

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, 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: _____

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: Sid Ravishankar 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: Gregory Meeks Date: 10/08/2024

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: Council on Foreign Relations

2. Travel Destination(s): New York, New York

3. Date of Departure: Friday, September 27, 2024 Date of Return: Friday, September 27, 2024

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Sid Ravishankar

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	\$681.80 total \$676 (rail) \$5.80 (subway)	\$0	\$73	\$0
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: Jessica L. Harrington Digitally signed by Jessica L. Harrington
Date: 2024.09.30 10:47:24 -04'00' Date: 9/30/24

Name: Jessica Harrington Title: Director, Government Affairs

Organization: Council on Foreign Relations

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

Address: 1777 F Street NW, Washington, DC 20006

Telephone: 202.509.8410 Email: jharrington@cfr.org

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

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

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

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

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

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

Name of Traveler: _____

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: Sid Ravishankar

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

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

Office Address: _____

Telephone Number: _____

Email Address of Contact Person: _____

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

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

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

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

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: _____
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: _____

3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: _____

4. a. Date of Departure: _____ Date of Return: _____

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.**

As a Democratic subcommittee staff director on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I regularly meet with experts to seek advice on national security policy. The opportunity to meet directly with CFR experts in New York will help me develop a greater range of experts to consult with when helping the members of the Committee navigate foreign policy matters.

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: _____

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:

Council on Foreign Relations

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): Please see attached documentation.

Each House invitee was invited because their work includes issues relevant to CFR's expertise including foreign policy, national security, global health, international economics, and similar global challenges.

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

6. Date of Departure: Friday, September 27, 2024 Date of Return: Friday, September 27, 2024

7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC

b. Destination(s): New York, NY

c. City of return: Washington, DC

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

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

9. **Check only one of the following.**
- 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:

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is the sole sponsor of this trip. CFR is an independent think tank dedicated to educating policymakers on Capitol Hill. This program will allow participants to attend panel discussions and meet with foreign policy and national security experts located in CFR's New York offices.

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

- a. Mode of travel: Air Rail Bus Car Other (specify: Subway)
 - 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): Approximately \$50 per day
-

2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: The Council on Foreign Relations is headquartered in New York, NY.

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 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$450	N/A	\$50
For each Accompanying Family Member	N/A	N/A	N/A

	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or Employee		
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: Jessica L. Harrington Digitally signed by Jessica L. Harrington
Date: 2024.07.15 11:26:03 -04'00' Date: 7/15/24
 Name: Jessica Harrington Title: Director, Washington External Affairs
 Organization: Council on Foreign Relations
 Address: 1777 F Street NW, Washington, DC 20006
 Email: jharrington@cfr.org Telephone: 202-509-8410

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

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

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

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



ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Keelie Broom
Counsel to the Chairman

David Arrojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

September 17, 2024

Mr. Siddarth Ravishankar
Committee on Foreign Affairs
2471 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Ravishankar:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to New York, New York, scheduled for September 27, 2024, sponsored by Council on Foreign Relations.

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.

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

Sincerely,

Michael Guest
Chairman

Susan Wild
Ranking Member

MG/SW:mc

COUNCIL *on* FOREIGN RELATIONS

1777 F Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006
tel 202.509.8400 fax 202.509.8490 www.cfr.org

Congressional Foreign Policy Study Group New York Program

Friday, September 27, 2024

8:05 a.m. Depart Union Station (Acela 2104)

11:01 a.m. Arrive at New York Moynihan Train Hall

11:40 a.m. Arrive at Council on Foreign Relations (58 East 68th Street, New York)

11:45 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.
Coffee Reception

12:00 p.m. – 12:30 p.m.
Networking Lunch
Participants will have the opportunity to meet and network with CFR members based in New York.

12:30 p.m. – 1:30 p.m.
Council on Foreign Relations General Meeting
A Conversation with Josep Borrell, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, European Union; Vice President, European Commission
Participants will discuss the challenges facing the European Union, its role in the continued Russia-Ukraine war, and transatlantic relations with the United States.

1:45 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.
Discussion with Mr. David Sacks, *Fellow for Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations*
Participants will discuss U.S.-China relations, cross-strait tensions, and the future of U.S. security posture in the Indo-Pacific.

3:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.
Discussion with Dr. Zongyuan Zoe Liu, *Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow for China Studies, Council on Foreign Relations*
Participants will discuss the status of the Chinese economy, global financial markets, and the illegal fentanyl trade.

4:15 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.
Discussion with Ambassador Michelle Gavin, *Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies, Council on Foreign Relations*
Participants will discuss developments across the African continent including U.S. strategic and trade relations across the region.

5:00 p.m. Meeting Concludes; Depart CFR for New York Moynihan Train Hall

6:00 p.m. Depart New York Moynihan Train Hall (Acela 2169)

8:59 p.m. Arrive in Washington, DC

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2024 Congressional Foreign Policy Study Group

Craig R. Abele

Office of Senator Lindsey Graham

Claire Alden

Office of Representative Lance Gooden

Erik Ashida

U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs

Shir Attias

Office of Senator Charles Schumer

Bryce Barros

Office of Senator Edward Markey

Caroline Bender

Office of Representative Juan Ciscomani

Molly Carpenter

Office of Senator Michael D. Crapo

Austin J. Dahmer

Office of Senator Josh Hawley

Thomas Eager

U.S. House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

Amy English

Office of Senator Jeanne Shaheen

Mackenzie Fallt

Office of Representative Jason Crow

Daniel Gottfried

U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

James P. Hart

Office of Senator Eric Schmitt

Elizabeth A. Johnson

Office of Senator Mitt Romney

Caroline Kehrli

U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services

Robert Levinson

Office of Senator Laphonza Butler

Zach Lewis

Office of Senator Mark Warner

Danielle Camner Lindholm

U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Financial Services

Paul Massaro

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Casey O'Shea

Office of Representative Bradley Schneider

Andrew Platt

U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations

Sid Ravishankar

Office of Representative Joaquin Castro

Nico Ruiz

Office of Representative Keith Self

Hannah Schwartz

Office of Senator Shelley Moore Capito

Jacob Stubbs

U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs

Elmamoun Y. Sulfab

Office of the Senate Minority Leader

Adam Trull

U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services

Dennis Wischmeier

U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

Krista Wunsche

Office of Representative Ed Case

Sara Zaheer

Office of Senator Patty Murray



Friday, September 27, 2024

11:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Council on Foreign Relations

Congressional Foreign Policy Study Group

Government Affairs Program

Congressional Foreign Policy Study Group: New York Program

This meeting is not for attribution. Participants are welcome to make use of the information received at the meeting, but neither the identity of the speakers nor that of any other participant may be revealed; nor may one cite a CFR meeting as the source of the information. Use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.

We respectfully request that participants turn off electronic devices and refrain from leaving the meeting early.

CFR is committed to maintaining an environment in which divergent perspectives are voiced and where participants are not subjected to verbal or physical harassment of any kind. All participants are expected to maintain the highest levels of civility and respect toward speakers, presiders, staff, guests, and one another. Thank you.

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1:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.
Meeting with Ambassador Michael Froman, President, Council on Foreign Relations

2:15 p.m. – 3:00 p.m.
Discussion with Ambassador Michelle Gavin, Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

3:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.
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9:04 p.m. Arrive in Washington, DC

Participants

Claire Alden

Office of Representative Lance Gooden

Erik Ashida

U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs

Shir Attias

Office of Senator Charles Schumer

Jakob Barlow

Council on Foreign Relations

Molly Carpenter

Office of Senator Michael D. Crapo

Austin J. Dahmer

Office of Senator Josh Hawley

Thomas Eager

U.S. House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

Daniel Gottfried

U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

James P. Hart

Office of Senator Eric Schmitt

Elizabeth A. Johnson

Office of Senator Mitt Romney

Caroline Kehrli

U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services

Robert Levinson

Office of Senator Laphonza Butler

Zach Lewis

Office of Senator Mark Warner

Danielle Camner Lindholm

U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Financial Services

Nicolette Mehran

Council on Foreign Relations

Casey O'Shea

Office of Representative Bradley Schneider

Andrew Platt

U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations

Sid Ravishankar

Office of Representative Joaquin Castro

Katelin Romano

Council on Foreign Relations

Hannah Schwartz

Office of Senator Shelley Moore Capito

Jacob Stubbs

U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs

Adam Trull

U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services

Dennis Wischmeier

U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

Sara Zaheer

Office of Senator Patty Murray

Josep Borrell

Josep Borrell Fontelles currently serves the high representative of the European Union for foreign affairs and security policy and a vice president of the European Commission for a strong Europe in the world. He previously served as Spain's minister of foreign affairs for the European Union and cooperation from 2018 to 2019 and as president of the European Parliament from 2004 to 2007. During his time as a member of the European Parliament, he was also the chair of the Committee on Development from 2007 to 2009. Borrell served as a member of the Spanish parliament from 1986 to 2003, as well.

