



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

MEMBER/OFFICER POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM ☐ Original ☐ Amendment

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for travel taken in connection with a Member or officer's official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual *Financial Disclosure Statement*. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, you must complete this form and *file it with the Clerk of the House, by email at gifttravelreports@mail.house.gov*, within 15 days after travel is completed. Please *do not* file this form with the Committee on Ethics.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

1. Name of Traveler: Rep Kelly Armstrong
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ OR None ☒
b. Relationship to Traveler: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: May 3, 2022* Return: May 10, 2022
b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ OR None ☒
4. Departure City: _____ Destination: Israel Return City: Washington, DC
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: National Society for Hebrew Day Schools (a/k/a Torah u'Mesorah)
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary):

I attended meetings where I learned about the geopolitical impacts of policies that we enact in Congress, how we can continue to support the United States' strongest ally in the Middle East.

* Traveler did not accept transportation to Israel from the sponsor

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

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

Member / Officer Signature: _____

Date: 5/23/2022



U.S. House of Representatives

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 on the trip *within ten 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 for the trip: National Society for Hebrew Day Schools
2. Travel Destination(s): Israel
3. Date of Departure: May 3, 2022 Date of Return: May 10, 2022
4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Rep. Kelly Armstrong

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	\$3,193.06	\$4,053.78	\$682.66	\$4,752.34 (see attachment for itemization)
Accompanying Family Member	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

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: [Signature] Date: 05/19/2022

Name: Rabbi Zvi Bloom Title: Executive Director

Organization: National Society for Hebrew Day Schools

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

Address: 620 Foster Avenue, Brooklyn NY 11230, zbloom@torah-umesorah.org

Email: _____ Telephone: (212) 227-1000

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.



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Rep. Kelly Armstrong
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip:
National Society for Hebrew Day Schools (a/k/a Torah u'Mesorah)
3. City and State OR Foreign Country of Travel: Israel
4. a. Date of Departure: May 3, 2022* Date of Return: May 10, 2022
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, 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 Member of Congress, I must be apprised of the impact that the US-Israel relationship has on the world. This trip will further educate me about our relationship with Israel, allow me to see first hand the unique strategic challenges that Israel faces with its neighbors, and help me better understand how the policies we enact in Congress affect the region.
*Traveler not accepting transportation to Israel from the sponsor.
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

03/30/2022



U.S. House of Representatives

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 website (ethics.house.gov) provides detailed instructions for filling out the form.

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.

1. Sponsor who will be paying for the trip:
National Society for Hebrew Day Schools (a/k/a Torah u'Mesorah)
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 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):
Rep. KellyArmstrong and Rep. Tom Tiffany. Please paragraph 4 on the attachment.
5. Yes ☐ No ☒ Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?
6. Date of departure: May 3, 2022 Date of return: May 10, 2022
7. a. City of departure: Different for each member; see attachment paragraph 7.
b. Destination(s): Israel
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:



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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 that the statement is true by checking 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:
Please see attachment, paragraph 12.
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: Helicopter)
c. If travel will be first class, or by chartered or private aircraft, explain why such travel is warranted:
Please see attachment, paragraph 13.
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 the 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):
\$150
2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip:
See attachment, paragraph 15.
16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:
Hotel Name: King David Hotel City: Jerusalem Cost Per Night: 675
Reason(s) for Selecting: Location, quality, security
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.*



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

18. Total Expenses for each Participant:

☐ Actual Amounts ☒ Good Faith Estimates	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$10,000 (Rep. Tiffany); \$6,000 (Rep. Armstrong)	\$3375	750
For each Accompanying Family Member			

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

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

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: [Signature] Date: 03/30/2022

Name: Rabbi Zvi Bloom Title: Exec. Director

Organization: National Society for Hebrew Day Schools

Address: 620 Foster Avenue, Brooklyn NY 11230

Email: zbloom@torah-umesorah.org Telephone: (212) 227-1000

INSTRUCTIONS

Complete the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* and submit the agenda, invitation list, any attachments, and any *Additional Trip Sponsor Forms* directly to the Travelers.

Written approval from the Committee on Ethics is required before traveling on this trip. The Committee on Ethics will notify the House invitees directly and will not notify the trip sponsors.

