

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS


## EMPLOYEE POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM Original Amendment

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from private sources for travel taken in connection with official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the annual *Financial Disclosure Statements* of those employees required to file them. 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](mailto: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: 8/13/2023 Return: 8/21/2023  
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: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
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 employee; **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 on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.**

Signature of Traveler:  Date: \_\_\_\_\_

I authorized this travel in advance. I have determined that all of the expenses listed on the attached *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form* were necessary and that the travel was in connection with the employee's official duties and would not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

Name of Supervising Member: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Supervising Member: 

# 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: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Travel Destination(s): \_\_\_\_\_

3. Date of Departure: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Return: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): \_\_\_\_\_

*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                   |                               |                        |                     |   |
| 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: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Title: \_\_\_\_\_

Organization: \_\_\_\_\_

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

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_ Email: \_\_\_\_\_

*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](mailto: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: Gerardo Bonilla Chavez

**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): Gerardo Bonilla Chavez

For Staff (name of employing Member or Committee): Rep. Ocasio-Cortez

Office Address: 250 Cannon House Building

Telephone Number: 202-450-0074

Email Address of Contact Person: gerardo.bonilla@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](mailto:travel.requests@mail.house.gov).

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Gerardo Bonilla Chavez
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: N/A
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: \_\_\_\_\_
4. a. Date of Departure: August 13, 2023 Date of Return: August 21, 2023  
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.**  
Chief of Staff - Key aide to Rep. Ocasio-Cortez; handle foreign policy; provide support for the Rep. in execution of the delegation; support maintaining the relationship.

9. **Yes  No  Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved 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: Jul 13, 2023

# 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: \_\_\_\_\_

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<br><input type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates | Total <b>Transportation</b> Expenses per Participant | Total <b>Lodging</b> Expenses per Participant | Total <b>Meal</b> Expenses per Participant |
| For each Member, Officer, or Employee  |  |   |  |
| For each Accompanying Family Member  |  |   |  |

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

19. **Check only one:**

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

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

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

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Title: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Organization: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Email: \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_

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


# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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

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

1. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor for this trip: Center for Economic and Policy Research
2. Name of your organization: Foundation to Promote Open Society
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: Alex Sadler  Digitally signed by Alex Sadler  
Date: 2023.07.28 08:56:37 -04'00' Date: 7-28-23

Name: Alex Sadler Title: Senior Policy Advisor

Organization: Foundation to Promote Open Society

Address: 1730 Pennsylvania Avenue NW

Telephone: 929-496-6795 Email: alex.sadler@opensocietyfoundations.org

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



Michael Guest, Mississippi  
*Chairman*  
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania  
*Ranking Member*

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

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



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

**U.S. House of Representatives**

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust  
*Staff Director and Chief Counsel*

Keelie Broom  
*Counsel to the Chairman*

David Arrojo  
*Counsel to the Ranking Member*

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

August 9, 2023

Mr. Gerardo Bonilla  
Office of the Honorable Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez  
250 Cannon House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Bonilla:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to Brazil, Chile, and Colombia,<sup>1</sup> scheduled for August 13 to 21, 2023, sponsored by Center for Economic and Policy Research and Foundation to Promote Open Society.

You must complete an Employee Post-Travel Disclosure Form (which your employing Member must also sign) 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. If you are required to file an annual Financial Disclosure Statement, you must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$480 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

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

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<sup>1</sup> 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,

Handwritten signature of Michael Guest in blue ink.

Michael Guest  
Chairman

Handwritten signature of Susan Wild in blue ink.

Susan Wild  
Ranking Member

MG/SW:tn

**Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR)**  
**Latin America Delegation**  
**August 13, 2021 – August 21, 2021**

**Supplementary Responses**

**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:**

**Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez** - For her leadership on issues pertaining to the US-Latin American relationship; to support greater learning and stronger engagement in the region.

**Gerardo Bonilla Chavez** - As the Chief of Staff of Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez; to provide support for the Representative in the course of the delegation.

**Representative Nydia Velázquez** - For her leadership on US-Latin American affairs in the House of Representatives; to deepen engagement with key US partners in the region.

**Renata Beca-Barragán** - As the Legislative Director of Representative Nydia Velázquez; to provide support for the Representative in the course of the delegation.

**Representative Joaquin Castro** - As the Ranking Member of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; to facilitate greater engagement with key partners across the region.

**Sid Ravishankar** - As the Staff Director for Ranking Member Joaquin Castro; to provide support to Members through the course of the delegation.

**Representative Greg Casar** - As a freshman member of Congress with an emerging interest in US-Latin American relations; to facilitate education about the history of the region and strengthen relationships to key US partners.

**Stephanie Trinh** - As the Chief of Staff for freshman Member Greg Casar; to provide support for the Representative in the course of the delegation.

**Representative Maxwell Frost** - As a freshman member of Congress with an emerging interest in US-Latin American relations; to facilitate education about the history of the region and strengthen relationships to key US partners.

**Samantha Ramirez** - As the Communications Director for freshman Member Maxwell Frost; to provide support for the Representative in the course of the delegation.

**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 Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR) was established in 1999 to promote democratic debate on the most important economic and social issues that affect people's lives. In order for citizens to effectively exercise their voices in a democracy, they should be informed about the problems and choices that they face. CEPR is committed to presenting economic issues in an accurate and understandable manner, so that the public is better prepared to choose among the various policy options. Toward this end, CEPR conducts both professional research and public education. The delegation to Latin America fulfills this mission by providing members of US Congress with a panoramic view of the region's history, its current challenges, and the common areas of cooperation between the US and its partners in the hemisphere.

The Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR) is responsible for the organization and execution of the delegation. Organizational tasks include: (i) selecting delegates from US Congress and staff to join the delegation, (ii) briefing delegates with background materials, and (iii) developing the itinerary for the delegation. Execution refers to: (i) arranging all logistics for the delegation, (ii) contracting drivers, translators, and photographers, and (iii) coordinating all relevant meetings with government officials, parliamentary representatives, and civil society organizations.

The Foundation to Promote Open Society is interested in supporting this delegation as it aligns with the Foundation's broader mission to foster greater interest from members of Congress on US-Latin America relations. As Latin America confronts risks of democratic backsliding, the Foundation to Promote Open Society aims to support good governance and transparency initiatives throughout the region. A delegation connecting Latino members of Congress with their South American counterparts promises to strengthen the diplomatic ties between the US and its partners in the region. FPOS has provided CEPR with a grant for this delegation. The Foundation did not select or invite any House Members or employees to participate on the trip.

