Cloister at 6:45 p.m.</i>	The Cloister
6:00–7:00 p.m.	Reception	The Cloister
7:15–8:30 p.m.	Dinner	The Cloister
8:30–10:30 p.m.	Post-Dinner Reception	The Cloister
8:45–9:45 p.m.	Starlight Chats	The Cloister

A Conversation with Paul Finebaum

Robert Doar (Moderator, tent.)

At a time when college sports are undergoing a sea change, Paul Finebaum has become one of the most prominent sports media voices in the country. Starting his career as a sportswriter in Alabama, Mr. Finebaum has had a front-row seat as a radio host and ESPN television personality to the transformative effects of trends like conference realignment, financial compensation for athletes, sports gambling, and increasingly pervasive media coverage on college athletics. As the pace of these changes shows little sign of slowing, join him for a wide-ranging conversation on the future of college sports and sports media and their changing place in American life.

A Conversation with Vladimir Kara-Murza

Angela Stent (Moderator)

As a Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist, filmmaker, and politician, Vladimir Kara-Murza has been a leading Russian opposition figure against President Vladimir Putin for more than two decades. In 2022, he was arrested and imprisoned for publicly criticizing the invasion of Ukraine, and in 2024 he was freed in a multilateral prisoner exchange. Since his release, he has worked to promote Russian freedom, support Ukrainian resistance, and isolate Putin internationally. Join Mr. Kara-Murza and Russian foreign policy expert Angela Stent for a conversation about his experiences, the nature of Putin’s regime, and Russia’s future.

Starlight Conversation with Jonah Goldberg

Sunday, March 16

7:30–10:15 a.m.	Breakfast Available	The Cloister
7:30 a.m.	Shuttle Departs for Mass* <i>*Mass will begin at 8:00 a.m. at St. William Catholic Church. Shuttles will return to the Cloister at 9:15 a.m.</i>	The Cloister
9:00–10:15 a.m.	Early Bird Sessions	The Cloister

America at 250
Yuval Levin (Moderator)

Challenges and Priorities for the 119th Congress

9:15 a.m.	Return from Mass	The Cloister
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DRAFT

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:

American Enterprise Institute

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 addendum

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

6. Date of Departure: March 13, 2025 Date of Return: March 16, 2025

7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC or member's discretion

b. Destination(s): Sea Island, GA

c. City of return: Member's discretion

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:
- AEI is a non-profit, tax-exempt public policy research organization. AEI plans, sponsors, and pays for the entirety of World Forum. The World Forum addresses public policy issues important to AEI research, including the status of economic policy, reforms in higher education, US foreign policy, science and technology, and domestic policy.
-

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

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

15. **Check only one.** I represent that either:
- a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees; **OR**
 - b. The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation. If “b” is checked:
 - 1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): _____
 - 2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: _____
-

16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:

Hotel Name: The Cloister at Sea Island City: Sea Island, GA Cost Per Night: \$688.73
 Reason(s) for Selecting: This is the only lodging option as it's a private island and is the only hotel.

Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
 Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
 Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

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

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

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	See addendum	See addendum	See addendum
For each Accompanying Family Member	See addendum	See addendum	See addendum

	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	N/A	
For each Accompanying Family Member	N/A	

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: _____ *S. Christopher Gavin* Date: 02/07/2025
 Name: S. Christopher Gavin Title: Director, Government Relations
 Organization: American Enterprise Institute
 Address: 1789 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington DC 20036
 Email: chris.gavin@aei.org Telephone: 480-868-1823

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

2025 AEI World Forum

Addendum

Question 4:

Jodey Arrington: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Budget Committee and House Ways and Means Committee.

Ami Bera: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Brendan Boyle: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Budget Committee and House Ways and Means Committee.

Buddy Carter: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Budget Committee and House Energy and Commerce Committee.

Chris Deluzio: This member was invited because of his position on the House Armed Services Committee.

Mario Diaz-Balart: This member was invited because of his position on the House Appropriations Committee.

Byron Donalds: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Committee on Financial Services and House Committee on Oversight.

Mike Flood: This member was invited because of his position on the House Financial Services Committee.

Mike Johnson: This member was invited because of his position as Speaker of the House.

Tom Kean: This member was invited because of his position on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mike Lawler: This member was invited because of his position on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Lisa McClain: This member was invited because of her position in the House Republican Conference, on the House Financial Services Committee, and on the Education and Workforce Committee

Richard McCormick: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Armed Services Committee and House Committee on Space, Science, and Technology.

John Moolenaar: This member was invited because of his position on the House Select Committee on China.

Blake Moore: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Budget Committee and House Ways and Means Committee.

Jared Moskowitz: This member was invited because of his position on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Jimmy Panetta: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Committee on Armed Services and the Ways and Means Committee.

Scott Peters: This member was invited because of his positions on the House Budget Committee and House Energy and Commerce Committee.

August Pfluger: This member was invited because of his position on the Republican Study Committee, the House Committee on Homeland Security, and on the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

Mike Rogers: This member was invited because of his position on the House Armed Services Committee.