Willful or knowing misrepresentation on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution under 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

For questions, please contact the Committee on Ethics at:

1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

ethicscommittee@mail.house.gov | 202-225-7103
More information and forms available at ethics.house.gov

Theodore E. Deutch, Florida

Chairman

Jackie Walorski, Indiana

Ranking Member

Susan Wild, Pennsylvania

Dean Phillips, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas

Mondaire Jones, New York

Michael Guest, Mississippi

Dave Joyce, Ohio

John H. Rutherford, Florida

Kelly Armstrong, North Dakota



ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

David W. Arrojo
Counsel to the Chairman

Kelle A. Strickland
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

April 28, 2022

The Honorable Kelly Armstrong
U.S. House of Representatives
1740 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to Israel,¹ scheduled for May 4 to 10, 2022, sponsored by The National Society for Hebrew Day Schools. We note that you will not be accepting transportation to Israel from the sponsor.

This approval represents the Committee's determination that the proposed trip complies with relevant House rules, federal laws, and Travel Regulations promulgated by the Committee. You should engage in your own assessment of the risks and implications of engaging in travel during the current COVID-19 pandemic.

You must complete a Member/Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$415 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.

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

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House Members may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), gifts "of minimal value [currently \$415] 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.

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

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Theodore E. Deutch", with a large, stylized flourish at the end.

Theodore E. Deutch
Chairman

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jackie Walorski", written in a cursive style.

Jackie Walorski
Ranking Member

TED/JW:tn

Itemization of other expenses

Same for both travelers

Helicopter tour (incl. associated ground transportation):	\$2,932.43
Security:	\$ 365.60
Admissions:	\$ 53.74
Arrival services:	\$ 425.00
Departure services:	\$ 425.10
Floral wreaths used for laying at service at Holocaust memorial:	\$ 175.15
Covid testing (express service to allow itinerary adherence):	<u>\$ 375.32</u>
Total	\$4,752.34

ATTACHMENT TO PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

4. Messrs. Armstrong and Tiffany are invited because the welfare and security of Israel and its inhabitants and the strength of the US-Israel relationship is of critical interest to our organization, its students, and their parents. Each member of the United States Congress plays an important role in establishing policies that affect the security relationship between the United States and Israel and the educational programming on our trip will aid the House members in this role.

7. Rep. Tiffany will depart from Rhinelander, WI (in his home district) and travel at the primary sponsor's expense to and from Israel. Rep. Armstrong, will travel to Israel at his own expense and join us in Israel. He will return from Israel to Washington, DC at the primary sponsor's expense.

12. The National Society for Hebrew Day Schools (better known by our Hebrew name, Torah u'Mesorah) is a non-profit 501(c)(3) organization with a charitable mission of advancing Jewish and cultural learning in America. We have over 700 schools in America and a very substantial percentage of our alumni study in Israel before beginning their careers here in America. Because the curricula of our member schools, the historic connection of our students and their families to the land of Israel, and because of their deep and abiding interest in the safety and security of the people and institutions of Israel, our organization, its students and families have particular concern about the strength of the US-Israel relationship and America's critical role in maintaining the security and welfare of Israel. This educational mission to Israel will provide the participating Members of Congress with a unique perspective on the conflicts Israel faces in the region. The National Society for Hebrew Day Schools, its staff and lay volunteers are responsible for recruiting, coordinating and arranging this trip.

13. One of the primary strategic interests in advancing peace between Israel and her neighbors is the establishment of secure and recognized boundaries. An understanding of this issue is often lost where policy makers fail to understand the small size of Israel (North Dakota is seven times the size of Israel) and the actual geography of the "lines on a map." Accordingly, while in Israel, the members of Congress will be provided an aerial perspective of conditions on and near Israel's borders, an overflight of relevant armistice lines and an aerial perspective of the unique geography (mountains, depth of proposed borders, natural boundaries, etc.) and security threats Israel would face under certain proposals being made as part of various peace plans. There is no comprehensive means available to provide this perspective other than from the air and the best and only means available for doing so is by helicopter. The helicopter is not being used as a means of transporting the members of Congress in the manner of other "chartered" or "private" air travel. Rather, the purpose of the helicopter is to be a platform from which observations of multiple locations along and near Israel's boundaries may be made. No commercial airline service travels the route to be followed or even anything like the sort of route to be followed. To the extent that the helicopter will land, its landing will be at locations near Israel's borders and relevant armistice lines that are not served by any commercial airlines. The helicopter conveyance will not be an adventure ride. It will serve the sole and exclusive purpose of providing perspective regarding Israel's strategic posture.

15. The trip will take place in Israel to educate the congressmen about the US-Israel relationship, the unique strategic challenges Israel faces with its neighbors, and the role that Israel's unique history plays in the lives of American Jews.

National Society of
Hebrew Day Schools
Congressional Delegation to Israel
May 3 – 10, 2022
Itinerary (as traveled)

Tuesday, May 3

8:20 a.m. (CDT) Rep. Tiffany Departs Rhinelander, WI, Delta Airlines Flight 4277, to Minneapolis; change to Delta Flight 820 to New York.