CEPR has invited three members of the Foundation to attend dinners and meetings throughout the delegation: Senior Policy Advisor, Alex Sadler, Senior Program Analyst for Advocacy, Sabrina Stein and Deputy Director of U.S Foreign Policy, Alex T. Johnson.

**15(b)(2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip.**

The Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR) selected three capital cities across Latin America as the destinations for the delegation — (i) Brasilia, Brazil, (ii) Santiago, Chile, and (iii) Bogota, Colombia — in order to maximize the possibilities for Member engagement with host countries' democratic institutions and civil society organizations based in each respective capital.



June 27, 2023

Mr. Gerardo Bonilla Chavez  
Office of Representative Ocasio-Cortez

Dear Mr. Bonilla Chavez,

The Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR) cordially invites you to participate in a high-level Congressional delegation (NODEL) to three countries across Latin America: Brazil, Chile, and Colombia. The dates for the delegation are set for 13–21 August 2023.

Recent years have seen a new generation of leaders flourish in Congress with a commitment to transform US–Latin American relations — just as a new set of governments have been elected in countries like Colombia, Brazil, and Chile with similar objectives with regard to relations with the US. The motivation of this delegation is to take advantage of this unprecedented alignment to address shared priorities and advance shared aims.

Coinciding with the August recess, the delegation will introduce US Members to heads of state, key government ministers, parliamentary peers, as well as civil society organizations at the frontline of peace negotiations, ecological transitions, and democratic transformations in each country. The goal is to forge a new diplomatic relationship between the United States and Latin America beyond and below the executive level.

CEPR is an independent think tank based in Washington, DC that specializes in economic and foreign policy issues. On behalf of CEPR, I wish to express my keen interest in your participation in the delegation. We would be honored to travel with you.

The delegation complies fully with the ethics rules enacted by Congress regarding privately sponsored travel. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to write to me at [main@cepr.net](mailto:main@cepr.net).

I look forward to hearing from you very soon,

Alex Main  
Director of International Policy  
Center for Economic and Policy Research

1611 Connecticut Ave., NW  
Suite 400  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 293-5380 | [info@cepr.net](mailto:info@cepr.net)



**Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR)**  
**Latin America Delegation**  
**August 13, 2021 – August 21, 2021**

**Confirmed Attendees:**

1. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez
2. Representative Nydia Velázquez
3. Representative Joaquin Castro
4. Representative Greg Casar
5. Representative Maxwell Frost
6. Gerardo Bonilla Chavez, Chief of Staff, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez
7. Renata Beca-Barragán, Legislative Director, Representative Nydia Velázquez
8. Stephanie Trinh, Chief of Staff, Representative Greg Casar
9. Samantha Ramirez, Communications Director, Representative Maxwell Frost

**Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR)**  
**Latin America Delegation**  
**August 13, 2021 – August 21, 2021**

**Agenda**

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 13**

**9.00 am – 12.00 pm, Departures**

All delegates depart the U.S. between 9:00am and 12:00pm.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 14**

**12.14 am, Arrivals**

All delegates arrive in Brasilia.

**10.00 am - 11.30 am, Brazilian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century**

*Meeting & Discussion with Special Advisor to the President Celso Amorim*

Palacio do Planalto

Celso Amorim is a Brazilian diplomat who currently serves as Special Advisor to President Lula. Amorim has previously served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defense. This meeting will serve as an important primer for Members to learn more about the Lula Administration's foreign policy priorities.

**12.00 pm - 1.00 pm, Brazil's Road to Racial Justice**

*Lunch & Discussion with Minister of Racial Equality Anielle Franco*

Restaurante Tia Zélia

Anielle Franco serves as the Minister of Racial Equality for Brazil. Prior to joining the Lula Administration, Franco – the sister of assassinated Rio de Janeiro Councilor Marielle Franco – served as the Director of the Marielle Franco Institute. Members will meet with Minister Franco to learn more about the policies of the Lula Administration with regard to historically marginalized communities and the fight against racism. This meeting will also be an important opportunity for members to learn more about the Joint Action Plan to Eliminate Racial and Ethnic Discrimination and Promote Equality (JAPER) – a bilateral US-Brazil initiative that was restarted earlier this year.



### **1.30 pm - 2.30 pm, Indigenous Policy in the Age of Climate Crisis**

*Meeting & Discussion with Célia Xakriabá*

Indigenous Peoples Memorial

Célia Xakriabá is an Indigenous educator and Federal Deputy of the Xakriabá people. Members will meet with Xakriabá and representatives of the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB) to discuss the work the Lula Administration is doing to combat deforestation, illegal mining, as well as steps taken to improve access to healthcare, sanitation, and nutrition for Indigenous communities throughout Brazil.

### **3.00 pm - 4.00 pm, Workers' Rights from Dictatorship to Democracy**

*Meeting & Discussion with Unified Workers' Central (CUT)*

National Teachers Union Headquarters

The delegation will meet with Sergio Nobre, National President of the *Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT)*, or the Unified Workers' Central. CUT is the most important trade union federation in Brazil and the largest in Latin America. With more than 7.4 million workers in almost every industry in the country, the CUT has a powerful role as one of the main voices for labor rights in Brazil. Members will have the chance to learn more about the CUT's priorities with regard to labor policy.

### **5.00 pm - 6.30 pm, Peasant Perspectives**

*Gathering & Discussion with the Landless Workers' Movement (MST)*

MST Headquarters

The delegation will meet with João Pedro Stédile, National Coordinator of *the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST)*, or the Landless Workers' Movement. The MST is a social movement of roughly 1.5 million members advocating for land reform for poor, rural workers in Brazil. The MST will meet with Members to discuss their land reform priorities at the national level. Members will have an opportunity to discuss the role that small farmers play in promoting sustainable development and food security.

### **7.00 pm - 8.00 pm, Making Sense of the US-Brazil Relationship**

*Dinner with the US Embassy Country Team*

US Embassy

Members of Congress will meet with US Ambassador Elizabeth Bagley and her team to be briefed on the latest developments in the US-Brazil bilateral relationship. This is an important opportunity for members to learn more about key programmatic initiatives the Embassy is carrying out in Brasília.

## **TUESDAY, AUGUST 15**

### **9.00 am - 10.30 am, The Defense of Democracy**

*Meeting & Discussion with Senator Eliziane Gama, President of the Commission on the Defense of Democracy*  
National Congress

Members will meet with Senator Eliziane Gama (PSD-MA), the President of the newly created permanent Commission on the Defense of Democracy in the Brazilian Senate. The meeting will provide a space for Members to learn from Brazil's response to recent attacks against its democratic institutions.

