

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: Jared Golden
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: Isobel Golden OR None
b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other(specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: 05-08-2025 Return: 05-11-2025
b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ OR None
4. Departure City: Wash DC Destination: London Return City: Boston
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: Reaction Digital Media Ltd.
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary): Panels & meetings related to defense issues and strengthening allied relationships

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: Jared B. Golden

Date: 6/27/2025

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: Iain Martin, Reaction Digital Media Limited

2. Travel Destination(s): London, Heathrow - Boston Logan

3. Date of Departure: 08/05/2025 Date of Return: 11/05/2025

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Jared Golden, Isobel Golden

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	£4964.52	£300	£410.90	
Accompanying Family Member	£4964.52	£300	£410.90	

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

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

Signature:  Date: 23/05/2025

Name: Iain Martin Title: Mr

Organization: Reaction Digital Media Limited

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

Address: 71-75 Shelton Street, London WC2H 9JQ

Telephone: +44 7710399872 Email: lainjmartin@gmail.com

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: Jared Golden

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

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

Signature: _____

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

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

Office Address: 1107 Longworth House Office Building, Wash DC 20510

Telephone Number: 202-225-6306

Email Address of Contact Person: katherine.drummond@mail.house.gov

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

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

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

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

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Jared Forrest Golden
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: Reactiv Digital Media Ltd.
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: London, England
4. a. Date of Departure: 5/8/25 Date of Return: 5/11/25
b. Yes No Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?
If yes, list dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Yes No Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? **If yes:**
 - (1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: Isobel Golden
 - (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.**
Congressman Golden is a member of the For Country Caucus and Armed Services Committee - attending for defense policy discussions
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: _____

2. I represent that the trip will not be financed, in whole or in part, by a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent. *Signify that the statement is true by checking box.*

3. **Check only one.** I represent that:

a. The primary trip sponsor has not accepted from any other source, funds intended directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip; **OR**

b. The trip is arranged without regard to congressional participation and the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds only from entities that will receive a tangible benefit in exchange for those funds; **OR**

c. The primary trip sponsor has accepted funds, services, or in-kind assistance from other source(s) intended directly or indirectly to finance all or part of this trip and has enclosed disclosure forms from each of those entities.

If "c" is checked, list the names of the additional sponsors: _____

4. Provide names and titles of **ALL** House Members *and* employees you are inviting. **For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited** (include additional pages if necessary): _____

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

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

7. a. City of departure: _____

b. Destination(s): _____

c. City of return: _____

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

a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965; **OR**

b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent; **OR**

c. The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist / foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.

9. **Check only one of the following.**
- a. I checked 8(a) or (b) above; **OR**
 - b. I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging; **OR**
 - c. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night; **OR**
 - d. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for two nights. If you checked this box, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted. _____

10. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities House invitees will be participating in during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities for trip invitees). *Indicate agenda is attached by checking box.*

11. **Check only one of the following.**
- a. I represent that a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip. *Signify the statement is true by clicking the box; OR*
 - b. *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is a U.S. institution of higher education.

12. For **each** sponsor required to submit a sponsor form, describe the sponsor's interest in the subject matter of the trip **and** its role in organizing and/or conducting the trip:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



London Defence Conference 2025

List of Congressional Delegation

“The below delegation has been invited to LDC 2025 because of their membership of bipartisan For Country Caucus and interest in defence policy, the theme of our conference”.

Rep. Baird (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1830 to Heathrow, landing @ 0655, Return 11/5 @ 1215, landing in Washington IAD @ 1525)

Danise Baird (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1830 to Heathrow, landing @ 0655, Return 11/5 @ 1215, landing in Washington IAD @ 1525)

Rep. Carbajal (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1830 to Heathrow, landing @ 0655, Return 11/5 @ 1450, landing in Santa Barbara SBA @ 0906)

Rep. Cisneros (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1740 to Heathrow, landing @ 0615, Return 11/5 @ 1245, landing in Washington IAD @ 1545)

Rep. Conaway (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 2215 to Heathrow, landing @ 1040, Return 10/5 @ 1215, landing in Washington IAD @ 1525)

Rep. Davis (Washington Dulles 8/5 @ 1830 to Heathrow, landing @ 0655, Return 11/5 @ 1215, landing in Washington IAD @ 1525)

Rep. Downing (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1830 to Heathrow, landing @ 0655, Return 11/5 @ 1215, landing in Washington IAD @ 1525)

Rep. Golden (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1740 to Heathrow, landing @ 0615, Return 11/5 to Boston Logan on 11/5 @ 1735, landing @ 2010)

Isobel Golden (Boston Logan 8/5 @ 1940 to Heathrow, landing @ 0720, Return 11/5 @ 1735, landing in Boston Logan BOS @ 2010)