5:30 p.m. (EDT) Depart El Al Flight 002 to Tel Aviv, Israel

Wednesday, May 4

11:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m. (Israel DT) Rep. Tiffany only: Arrived at Ben Gurion Airport; passage through immigration and customs, including mandatory Covid testing.

1:00 p.m.-2:15 p.m. Rep. Tiffany only: Travel by ground transportation to Jerusalem. On this drive, as on every other drive during this trip, the drives are not merely means to get from one point to another. Israel is a land on which nearly every square mile is filled with history—ancient to contemporary—that is relevant to a congressman’s understanding the issues that members of Congress face when considering America’s relationship with Israel. Accordingly, on every drive, the congressman will be informed by knowledgeable experts on the history of the Jewish people in the land of Israel. The drive from Ben Gurion Airport to Jerusalem presents the congressman with an immediate opportunity to learn about the geographic aspects of what is known as a “two-state solution” to the dispute between Israel and the Arab population of the areas that were controlled by Jordan between 1949 and 1967. Some important advocates of a two-state solution have posited that negotiations for the establishment of a border between Israel and a future Palestinian state should be based upon the location of the 1949 lines of armistice between the Israeli and the Jordanian armies (which line is known as the “Green Line”). Accordingly, understanding the geography of the Green Line—particularly its relationship to Jewish and Arab population centers—is of critical importance to a member of Congress’s understanding of one the key issues (and probably the most talked about issue) that is presented to a member of Congress in connection with the US-Israel relationship. The line is irregular and, because it was established based upon the locations of combatant armies on the date of cease fire and not based upon the

locations of where the affected people lived, the location of the line presents many obstacles to its use as the basis for a future border. Ben Gurion Airport, on the eastern edge of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area, is very close to the Green Line. On the drive from Ben Gurion to Jerusalem (approximately 40 miles southeast of Ben Gurion Airport), the congressman will cross the Green Line several times. Along the drive, a guide will explain to the congressmen the location of the Green Line relative to the international airport, to the Tel Aviv Metropolitan area (the Green Line is on the northeastern edge of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area), to the Jewish and Arab communities between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, and to the major transportation routes of Israel. The guide will also explain to the congressmen the locations of important military operations during the 1948 Israeli War of Independence (fought against the armies of six Arab states, including all four Arab states with contiguous borders with Israel.) Of specific relevance on this drive is the history of the battle for Jerusalem. The congressman will see on this drive how the history of those military battles, and their results, impacts current policy and the lives of both the Israeli and Palestinian Arab populations today.

2:15-3:30 p.m.

Check in to King David Hotel and get refreshed; light lunch. Joined by Rep. Armstrong who will arrive in Israel at his own expense from another location.

3:30-7:00 p.m.

Jerusalem strategic Tour with *Prof. Efraim Inbar*. Viewing and explanation of the political geography and development of Jerusalem from various locations on the perimeter of Jerusalem; viewing of the Israeli security fence at various locations in Jerusalem and proximate areas of Judea. Professor Inbar was the founding director of the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies (1993-2016) and a professor of political studies at Bar-Ilan University. He has been a visiting professor at Georgetown, Johns Hopkins and Boston universities; a visiting scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; a Manfred Warner NATO Fellow; and a visiting fellow at the (London-based) International Institute for Strategic Studies. He was president of the Israel Association of International Studies; a member of the Political Strategic Committee of the National Planning Council; chairman of the National Security Curriculum committee in the Ministry of Education; and a member of the Academic Committee of the IDF History Department. He has authored five books: *Outcast Countries in the World Community* (1985), *War and Peace in Israeli Politics*. Labor Party Positions on National Security (1991), *Rabin and Israel's National Security* (1999), *The Israeli-Turkish Entente* (2001), and *Israel's National Security: Issues and Challenges since the Yom Kippur War* (2008), and edited fourteen collections of scholarly articles. He is an expert on Israeli strategic doctrine, public opinion on national security issues, US Middle East policy, Israeli-Palestinian diplomacy, and Israel-Turkey relations. On this strategic tour,