While a member of the Spanish parliament, Borrell served as Spain's minister of public works, transport, telecommunications, and the environment, and state secretary of the treasury. He was also secretary-general for budget and public expenditure prior to that.

Borrell has also spent time as an academic. He began as a mathematics professor for the Higher Technical School of Aeronautical Engineering and the Complutense University of Madrid from 1972 to 1982 and was the Jean Monnet chair of European economic integration at the Complutense University of Madrid from 2013 to 2016.

He has a bachelor's degree in aeronautical engineering from the Polytechnic University of Madrid, a bachelor's degree and doctorate in economic science from the Complutense University of Madrid, a master's degree in oil industry economics and technology from the French Institute of Petroleum in Paris, and a master's degree in applied mathematics from Stanford University.

Michael Froman

Michael Froman is president of the Council on Foreign Relations. He previously served as vice chairman and president of strategic growth, at Mastercard, chairman of the Mastercard Center for Inclusive Growth, and a distinguished fellow at CFR.

Froman served in President Barack Obama's cabinet as the U.S. trade representative from June 2013 to January 2017. Major initiatives under his leadership included the conclusion of the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement in the Asia Pacific and negotiations toward a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership with the European Union; the negotiation of agreements on trade facilitation, agriculture and information technology products at the World Trade Organization; the monitoring and enforcement of U.S. trade rights; and congressional passage of Trade Promotion Authority, the African Growth and Opportunity Act, the generalized system of preferences program, and the Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act.

From January 2009 to June 2013, Froman served at the White House as assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for international economic affairs, where he was responsible for coordinating policy on international trade, finance, energy, climate change, and development issues. He served as the U.S. sherpa for the Group of Twenty and Group of Eight summits and staffed the president for the APEC leaders meetings. In addition, he chaired or co-chaired the Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate, the Transatlantic Economic

Council, the U.S.-India CEO Forum, and the U.S.-Brazil CEO Forum. He played a leading role in the launch of several of the Obama administration's development initiatives, including Power Africa and Trade Africa.

Prior to joining the Obama administration, Froman served in a number of roles at Citigroup, including as chief executive officer of its international insurance business, chief operating officer of its alternative investments business, and head of its infrastructure investment business. He also has served as a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a resident fellow at the German Marshall Fund.

In the 1990s, Froman spent seven years in the U.S. government. He served as chief of staff and deputy assistant secretary for Eurasia and the Middle East at the U.S. Department of Treasury. He also worked at the White House, where he served as a director for international economic affairs at the National Security Council and National Economic Council.

He has published a book and several articles on international relations, international law, and trade. He has received numerous fellowships and scholarships, including a White House fellowship, a Ford Foundation fellowship in international law, a Social Science Research Council/MacArthur Foundation fellowship in international peace and security, and a Fulbright scholarship. In 2016, he was selected by *Fortune* magazine as one of "The World's 50 Greatest Leaders" and by *Politico* as one of the "50 Thinkers, Doers and Visionaries Shaping American Politics in 2016."

Froman received a bachelor's degree in public and international affairs from Princeton University; a law degree from Harvard Law School, where he was editor of the *Harvard Law Review*; and a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University.

Michelle Gavin

Michelle D. Gavin is the Ralph Bunche senior fellow for Africa policy studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. She has over twenty years of experience in international affairs in government and non-profit roles. She was formerly the managing director of the Africa Center, a multidisciplinary institution dedicated to increasing understanding of contemporary Africa. From 2011 to 2014, she was the U.S. ambassador to Botswana and served concurrently as the U.S. representative to the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

During Gavin's tenure, the United States and Botswana launched the most ambitious HIV prevention study in the world; Botswana hosted Southern Accord, the one-thousand-four-hundred-strong joint SADC-U.S. military exercise; and the U.S. embassy helped to found Botswana's first American Chamber of Commerce. Prior to that, she was a special assistant to President Obama and the senior director for Africa at the National Security Council, where she helped to originate the Young African Leaders Initiative and led major policy reviews of Sudan and Somalia.