Steve Scalise: This member was invited because of his role as House Majority Leader.

Elise Stefanik: This member was invited because of her position on the Armed Services Committee.

Austin Scott: This member was invited because of his position on the House Armed Services Committee.

Jason Smith: This member was invited because of his role as Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and Joint Committee on Taxation.

Tom Suozzi: This member was invited because of his position on the House Ways and Means Committee.

Ritchie Torres: This member was invited because of his position on the House Financial Services Committee and the Select Committee on China.

Question 18 Addendum:

For each Members, Officer, or Employee

- Total Transportation per Participant: \$976.57 (\$402* for airfare, \$574.57 round trip for ground transportation from JAX to Sea Island.
 - Ground transportation is only charged once per couple and includes taxes and fees
 - *Avg. roundtrip for coach-class airfare, DCA-JAX. Final costs subject to airfare availability, travel dates, and specific return destination.
- Total Lodging per Participant: MAX: \$2,066.19 (\$688.73/night)
 - Lodging rates subject to decrease based on final room availability, room-type assignment, and length of stay.
 - The \$694.90 nightly rate is the maximum rate (including taxes and fees) for the standard room type at Sea Island.
- Total Meal Expenses per Participant: MAX: \$2,177.36 per person. Total also includes \$568.23 in service charges, taxes, and fees.
- (3 Breakfast, \$261 total)(3 Lunch, \$234 total) (3 Receptions, \$202.13 total)(3 Dinner, \$912 total)

For each Accompanying Family Member

- Total Transportation per Participant: \$402 (airfare \$402*)
 - *Avg. roundtrip for coach-class airfare, DCA-JAX. Final costs subject to airfare
- Total Meal Expenses per Participant: MAX: \$2,177.36 per person. Total also includes \$568.23 in service charges, taxes, and fees.
(3 Breakfast, \$261 total)(3 Lunch, \$234 total) (3 Receptions, \$202.13 total)(3 Dinner, \$912 total)



ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Washington, DC 20515

March 10, 2025

The Honorable Mike Flood
U.S. House of Representatives
343 Cannon 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 Sea Island, Georgia, scheduled for March 13 to 14, 2025, sponsored by American Enterprise Institute.

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

Mark DeSaulnier
Ranking Member

MG/MD:tn



W O R L D F O R U M

SEA ISLAND, GEORGIA

AGENDA AND PARTICIPANTS

Inbound travel details

Name:	Inbound travel:
Representative Buddy Carter	3/13: driving himself from district home
Representative Mike Flood	3/13: depart DCA 10:20 a.m., arrive JAX at 12:40 p.m.
Representative Rich McCormick	3/13: depart DCA 7:59 a.m., arrive BQK at 11:44 a.m.
Representative John Moolenaar	3/13: depart DCA 12:34 p.m., arrive BQK at 5:30 p.m.
Representative Jimmy Panetta	3/13: depart IAD 1:15 p.m., arrive JAX at 3:32 p.m.
Representative Austin Scott	3/13: driving himself from district home
Representative Elise Stefanik	3/14: depart DCA at 7:40 a.m., arrive JAX at 9:53 a.m.
Representative Tom Suozzi	3/14: depart IAD at 1:48 p.m., arrive BQK at 5:30 p.m.

MARCH 13-16, 2025

Thursday, March 13

Travel day
Reps. Carter, Scott, Flood, McCormick: 3 hours and 15 minutes of programming
Reps. Moolenaar, Panetta: 2 hours and 15 minutes of programming

All Day

Registration

Colonial Lounge

Rep. McCormick is traveling from the airport from 12:05-12:15, Rep. Flood from 1:15-2:15, and both will begin attending the conference with afternoon seminars, sessions, and dinner. Reps. Carter and Scott are driving and will also begin with the seminars, sessions, and dinner.

3:00–4:15 p.m.

Book Seminars (Optional)

The Cloister

The Fate of the Day: The War for America, Fort Ticonderoga to Charleston, 1777–1780

Rick Atkinson
 Aaron MacLean (Moderator)
 Robert Doar (Introduction)

The year 2025 marks the 250th anniversary of the start of the American Revolution. An essential part of the story of our nation’s founding is our improbable military triumph against Britain. Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Rick Atkinson has been studying this conflict for years, and the second book in his Revolution Trilogy, *The Fate of the Day: The War for America, Fort Ticonderoga to Charleston, 1777–1780*, comes out this spring. Please join him for a seminar on this new book, covering the middle years of the war, including the Battle of Saratoga, Valley Forge, and France’s entry. Mr. Atkinson’s powerful narrative adds new dimensions to the people and events that won our nation its independence.