Rep. Harrigan (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1830 to Heathrow, landing @ 0655, Return 11/5 @ 1000, landing in Houston @ 1420)

Rep. Kiggans (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1740 to Heathrow, landing @ 0615, Return 11/5 @ 1245, landing in Washington IAD @ 1545)

Steve Kiggans (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1740 to Heathrow, landing @ 0615, Return 11/5 @ 1245, landing in Washington IAD @ 1545)

Rep. Moulton (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1740 to Heathrow, landing @ 0615, Return 11/5 @ 1245, landing in Washington IAD @ 1545)

Rep. Panetta (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1830 to Heathrow, landing @ 0655, Return to PM EWR on 10/5 @ 0930)

Mr Mark Dreiling (Washington IAD 8/5 @ 1830 to Heathrow, landing @ 0655, Return 11/5 @ 1215, landing in Washington IAD @ 1525)

Mr James Langenderfer - WITHDRAWN

Rep. Franklin - WITHDRAWN

Taxi's

The taxis will be ready for their arrival. The travel time from Heathrow to the hotel is 67 minutes. A return taxi will also be arranged for the journey back, again 67 minutes.

Taxis for transportation from the Hotel to Hatfield house have been arranged and travel time is 77 minutes, again the return is the same time.

Please see below a programme for delegates from the US Congress, 9-10 May at King's College London.

Venue Address

Bush house
Strand Campus
30 Aldwych, London
WC2B 4BG

Thursday 8 May

Depart the necessary airport to London Heathrow. Arrival @ on Friday 9.

Friday 9 May

Thursday 9 May is day two of the LDC 2025, the annual geopolitical gathering drawing together leaders, policymakers, military, industry, academia and selected media.

There is a full conference agenda on 9 May. The panel topics are subject to change and revision subject to global events.

Throughout the day there is space set aside on floor two of the conference for members of Congress and other delegations to take bilateral meetings.

Breakfast Panel: 08:00-08:45

Financing European Re-armament - This panel explores transatlantic burden-sharing and defence investment, directly supporting U.S. interests in strengthening NATO and allied deterrence.

Opening remarks: 09:00 - 09:15

Main Event: 09:15-17:00

Opening Keynote - Dr Klaus Hommels, Chair of NATO Innovation Fund. 09:15-09:45

Panel V 09:45 - 10:45

Defence Industrial Transformation: What will the new international and defence sector configurations be? - Delegates will gain insights into how global defence industries are evolving, with implications for U.S. supply chains, innovation and interoperability with allies.

Moderator: Mark Urban

-Shyam Sankar
-Anduril - Max Decman
-BAE

Break- 10:45-11:15

Panel VI 11:15 - 12:15

CRINK - This session addresses strategic challenges posed by adversarial states - China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea which are core to U.S. national security priorities.

Moderator: Deborah Haynes

-Mark Dubowitz

-Scott Morrison

-Francesca Ghiretti

-Rep Don Davis

-Rep Jake Ellzey

Opinion Poll: 12:15 - 12:30

Lunchtime: 12:30 -14:00

Lunchtime Sessions- 13:00-14:00

CSPC- *Transatlantic Relations*

Council on Geostrategy: *Providing leadership: British Seapower in the new Europe.*

Moderator: Viktorija Starych-Samuoliene

-Andrew Burns

-Ben Key

-James Rogers

-Kevin Rowlands

Panel VII 14:00 -15:00

Shaping the Battlespace: Seabed to Stratosphere, Cyber to Biology. - A forward-looking discussion on emerging technologies and multi-domain warfare, essential for understanding the future of conflict and allied capabilities.

Moderator: Mark Urban

-Alice Bunn

-Brandon Daniels

-Igor Jablovkov

-Matt McKnight

Break: 15:00 - 15:15

In conversation:

Panel VIII 16:15 - 17:15

Winning the public debate on defence - This panel examines how to build and sustain public support for defence policy which is crucial for bipartisan leadership and democratic resilience in the U.S. and abroad.

Moderator: Laura Kuenssberg

-Deborah Haynes

-Iain Martin

Side Sessions

GINKGO: *A New National Purpose: Biosecurity as the Foundation for Growth and Global Leadership.* 11:00-12:00

Ukraine Delegation: *Economics of Warfare: Strategic Choices in Resource-Limited Warfare* 1400-1500

Final Words:

Evening Events: Transatlantic Dinner: The Travellers Club

At a time of shifting global dynamics, attending this high-level event would allow U.S. representatives to engage directly with key British policymakers and thought leaders in an informal yet influential setting. Strengthening personal ties, aligning approaches on shared security and economic priorities, and reaffirming mutual commitment to the transatlantic alliance are all critical outcomes.