Prof. Inbar will explain how the development (of both Jewish and Arab communities) in and around Jerusalem affects the evolution of the conflict between Israel and the Palestinian Arabs. Stops on this tour will include (a) Ramot on the northern side of Jerusalem, a neighborhood constructed since 1967; (b) "Nebi Samuel," the traditional location of the tomb of the prophet Samuel, but this stop is not for its historical significance, but for gaining the benefit of its elevation and lookout. From Nebi Samuel at the Northwest corner of Jerusalem, the congressman gathered a good understanding of the location of the northern Jerusalem Green Line as it approached Jerusalem from the west and see the juxtaposition of Jewish and Arab development on the west and north of Jerusalem; (c) travel by bus/van along the northern perimeter of Jerusalem, in and out of the Green Line; (d) the security fence: congressmen will be shown the path and nature of the security fence as it winds around Jerusalem on the north, east and south, allowing him to critically assess the conflicting assertions regarding the effects of the fence that are made to members of Congress. Congressmen will view the fence and a fence-crossing station on the east side of Jerusalem, between Mount of Olives and Ma'aleh Adumim, affording a view of the neighborhoods in closest proximity to the fence. Professor Inbar will explain various proposals to provide contiguity to Israel and to Palestinian-controlled areas now and in the future.

7:00-9:00 p.m. Briefing at over dinner at Waldorf Astoria hotel by Chagai Tzuriel, former Director General of the Israel Ministry of Intelligence and former head of the research division of Mossad. Mr. Tzuriel's briefing, together with a lengthy question and answer session, occupied the entire allotted time period. Mr. Tzuriel provided an expert, up-to-date briefing on the strategic situation in the Middle East, with an emphasis on the current activities and objectives of Iran throughout the Middle East.

9:00-9:30 Observe Israel's Independence Day Celebrations at on streets of Jerusalem.

Overnight at King David Hotel

Thursday, May 5

7:00-7:30 a.m. Breakfast at hotel at which a preview of the day's events will be provided, together with essential background.

7:30-9:00 a.m. View by bus/van through the Benjamin region, between Jerusalem and Shiloh. Enroute, accompanied by guide Gershon Portnoy, an expert on ancient and contemporary Jewish history in the Benjamin area. Briefing along the way on the history and geography of the area. In this area, which is generally within the "West Bank" (i.e., in the area on the side of

the Green Line that was controlled by Jordan between 1949 and 1967), the congressmen had the opportunity to see Jewish settlements of various sizes and juxtapositions to the Palestinian population centers and have explained the historical significance of the areas to Jews and Christians (including several locations that are prominent in the Bible).

- 9:00-11:15 a.m. Visit to the site of ancient Shiloh, the spiritual, social and administrative center of the Jewish people before Jerusalem (approx. 3300 to 2900 years ago). Guided by one of the archaeological site's experts on its excavations, the congressmen learned of the history of the site and its relevance to the Jewish claim to the land of Israel as the Jewish homeland. Members of Congress frequently hear from interested parties regarding the historical relevance of various facts to the disputes over the land. The archaeological excavations at Shilo shed important light on, and context for, the historical claims of the Jews. The congressmen also had the opportunity to hear the perspectives of local residents on the issues that impact US-Israel relations.
- 11:15-12:15 p.m. Drive from Shiloh to Jerusalem, taking a different return route through the Benjamin region, which is the site of numerous biblical narratives, explained by our guide. On this drive (as on the morning drive through Benjamin), the congressmen were further educated in the historical underpinnings of the Jewish claim of the land of Israel as its homeland. They will see the juxtaposition of Jewish and Arab communities in the area and there was a discussion of the practical implications of that juxtaposition on Israeli-Palestinian relations.
- 12:15-12:30 p.m. Refresh at hotel in preparation for lunch briefing.
- 12:30-2:15 p.m. Briefing (over lunch) at King David Hotel by U.S. Ambassador to Israel Thomas Nides.
- 1:15-1:45 p.m. (An interruption in the Nides briefing) Meeting at King David Hotel with Prime Minister of Israel Naftali Bennett.
- 2:30-3:45 p.m. Briefing by and discussion with Khaled Abu Toameh. Mr. Abu Toameh is an Arab-Israeli Journalist that writes for the Jerusalem Post and several respected international journals. Mr. Abu Toameh briefed the congressmen on the perspective of an Israeli-Arab journalist on the current Israeli political situation, Jewish-Arab relations in Israel, and the relationship between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.
- 3:45-4:15 p.m. Travel by bus/van to Mir Yeshiva in Jerusalem.

- 4:15-5:30 p.m. Observed Mir Yeshiva in session. The Mir Yeshiva is a Talmudic college where several thousand American Jews and Jews from other places in the world study after completing high-school and/or some college level Talmudic study in the United States. Many Torah u'Mesorah alumni study at the Mir. The congressmen had the opportunity to view the Mir in session and observe the dramatically different environment (in comparison to an American college environment) in which Talmudic studies are undertaken and meet with Mir Students that graduated from Torah u'Mesorah schools in American and hear their perspective on how the US-Israel relationship provides them with opportunities to learn that were not possible prior to Israel's establishment.
- 5:30-5:45 p.m. Drive through Jerusalem to King David Hotel.
- 5:45-6:30p.m. Refresh for dinner.
- 6:30-6:45 p.m. Walk to Noya restaurant, Jerusalem
- 7:00-9:15 p.m. Dinner briefing and discussion with Israeli member of Knesset Amir Ohana, the former Israeli Minister of Justice and current member of Knesset from the opposition Likud Party.
- 9:15-9:30 Return on foot to King David Hotel. Overnight at King David Hotel.