Tides of Fortune: The Rise and Decline of Great Militaries

Zack Cooper
 Kori Schake (Introduction)

Zack Cooper will discuss his recently released book, *Tides of Fortune: The Rise and Decline of Great Militaries*, from Yale University Press. Drawing on a decade of research and his experience at the White House and the Pentagon, Dr. Cooper outlines a novel explanation for how militaries change as they rise and decline. For centuries, the world’s most powerful militaries have adhered to a remarkably consistent pattern of behavior. His book tracks the paths of the six great powers of the 20th century and argues that the American and Chinese militaries are following the same well-trodden path. To get on the right side of history, the United States must change course, and quickly.

Rep. Panetta traveling from airport to Sea Island from 4:00-5:00 and will begin attending the conference with afternoon seminars, sessions, and dinner.

Rep. Moolenaar traveling from airport to Sea Island from 5:50-6:10 and will begin attending the conference with evening sessions dinner.

5:00–6:00 p.m.

Reception

The Beach Club

6:00–6:10 p.m.

Welcome Remarks
 Daniel A. D’Aniello
 Robert Doar

The Beach Club

6:00–7:00 p.m.

Enterprise Club

Trophy Room

Navigating Global Threats: US Strategy, Defense, and Military Readiness

Richard McCormick
 Aaron MacLean (Moderator)

As Russia’s war in Ukraine rages, China continues to threaten Taiwan and the Indo-Pacific, and Iranian aggression continues to destabilize the Middle East, how should the United States respond? What does an appropriate US grand strategy look like? What role will technological advancements play in US military posture? And amidst federal budgetary downsizing, how should lawmakers prioritize key defense budgetary priorities to maintain the US military’s leading edge? Join US Representative Rich McCormick (R-GA) and Aaron MacLean for a conversation on these critical national security questions facing Washington today.

6:10–7:15 p.m.	Opening Conversation Leadership in the States Brian P. Kemp Kevin Stitt Ramesh Ponnuru (Moderator)	The Beach Club Each day, America’s governors act as salespeople for their state, negotiators with a legislature, advocates to Washington and the world, responders to disasters, and leaders of an executive branch. With these powers and responsibilities, they must steer their states to balance a budget, grow their economy, educate their youth, provide for public safety, and navigate energy and technological transitions that will upend how their predecessors have done all these things. Please join AEI’s Ramesh Ponnuru as he welcomes Georgia Governor Brian P. Kemp and Oklahoma Governor Kevin Stitt for a conversation in their leadership in their states.
7:15–8:30 p.m.	Dinner	The Beach Club
8:30–9:30 p.m.	Evening Conversation A Conversation with House Ways and Means Chairman Jason Smith David M. Rubenstein (Moderator)	The Beach Club The year 2025 is crucial for tax policy, as the expiration of provisions of the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, including individual rate cuts, provides an opportunity to extend and expand fiscally responsible pro-growth tax reform. As chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Jason Smith is the chief tax writer for House Republicans and one of the most influential players in crafting both the substance and political strategy of this legislation. What are Republicans’ top priorities, and how will they navigate their narrow majority and differences between the House and Senate? Join Chairman Smith for a conversation about the opportunities and challenges of tax reform in 2025.
8:30–10:15 p.m.	Post-Dinner Reception Travel day	Spanish Lounge
Friday, March 14 Rep. Flood: 6 hours 15 minutes of programming; Rep. Stefanik: 4.5 hours of programming; Reps. Scott, Panetta, Moolenaar: 9.5 hours of programming; Rep. Carter: 9 hours		
7:30–9:30 a.m.	Breakfast Available	The Cloister
8:00–9:00 a.m.	Early Bird Sessions China’s Foreign Influence Operations John Moolenaar Derek Scissors Brandon Wales Yajiu (Rachel) Wang Audrye Wong (Moderator)	The Cloister How is the Chinese Communist Party trying to manipulate ethnic Chinese communities in the United States and elsewhere? What are the implications of recent Chinese hacking attempts on US infrastructure and telecommunications? To what extent have multi-national corporations fallen under the sway of the Chinese government’s demands? And how is the US government responding to China’s wide-ranging influence attempts? This panel will examine the multifaceted nature of Beijing’s political interference and foreign influence activities and assess the threats to US national security and the health of liberal democracies.
	How to Understand Gen Z Kristen Soltis Anderson Daniel A. Cox Ramesh Ponnuru (Moderator)	The young are always a mystery to their elders, but today’s young Americans seem to be living exceptionally different lives than their parents and grandparents did. Technology has changed how they learn, work, and socialize, and long-standing norms around dating, marriage, work, play, and politics have seemingly melted away. But are Gen Z Americans really that different from other generations? Join pollster Kristen Soltis Anderson and AEI’s Survey Center Director Daniel A. Cox for a conversation about kids today and tomorrow.

Special Exhibit

The Situation Room: The Wars in Ukraine and the Middle East

Frederick W. Kagan
Kimberly Kagan

Black Banks Parlor

Frederick W. Kagan and the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at AEI work closely with their research partner, the Institute for the Study of War (ISW), led by Kimberly Kagan. CTP and ISW are analyzing the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Israel-Hamas war, Syria, and Iran’s activities in the Middle East. The daily update maps are actively used by most major media outlets, including the BBC, CNN, *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, and Reuters. This session will showcase the most recent CTP-ISW assessments of the conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East and provide up-to-date information on the crises.

