

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: _____
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ **OR** None
b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: _____ Return: _____
b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ **OR** None
4. Departure City: _____ Destination: _____ Return City: _____
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: _____
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary): _____

7. Attached to this form are **each** of the following, *signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box*:
 - a. a completed *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form*;
 - b. the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* completed by the trip sponsor **prior** to the trip, **including all** attachments **and** the *Additional Sponsor Form(s)*;
 - c. page 2 of the completed *Traveler Form* submitted by the Member or officer; **and**
 - d. the letter from the Committee on Ethics approving my participation on this trip.
8. a. I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the attached sponsor's agenda. *Signify statement is true by checking the box.*
b. If not, explain: _____

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: _____ *AD.CLL*

Date: _____

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Salud Carbajal
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: Nairobi and Maasai Mara National Reserve, Kenya
4. a. Date of Departure: May 24, 2026 Date of Return: May 31, 2026
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: Manuel Carbajal
(2) Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): Brother
(3) Yes No Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age?
6. a. Yes No Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)?
b. **If yes**, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:

7. Yes No *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, invitation, invitee list, and any other attachments and Additional Sponsor Forms.
NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.
8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to the traveler's individual official or representational duties. **Staff should include their job title and how the activities on the itinerary relate to their duties.**
This trip will provide Rep. Carbajal with insights as it pertains to global health, agriculture, and development. For instance, visiting Zipline, a US drone logistics company that got \$150 million funding commitment from the US to deliver medical products to Kenya. It will enhance relations between our two countries.
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: 04/24/2026

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: _____

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): _____

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

6. Date of Departure: _____ Date of Return: _____

7. a. City of departure: _____

b. Destination(s): _____

c. City of return: _____

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:

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: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____

Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

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

Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

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

Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Ranking Member

Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Ashley Hinson, Iowa
Nathaniel Moran, Texas
Brad Knott, North Carolina

Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland
Sylvia R. Garcia, Texas
Suhas Subramanyam, Virginia



ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

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Chief of Staff to the Chairman

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Counsel to the Ranking Member

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<https://Ethics.House.gov>

May 18, 2026

The Honorable Salud Carbajal
U.S. House of Representatives
2331 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your and your sibling's proposed trip to Kenya,¹ scheduled for May 24 to 31, 2026, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc. and the Gates Foundation.

You must complete a Member/Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$525 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House Members may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), gifts "of minimal value [currently \$525] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of minimal value received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

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

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

Sincerely,



Michael Guest
Chairman

MG/MD:eme



Mark DeSaulnier
Ranking Member

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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

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

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

Signature:  _____ Date: _____

Name: _____ Title: _____

Organization: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____ Email: _____

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

HOUSE APPENDIX

Aspen Institute Congressional Program

U.S.-Africa Relations: The Path Forward

May 24-31, 2026

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

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

1. Rep. Robert Aderholt - Committee on Appropriations
2. Rep. Mark Alford - Committee on Appropriations
3. Rep. Michael Baumgartner - Committee on Foreign Affairs
4. Rep. Ami Bera - Committee on Foreign Affairs
5. Rep. Stephanie Bice - Committee on Appropriations
6. Rep. Gus Bilirakis - Committee on Energy and Commerce
7. Rep. Salud Carbajal - Committee on Agriculture
8. Rep. Mike Carey - Committee on Ways and Means
9. Rep. Sean Casten - Committee on Financial Services
10. Rep. Tom Cole - Committee on Appropriations
11. Rep. Rick Crawford - Committee on Agriculture
12. Rep. Jason Crow - Committee on Armed Services
13. Rep. Sharice Davids - Committee on Agriculture
14. Rep. Madeleine Dean - Committee on Appropriations
15. Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart - Committee on Appropriations
16. Rep. Veronica Escobar - Committee on Appropriations
17. Rep. Mike Ezell - Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure
18. Rep. Julie Fedorchak - Committee on Energy and Commerce
19. Rep. Lois Frankel - Committee on Appropriations
20. Rep. Scott Franklin - Committee on Appropriations
21. Rep. Laura Friedman - Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure
22. Rep. Mary Gay Scanlon - Committee on Rules
23. Rep. Craig Goldman - Committee on Energy and Commerce
24. Rep. Josh Gottheimer - Committee on Financial Services
25. Rep. Michael Guest - Committee on Ethics
26. Rep. Brett Guthrie - Committee on Energy and Commerce
27. Rep. Mike Haridopolos - Committee on Financial Services
28. Rep. Pat Harrigan - Committee on Armed Services
29. Rep. Sara Jacobs - Committee on Foreign Affairs
30. Rep. Sydney Kamlager-Dove - Committee on Foreign Affairs
31. Rep. Tom Kean - Committee on Foreign Affairs
32. Rep. Bill Keating - Committee on Foreign Affairs
33. Rep. Trent Kelly - Committee on Agriculture