Friday, May 6

- 7:45-9:00 a.m. Meeting over breakfast with Yaakov Katz, Editor-in-Chief of the Jerusalem Post. Mr. Katz briefed the congressmen on the current political situation in Israel. Although over breakfast, the briefing, together with the question and answer period, occupied the entire time period allotted.
- 9:00-9:20 a.m. Drive to Yad Vashem, Israel's Holocaust memorial and historical museum. En route, the congressmen were provided with historical perspective on the Holocaust and its relationship to the Jewish history that has shaped the evolution of the State of Israel and its society.
- 9:20-11:00 a.m. Guided tour of Yad Vashem. Six million Jews of Europe—one-third of the world's Jewish population—were murdered by Nazi Germany and its collaborators. Understanding the Holocaust is critical to understanding the Jewish need for a national home. The events that the congressmen will learn about will demonstrate the perils to Jews worldwide when they had no national home to which they can flee when persecuted and threatened. While many Americans, including our elected officials, have some level of intellectual understanding of what occurred in Nazi Germany, Yad Vashem shows the visitor what occurred in detail so that he can

understand the progression from anti-Semitism to systematic murder of millions of Jews. We believe that such historical understanding is critical to a member of Congress's understanding of the principles on which the State of Israel was founded. For NSHDS, Yad Vashem has an additional level of importance. Many of the most important builders of our organization were survivors of the Holocaust that immigrated to America thereafter. The story of their emergence from the depths to thriving lives in America is important for a member of Congress to understand if they are going to have an in-depth appreciation of the needs of the American Orthodox Jewish community that we serve. Yad Vashem shows, better than any place in the world, the depths from which they emerged.

- 11:00-11:10 a.m. Wreath-laying ceremony wherein congressmen laid wreaths on behalf of the people of their states in memory of the fallen six million.
- 11:10-11:30 a.m. Drive from Yad Vashem to City of David. Along the way, the congressmen were provided a perspective on the development of "west" Jerusalem—that is within the areas of Jerusalem that were not controlled by the Jordanian armed forces from 1949-1967.
- 11:30-1:30 a.m. Tour of the City of David excavations guided by a director of the archaeological excavations in the City of David. The City of David is the area immediately to the south of the Old City and the Temple Mount that was the site of the Original city of Jerusalem, first built by King David, approximately 3000 years ago. The excavations there are extensive and, in addition to telling the fascinating story of the Jewish development of Jerusalem, they provide extensive archaeological proof of the historical accounts of the time found in the Bible. Accordingly, this site, like Shilo (seen the previous day) provided the congressmen with important information in evaluating the relationship that Jewish and Christian Americans feel to Jerusalem, as well as providing important information for evaluating the claims of the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs in Jerusalem.
- 1:30-1:40 p.m. Brief meeting with Member of Knesset and former Mayor of Jerusalem, Nir Barkat.
- 1:45-3:15 p.m. Guided by expert historian to and around the Western Wall and Southern Wall of Jewish temple that stood in Jerusalem prior to the Roman destruction of the city and exile of the Jews therefrom in the first century A.D. Guide will explain the history of what he is seeing and explained the importance of what he is seeing to both Jews and Christians.
- 3:15-4:00 p.m. Guided by an expert historian in and around the historic Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem. The congressmen viewed the portion of the city that had been historically Jewish until the Jordanian armed forces

destroyed the Jewish Quarter during their occupation of the city from 1949-1967. From vantage points in the Jewish quarter, the congressmen were afforded broad and far views of Jerusalem to the east of the Old City, affording them additional perspective on the physical and political geography of Jerusalem. They also viewed the vast Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives—bar far the largest Jewish cemetery in the world with an estimated 150,000 graves—which has been restored after broad destruction and desecration by the Jordanian government and the residents of the portion of Jerusalem that was occupied by the Jordanians from 1949 to 1967. The congressman will now have seen the archaeological evidence of the 3000-year continuum of Jewish in Jerusalem.