9:30–10:30 a.m.

Breakout Sessions

AI, Cybersecurity, and the Future of American Security

Mike Gallagher
Richard McCormick
Paul M. Nakasone
Kent Walker
Klon Kitchen (Moderator)

The Cloister

Artificial intelligence is reshaping the battlefield of cybersecurity, amplifying both threats and defenses. Former Representative Mike Gallagher, former Director of the National Security Agency Paul M. Nakasone, Representative Richard McCormick, and Google’s Kent Walker examine how AI is transforming cyber operations, the implications for national security, and the urgent need for collaboration between government and industry. This discussion will explore the risks, opportunities, and policies shaping America’s ability to defend itself in the AI-driven cyber era.

A Conversation with Dr. Priscilla Chan

Robert Doar (Moderator)

Priscilla Chan is the co-founder and co-CEO of the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative (CZI). Founded in 2015, CZI is harnessing the power of technology to advance its core mission to help scientists cure, prevent, or manage all diseases by the end of this century. As a tech-driven philanthropy, CZI has supported researchers in learning about human cell behavior, building open-source software tools, and creating scientific institutions to help address some of the biggest challenges in cell biology and imaging. Join Dr. Chan and AEI President Robert Doar for a conversation about the role of philanthropy in developing cutting-edge scientific research and CZI’s work to build a better future for all.

The Future of Ukraine

Frederick W. Kagan
Rob Portman
Marc A. Thiessen
Danielle Pletka (Moderator)

As US-Ukraine relations enter a period of uncertainty, numerous questions are pressing. Is the United States indispensable to Ukrainian victory? Can Europe fill any gap left if the United States ceases to support Ukraine militarily and financially? Is this a harbinger of the end of the transatlantic alliance? Or are relations recoverable? There’s also the question of a new basis for relations between Washington and Kyiv: Can a minerals deal resuscitate Trump-Zelensky ties? And finally, what does this mean for Russia and the new axis of evil?

Rep. Stefanik is traveling from the airport from 10:20-11:20 and will begin participating in the conference with afternoon sessions.

10:55 a.m. **Rep. McCormick departs conference**

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. Morning Conversations

Challenges and Opportunities for the Trump Presidency

10:45–11:30 a.m.

H. Lawrence Culp Jr.
Judy Marks
Chris Stirewalt (Moderator)

The Cloister Ballroom

A Conversation with America's CEOs

As a new administration takes office, American businesses are facing broad uncertainty. Tax reform, deregulation, and technological innovation could potentially unlock growth, but geopolitical competition, trade barriers, and a heated political climate pose novel challenges to business leaders. How should businesses respond and adapt, and what does successful corporate leadership look like in 2025? Join AEI's Chris Stirewalt and two of America's leading CEOs for a conversation about the present and future of America's business environment.

11:30 a.m.–12:15 p.m.

Jack Landman Goldsmith
Don McGahn
Jeffrey A. Rosen
Adam J. White
Yuval Levin (Moderator)

Executive Power in a New Era

In returning to the presidency, President Trump has pledged to use the power of the presidential office more aggressively and effectively. How should we expect the new administration to use its authorities, approach the other branches, and shape the separation of powers? And what kinds of challenges might President Trump's approach to his office confront in the coming years? Join leading scholars of the executive branch and former Trump administration officials to think about the legislative branch in President Trump's second term.

11:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m. Enterprise Club

Shaping US Health Care: The Impact of Policy and Technology

Buddy Carter
Scott Gottlieb (Moderator)

Terrace Room

How are technological advancements and policy decisions reshaping the healthcare landscape? How should policymakers approach this critical sector of the economy and Americans' daily lives? This session will draw on Representative Buddy Carter's experience as Chair of the House Energy and Commerce Committee's Health Subcommittee, a pharmacist, and a businessman, and AEI Senior Fellow Scott Gottlieb's experience as Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration to further explore these pressing questions.

12:30–2:00 p.m. Luncheon

Governing Over a Divided America

Mark Penn
Karl Rove
Matthew Continetti (Moderator)

The Beach Club

American society remains deeply divided. More Americans than ever are distrustful of their neighbors, skeptical of institutions, and pessimistic about the future. The 2024 elections reflected many of these concerns, further highlighting pressing socioeconomic issues, changing demographic trends, and the necessity of challenging policy conversations. With elections in the rearview mirror, how can today's leaders across government address these challenges? What can policymakers do to alleviate Americans' rising concerns on everything from the economy to culture, as well as rebuild lacking trust in institutions? How can leaders govern over a divided America? And with a wafer-thin Republican House majority, where might compromise be necessary—and where might it prove the most complicated?

2:15–3:30 p.m.