34. Rep. Tim Kennedy - Committee on Homeland Security
35. Rep. Jen Kiggans - Committee on Natural Resources
36. Rep. Young Kim - Committee on Foreign Affairs
37. Rep. Nicholas Langworthy - Committee on Energy and Commerce
38. Rep. Michael Lawler - Committee on Foreign Affairs
39. Rep. Laurel Lee - Committee on Energy and Commerce
40. Rep. Mike Levin - Committee on Appropriations
41. Rep. Frank Lucas - Committee on Agriculture
42. Rep. Stephen Lynch - Committee on Financial Services
43. Rep. Nicole Malliotakis - Committee on Ways and Means
44. Rep. Brian Mast - Committee on Foreign Affairs
45. Rep. Lisa McClain - Committee on Financial Services
46. Rep. Rich McCormick - Committee on Armed Services
47. Rep. Greg Meeks - Committee on Foreign Affairs
48. Rep. Grace Meng - Committee on Appropriations
49. Rep. Dan Meuser - Committee on Financial Services
50. Rep. Carol Miller - Committee on Ways and Means
51. Rep. Max Miller - Committee on Foreign Affairs
52. Rep. Mariannette Miller-Meeks - Committee on Energy and Commerce
53. Rep. John Moolenaar - Committee on Appropriations
54. Rep. Riley Moore - Committee on Appropriations
55. Rep. Nathaniel Morans - Committee on Ways and Means
56. Rep. Zach Nunn - Committee on Agriculture
57. Rep. Johnny Olszewski - Committee on Foreign Affairs
58. Rep. Gary Palmer - Committee on Energy and Commerce
59. Rep. Jimmy Panetta - Committee on Ways and Means
60. Rep. Chellie Pingree - Committee on Agriculture
61. Rep. Mike Quigley - Committee on Appropriations
62. Rep. Hal Rogers - Committee on Appropriations
63. Rep. Maria Salazar - Committee on Foreign Affairs
64. Rep. Brad Schneider - Committee on Foreign Affairs
65. Rep. Austin Scott - Committee on Agriculture
66. Rep. Pete Sessions - Committee on Oversight
67. Rep. Terri Sewell - Committee on Ways and Means
68. Rep. Jefferson Shreve - Committee on Foreign Affairs
69. Rep. Christopher Smith - Committee on Foreign Affairs
70. Rep. Lloyd Smucker - Committee on Ways and Means
71. Rep. Pete Stauber - Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure
72. Rep. GT Thompson - Committee on Agriculture
73. Rep. Norma Torres - Committee on Appropriations
74. Rep. Mike Turner - Committee on Armed Services
75. Rep. Lauren Underwood - Committee on Appropriations
76. Rep. Tony Wied - Committee on Agriculture
77. Rep. Joe Wilson - Committee on Foreign Affairs
78. Rep. Rob Wittman - Committee on Armed Services
79. Rep. Rudy Yakym - Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure

80. Rep. Mark Harris - Committee on Agriculture
81. Rep. Ryan Zinke - Committee on Foreign Affairs

Question 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:

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program is organizing and will conduct the conference and select and invite the attendees. The foundation listed in 3C, Gates Foundation, did not play a role in organizing or conducting the conference. The foundation provided grant funding for the program.