- 4:00-4:30 p.m. Walk to King David Hotel via the Old City and the area of the “new city” that was previously no-mans land between Israeli and Jordanian forces during the Jordanian occupation of Jerusalem from 1948-1967. The Congressmen had further explanation of the historical geography of the city.
- 4:30-6:15 p.m. Preparations for the Jewish sabbath that will begin at approximately 7:00 p.m.
- 6:30-7:00 p.m. Drive from King David to Old City and walk through the Jewish Quarter of the Old City to the Western Wall.
- 7:00-8:00 p.m. Observe and be part of Jews’ from around the world welcoming the Jewish Sabbath in the traditional manner. This is not only an opportunity for the congressmen to see how Jews engage in some of their important religious activity, it is also a chance for them to again see that the Jews there come from all parts of the world but share the same traditions and rituals (although with some interesting stylistic variations). This experience demonstrates the congressmen the religious importance of the Western Wall to the Jews of Israel and the world. As the Western Wall is in “East Jerusalem,” it is also an opportunity for the congressmen to consider practical and religious implications and the historical accuracy of the position that some take that the Western Wall and the Jewish Quarter (the location of Jewish residency in Jerusalem during the entire existence of that quarter over many centuries) are “occupied” territory.
- 8:00 to 8:15 p.m. Walk to location of traditional Jewish Sabbath dinner in private home in Jewish Quarter, overlooking a traditionally Jewish area of Jerusalem that was destroyed by the Jordanians during the period of their occupation of the Jewish Quarter from 1948 to 1967 and restored following its return to Jewish hands in 1967.
- 8:15-10:45 p.m. Traditional Sabbath dinner in private Old City home. This is an opportunity for the congressmen to observe and participate in a tradition

that Jews around the world have observed for over 3000 years with Jewish Americans living, visiting and/or studying in Jerusalem.

9:45-10:30 Discussion over dinner with Member of Knesset, Rabbi Yitzhak Pindruss of the United Torah Judaism party.

10:45-11:15 p.m. Walk to King David Hotel. Overnight at King David Hotel.

Saturday, May 7

In observance the Jewish Sabbath (until sundown), the scope of activity on this day is limited.

9:00 a.m. -1:00 p.m. Walking tour of the various quarters of the Old City of Jerusalem with particular focus on the Christian heritage sites in the old City of Jerusalem. Congressmen had the opportunity to view and learn about the sites that are of tremendous importance to their constituency and to themselves and that provide important foundation for the connection that Christian Americans have to the land of Israel. As a part of this tour, they observed the freedom of religious worship by all religions that is enjoyed in Jerusalem since it has been united under Israel, which stands in contrast to the prohibitions on free religious worship when the Old city of Jerusalem was under Jordanian control (when Jewish presence at the locations of Jewish religious significance was prohibited). Lunch on foot.

1:00-7:45 p.m. Rest (consistent with Jewish religious practice on the Sabbath Day) and informal meetings with trip participants to discuss perspectives on what the congressmen have viewed.

7:45-8:00 p.m. Observe traditional Havdalah ceremony, marking the closing of the Sabbath.

8:00-8:30 p.m. Refresh for Dinner.

8:30-8:45 p.m. Travel to dinner at Jacko Street Restaurant in Jerusalem.

8:45-11:00 p.m. Dinner at Jacko Street Restaurant in Jerusalem with former Israeli Ambassador to the United States Michael Oren. Dr. Oren is a scholar and author on the history of Israeli-American relations, was a member of Knesset and deputy minister in Israel's government.

Return to hotel, viewing along the way the nightlife of modern Jerusalem. Overnight at King David Hotel, Jerusalem.