Afternoon Sessions

Antisemitism at the United Nations: A Global Stain

Hillel Neuer
 Brett D. Schaefer
 Elise M. Stefanik
 Danielle Pletka (Moderator)

The Cloister

Whether it's Secretary-General António Guterres explaining away October 7 with "context," UNRWA's "mind meld" with Hamas, the International Criminal Court's unbalanced vendetta against Israel, the Human Rights Council's disturbing obsession with Israel, or the General Assembly's efforts to reward Hamas for its terrorism, the past year and a half has ripped the mask off the entire UN system's problem with Jews. Nor is this the UN's only blind spot: It was infiltrated agencywide by the Chinese Communist Party and incapable of managing the COVID pandemic. The real question is: Is the United Nations redeemable?

Solving America's Housing Crisis

L. Jay Cross
 Mike Flood
 Gene Sperling
 Kevin Stitt
 Edward L. Glaeser (Moderator)

America's housing market is deeply unbalanced, with demand growing faster than supply and home prices rising faster than many Americans' incomes. To address this, politicians typically want to subsidize homebuyers—putting additional upward pressure on prices. Increasing supply, in contrast, would put more Americans in homes while slowing the growth of prices. Supply constraints are challenging to address because they are set by localities responsive to pressure from current homeowners. But addressing them is crucial: Homeownership is central to the American Dream, wealth accumulation, and strong communities.

The US Economy in 2025: Inflation, Disruption, and Growth

Jason Furman
 Jan Hatzius
 Michael R. Strain
 Mark Zandi
 James Pethokoukis (Moderator)

What is the state of the economy in the first quarter of 2025? Is inflation stuck above the Fed's target? Can the expansion withstand President Trump's trade and immigration policies? How big an economic boost will deregulation and tax cuts provide? Will AI spending dwarf the negative effect of policy errors? What role will heightened geopolitical tensions play? Join our panel of leading economists to discuss their outlook for 2025.

3:30–5:00 p.m.

Afternoon Break

3:40 p.m. **Rep. Flood departs conference**

Special Exhibit

3:45–4:45 p.m.

The Situation Room: The Wars in Ukraine and the Middle East

Frederick W. Kagan
 Kimberly Kagan

Black Banks Parlor

Frederick W. Kagan and the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at AEI work closely with their research partner, the Institute for the Study of War (ISW), led by Kimberly Kagan. CTP and ISW are analyzing the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Israel-Hamas war, Syria, and Iran's activities in the Middle East. The daily update maps are actively used by most major media outlets, including the BBC, CNN, *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, and Reuters. This session will showcase the most recent CTP-ISW assessments of the conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East and provide up-to-date information on the crises.

5:00–6:15 p.m.

Evening Conversation

The Cloister Ballroom

A Conversation with Governor Glenn Youngkin

Kristen Soltis Anderson (Moderator)

Glenn Youngkin is entering his fourth and final year in his term-limited time as Virginia’s governor in 2025. On the campaign trail and in office, Governor Youngkin has successfully navigated the challenges of winning elections and effectively governing as a Republican in a purple state, creating a healthy business environment and economic growth while pursuing an innovative and principled policy agenda on issues like education and artificial intelligence. Does Virginia point the way to a center-right agenda that can both unify conservatives and win over moderates? Join Governor Youngkin for a conversation about his experiences and the broader lessons the country can learn from his state.

Rep. Suozzi is traveling from the airport from 5:50-6:10 and will begin participating in the conference with reception, dinner, and evening session.

6:15–7:15 p.m.

Reception

The Cloister

7:15–8:30 p.m.

Dinner

The Cloister

8:30–10:15 p.m.

Post-Dinner Reception

The Cloister

8:45–9:45 p.m.

Starlight Chats

The Cloister

A Conversation with Phil Gramm on Free Trade, Free Markets, and Free People

Michael R. Strain (Moderator)

Phil Gramm was a leader in the US Senate, serving as chairman of the Banking Committee. Since leaving Congress, he has been a leader in the public square. Most recently, Senator Gramm has been one of the strongest voices in favor of free trade. This should come as no surprise, as he has long been an important voice for free markets and free people. Join him in conversation with Michael R. Strain to discuss the importance of economic liberty, the state of politics, and Senator Gramm’s life and career.

A Conversation with Vladimir Kara-Murza

Angela Stent (Moderator)

As a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, filmmaker, and politician, Vladimir Kara-Murza has been a leading Russian opposition figure against President Vladimir Putin for more than two decades. In 2022, he was arrested and imprisoned for publicly criticizing the invasion of Ukraine, and in 2024 he was freed in a multilateral prisoner exchange. Since his release, he has worked to promote Russian freedom, support Ukrainian resistance, and isolate Putin internationally. Join Mr. Kara-Murza and Russian foreign policy expert Angela Stent for a conversation about his experiences, the nature of Putin’s regime, and Russia’s future.

Travel day

Rep. Stefanik 0 hours, Suozzi: 2 hours of programming; Reps. Scott, Panetta, Moolenaar, Carter: 9 hours 15 minutes of programming

Saturday, March 15

7:25 a.m. **Rep. Stefanik departs conference**

7:30–9:30 a.m.