### **11.00 am - 12.00 pm, A Vision for Brazil, 2023-2027**

*Meeting & Discussion with President Lula da Silva*  
Palacio do Planalto

Members will meet with Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Lula served as President of Brazil from 2003-2010 and returned to office earlier this year. Lula has returned to office with an ambitious agenda that aims to prioritize helping the Brazilian economy recover from the impacts of the Coronavirus Pandemic, fighting hunger, supporting Black and indigenous rights, boosting Brazil's voice in the international community, and combating illegal mining and deforestation. Meeting with President Lula will provide Members with a unique opportunity to hear directly from the head of state and discuss ways to strengthen the important US-Brazil bilateral relationship.

### **1.00 pm - 2.30 pm, The Right to Housing**

*Lunch with Guilherme Boulos & the Homeless Workers' Movement (MTST)*  
Brasília Solidarity Kitchen

Guilherme Boulos is the leading figure of the PSOL, a former candidate to the presidency, and currently a member of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies as well as a member of the National Coordination of Homeless Workers' Movement (MTST). Members will meet Boulos at one of the many Solidarity Kitchens that the MTST organized to provide lunch for undernourished Brazilians during the Coronavirus Pandemic. Members will be able to discuss the ways in which Boulos and others have sought to provide resources for those who need them most and increase food and humanitarian access for Brazilians.

### **3.30 pm - 4.30 pm, The Brazilian Economic Outlook**

*Meeting & Discussion with Minister Fernando Haddad*

Ministry of Finance

Fernando Haddad is Minister of Finance and former Minister of Education and Mayor of São Paulo. In his current position, he has prioritized developing a new fiscal framework for the Lula Administration to limit public spending while avoiding cuts to social programs. Members will meet with Haddad to discuss the challenges and opportunities presented in working with an opposition Congress to pass the country's first tax reform in decades. Members will also learn about the role Haddad and the Lula Administration would like the U.S. private sector and international investment to play in supporting Brazil's economic recovery.

### **5.00 pm - 6.00 pm, Brazilian Democracy at a Crossroads**

*Congressional Roundtable*

National Congress

An important aim of this delegation is to foster connections between US Members of Congress and their parliamentary counterparts in South America. Members will have the opportunity to meet with their legislative counterparts in Brazil — federal deputies Camila Jara (PT), Dandara Tonantzin (PT), Natália Bonavides (PT), Tabata Amaral (PSB), Pastor Henrique Vieira (PSOL), Erika Hilton (PSOL), Talíria Petrone (PSOL), Jandira Feghali (PCdoB), Túlio Gadêlha (REDE) — and learn more about the inner workings of Brazilian Parliament and the policy discussions currently taking place there.

### **6.30 pm - 8.30 pm, The Future of the US-Brazil Relationship**

*Dinner & Reception*

Clube das Nações

An informal dinner hosted by Frederico Assis, Special Advisor to the President of the Republic of Brazil. Assis works closely with former Foreign Minister and current Senior Advisor to the President, Celso Amorim. He leads the Office of the President's work on democracy and de-radicalization. The dinner will invite Members to hear from Assis and his colleagues about the response to the January 8 riots in Brasília, and how this administration hopes to partner with the US to mount a defense of democracy across the hemisphere.

## **WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16**

### **6.30 am – 5.00 pm, Departures and Arrivals, Brasília to Santiago**

Delegates depart Brasilia between 6:30 am and 9:00 am and arrive in Santiago between 1:00 pm and 5:00 pm.

### **3.32pm, Departure**

Delegate departs Austin at 3:32 pm.

**6.30 pm - 7.30 pm, Welcome to Chile**

*Briefing with CEPR Staff*

Mandarin Hotel

Members of Congress will be welcomed to the country with a briefing on Chile's historical context and present conjuncture, as well as a detailed run-down of the delegation plans for the two days in-country.

**8.00 pm - 10.00 pm, The View from Santiago**

*Dinner with Dr. José Miguel Ahumada*

Mandarin Hotel

To provide further orientation to the capital, its institutions, and their current state, the delegation will hear from Dr. José Miguel Ahumada, Professor at the Institute for International Studies at the University of Chile and former Undersecretary for International Economic Relations in the government of Gabriel Boric.

**THURSDAY, AUGUST 17**

**4.43 am, Arrival**

Delegate arrives in Santiago at 4:43am.

**8.00 am - 9.00 am, Making Sense of the US-Chile Relationship**

*Briefing and Breakfast with the US Embassy Country Team*

Mandarin Hotel

Members will meet with the U.S. Embassy team to receive updates on the most recent developments in the U.S.-Chile bilateral relationship. The U.S. Embassy will provide updates on how it's exploring options to direct U.S. foreign investment to Chile via the Inflation Reduction Act, how it's engaging with the Chilean government to commemorate the 50-year anniversary of the coup against President Salvador Allende in September of this year, and on how it's supporting the Chilean lithium industry as the government moves forward with plans for public ownership of the resource, among other bilateral issues.

**10.00 am - 11.30 am, The City of the Island Hills**

*Meeting & Discussion with Santiago Mayor Irací Hassler*

Municipalidad de Santiago

Iraci Hassler is a Chilean activist and politician who has served as Mayor of Santiago since 2021. Hassler is a rising star in Chilean politics and has played an important role in shaping Chilean policy with regard to climate change and women's rights. Members will also meet with Hassler to learn more about her policies to address food insecurity and discrimination against migrants in Santiago.

## **12.00 pm - 2.00 pm, Chilean Democracy at a Crossroads**

*Lunch with Congressional Leaders*

Palacio Pereira

In continuing with the theme of connecting Members to their parliamentary counterparts in South America, they will meet with young congressional leaders from Chile: Minister Secretary General of Government Camila Vallejo (PCCh), Minister of Family and Social Development Giorgio Jackson (RD), and national deputies Karol Cariola (PCCh), Ericka Ñanco (RD), Diego Ibáñez (CS), Gonzalo Winter (CS), Emilia Schneider (Comunes), and Daniela Serrano (PCCh). Members will meet with their counterparts to discuss ways to bring grassroots organizing experience with them into Congress.

## **2.30 pm - 3.30 pm, A Neighborhood Care System**

*Visit & Gathering with Minister of Women and Gender Equality Antonia Orellana and Mayor of Santiago Irací Hassler*

Casa Igualdad Building

Members will have the opportunity to learn about the new Neighborhood Care System implemented by the Municipality of Santiago, dedicated to address the different problems of people who care for and are cared for in the commune, with a focus on social care, mental health and legal mediation with a gender, inclusion and intercultural approach. Members will be accompanied by the Minister of Women and Gender Equality, Antonia Orellana and the Mayor of Santiago, Irací Hassler.