Question 18: Total Expenses for each Participant:

Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses

Security, Doctor, Conference Room Rental Fee, Conservation Fee, AV Equipment



U.S.-Africa Relations: The Path Forward

May 24-31, 2026 | Nairobi, Kenya and the Maasai Mara

AGENDA

Arrivals

Name	Departs US	Arrives in Nairobi, Kenya
Laura Friedman	May 24, departs Washington, DC at 10:55 AM	May 25, arrives at 1:10 PM
Tim Kennedy	May 23, departs Buffalo, NY at 4:49 PM	May 25, arrives at 1:10 PM
Stephen Lynch	May 24, departs Boston, MA at 5:45 PM	May 25, arrives at 8:35 PM
Mariannette Miller-Meeks	May 24, departs Des Moines, IA at 6:00 AM	May 25, arrives at 1:10 PM
Jonathan Miller-Meeks	May 24, departs Chicago, IL at 10:15 AM	May 25, arrives at 1:10 PM
Johnny Olszewski	May 24, departs Washington, DC at 10:55 AM	May 25, arrives at 1:10 PM
Jimmy Panetta	May 24, departs Monterey, CA at 5:00 AM	May 25 arrives at 8:40 PM
Terri Sewell	May 24, departs Newark, NJ at 6:30 PM	May 25 arrives at 8:40 PM
GT Thompson	May 24, departs Washington, DC at 10:55 AM	May 25, arrives at 1:10 PM
Norma Torres	May 23, departs Los Angeles, CA at 12:15 PM	May 25, arrives at 1:10 PM
Mike Turner	May 24, departs Washington, DC at 5:55 PM	May 25, arrives at 8:35 PM
Salud Carbajal	May 24, departs Los Angeles, CA at 10:45 AM	May 25, arrives at 8:40 PM

SUNDAY, May 24

U.S. participants depart the U.S.

MONDAY, May 25

Overnight at Emara Ole Sereni Hotel - Nairobi

U.S. participants arrive in Nairobi, Kenya throughout the day.

3:15-5:30 PM: Educational Site Visit: *Sheldrick Wildlife Trust*

5:30 – 6:30 PM: Executive Time

6:30 – 7:30 PM: Pre-Dinner Remarks:

Africa Overview: Challenges, Emerging Opportunities and Implications for U.S. Policy

This introductory presentation will cover a range of current and emerging trends across Africa, including security, political, development, conflict and humanitarian dynamics, providing Members with a 30,000-foot perspective on topics that will be discussed throughout the week. The discussion will also include thoughts from an African perspective on U.S. policies in the region and implications for strengthening American-African ties for the future. He will further offer thoughts on how the war with Iran is impacting Africa from an economic and security perspective. The speaker is both an African policy expert as well as a former journalist covering security, economic and political stories across the continent.

Speaker: **Murithi Mutiga**, *Program Director for Africa, International Crisis Group*

8 – 9:30 PM: Working Dinner at 15 Rooftop (5 min drive from hotel)

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily.

TUESDAY, May 26

Overnight at Emara Ole Sereni Hotel - Nairobi

8 – 8:45 AM: Breakfast

9 – 9:15 AM: Introduction and Framework of the Conference

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

Speaker:

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

9:15 – 10:45 AM: Roundtable Discussion

U.S. Foreign Assistance and Africa: Evolving Policy and Resource Transitions

Over the past year, U.S. foreign assistance policy has changed fundamentally, coupled with significant funding reductions. In March 2025, the Administration announced the termination of 83% of contracts issued by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), America's lead foreign aid agency. Ultimately, USAID was dismantled and the State Department assumed responsibility for programs that continued, largely focused on health and humanitarian sectors, although at sharply lower funding levels. For fiscal year 2026, the White House sought a 49% cut in International Affairs spending, including substantial reductions for Africa. Congress restored many of the proposed cuts, setting global foreign and diplomatic operations 16% lower than the previous year. For fiscal year 2027, the administration proposed a 32% cut from current spending.

Under State Department leadership, the U.S. is transitioning its Africa aid policy from a traditional assistance model to one emphasizing trade, investment and self-reliance, with an emphasis on the private sector, in line with the recent announcement of a "trade not aid" policy. According to the Department, aid programs will be aligned with U.S. interests on the continent, seeking returns to the United States that are tied to levels of assistance. The State Department says, however, that life-saving interventions, largely for health and humanitarian purposes, will continue. To some extent other European aid donors have downsized their assistance programs in Africa and elsewhere.

While traditional foreign assistance has been scaled down and restructured, Congress reauthorized and expanded the resource base of the U.S. Development Finance Corporation (DFC), an agency that mobilizes private capital for investments largely in lower-income countries, including Africa. Through loans, equity and political risk insurance, the DFC supports strategic projects across multiple sectors such as energy, health, infrastructure and small businesses.