Breakfast Available

The Cloister

8:00–9:00 a.m.

Early Bird Sessions

The Cloister

A Conversation on the Future of the Press

Chris Best

AG Sulzberger

Chris Stirewalt (Moderator)

The news media is being disrupted by new technology. Many media leaders also worry about disruption from politics. How will long-standing institutions evolve, and how are new media companies reimagining journalism? Are First Amendment press freedoms safe? Join AG Sulzberger, publisher of *The New York Times*, and Chris Best, the cofounder and CEO of Substack, for a conversation on journalism.

A Conversation with University Presidents

James P. Clements
 Ronald Daniels
 Daniel Diermeier
 Benjamin Storey (Moderator)

From battles over free expression and affirmative action to an explosion of antisemitism, campus controversies have been rampant in recent years. But not all elite universities are alike. How do academic leaders who perceive the problem with campus politicization seek to address it and preserve the academic ethos? The presidents of Clemson University, Johns Hopkins University, and Vanderbilt University join AEI's Benjamin Storey for a conversation about the future of the academy.

8:00–10:30 a.m.

Special Exhibit

The Situation Room: The Wars in Ukraine and the Middle East

Frederick W. Kagan
 Kimberly Kagan

Black Banks Parlor

Frederick W. Kagan and the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at AEI work closely with their research partner, the Institute for the Study of War (ISW), led by Kimberly Kagan. CTP and ISW are analyzing the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Israel-Hamas war, Syria, and Iran's activities in the Middle East. The daily update maps are actively used by most major media outlets, including the BBC, CNN, *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, and Reuters. This session will showcase the most recent CTP-ISW assessments of the conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East and provide up-to-date information on the crises.

9:30–10:30 a.m.

Breakout Sessions

"Drill, Baby, Drill": Energy Markets in the Age of Trump and AI

Greg Brockman
 Chris Miller
 Marc Sumerlin
 Daniel Yergin
 Roger Pielke Jr. (Moderator)

The Cloister

In his inaugural address, President Trump promised to declare a national energy emergency to increase domestic energy production, saying, "We will drill, baby, drill." Simultaneously, the likely energy demands of AI technology have increased interest in energy production from a variety of sources, including some that were recently taboo, such as nuclear power. What is the future of energy technology and production? How will markets respond?

Tax Reform: Here We Go Again

Buddy Carter
 Bill Cassidy
 Brian Deese
 R. Glenn Hubbard
 Thomas Suozzi
 Alex Brill (Moderator)

In 2017, Republicans in Congress and President Trump enacted historic tax reform, reducing the corporate tax rate and temporarily cutting household taxes. Those temporary cuts expire at the end of this year, and extending them is a top priority for the second Trump administration and congressional Republicans. But how? Will Congress roll back the 2017 cap on the state and local tax deduction? Will the corporate rate come down further? Will any households see their taxes increase? What about Trump's promise to eliminate the tax on tips? And how will Congress avoid blowing out the deficit? Join our panel of experts and members of Congress to find out what changes are on the horizon.

What Does the Life of Zhou Enlai Teach Us About China Today?

Chen Jian
 Audrye Wong (Moderator)

From the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) revolutionary roots to China's growing global engagement, Zhou Enlai played a central role as architect and executor of Chairman Mao Zedong's domestic and foreign policies. He has been exalted as a consummate statesman but also criticized for his self-preserving loyalty to Mao despite the latter's disastrous and violent excesses. In an impressive new biography, Chen Jian, a leading historian of the Cold War and China's foreign policy, investigates the origins and legacies of a crucial figure in modern Chinese history. Join us to discuss how Zhou's aspirations and paradoxes illuminate the CCP's trajectory and China's contemporary transformation into a global power.

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. Morning Conversations
How to Best Educate Children

The Cloister Ballroom

10:45–11:30 a.m.
 Robert Doar (Moderator)

A Conversation with Eva Moskowitz

Success Academy Charter Schools in New York City is one of the most successful school systems in the country. Founded in 2006 with just one school serving 165 kindergarteners and first graders, it has grown to over 57 schools serving over 22,000 students. On test scores, graduation rates, college admissions, and other metrics, its students—many of whom are minorities or from single-parent families—are high achievers. As Success Academy’s founder and CEO since day one, Eva Moskowitz has been the driving force behind these accomplishments. Join her and AEI President Robert Doar for a conversation about how she does it and what lessons American schools can learn from Success Academy.

11:00 a.m. **Rep. Suozzi departs conference**

11:30 a.m.–12:15 p.m.
 Yuval Levin (Moderator)

A Conversation with Jonathan Haidt

Jonathan Haidt has become America’s leading advocate for replacing the “phone-based childhood” by recovering the “play-based childhood.” What’s at stake in the war over screens and social media in children’s lives? What’s the role of public policy, and education and culture, in advancing this agenda? And what is the evidence behind his concerns? Dr. Haidt joins AEI’s Yuval Levin for a conversation about the future of childhood in America.