Before joining the Obama administration, Gavin was an international affairs fellow and adjunct fellow for Africa at CFR. Earlier in her career she worked in the U.S. Senate, where she was the staff director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on African Affairs, director of international policy issues for Senator Russ Feingold, and legislative director for Senator Ken Salazar.

Gavin received a bachelor's degree from Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, where she was a Truman scholar, and a master's degree in international relations from Oxford University, where she was a Rhodes scholar. She serves on the board of directors of Points of Light and the Africa-America Institute.

Zongyuan Zoe Liu

Zongyuan Zoe Liu is the Maurice R. Greenberg senior fellow for China studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. Her work focuses on international political economy, global financial markets, sovereign wealth funds, supply chains of critical minerals, development finance, emerging markets, energy and climate change policy, and East Asia-Middle East relations. Liu's regional expertise is in East Asia, specifically China and Japan, and the Middle East, specifically Gulf Cooperation Council countries. She is the author of *Can BRICS De-dollarize the Global Financial System?* and *Sovereign Funds: How the Communist Party of China Finances its Global Ambitions*.

Prior to joining CFR, Liu was an instructional assistant professor at Texas A&M University's Bush School of Government and Public Service in Washington, DC, where she taught courses on global economy, economic statecraft, and Chinese foreign policy. She joined the Bush School after post-doctoral fellowships at the Columbia-Harvard "China and the world program" and the Center for International Environment and Resource Policy at the Fletcher School at Tufts University.

Liu was a research fellow at the Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies and a research associate at the New York University Stern Center for Sustainable Business. She was also a visiting research fellow at the Institute for International Monetary Affairs in Tokyo, Bank of Mitsubishi-UFJ, and the Delma Institute in Abu Dhabi. She taught courses on Asian energy security and political risk analysis at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University.

Liu received her bachelor's degree in history from Shandong Normal University in Jinan, China, master's degree in international relations from the George Washington University's Elliott School of International Studies, and doctorate in international relations from Johns Hopkins University. Liu is also a CFA charterholder.

David Sacks

David Sacks is a fellow for Asia studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, where his work focuses on U.S.-China relations, U.S.-Taiwan relations, Chinese foreign policy, cross-strait

relations, and the political thought of Hans Morgenthau. In 2023, Sacks served as the project director for CFR's Independent Task Force on U.S.-Taiwan relations, which was chaired by Admiral (ret.) Michael G. Mullen and Susan M. Gordon. He also co-directed CFR's Independent Task Force on China's Belt and Road Initiative, which was chaired by Jacob J. Lew and Admiral (ret.) Gary Roughead. He is a regular commentator on U.S.-Taiwan and cross-strait relations. His writings have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, the *National Interest*, *Time*, the *Diplomat*, the *Hill*, and the *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*.

Prior to joining CFR, Sacks worked on political military affairs at the American Institute in Taiwan, which handles the full breadth of the United States' relationship with Taiwan in the absence of diplomatic ties. Sacks was also a Princeton in Asia fellow in Hangzhou, China.

He received his bachelor's degree in political science from Carleton College and master's degree in international relations and international economics from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Jessica Harrington—*Presiding*

Jessica L. Harrington is the director of Government Affairs at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, DC. In this capacity, she leads the Government Affairs program as well as CFR's diplomatic program and executive branch initiative. She sets strategy and directs outreach to the policymaking community on a wide range of foreign policy, national security, and international economic issues. Harrington previously worked at Partnership for a Secure America, a nonprofit focused on developing bipartisan solutions to foreign policy challenges, where she designed, developed, and implemented congressional programs; arranged study tours in conjunction with Washington-based embassies; and directed strategic communications. Originally from Louisville, Kentucky, Harrington holds a bachelor's degree in political science and public relations from the Pennsylvania State University. Harrington earned her master's degree in American government from Georgetown University, where she focused on congressional-executive relations.



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