The rapid transformation of American aid raises a number of questions of exactly what will follow and when. How will African governments fill resource gaps created by the withdrawal of assistance from the United States and other donors? What impact will foreign aid cuts have on U.S.-Africa relations broadly? Will this allow China, Russia and others to gain more leverage and influence on the continent? Will African governments be able to cope with rising security challenges and humanitarian crises?

Speakers:

Ambassador Mark Green, *President and CEO of the ONE Campaign; President Emeritus of the Wilson Center; former USAID Administrator; former Ambassador to Tanzania; former Member of Congress*

Ambassador Mark Dybul, *Professor, Georgetown University; former Executive Director, Global Fund and former U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator*

10:45 – 11 AM: Break

11 AM – 12:30 PM: Roundtable Discussion

Africa's Health Challenges and Game-Changing Innovations

Africa continues to face significant health challenges due to the burden of infectious diseases, including HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, Ebola, among others. There has been a resurgence of cholera on the continent with the worst outbreak in 25 years. Non-communicable diseases, like hypertension, diabetes, cardiovascular diseases and cancer, are rapidly increasing. Fighting these diseases is further impaired by weak health systems, shortage of healthcare workers, humanitarian crises and instability, and growing funding shortfalls.

The United States has a long record of supporting Africa's severe health challenges, including the creation of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), the President's Malaria Initiative (both first implemented by President George W. Bush), and as a significant donor to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and to Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance.

While spending on these programs has declined in the past year and proposals to continue reductions are pending, the State Department announced a new global health strategy focused on the protection of Americans by stopping outbreaks at their source, promoting U.S. innovation and transitioning to bilateral agreements with countries. These multi-year MOUs will shift operations and funding responsibilities to governments and significantly scale back on awards to non-governmental organizations to implement American health programs that have been the traditional model of assistance. The State Department has signed MOUs with 31 African countries (as of early May 2026), including Kenya. A few countries, notably Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Ghana, have rejected the MOU agreements due to conditions contained within them and Kenya's agreement is tied up in court challenges. As part of the new strategy the Department has provided a \$150 million grant to Zipline, an American firm that operates in east Africa delivering critical medicines and health products using drones and robotics technology. The State Department is also partnering with the American drugmaker, Gilead, to deliver across Africa a new HIV prevention drug, lanacapavir, that replaces daily medication with a twice-yearly shot.

This panel will focus on the implications of steep financial reductions to U.S. supported health programs in Africa, how governments across the continent are responding, what the new global health strategy means for addressing Africa's health challenges and how emerging innovative breakthroughs can help provide for a more healthy Africa.

Speakers:

Sania Nishtar, *CEO, Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance*

Peter Sands, *Executive Director, Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria*

12:30 – 1:15 PM: Working Lunch

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on U.S. development transitions in Africa.

1:15 – 1:45 PM: Executive Time**1:45 – 4:30 PM: Educational Site Visits focused on Health**

Members will be divided into small groups to permit personal conversations with community healthcare workers and household members in Nairobi to learn about the objectives of each program and hear how these interventions have impacted beneficiaries' lives. Each group will be able to visit one of the three planned sites.

Delegates will have the opportunity to visit the work of Carolina for Kibera (CFK), an organization founded in 2001 to empower youth living in Kibera, one of the largest informal settlements in the world located in central Nairobi. CFK focuses on five priorities: 1) Investing in the next generation of young leaders offering opportunities for academic and economic success; 2) Empowering girls who face unique challenges in slums by providing safe places and access to education as well as addressing gender-based violence; 3) Providing essential health services; 4) Leveraging the power of sports to advance health and wellness of youth; and 5) Leading with actionable research with institutional partners, including University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, to identify critical issues and inform effective policies. In 2022, CFK changed its name to "CFK Africa" reflecting its work beyond Kibera to eight other counties in Kenya.

Another group will visit the Kenya Medical Supplies Authority (KEMSA), a government corporation under the Ministry of Health that was legislatively created in 2013. Its primary responsibilities are to procure, warehouse and distribute drugs and medical supplies in Kenya, establish a network of storage, packaging and distribution facilities, partner with County Governments, as well as undertake several other services. KEMSA partners with the Global Fund as the primary entity in acquiring and distributing Global Fund-supported health products. The Global Fund further invests in modernizing KEMSA's infrastructure, including warehouses and logistics systems. Recently, Gavi announced that it would begin channeling much of its vaccines budget directly to Kenya and other governments that will increase countries' responsibility for vaccine procurement, giving them greater control over planning, prioritization, and distribution. The new policy aims to expand country ownership over extending healthcare services to its population. In Kenya, KEMSA will assume a central role in overseeing vaccine management going forward.