12:30–2:00 p.m. Luncheon
A Conversation with Alex Karp
 Joe Lonsdale (Moderator)

The Beach Club

Alex Karp has grown Palantir into a world-class software company by applying cutting-edge innovation to advance national security and competing against market incumbents and an ossified federal procurement bureaucracy. How can the Trump administration and Congress clear obstacles to American innovation and encourage the renaissance in hardware and software development for national security that a world full of dangers will require? Join Dr. Karp, Palantir co-founder and CEO, and Joe Lonsdale, Palantir co-founder and 8VC managing partner, for a one-on-one conversation on this urgent challenge facing America and the West.

2:15–3:30 p.m. Afternoon Sessions
Fixing the Crumbling Foundations of America’s Military
 Mackenzie Eaglen
 Jimmy Panetta
 Austin Scott
 Raj M. Shah
 Heather Wilson
 Kori Schake (Moderator)

The Cloister

America has typically avoided war to achieve political objectives. Once underway, our citizenry demands no fair fight. But the portion of the defense budget that yields combat power to deter mercantilist China and revisionist Russia has collapsed, and innovation in the armed forces is completely stalled. Great ideas from tech or venture capital companies are almost never fielded at scale. Cultural resistance in the bureaucracy keeps defense primes on autopilot. The defense industrial base must be strengthened and broadened so military investments can better bolster combat forces and restore deterrence in a fiscally responsible way. Is America up to the task?

How Will Artificial Intelligence Change the World?

Greg Brockman
 Scott Gottlieb
 Michael R. Strain
 Connor Zwick
 John Bailey (Moderator)

AI has captured the imaginations of scholars, business leaders, and government officials. The year 2023 will be remembered as a turning point in history—the year when humans and machines could converse in natural language and chatbots passed the Turing test. Since then, investors have poured huge sums into AI infrastructure. But beyond impressive chatbots, how specifically will AI change the world? Join this panel of scholars and technology leaders to learn about current and potential ways to apply AI to education, language acquisition, drug development, medical care, and more.

Israel and the Middle East

Elliott Abrams
 Eyal Hulata
 Walter Russell Mead
 Danielle Pletka (Moderator)

After the devastating attacks of October 7, Israel has upended the entire region. Iran and its terrorist proxies, Lebanon, and Syria are shadows of their former selves. Iran has never been so weak. Can Israel capitalize on this moment to forge a new era? Can President Trump pull off another Abraham Accords-style miracle? Or, as the Hamas war winds to a close, will it be back to the future, with Hamas again in charge of Gaza, Hezbollah in charge of Lebanon, and Iran in possession of a nuclear weapon?

3:30–5:00 p.m.

Afternoon Break

3:45–4:45 p.m.

Special Exhibit

Black Banks Parlor

The Situation Room: The Wars in Ukraine and the Middle East

Frederick W. Kagan
 Kimberly Kagan

Frederick W. Kagan and the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at AEI work closely with their research partner, the Institute for the Study of War (ISW), led by Kimberly Kagan. CTP and ISW are analyzing the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Israel-Hamas war, Syria, and Iran’s activities in the Middle East. The daily update maps are actively used by most major media outlets, including the BBC, CNN, *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, and Reuters. This session will showcase the most recent CTP-ISW assessments of the conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East and provide up-to-date information on the crises.

5:00–6:00 p.m.

Evening Conversation

The Cloister Ballroom

A Conversation with US Secretary of the Interior Doug Burgum

Robert Doar (Moderator)

At the center of President Donald Trump’s economic vision is an ambitious agenda for energy dominance: empowering domestic energy production with innovation and deregulation to lower prices, strengthen economic growth, and bolster national security. As the chief federal official in charge of public lands and natural resources, newly confirmed Secretary of the Interior Doug Burgum is leading these efforts, building on his experience in the private sector and as governor of North Dakota. Join Secretary Burgum for a conversation with AEI President Robert Doar about his vision for the Department of the Interior and the administration’s broader priorities for industry and the private sector.

5:00 p.m.

Shuttle Departs for Mass*

The Cloister

*Mass will begin at 5:30 p.m. at St. William Catholic Church.

Shuttles will return to the Cloister at 6:45 p.m.

6:00–7:00 p.m.	Reception	The Cloister
7:15–8:30 p.m.	Dinner	The Cloister
8:30–10:30 p.m.	Post-Dinner Reception	The Cloister
8:45–9:45 p.m.	Starlight Chats	The Cloister

America at 250

Allen Carl Guelzo
 Yuval Levin
 Adam J. White (Moderator)

The year 2026 will mark the 250th anniversary of the American founding. Join Adam J. White, Allen Guelzo, and Yuval Levin for a discussion of how the nation should mark the occasion and what AEI is doing to help make it a turning point for civics education.