## **4.00 pm - 5.30 pm, The History of Democracy in Chile**

*Briefing with Minister of Justice and Human Rights Luis Cordero Vega*

Museum of Memory and Human Rights

September 11, 2023 will mark the fifty-year anniversary of the assassination and coup of Chilean President Salvador Allende. The Chilean government and the international community are leading a wide array of commemorative events in 2023 to mark the anniversary. Members will spend the evening at the Museum of Memory and Human Rights with a briefing led by Chile's Minister of Justice and Human Rights, Luis Cordero Vega.

## **6.00 pm - 7.30 pm, The Constitutional Horizon**

*Meeting & Discussion with Members of Chile's Constitutional Convention Process*

Casa Central, Universidad de Chile

Chile remains in a process of constitutional renovation — away from the 1980 constitution drafted by allies of General Augusto Pinochet and toward a new draft that responds to the needs and challenges of the 21st century. Members will meet scholars, representatives of civil society organizations, and members of Chile's constitutional convention process to learn more about the dimensions of social, economic, and political transformation proposed in the debate about Chile's constitution. Meeting participants include:

- Members of the 2023 Constitutional Council Experts Committee: Dr. Veronica Undurraga (President), Dr. Antonia Rivas (Member)
- Current Councilors of the Constituent Convention: Councilor Yerko Ljubetic, Councilor Marcela Araya
- Former members of the Constituent Convention: Dr. Elisa Loncon Antileo (Professor of Education, University of Santiago de Chile), Dr. Fernando Atria (Professor of Law, University of Chile), Dr. Elisa Giustinianovich (Center for the Study of Energy Resources at the University of Magallanes), Dr. Tomás Laibe (Advisor, Ministry of Finance)
- Academics and civil society leaders: Dr. Julieta Suarez-Cao (Deputy Director, Head of Undergraduate Studies at the Institute of Political Science, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile), Dr. Marcela Rios (Visiting Scholar at the Latin American Centre, Oxford University), Dr. Cristóbal Bellolio (Associate Professor, School of Government, Adolfo Ibáñez University), Dr. Aldo Mascareño (Senior Researcher, Center for Public Studies, Adolfo Ibáñez University), Dr. Andrea Repetto (Board President, *Fundación Superación Pobreza*), Dr. Ezio Costa (Executive Director, ngo FIMA; Professor of Environmental Law at the University of Chile)

## **FRIDAY, AUGUST 18**

### **8.00 am - 9.00 am, 200 years of Diplomatic Relationship and Feminist Foreign Policy**

*Meeting with Minister of Foreign Affairs Alberto Van Klaveren*

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Members will meet with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in a year where Chile and the US celebrate 200 years of diplomatic relationship, to learn how Chile advances its commitment to human rights and equality, being the first South American country to implement a Feminist Foreign Policy.

### **9.30 am - 11.30 am, Remembering the Coup & Its Victims**

*Tour with Minister of National Defense Maya Fernández Allende*

Tomb of President Salvador Allende

Minister Maya Fernández Allende is the Minister of National Defense and former President of the Chamber of Deputies. Members will meet with the Minister to learn about Chile's approach to defending democracy and upholding the memory of the dictatorship.

### **12.00 - 2.00 pm, Human Rights in Hemispheric Perspective**

*Lunch with Former President Michelle Bachelet*

La Moneda

President Verónica Michelle Bachelet Jeria was the first woman to hold the presidency of Chile — from 2006 to 2010 and again from 2014 to 2018. She later served as United Nations High

Commissioner for Human Rights from 2018 to 2022. Members will have the opportunity to learn from Chile's defense of human rights in the democratic transition, and how President Bachelet has taken these lessons to the global level.

### **2.30 - 4.00 pm, Communications in Coalition Government**

*Meeting & Discussion with Minister Camila Vallejo*

La Moneda

Camila Vallejo is Minister General Secretariat of Government and former member of the Chamber of Deputies. Members will have the opportunity to learn from Minister Vallejo about her role in the student movement, the lessons that she now brings into government, and the strategies for political communication in the age of disinformation.

### **4.30 pm - 6.00 pm, A Vision for Chile, 2022-2026**

*Meeting & Discussion with President Gabriel Boric Font*

La Moneda

Gabriel Boric has served as President of Chile since 2022. Boric – a former student leader who played an important role in the 2011 Chilean student protests – served as a Member of the Chamber of Deputies prior to his election as President. Members will have the unique opportunity to meet with President Boric and learn more about his Administration's priorities on climate change, foreign policy, lithium nationalization, treatment of migrants in Chile, and indigenous rights issues.

### **7.00 pm - 8.30 pm, The Fearless Generation**

*Dinner with Rising Political Leaders*

Hidalgo Castle on the Santa Lucia Hill

The delegation will conclude with an informal dinner with Chile's rising political leaders, including Tomás Vodanovic, Mayor of Maipú; Macarena Ripamonti, Mayor of Viña del Mar; Carolina Pérez, Undersecretary of Cultural Heritage; Nicole Cardoch, Undersecretary of Government; Cote Cumplido, Executive Director of *Fundación Iguales*; Tomás Gárate, Mayor of Puerto Varas; Valentina Saavedra, academic and urban planner, former student leader; Sabrina Orellana, President of the FEUC (Catholic University Student Federation). Members will learn about the challenges of political leadership from a new generational perspective — and the vision of this 'Fearless Generation', born after the transition to democracy, for the future of their country.

## **SATURDAY, AUGUST 19**

### **8.40 am – 1.50 pm, Departures and Arrivals, Santiago to Bogota**

Delegates depart Santiago at 8:40am and arrive in Bogota at 1:50 pm.

### **6.00 pm - 7.30 pm, Welcome to Colombia**

*Briefing with CEPR Staff*

Hilton Bogota Corferias

Members of Congress will be welcomed to the country with a briefing on Colombia's historical context and present conjuncture, as well as a detailed run-down of the delegation plans for the two days in-country.

### **8.00 pm - 9.30 pm, The View from Bogotá**

*Dinner & Discussion with Senator Clara López Obregón and President of the Special Assets*

*Society Daniel Rojas*

Restaurant Salvo Patria

To provide further orientation to the capital, its institutions, and their current state, the delegation will hear from Senator Clara Eugenia López Obregón, who has previously served as Minister of Labor and Mayor of the capital Bogoá and Daniel Rojas, President of the *Sociedad de Activos Especiales* (SAE), or the Special Assets Society, a public body linked to the Ministry of Finance that manages, administers and democratizes assets from illegal activities.