Sunday, May 8

- 7:30-8:15 a.m. Briefing over breakfast at King David Hotel by senior staff of the Joint Distribution Committee, an international organization engaged in the rescue of endangered Jews around the world. JDC staff briefed the congressmen on ongoing efforts of the JDC and other Jewish organizations to assist refugees and those that need rescue in and from Ukraine.
- 8:15-8:45 a.m. Travel by bus to Ministry of Foreign Affairs and proceed through security.
- 9:00-11:00 a.m. Meeting at Ministry of Foreign Affairs with senior members of the Israeli diplomatic corps. This is an opportunity for the congressman to hear from Israel's diplomats regarding the current diplomatic issues Israel is addressing. Staying current on Israel's diplomatic agenda is important for a member of Congress that is regularly presented with proposed legislation and legislative resolutions that affect or are affected by that agenda. We will hear about Israel's diplomatic achievements in the developing world, including Israel's providing of agricultural assistance to developing nations. Israel's agricultural innovations and their beneficial effect on developing areas of the world are expected to provide helpful insight for the Congressmen who both represent districts in which agriculture is a major industry. At this briefing, high ranking analysts at the MFA briefed the congressmen on matters relating to the JCPOA with Iran and Israel's diplomatic efforts in the developing world.
- 11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Drive to Tel Aviv, accompanied by Rabbi Ken Spiro, an internationally recognized expert and author on Jewish history in the Land of Israel. Rabbi Spiro educated the congressmen on the historical significance of the landmarks along the way (which are constant). We drove in and out of the "Green Line" and the congressmen had the opportunity to gain perspective on the practical implications of the proposals advanced by some that Israel cede land for a Palestinian state up to the Green Line.
- 12:30-2:00 p.m. Meeting with former Mossad director Yossi Cohen in his office in Tel Aviv. Mr. Cohen provided perspective on current Iranian efforts to build nuclear weapons and on the implications and practical consequences of a potential agreement between the US and Iran on returning to the JCPOA.
- 2:00-2:15 p.m. Travel by bus to "Start Up Nation Central" in Tel Aviv.
- 2:15-2:45 p.m. Take-out lunch at Start-up Nation Central.
- 2:15-3:45 p.m. Briefing at "Start Up Nation Central" on the unique aspects of the development of Israeli industry and its export over the last two decades and its importance to world commerce and development.

- 3:45-5:00 p.m. Meeting at Start-up Nation Central with former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert. Mr. Olmert provided congressmen with first-hand perspective on key developments in the history of US-Israel relationship, especially during his tenure as Prime Minister. In order to understand the current issues relating to the relationship that are presented to a member of Congress, a member of Congress must understand the historical context of those issues. Providing that historical context is one of the key objectives of this trip. Mr. Olmert participated in important negotiations with the Palestinian Authority, under the auspices of the United States, and provided a first-hand account of why those negotiations failed to yield an agreement. The reasons for that failure continue to be relevant today. The Prime Minister provided insight into the communications between the United States and Israel relating to other important events of his tenure as Prime Minister, including regarding the Israeli destruction of Syria's nuclear facility. Additionally, the former prime minister, as a former member of the Likud party that later, as prime minister, led a party that split from Likud, offered perspective on Israeli politics that are not available from the current political leaders the congressmen will meet.
- 5:00-5:45 p.m. Travel by bus to Tel Aviv coast line and through Tel Aviv metropolitan area to Herzliya, along route having the history of the area explained by Rabbi Spiro.
- 5:45-6:30 p.m. View Herzliya's sea-front district and an opportunity for the congressmen to view the development of a city that is of much different character from that of Jerusalem.
- 6:45-9:00 p.m. Dinner at Lechem u'Basar restaurant at the Herzliya marina with Major General (ret.) Amos Gilad. Gen. Gilad has held several of the highest-ranking positions in the Israeli government's national security structure and will provide the congressmen with a perspective the most important strategic issues Israel and its allies (especially the United States) face in the Middle East. The briefing and question and answer session consumed the entire time allotted.
- 9:00-10:45 p.m. Drive to Jerusalem. Overnight at King David Hotel.

Monday, May 9

- 7:00-8:00 a.m. Breakfast and briefing over breakfast on the upcoming events of the day.
- 8:00-8:30 a.m. Depart hotel for airfield.

8:30-9:30 a.m.

Depart from Jerusalem by helicopter for Viewing of Israel's strategic posture at its borders and of boundaries proposed in various peace proposals. Under the guidance of Col. (res.) Jonathan Conricus, former spokesman of the IDF. On this day, the congressmen viewed most of the country from Israel's border with the Gaza Strip to Israel's borders with Syria and Lebanon. Because of Israel's small size (1/7th of the size of the state of North Dakota), it is presented with national defense issues that are unique. Because the United States Congress appropriates annual defense assistance to Israel, understanding the defense issues Israel faces that arise out of its size and the configuration of its boundaries is important for a member of Congress being asked to vote on that assistance (and that is asked to vote on related legislation and resolutions). An aerial view is the best available way to gather the perspective necessary to gain such an understanding.

After first overflying Jerusalem, we flew south across the Judean Hills and the lowlands toward the Gaza Strip, viewing developments and the juxtaposition of Israel's population centers to the various international borders and historical armistice lines. The congressmen saw the Hamas-controlled Gaza strip from the air from the Israeli side of the border with the Strip and were briefed by Col. Conricus on the Hamas capabilities to inflict damage on Tel Aviv and Israel's other towns and cities in the southern part of the country. Land at a helicopter landing site near the city of Sderot.

9:30-11:00 a.m.

On ground near Sderot. View areas impacted by rocket and mortar fire from Gaza. Briefing by Col. Conricus on tunnels constructed by Hamas to provide a path for terrorist infiltration into Israel and that were discovered by Israel in Operation Protective Edge. Further briefing on current security status.