Finally, participants will learn about work supported by the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria in Kibera. Kibera, located in central Nairobi, is one of the largest informal settlements in the world with a population estimated at 275,000 (although some reports place the number at over a half million). While known for its vibrancy as a large urban settlement, the community faces multiple challenges of poverty, unemployment and lack of basic services. The Global Fund works through national and local partners providing antiretroviral drugs and clinical support. Working with

organizations like the Kenya Red Cross, Global Fund support delivers HIV services directly to vulnerable populations in Kibera.

4:30 – 6:30 PM: Executive Time

6:30 – 7:30 PM: Pre-Dinner Remarks:

Opportunities for Investing in Energy, Critical Minerals, Supply Chains and Information Technologies in Africa: Priorities for the U.S.
Development Finance Corporation

Sub-Saharan Africa, with its rapidly growing population and some of the world's fastest rising economies, the continent is both an expanding consumer market and the location of resources critical to the global economy. In the energy sector, for example, many believe Africa is at a defining crossroads, where growing global demand, new resource discoveries and changing investment models are factors that will drive the future. At the same time, limited power on the continent itself, where 600 million people have no access to electricity, continues to be an obstacle to sustainable economic growth. Investments by the U.S. Development Finance Corporation (DFC) advances the development of physical and digital infrastructure to support long-term economic growth, strengthen global supply chains, and help the United States compete economically with China and other investors on the continent. Among some innovative investments, the DFC recently signed an agreement with Kenya for a \$1 billion debt-for-food swap which will reduce part of Kenya's external debt in exchange for the government's redirection of resources into food security activities.

Speaker: Vibhuti Jain, *Managing Director and Regional Head for Africa, U.S. Development Finance Corporation*

8 – 9:30 PM: Working Dinner at Talisman (20 min drive)

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on U.S. opportunities and challenges in Africa.

WEDNESDAY, May 27

Overnight at Emara Ole Sereni Hotel - Nairobi

6 – 6:50 AM: Breakfast (pick up box lunches and separate lunches)

7 AM: Leave hotel to Wilson Airport

8 – 9 AM: Travel to Kisumu, Kenya (hour long flight, 2 planes, Tess will manifest planes to correspond with group number)

9 – 10:30 AM: **Group 1 drive from Kisumu airport to Zipline site visit (Tyler straight to Zipline and stays there)**

10:30 AM – 12:15 PM: Group 1 site visit at Zipline

12:15 – 1 PM: Group 1 drive to Path visit from Zipline visit

1 – 2:30 PM: Group 1 Path site visit

9 – 10:30 AM: Group 2 drive from Kisumu airport to Path site visit (Larry straight to Path and stays there)

10:30 AM – 12:15 PM: Group 2 Path site visit

12:15 – 1 PM: Group 2 head to Zipline

1 – 2:30 PM: Group 2 site visit at Zipline

9 AM – 3 PM: Educational Site Visits focused on Health

The delegation will visit two, but very different program sites that have a significant impact on improving health conditions for the people of Kenya and elsewhere across Africa. The first stop will be at the headquarters of an American-based company, Zipline. In 2016, Zipline, using drone technology, began delivering medical products and blood in Rwanda. Its operations have since expanded to four other African nations, including Kenya, as well as adding other delivery services for food, retail and other products. Poor logistics and traditional transportation methods in Africa severely slow the movement of critical health supplies and services, including reaching remote populations in the “last mile” of the health supply chain. In areas where Zipline operates, maternal deaths have fallen by up to 56%, shortages of medicines and vaccines declined by 60% and immunization rates increased 13-37%. The State Department recently awarded Zipline a \$150 million grant that will allow the company to expand operations in Kenya and elsewhere.

Members will also travel to a site managed by the American-based health non-profit, PATH, and learn about the REACH Malaria program. Over the past quarter of a century, the world has made tremendous progress in controlling malaria. The most significant gains have been in Africa where 142 million cases of malaria and nearly 1 million deaths were averted since 2000. But malaria remains a major health challenge on the continent where it is estimated that one person dies from the disease every minute. The delegation will learn about various interventions used in the REACH Malaria program and engage community members who benefit from these services and hear how it impacts their livelihoods. Participants will also learn about how a significant expansion in recent years of a malaria vaccine has impacted the health of children across Africa.