## **SUNDAY, AUGUST 20**

### **8.00 am - 9.00 am, Making Sense of the US-Colombian Relationship**

*Briefing and Breakfast with US Embassy Country Team*

US Embassy

Members will meet with US Charge d'Affaires Francisco "Paco" Palmieri and his team to learn more about recent developments between the US-Colombia bilateral relationship. Colombia receives more US assistance than any other country in the Western Hemisphere. Members will therefore have the opportunity to ask questions and learn more about the specific programming the US Embassy in Colombia has prioritized.

### **10.00 am - 11.30 am, 'Potencia de la Vida' (Power for Life)**

*Meeting & Discussion with President Gustavo Petro*

Casa de Nariño

Gustavo Petro has served as President of Colombia since 2022. Petro was elected last year as the first progressive president in Colombia's history. Members will have the rare opportunity to



meet with President Petro and learn more about his Administration's priorities after their first year in office. Discussion will include the US-Colombia security relationship, implementing the 2016 Peace Accord with the FARC, peace agreement negotiations with the ELN, the role Colombia can play on foreign policy issues such as Cuba and Venezuela, and the steps the government has taken to support historically marginalized Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities.

### **12.00 pm - 1.00 pm, The Past & Future of US-Colombian Security Cooperation**

*Meeting & Discussion with Minister Iván Velásquez*

Ministry of Defense

Iván Velásquez has served as Colombia's Defense Minister since 2022. Velásquez has been a life-long human rights and anti-corruption crusader with vast experience in security matters. Velásquez has been tasked with managing the 481,000 members of the Colombian armed forces and national police and rooting out the systemic corruption that has plagued Colombia's Defense Ministry for years. This meeting will be an important opportunity for Members to learn more about the specifics of US security assistance to Colombia and how it can be best shaped to better support the Petro Administration's security priorities.

### **1.30 pm - 3.30 pm, The Promise of Peace**

*Meeting & Discussion with Representatives of the Peace Process*

Hilton Bogota Corferias

Iván Cepeda and María José Pizarro are Colombian Senators who serve as key facilitators to support peace negotiations between the Colombian government and the ELN. In the summer of 2023, it was announced that the Colombian government and the ELN would agree to cease fire that would limit armed conflict while negotiations are ongoing. It is expected that negotiations will not be resolved until at least 2025. Members will have an important opportunity to meet with Sen. Cepeda and Sen. Pizarro and discuss ways in which the United States can be a more helpful and supportive ally to Colombia as it continues these peace negotiations.

### **4.00 pm - 5.30 pm, Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Struggles for Justice**

*Gathering & Discussion with Representatives from Afro and Indigenous Movement*

ONIC Headquarters

Members will meet with leaders from several social movements and organizations representing Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities. From the Afro-Colombian perspective, the Black Communities' Process (Proceso de Comunidades Negras - PCN) is a national organization that links more than 100 Black social movements as well as grassroots organizations, including palenquera and Caribbean raizal communities. Additionally, *Soy Porque Somos* (I Am Because We Are) — founded by Vice President Francia Márquez Mina — is an Afro-feminist political

movement working for social justice and represents one movement within the Historic Pact coalition. From the Indigenous perspective, Members will also meet leaders from the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (*Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia* - ONIC). Founded on the principles of unity, land, culture, and autonomy, ONIC combines dozens of Indigenous confederations and local organizations from many of Colombia's Indigenous peoples and nations. Born from within ONIC, the Indigenous and Social Alternative Movement (*Movimiento Alternativo Indígena y Social* - MAIS) represents a vehicle for Indigenous electoral representation and also forms part of the Historic Pact.

### **7.00 pm - 8.00 pm, The Meaning of the Historic Pact**

*Dinner with Young Members of Colombia's Congress*

Casa Kilele

In continuing with the theme of the delegation, Members will have the opportunity to connect with young Colombian parliamentarians from the 'Historic Pact' coalition — Sen. María José Pizarro, Rep. David Racero, Rep. María Fernanda Carrascal, Rep. Susana Gómez Castaño, and Minister of Mines and Energy Omar Andrés Camacho — to learn more about the important policy-building that is being done in the Colombian legislature. Members will learn more about the successes these leaders had in working to pass tax reform as well as some of the challenges faced in failing to move important legislation that would have reformed the Colombian healthcare system. Members will also be able to engage with their Colombian counterparts to tell them about how the US Congress legislates and how it has approached the vital US-Colombia bilateral relationship.

## **MONDAY, AUGUST 21**

### **8.30 am - 9.30 am, 'Vivir Sabroso' (Living Joyfully)**

*Meeting & Discussion with Vice President Francia Márquez Mina*

Casa de Nariño

Francia Márquez Mina is a human-rights lawyer and environmental activist who was elected as Colombia's first black Vice President in 2022. Márquez became famous for her work opposing illegal mining in the Department of Cauca. She also played a key role in the Colombian government's peace negotiation with the FARC where she advocated for the inclusion of ethnic minorities to ensure a long-lasting, sustainable peace agreement. As Vice President of Colombia, Márquez holds the inaugural position of Minister of Equality and Equity. Members will meet with Márquez and learn about the efforts to fully implement the 2016 Peace Agreement, including the Agreement's Ethnic Chapter which is designed to ensure that indigenous and Afro-Colombian organizations are involved in overseeing the implementation process.

**10.00 am - 11.30 am, Overcoming Colombia's History of Conflict**

*Guided Tour of the Center for Memory, Peace, and Reconciliation with Jose Antequera Guzmán and NGO Temblores*

Centro de la Memoria, Paz y Reconciliación

Members will have an opportunity to visit the Center for Memory, Peace and Reconciliation (a space for the promotion of collective memory and to honor the victims of the country's decades-long internal armed conflict) and meet with the Center's Director, Jose Antequera Guzmán and leaders from the NGO, Temblores. Temblores is an advocacy organization that was formed to provide victims of police violence with legal and strategic support. The organization has also created a wide social advocacy network to create an itinerant social justice clinic that provides legal support and resources for those communities who have been historically vulnerable and neglected by the State and justice administration system. Members will meet with Temblores and learn more about their work to hold Colombian security forces accountable for human rights abuses.

**12.00 pm - 1.30 pm, Delegation Debrief**

*Closing Lunch with CEPR Staff*

Hilton Bogota Corferias

**7.30 am – 11.40 pm, Departures**

Delegates depart Bogota between 7:30 am and 11:40 pm.

**3.22 pm, Arrival**

Delegate arrives in San Antonio at 3:22 pm.

**11.10 pm, Arrival**

Delegate arrives in Orlando at 11:10pm.

**Tuesday, August 22, 2023**

**3.52 am – 6.40 am, Arrivals**

Delegates arrive in the U.S. between 3:52 am and 6:40 am.

**Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR)**  
**Latin America Delegation**  
**August 13, 2021 – August 21, 2021**

**Final Agenda for Gerardo Bonilla Chavez<sup>1</sup>**

**Sunday, August 13**

**9.00 am – 12.00 pm, Departures**

All delegates depart the U.S. between 9:00am and 12:00pm.

**Monday, August 14**

**12.14 am, Arrivals**

All delegates arrive in Brasilia.

**10.00 am - 11.00 am, Brazilian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century**

*Meeting & Discussion with Special Advisor to the President Celso Amorim*

Palacio do Planalto

Celso Amorim is a Brazilian diplomat who currently serves as Special Advisor to President Lula. Amorim has previously served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defense. This meeting will serve as an important primer for Members to learn more about the Lula Administration's foreign policy priorities.

**12.00 pm - 1.00 pm, Making Sense of the US-Brazil Relationship**

*Lunch with the US Embassy Country Team*

Steak Bull Churrascaria

Members of Congress will meet with US embassy officials, including the Deputy Chief of Mission Colleen Hoey and officials from the public affairs, political and economic sections to be briefed on the latest developments in the US-Brazil bilateral relationship. This is an important opportunity for members to learn more about key programmatic initiatives the Embassy is carrying out in Brasília, including initiatives that form part of the Joint Action Plan to Eliminate Racial and Ethnic Discrimination and Promote Equality (JAPER) – a bilateral US-Brazil initiative that was restarted earlier this year.

**1.30 pm - 2.30 pm, Indigenous Policy in the Age of Climate Crisis**

*Meeting & Discussion with Célia Xakriabá*

National Congress

Célia Xakriabá is an Indigenous educator and Federal Deputy of the Xakriabá people. Members will meet with Xakriabá and representatives of the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB) to discuss the work the Lula Administration is doing to combat deforestation, illegal mining, as well as steps taken to improve access to healthcare, sanitation, and nutrition for Indigenous communities throughout Brazil.

### **3.00 pm - 4.00 pm, Workers' Rights from Dictatorship to Democracy**

*Meeting & Discussion with Unified Workers' Central (CUT)*

National Teachers Union Headquarters

The delegation will meet with Sergio Nobre, National President of the *Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT)*, or the Unified Workers' Central. CUT is the most important trade union federation in Brazil and the largest in Latin America. With more than 7.4 million workers in almost every industry in the country, the CUT has a powerful role as one of the main voices for labor rights in Brazil. Members will have the chance to learn more about the CUT's priorities with regard to labor policy.

### **5.00 pm - 6.30 pm, Peasant Perspectives**

*Gathering & Discussion with the Landless Workers' Movement (MST)*

MST Brasilia Headquarters

The delegation will meet with Ceres Hadich and Ana Moraes, leaders of *the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST)*, or the Landless Workers' Movement. The MST is a social movement of roughly 1.5 million members advocating for land reform for poor, rural workers in Brazil. The MST will meet with Members to discuss their land reform priorities at the national level. Members will have an opportunity to discuss the role that small farmers play in promoting sustainable development and food security.

### **7.00 pm - 9.00 pm, The Future of the US-Brazil Relationship**

*Dinner & Reception with Special Advisor to the President Frederico Assis*

Clube das Nações

An informal dinner hosted by Frederico Assis, Special Advisor to the President of the Republic of Brazil. Assis works closely with former Foreign Minister and current Senior Advisor to the President, Celso Amorim. He leads the Office of the President's work on democracy and de-radicalization. The dinner will invite Members to hear from Assis and his colleagues about the response to the January 8 riots in Brasília, and how this administration hopes to partner with the US to mount a defense of democracy across the hemisphere.

## **Tuesday, August 15**

### **8.00 am - 9.00 am, The Defense of Democracy**

*Meeting & Discussion with Senator Eliziane Gama, President of the Commission on the Defense of Democracy*

National Congress

Members will meet with Senator Eliziane Gama (PSD-MA), the President of the newly created permanent Commission on the Defense of Democracy in the Brazilian Senate. The meeting will provide a space for Members to learn from Brazil's response to recent attacks against its democratic institutions.

### **9.30am - 10.30 am, Confronting Climate Change Internationally**

*Meeting & Discussion with Minister of the Environment Marina Silva*

Ministry of the Environment and Climate Change

Members will meet with Minister Marina Silva. She is a historian, professor, environmentalist and politician, affiliated with the *Rede Sustentabilidade* and current Minister of the Environment and Climate change of Brazil, position which she also held between 2003 and 2008.

### **11.00 am - 12.00 pm, From Winning Government to Governing Brazil**

*Meeting with Minister Alexandre Padilha*

Palácio do Planalto

Minister Alexandre Padilha is the Chief Minister of Institutional Relations of the Presidency of the Republic of Brazil, overseeing all the operations of the Lula administration. He was previously the Health Minister under President Dilma Rousseff, and Secretary of Health under São Paulo Mayor Fernando Haddad. Delegates will have the opportunity to learn from Minister Padilha about the internal operations of the present cabinet, as well as the history of health policy in 21st century Brazil.

### **1.00 pm - 3.00 pm, The Right to Housing**

*Lunch with Guilherme Boulos & the Homeless Workers' Movement (MTST)*

Brasília Solidarity Kitchen

Guilherme Boulos is the leading figure of the PSOL, a former candidate to the presidency, and currently a member of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies as well as a member of the National Coordination of Homeless Workers' Movement (MTST). Members will meet Boulos at one of the many Solidarity Kitchens that the MTST organized to provide lunch for undernourished Brazilians during the Coronavirus Pandemic. Members will be able to discuss the ways in which Boulos and others have sought to provide resources for those who need them most and increase food and humanitarian access for Brazilians.

### **4.00 pm - 5.30 pm, Brazil's Road to Racial Justice**

*Meeting & Discussion with Minister Anielle Franco*

Ministry of Racial Equality

Anielle Franco serves as the Minister of Racial Equality for Brazil. Prior to joining the Lula Administration, Franco – the sister of assassinated Rio de Janeiro Councilor Marielle Franco – served as the Director of the Marielle Franco Institute. Members will meet with Minister Franco to learn more about the policies of the Lula Administration with regard to historically marginalized communities and the fight against racism. This meeting will also be an important opportunity for members to learn more about the Joint Action Plan to Eliminate Racial and Ethnic Discrimination and Promote Equality (JAPER) – a bilateral US-Brazil initiative that was restarted earlier this year.