View a battery of the Iron Dome short-range missile defense system. The Iron Dome system has been the subject of congressional legislation in each of the past several years. The congressmen were able to view what their appropriations have been paying for and receive a briefing on the details of the operation of the system.

11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Depart from Sderot area by helicopter toward the Lebanon border. En route (with comprehensive explanations from Col. Conricus) the congressmen saw: the proximity of the Green Line to Israel's Mediterranean coast line (7.5 miles at its narrowest point) and the defense issues that would be presented the proposals of some that Israel should return to its pre-1967 boundaries. The aerial view that the congressmen had provides unique insight into the practical considerations of any proposals for Israeli-Palestinian agreements and provide information that will be important to him in analyzing competing arguments for how the

United States should attempt to influence the outcome of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations; the juxtaposition of Jewish and Arab towns in the Galilee region of Israel (continuing the development of the congressman's understanding of the interweaving of Jewish and Arab communities in the land of Israel, which affects and complicates the geographical and demographic relationships that impact Israeli policy and possible plans for agreement between Israel and the Palestinians;

- 12:30-12:45 p.m. Land on near Lebanon border and travel by van to a look-out over the Lebanon at site of former command post during operations to combat Hezbollah in Lebanon.
- 12:45-1:00 p.m. Take-out lunch at border overlook.
- 1:00-1:30 p.m. Briefing at border overlook by Col. Conricus on history of threats from Lebanon.
- 1:30-1:40 p.m. Travel by van to location of tunnel drilled by Hezbollah for conduct of cross-border terror operations.
- 1:45-2:15 p.m. View the interior one of the several tunnels Hezbollah drilled under the Lebanon-Israel border and which Israel recently exposed. Briefing by Col. Conricus on the tunnels, the operation of expose and destroy the tunnels, and on Hezbollah activity in Lebanon, in general.
- 2:15-2:25 p.m. Drive by van back to helicopter landing site.
- 2:30-3:00 p.m. Fly to a landing pad near Mt. Bental on Golan Heights. (At this point, because a member of the delegation fell ill, one helicopter returned to Jerusalem. Rep. Tiffany returned to Jerusalem on that helicopter and, therefore, was not present for the events on the Golan Heights.)
- 3:00-3:15 p.m. Drive by van to Mt. Bental and ascent to the summit on foot.
- 3:15-4:00 p.m. Briefing by Col. Conricus at Mt. Bental, which provides a high perch for overlook over the border with Syria and deep into the northern Syrian Golan. Col. Conricus briefed the congressman on threats from Syria (including Iranian activity in Syria, including within the area visible from Mt. Bental), Israeli strategic objectives relating to Syria, and actions Israel has taken in connection therewith. Col. Conricus explained the geography of the area, the events there in the Six Day War of 1967, and the strategic importance of the Golan Heights to Israel's national defense. Matters relating to Syria, Iranian involvement in Syria, American involvement in Syria, and Israel's defense needs vis-à-vis Syria are current subject matters of American policy being presented to members of Congress. This

viewing and briefing will be helpful to the congressmen in analyzing those issues.

- 4:00-4:15 p.m. Descent b foot ad by van to landing pad.
- 4:15-5:30 Helicopter flight from Mt. Bental to to Jerusalem, over "West Bank" and the Jordan Valley, allowing the congressman to see from the patterns of development and juxtaposition of Jewish and Arab communities, all of which are important to understanding the feasibility of various peace-plan concepts; overflying the Sea of Galilee, where the congressmen will be shown areas of importance in Christianity; overflying the pre-1967 lines between Israel and Syria; and landing in Jerusalem. (Rep. Tiffany took a mostly similar route on his return flight to Jerusalem from the Lebanon border, arriving in Jerusalem at 3:45 p.m. and traveling by van to King David Hotel, arriving at King David at 4:10 for rest before dinner.)
- 5:45-6:00 p.m. Drive to hotel.
- 6:00-7:00 p.m. Freshen up for dinner and prepare for flight back to USA later that night.
- 7:00-8:30 p.m. Dinner at King David Hotel in Jerusalem with trip participants to review and discuss impact of trip and the congressmen's reflections thereon.
- 8:45-9:45 p.m. Drive to Ben Gurion Airport for departure to USA

Tuesday, May 10

- 12:05 a.m. Both congressmen board El Al Flight 003 to New York.
- 5:00 a.m. Arrive in New York, NY. Proceed through immigration and customs.
- 8:30 a.m. Depart JFK to DCA
- 10:00 a.m. Arrive DCA.