A Conversation with Paul Finebaum

Chris Christie (Moderator)

At a time when college sports are undergoing a sea change, Paul Finebaum has become one of the most prominent sports media voices in the country. Starting his career as a sportswriter in Alabama, Mr. Finebaum has had a front-row seat as a radio host and ESPN television personality to the transformative effects of trends like conference realignment, financial compensation for athletes, sports gambling, and increasingly pervasive media coverage on college athletics. As the pace of these changes shows little sign of slowing, join him for a wide-ranging conversation on the future of college sports and sports media and their changing place in American life.

Why Can't We Run Government Like a Bolivian Chinchilla Ranch?

Jonah Goldberg
 Charles Murray (Introduction)

Jonah Goldberg reflects on the perils of bad analogies on all sides of our politics.

Travel day

Rep. Panetta: 0 hours of programming
Reps. Scott, Moolenaar, Carter: 1 hour 15 minutes of programming

Sunday, March 16

6:00 a.m.	Rep. Panetta departs conference	
7:30–10:15 a.m.	Breakfast Available	The Cloister
7:30 a.m.	<i>Shuttle Departs for Mass*</i>	The Cloister
	<i>*Mass will begin at 8:00 a.m. at St. William Catholic Church. Shuttles will return to the Cloister at 9:15 a.m.</i>	
9:00–10:15 a.m.	Early Bird Sessions	The Cloister

A Conversation with Allen Carl Guelzo

Ben Sasse (Moderator)

The Civil War never loses its resonance. In every generation, in light of new challenges, reflecting on our greatest national crisis offers us fresh ways to think about American ideals and the nature of statesmanship. Join Allen Carl Guelzo (our greatest living Civil War historian) and Senator Ben Sasse (himself a historian and a political and educational leader) for a conversation about the meaning of that era and the importance of teaching and learning history in 21st-century America.

Congress in a New Era

Shelley Moore Capito
 Mike Lee
 Marc A. Thiessen (Moderator)

Our politics tends to focus on the presidency, but durable policy change must happen in Congress. With the narrowest House majority in generations and a closely divided Senate, how do members now think about advancing their agendas? How do they regard the president's assertions of power? And what are the prospects for progress on the country's long-term challenges?

10:15 a.m. **Reps. Carter, Scott, Moolenaar depart conference**

Outbound travel details

Name:	Outbound travel:
Representative Buddy Carter	3/16: driving himself to district home
Representative Mike Flood	3/14: depart JAX 6:00p.m., arrive OMA 10:47 p.m.
Representative Rich McCormick	3/14: depart BQK 12:24 p.m., arrive ATL 1:39 p.m.
Representative John Moolenaar	3/16: depart BQK 6:00p.m. for official CODEL
Representative Jimmy Panetta	3/16: depart JAX 8:05 a.m., arrive SFO 1:39 p.m.
Representative Austin Scott	3/16: driving himself to district home
Representative Elise Stefanik	3/15: depart JAX 10:26 a.m., arrive DCA 12:21 p.m.
Representative Tom Suozzi	3/15: depart JAX 2:00 p.m., arrive LGA 4:07 p.m.

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SPEAKERS

ELLIOTT ABRAMS	Council on Foreign Relations
KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON	Echelon Insights
RICK ATKINSON	Author
CHRIS BEST	Substack
GREG BROCKMAN	OpenAI
DOUG BURGUM	US Secretary of the Interior
SHELLEY MOORE CAPITO	US Senate (R-WV)
BUDDY CARTER	US House of Representatives (R-GA)
BILL CASSIDY	US Senate (R-LA)
PRISCILLA CHAN	Chan Zuckerberg Initiative
CHEN JIAN	New York University and New York University Shanghai
JAMES P. CLEMENTS	Clemson University
L. JAY CROSS	Howard Hughes Holdings
H. LAWRENCE CULP JR.	GE Aerospace
RONALD DANIELS	Johns Hopkins University
BRIAN DEESE	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
DANIEL DIERMEIER	Vanderbilt University
PAUL FINEBAUM	ESPN
MIKE FLOOD	US House of Representatives (R-NE)
JASON FURMAN	Harvard University
MIKE GALLAGHER	Former Congressman (R-WI)
PAUL A. GIGOT	<i>The Wall Street Journal</i>
ALLEN CARL GUELZO	Princeton University
JONATHAN HAIDT	New York University Stern School of Business
JAN HATZIUS	Goldman Sachs
EYAL HULATA	Foundation for the Defense of Democracies
KIMBERLY KAGAN	Institute for the Study of War
VLADIMIR KARA-MURZA	Free Russia Foundation
ALEX KARP	Palantir
BRIAN P. KEMP	Governor of Georgia
MIKE LEE	US Senate (R-UT)
JOE LONSDALE	8VC
JUDY MARKS	Otis Worldwide Corporation
RICHARD MCCORMICK	US House of Representatives (R-GA)
WALTER RUSSELL MEAD	Hudson Institute
JOHN MOOLENAAR	US House of Representatives (R-MI)
EVA MOSKOWITZ	Success Academy Charter Schools
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