### **6.00 pm - 7.00 pm, Brazilian Democracy at a Crossroads**

*Congressional Roundtable*

National Congress

An important aim of this delegation is to foster connections between US Members of Congress and their parliamentary counterparts in South America. Members will have the opportunity to meet with their legislative counterparts in Brazil — federal deputies Camila Jara (PT), Dandara Tonantzin (PT), Natália Bonavides (PT), Tabata Amaral (PSB), Pastor Henrique Vieira (PSOL), Erika Hilton (PSOL), Talíria Petrone (PSOL), Jandira Feghali (PCdoB), Túlio Gadêlha (REDE) — and learn more about the inner workings of Brazilian Parliament and the policy discussions currently taking place there.

### **7.30 pm - 8.30 pm, March of the Daisies**

*Public Event*

Parque da Cidade Sarah Kubitschek

A national mobilization that brings together over 100,000 working women from all over the Brazilian countryside, cities, fields and forests. *Marcha das Margaridas*, or March of the Daisies occurs every four years as an effort to build the political participation of women and mobilize around issues of economic autonomy, democratization of land, food security and a life that is free from all forms of violence. Members will greet the march on a public stage as Brazilian diplomats and union leaders commemorate the trailblazing women of the past.

### **9.00 pm - 10.30 pm, Dinner with the Workers' Party (PT)**

*Dinner and Discussion*

Fogo de Chão Steakhouse

The Workers' Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*, PT) is one of the largest political parties in the Western hemisphere, with over 1.6 million members across Brazil, currently led by Honorary President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Delegates will have the opportunity to learn about the origins of the Workers' Party in the struggle against Brazil's military dictatorship, and its role in raising living standards for working Brazilians both inside and outside of the country's political institutions.

## **Wednesday, August 16**

### **6.30 am – 5.00 pm, Departures and Arrivals, Brasília to Santiago**

Delegates depart Brasilia between 6:30 am and 9:00 am and arrive in Santiago between 1:00 pm and 5:00 pm.

### **7.00 pm - 8.30 pm, Welcome to Chile**

*Briefing with CEPR Staff*

Mandarin Hotel

Delegates will be welcomed to the country with a briefing on Chile's historical context and present conjuncture, as well as a detailed run-down of the delegation plans for the two days in-country.

**8.30 pm - 10.30 pm, The View from Santiago**

*Dinner with Dr. José Miguel Ahumada*

Mandarin Hotel Restaurant

To provide further orientation to the capital, its institutions, and their current state, the delegation will hear from Dr. José Miguel Ahumada, Professor at the Institute for International Studies at the University of Chile and former Undersecretary for International Economic Relations in the government of Gabriel Boric.

**Thursday, August 17**

**10.00 am - 11.30 am, The City of the Island Hills**

*Meeting & Discussion with Natalia Cuevas, Communications Director for the Municipality of Santiago*

Municipalidad de Santiago

Delegates will meet with Natalia Cuevas to learn how the Municipality of Santiago is confronting issues of food insecurity and discrimination against migrants in Santiago. They will also discuss the various social projects that the Municipality of Santiago with international organizations in the capital.

**12.00 pm - 2.00 pm, Chilean Democracy at a Crossroads**

*Lunch with Congressional Leaders*

Restaurant Civico-Centro Cultural La Moneda

In continuing with the theme of connecting Members to their parliamentarian counterparts in South America, they will meet with young congressional leaders from Chile: Minister Secretary General of Government Camila Vallejo (PCCh), and national deputies Karol Cariola (PCCh), Tomás de Rementería (PS), Ericka Nanco (RD), Diego Ibáñez (CS), Gonzalo Winter (CS), Emilia Schneider (Comunes), and Daniela Serrano (PCCh). Members will meet with their counterparts to discuss ways to bring grassroots organizing experience with them into Congress.

**4.00 pm - 5.30 pm, The History of Democracy in Chile**

*Briefing with Minister of Justice and Human Rights Luis Cordero Vega*

Museum of Memory and Human Rights

September 11, 2023 will mark the fifty-year anniversary of the assassination and coup of Chilean President Salvador Allende. The Chilean government and the international community are leading a wide array of commemorative events in 2023 to mark the anniversary. Members will spend the evening at the Museum of Memory and Human Rights with a briefing led by Chile's Minister of Justice and Human Rights, Luis Cordero Vega.



### **8.00 pm - 10.00 pm, The Future of the US-Chile Relationship**

Dinner with Rumbo Colectivo

Liguria Lastarria

In a traditional restaurant in the historic and patrimonial neighborhood Lastarria in downtown Santiago, this event will give Members an opportunity to reflect on the US-Chile relationship and the first day of programming of the delegation, hosted by Chilean non-profit organization Rumbo Colectivo.

### **Friday, August 18**

#### **8.30 am - 9.30 am, Human Rights in Hemispheric Perspective**

*Breakfast with Former President Michelle Bachelet*

Mandarin Hotel

President Verónica Michelle Bachelet Jeria was the first woman to hold the presidency of Chile — from 2006 to 2010 and again from 2014 to 2018. She later served as United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights from 2018 to 2022. Members will have the opportunity to learn from Chile's defense of human rights in the democratic transition, and how President Bachelet has taken these lessons to the global level.

#### **10.00 am - 12.00 pm, A Neighborhood Care System**

*Visit & Gathering with Minister of Women and Gender Equality Antonia Orellana and Mayor of Santiago Irací Hassler*

Casa Igualdad Building

Members will have the opportunity to learn about the new Neighborhood Care System implemented by the Municipality of Santiago, dedicated to address the different problems of people who care for and are cared for in the commune, with a focus on social care, mental health and legal mediation with a gender, inclusion and intercultural approach. Members will be accompanied by Minister of Women and Gender Equality Antonia Orellana, and Mayor of Santiago Irací Hassler.

#### **3.00 - 4.00 pm, Remembering the Coup & Its Victims**

*Visit with Senator Isabel Allende and Marcela Ahumada, Executive Director of the Salvador Allende Foundation*

House of Salvador Allende

Members will visit the house where Salvador Allende lived before being elected President, which was open to the public for the first time this year in the context of national heritage day. It is a living heritage, as the former president's daughter, Senator Isabel Allende, currently lives there. This visit will be an important opportunity for members to learn more about the life of the President and Chile's approach to defending democracy and upholding the memory of the dictatorship.

## **Saturday, August 19**

### **8.40 am – 1.50 pm, Departures and Arrivals, Santiago to Bogota**

Delegates depart Santiago at 8:40 am and arrive in Bogota at 1:50 pm.

### **6.00 pm - 7.30 pm, Welcome to Colombia**

*Briefing with CEPR Staff*

Hilton Bogota Corferias

Members of Congress will be welcomed to the country with a briefing on Colombia's historical context and present conjuncture, as well as a detailed run-down of the delegation plans for the two days in-country.