3:30 PM: Get to Kisumu airport

4 – 5 PM: Flight to Wilson Airport in Nairobi by plane

5:30 PM: Arrive at hotel

5:30 – 6:30 PM: Executive Time

6:30 PM – 7:30 PM: Pre-Dinner Remarks: ***U.S. – China Economic Competition in Africa***

Beginning in the late 1990s, China significantly expanded its presence and its resources devoted to the African continent, increasing investments, educational and cultural programs, military cooperation and political influence. Beijing's Belt and Road Initiative, launched in 2013 as a massive global infrastructure program, further ramped up commercial engagement with Africa. Although the United States has provided significantly more development assistance to Africa, China is the continent's leading bilateral trade partner, with Chinese exports to the continent surging in the first half of 2025. Moreover, the expiration of the free-trade African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) in September 2025 represents another factor that could widen the African trade disparity between Beijing and Washington. With the recent reductions in development assistance to Africa from the United States and other European governments, some are also concerned that China will, to some extent, try to fill the gap and gain more influence on the continent. Members will hear from the author of numerous studies on Chinese aid, investments and lending practices in Africa. In a 2024 piece, he found that while Chinese large infrastructure projects on the continent have created opportunities for rapid socioeconomic gains, they come with inherent risks.

Speaker: Bradley Parks, Executive Director, AidData; Research Professor, William and Mary University

7:30 – 9 PM: Working Dinner at Emara Ole Sereni (no manifested seats) with Bill Steiger, Malaria No More

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on U.S. opportunities and challenges in Africa. Bill Steiger will discuss malaria prevention and unpack the site visits from the day **for 15 min.**

THURSDAY, May 28

Overnight at Emara Ole Sereni Hotel - Nairobi

6 – 7 AM: Breakfast (pick up boxed lunches and split them up)

7 – 7:30 AM: Travel to Wilson Airport, Nairobi

8 – 10 AM: Flight to Kakuma Refugee Settlement (2 planes)

10 AM – 3 PM: Educational Site Visit – Kakuma Refugee Settlement

Kakuma Refugee Settlement was established in 1992 when the “Lost Boys of Sudan” arrived, fleeing conflict in Darfur. At the same time, large groups of Ethiopians and Somalis fled their country following the fall of the Ethiopian government and growing civil strife in Somalia. Today, the settlement is one of the world’s largest, housing about 310,000 refugees and asylum seekers and supporting children and families from various countries, including Somalia, Ethiopia, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Uganda, and Rwanda. Those arriving from South Sudan, numbers that have surged in recent years, now account for about 60% of the settlement’s population. The camp is in an extremely arid part of northwestern Kenya and the name, Kakuma, is the Swahili word for “nowhere”.

With such an unprecedented number of refugees in one place, the conditions in Kakuma are harsh. The settlement’s resources and infrastructure are overtaxed causing rampant malnutrition and the spread of infectious disease. Currently, new arrivals overwhelm the reception center’s capacity of 5,000, leading to extreme overcrowding. With reductions in funding from donor countries, including the U.S. and the U.K., some reports say that food rations have fallen to \$10 per person, per month, representing 20-40% of the daily minimum requirement.

The settlement is managed by the Kenyan government’s Department of Refugee Services and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Support also comes from the Kenya Red Cross with food provided through the U.N.’s World Food Programme (WFP).

3:30 PM – 5:45 PM: Flight from Kakuma Refugee Settlement to Wilson Airport, Nairobi

5:45 – 7:30 PM: Executive Time

7:30 – 9 PM: Working Dinner with Peace Corps Leadership and Volunteers based in Kenya

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on U.S. opportunities and challenges in Africa, including the role of the Peace Corps.

FRIDAY, May 29

Overnight at Fairmont Mara - Maasai Mara National Reserve

7 – 8 AM: Breakfast

8 – 8:30 AM: Drive to Wilson Airport

9 – 9:45 AM: Flight from Wilson Airport to Maasai Mara National Reserve

11 AM – 12:15 PM: Educational Site Visits focused on Wildlife Conservation

Daniel Sopia, *CEO, Maasai Mara Wildlife Conservation Association (MMWCA)* will lead the delegation on an orientation tour of the Mara conservation area. The conversation will underscore with Members the critical role conservation and sound natural resource management play in poverty alleviation, sustainable economic development, and regional security for Kenya and other African nations. Founded in 2013, the MMWCA serves in a coordinating capacity for the Greater Mara Ecosystem, serving about 15,000 landowners and tourism parties across 24 conservancies.

12:30 – 2 PM: Working Lunch

The ICCF Group serves as the secretariat to the U.S. Congress International Conservation Caucus that launched in 2006. It is one of the largest and most bipartisan Caucuses in Congress with a membership of one-third of the House and one-quarter of the Senate. The ICCF works with Congressional Caucus leadership to promote dialogue and develop initiatives to address the world's most pressing conservation challenges. With offices in Kenya, the ICCF Group works with parliaments across east, southern and Central Africa collaborating with these coalitions of policymakers to foster political will, strengthen governance over important conservation sectors and promote sustainable management of natural resources.

Speakers:

Susan Lylis, *Executive Vice President, International Conservation Caucus Foundation (ICCF) Group*

Daniel Sopia, *CEO, MMWCA*

Kurt Steiner, *Wildcat Foundation*

2 – 5 PM: Tour of Conservation Facilities in the Maasai Mara or option for more conservation drives

Guided by Susan Lylis and Daniel Sopia, the delegation will explore conservation facilities in the area. Members will have the opportunity to engage with landowners who benefit from the conservation model that generates sustainable incomes for the population.

5 – 5:30 PM: Travel to overnight accommodations

5:30 – 7:00 PM: Executive Time

7 – 8 PM: Fireside Chat with the ICCF Group, Wildcat Foundation, PAMS Foundation, and Focused Conservation

Africa faces a crisis of poaching and international trafficking of wildlife products. The decimation of elephants and other species is threatening to overturn decades of conservation and development gains. The reception and dinner conversations will provide Members with the opportunity to engage in informal discussions with several wildlife trafficking experts and to understand the implications for U.S. economic and national security interests.

Created in 2009 in Tanzania, the conservation non-profit PAMS Foundation seeks to empower individuals who protect wildlife and help communities living in wild places

understand the value of nature and equip them to co-exist peacefully with wildlife. Specifically, PAMS Foundation aims to combat wildlife trafficking and timber trafficking, counter illegal poaching and logging, strengthen prosecution and environmental crimes, train and deploy rangers in the field, promote human wildlife coexistence and foster sustainable livelihoods. **Krissie Clark**, founder and President of the Foundation will join the delegation to discuss the work and impact of her organization.

Also joining the reception and dinner will be **William Brown**, President and CEO of Focused Conservation and a retired Drug Enforcement Agency Special Agent. Through its extensive law enforcement experience, the Focused Conservation team brings a unique capability to efforts to promote wildlife conservation and combat wildlife trafficking. Their understanding of the complexities of transnational crime enables them to identify and target wildlife trafficking syndicates.

8 – 9:30 PM: Working Dinner with the ICCF Group, PAMS Foundation and Focused Conservation (don't manifest seats tonight)

Experts will be seated at each table to facilitate continued conversations on conservation and its impact on the economy, sustainability, and regional security.

SATURDAY, May 30

6 – 10 AM: Working breakfast in the field on Sustainable Livelihoods for Maasai Mara Conservancy Communities

Conservancy representatives will guide participants through a series of discussions of work undertaken within the area. The delegation will hear from **Crystal Magensen**, Development Consultant of the Maa Trust, a non-profit working with community-owned conservancies in the Maasai Mara. The Trust focuses on increasing the benefits of wildlife and conservation to Maasai families so that they value and contribute to the protection of wild animals living on their land.

The group will also be joined by **John Sankok**, CEO of the Community Health Partners (CHP). He will speak about how CHP health interventions work together with the conservancy model, delivering quality, accessible and affordable healthcare services.

Finally, representatives of the Mara Predator Hub will guide the delegation to track lion pride movements, discussing the important role lions and other predators play in the ecosystem. They will also highlight the Maasai historical relationship with lions and the current threats of human-wildlife conflict. The delegation will be joined by **Niels Mogensen**, Senior Program Scientist at the Mara Predator Hub. The Hub leads research on the Mara's top predators to help community members and landowners understand and appreciate the role of predators in the ecosystem. Hub activities also seek to ensure that key stakeholders in the Greater Mara Ecosystem consistently utilize sound scientific information to inform conservation strategies, and support stable, healthy predator populations in the Ecosystem by providing scientific evidence for conservation action.