### **8.00 pm - 9.30 pm, The View from Bogotá**

*Dinner & Discussion with Senator Clara López Obregón and President of the Special Assets*

*Society Daniel Rojas*

Restaurant Salvo Patria

To provide further orientation to the capital, its institutions, and their current state, the delegation will hear from Senator Clara Eugenia López Obregón, who has previously served as Minister of Labor and Mayor of the capital Bogotá and Daniel Rojas, President of the *Sociedad de Activos Especiales* (SAE), or the Special Assets Society, a public body linked to the Ministry of Finance that manages, administers and democratizes assets from illegal activities.

## **Sunday, August 20**

### **10.00 am - 11.30 am, Overcoming Colombia's History of Conflict**

*Guided Tour of the Center for Memory, Peace, and Reconciliation with Jose Antequera Guzmán and NGO Temblores*

Centro de la Memoria, Paz y Reconciliación

Members will have an opportunity to visit the Center for Memory, Peace and Reconciliation (a space for the promotion of collective memory and to honor the victims of the country's decades-long internal armed conflict) and meet with the Center's Director, Jose Antequera Guzmán and leaders from NGO Temblores. Temblores is an advocacy organization that was formed to provide victims of police violence with legal and strategic support. The organization has also created a wide social advocacy network to create an itinerant social justice clinic that provides legal support and resources for those communities who have been historically vulnerable and neglected by the State and justice administration system. Members will meet with Temblores and learn more about their work to hold Colombian security forces accountable for human rights abuses.

### **12.00 pm - 2.00 pm, The Promise of Peace**

*Lunch & Discussion with Representatives of the Peace Processes*

United States Institute of Peace (USIP)

María José Pizarro is a Colombian senator who serves as a key facilitator to support peace negotiations between the Colombian government and the ELN. In the summer of 2023, it was announced that the Colombian government and the ELN would agree to an initial six-month ceasefire that would limit armed conflict while negotiations are ongoing. It is expected that negotiations will not be resolved until at least 2025. Members will have an important opportunity to meet with Sen. Pizarro and discuss ways in which the United States can be a more helpful and supportive ally to Colombia as it continues these peace negotiations. Members will have the chance to hear from negotiators from three additional peace processes: Fmr Health Minister and INDEPAZ director, Camilo Gonzalez Posso, coordinator of the peace process with the EMC-FARC; Lucía Gonzalez, coordinator of the Medellín gang peace process; and Gloria Cuartas, director of implementation of the 2016 FARC peace accord.

### **4.00 pm - 6.00 pm, Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Struggles for Justice**

*Gathering & Discussion with Representatives from Afro and Indigenous Movement*

ONIC Headquarters

Members will meet with leaders from several social movements and organizations representing Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities. From the Afro-Colombian perspective, the Black Communities' Process (Proceso de Comunidades Negras - PCN) is a national organization that links more than 100 Black social movements as well as grassroots organizations, including palenquera and Caribbean raizal communities. Additionally, *Soy Porque Somos* (I Am Because We Are) — founded by Vice President Francia Márquez Mina — is an Afro-feminist political movement working for social justice and represents one movement within the Historic Pact coalition. From the Indigenous perspective, Members will also meet leaders from the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (*Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia* - ONIC). Founded on the principles of unity, land, culture, and autonomy, ONIC combines dozens of Indigenous confederations and local organizations from many of Colombia's Indigenous peoples and nations. Born from within ONIC, the Indigenous and Social Alternative Movement (*Movimiento Alternativo Indígena y Social* - MAIS) represents a vehicle for Indigenous electoral representation and also forms part of the Historic Pact. We will be joined by PCN Director Jose Santos, ONIC Secretary General Gerardo Jumi, *Soy Porque Somos* Coordinator Ariel Palacios, and MAIS Secretary General Yamila Santos.

### **6.30 pm - 9.30 pm, The Meaning of the Historic Pact**

*Dinner with Young Ministers and Members of Colombia's Congress*

Casa Kilele

In continuing with the theme of the delegation, Members will have the opportunity to connect with young Colombian parliamentarians and ministers from the 'Historic Pact' coalition — Sen. María José Pizarro, Rep. David Racero, Rep. María Fernanda Carrascal, Minister of Mines and Energy Omar Andrés Camacho, and Minister of Environment and Sustainable Development Susana Muhamad — to learn more about the important policy-building that is being done in the Colombian legislature. Members will learn more about the successes these leaders had in working to pass tax reform as well as some of the challenges faced in failing to move important legislation that would have reformed the Colombian healthcare system. Members will also be able to engage with their Colombian counterparts to tell them about how the US Congress legislates and how it has approached the vital US-Colombia bilateral relationship.

## **Monday, August 21**

### **9:00 am - 10:00 am, Breakfast and CEPR Debrief**

*Briefing with CEPR Staff*

### **11.00 am - 1.00 pm, Humanizing Justice and Drug Policy**

*Meeting & Discussion with Minister Néstor Osuna and Minister Iván Velásquez*  
Casa de Nariño

Members will meet with the Minister of Justice and Law Néstor Osuna to discuss attempts to humanize the Colombian justice system, including through prison and drug policy reform. Minister Osuna has served from the beginning of President Petro's government and will be a key figure in the government's priority to initiate a range of reforms to Colombian drug policy — focusing on public health, harm reduction, and improving economic and social conditions for small farmers in the Colombian countryside.

### **7.30 am – 11.40 pm, Departures**

Delegates depart Bogota between 7:30 am and 11:40 pm.

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<sup>1</sup> *Changes to the pre-trip agenda that can be found in the final agenda were the result of either 1) host country officials having to cancel or re-schedule meetings with the delegation due to unexpected developments on their end or 2) unforeseen logistical issues that prevented some or all of the delegation from participating in an activity. Whenever possible, canceled activities were replaced by other activities serving the same educational purpose.*

**Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR)**  
**Latin America Delegation**  
**August 13, 2021 – August 21, 2021**

**Invited Attendees:**

1. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez
2. Representative Nydia Velázquez
3. Representative Joaquin Castro
4. Representative Greg Casar
5. Representative Maxwell Frost
6. Gerardo Bonilla Chavez, Chief of Staff, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez
7. Renata Beca-Barragán, Legislative Director, Representative Nydia Velázquez
8. Sid Ravishankar, Deputy Chief of Staff, Representative Joaquin Castro
9. Stephanie Trinh, Chief of Staff, Representative Greg Casar
10. Samantha Ramirez, Communications Director, Representative Maxwell Frost