10:30 AM – 11:30 AM: Working Brunch and Policy Wrap Up
Policy Reflections

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

11:30 – 12:00 PM: Executive Time

12:10 – 1:30 PM: Transit to return flight to Nairobi

1:30 – 2:30 PM: Flight to Jomo Kenyatta (Nairobi) International Airport

4:45 – 11:55 PM: Participants depart for the United States

SUNDAY, May 31

Participants arrive in the United States throughout the day

Departures

Name	Departs Nairobi, Kenya	Arrives in US
Laura Friedman	May 30, departs at 5:30 PM	May 31, arrives in Washington DC at 8:55 AM
Tim Kennedy	May 30, departs at 5:30 PM	May 31, arrives in Buffalo, NY at 2:19 PM
Stephen Lynch	May 30, departs at 10:50 PM	May 31, arrives in Boston, MA at 3:40 PM
Mariannette Miller-Meeks	May 30, departs at 5:30 PM	May 31, arrives in Des Moines, IA at 12:30 PM
Jonathan Miller-Meeks	May 30, departs at 5:30 PM	May 31, arrives in Chicago, IL at 8:15 AM
Johnny Olszewski	May 30, departs at 5:30 PM	May 31, arrives in Washington, DC at 8:55 AM
Jimmy Panetta	May 30, departs at 10:50 PM	May 31, arrives in San Francisco, CA at 12:40 PM
Terri Sewell	May 30, departs at 10:20 PM	May 31, arrives in Washington, DC at 1:30 PM
GT Thompson	May 30, departs at 5:30 PM	May 31, arrives in Washington, DC at 8:55 AM
Norma Torres	May 30, departs at 5:30 PM	May 31, arrives in Washington, DC at 8:55 AM
Louis Torres	May 30, departs at 5:30 PM	May 31, arrives in Los Angeles, CA at 7:55 PM
Mike Turner	May 30, departs at 10:50 PM	May 31, arrives in Vilnius, Lithuania at 12:40 PM
Salud Carbajal	May 30, departs at 10:20 PM	May 31, arrives in Los Angeles, CA at 4:56 PM



**CONGRESSIONAL
PROGRAM**
aspen institute

The Honorable Salud Carbajal
U.S. House of Representatives

Dear Representative Carbajal,

I would like to invite you and Manny to our bipartisan, bicameral congressional conference on ***U.S.-Africa Relations: The Path Forward in Nairobi, Kenya and the Maasai Mara, May 24-31, 2026***, including travel dates. Please get back to us with interest to attend the conference by **Friday, March 20, 2026**. These conference spots fill up quickly due to heavy interest, so we may have to move you to a waitlist if we don't hear back in time. This invitation does not guarantee your participation in the conference.

This educational conference will focus on a series of topics that matter to both the United States and the countries of sub-Saharan Africa as relations between them continue to evolve. Conference participants will engage in policy roundtables and field site visits led by subject experts to explore health, agriculture, and other programs, including those with some form of American investment. Members of the delegation will learn about security and economic challenges confronting the African continent and how the United States is responding through its diplomatic, national security, trade, and development tools. Conversations will also explore competition with China and Russia in Africa, including the race to access critical minerals, and threats posed to the United States by terrorist groups throughout the region. The agenda will further examine the changing foreign aid policy approaches by the United States and other traditional donors and what that means for key development sectors such as health, food security, humanitarian response, economic growth and job creation, and wildlife conservation across Africa. How African governments are responding to these external shifts in resource transfers will also be explored. Members of the delegation will have ample opportunity to interact with Kenyan politicians and government officials, members of local civil society, and representatives from the private sector to learn about their perspectives on the evolving relationship between the United States and the continent of Africa.

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

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

The Congressional Program is part of the Aspen Institute, Inc. a nonprofit organization founded in 1949. The Congressional Program was created to promote leadership on public policy by bringing legislators together from both political parties with internationally renowned scholars for high level discussions and analysis. Since our program's inception, more than 622 members of Congress have participated in our 164 domestic and international conferences.

We hope you can join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

Charlie Dent

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