Saturday 10 May

9:30-1030 - Members of Congress travel to Hatfield House, historic home of Lord and Lady Salisbury, 45 minutes from central London. Travel via Addison Lee Taxis's

10:30-12:00 - Private tour of Hatfield House by Lord Salisbury, including the archives and original papers from the Virginia Company and Winston Churchill.

Lord Salisbury's family has a long history of close connections with the United States. His family home- Hatfield House, built in 1611 houses an archive amongst which are papers from the original Virginia Company and papers from Winston Churchill. Members will receive a tour of the archive and over lunch there will be a bipartisan discussion about maintaining and building transatlantic links to the benefit of the United States.

1200-1330 - Light lunch with Lord and Lady Salisbury.

To facilitate discussions on bilateral transatlantic relations

1330-1430 - Return to central London. - Travel via Addison Lee Taxi's

1430-1530 - Panel at LDC 2025 Future Leaders Day on military service in politics, featuring all members of Congress.

Exploring the role of military service in political leadership, featuring current members of Congress who are military veterans. The panel will examine how service experience shapes policy perspectives, leadership styles, and public trust.

1530-1830 - Rest and recuperation.

1900-2200 - Closing dinner hosted by LDC at the Beefsteak Club with UK parliamentarians.

A unique opportunity for US and UK key political figures to discuss and build US/UK Defence relationships.

Sunday 11 May

Return to Washington DC or NYC.

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Ranking Member

John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Ashley Hinson, Iowa
Nathaniel Moran, Texas

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



ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Jordan Downs
Chief of Staff to the Chairman

David Arrojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515-6328
Telephone: (202) 225-7103
<https://Ethics.House.gov>

May 7, 2025

The Honorable Jared Golden
U.S. House of Representatives
1107 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 and your spouse's proposed trip to the United Kingdom,¹ scheduled for May 8 to 11, 2025, sponsored by Reaction Digital Media Ltd.

You must complete a Member/Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$480 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

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 \$480] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of minimal value received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

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

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

Sincerely,



Michael Guest
Chairman



Mark DeSaulnier
Ranking Member

MG/MD:rp



LONDON DEFENCE CONFERENCE 2025



BRIEFING PACKET
LONDON DEFENCE CONFERENCE
MAY 9 - 11, 2025





ADVISORY BOARD

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BOB STERNFELS
MICHAEL THIEL
FRANCES TOWNSEND
LTG(R) NADJA WEST

700 PENNSYLVANIA AVE SE
SUITE 380
WASHINGTON, DC 20003

April 27, 2025

700 Pennsylvania Avenue, Southeast
Suite 380
Washington D.C. 20003

Dear Members of the For Country Caucus,

Please join me and some of With Honor's stakeholders for two special dinners at the London Defence Conference (LDC) on the week of the 80th Anniversary of VE Day. Friday evening, May 9, With Honor, will co-host the main LDC dinner in honor of the 12 Members of Congress attending the LDC at 19:00 PM at The Travellers Club.

On Saturday evening, May 10, about a dozen Members of the For Country Caucus will join us for a smaller dinner at the Beefsteak Club to discuss with veterans in the British Parliament led by Member of Parliament Tom Tugendhat. Spouses are welcome to both dinners. Members of Congress and spouses are also welcome to join us for a special lunch with Lord Robert Michael James Gascoyne-Cecil, 7th Marquess of Salisbury, on Saturday.

Further details on all events are enclosed, background information about With Honor for our British colleagues and biographies of select Members of Congress and Members of Parliament.

If you want to record a video and/or do press at the conference, we will have a camera crew available to handle live coverage. Your communications directors may contact With Honor's VP of Communications, Susan Forbes, at +1 (678) 770-1305 and forbes@withhonor.org for additional information.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Rye Barcott".

Rye Barcott
Co-Founder & CEO
With Honor

LETTER FROM THE CO-CHAIRS OF THE FOR COUNTRY CAUCUS	04
CONFERENCE BACKGROUNDER THE UNITED STATES, THE WEST, AND ALLIANCES	05
LONDON DEFENCE CONFERENCE AGENDA	07
FOR COUNTRY CAUCUS ATTENDEES FROM THE U.S. CONGRESS	11
VETERAN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT	15
FOR COUNTRY CAUCUS MEMBERSHIP	18
WITH HONOR SENATE ALLIES	20
WITH HONOR OVERVIEW	21
SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR THE FOR COUNTRY CAUCUS MEMBERS	23

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

April 25, 2025

The For Country Caucus

United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Subject: Invitation to Discuss Strengthening Transatlantic Veteran Alliances at the London Defence Conference – May 9, 2025, and May 10, 2025

On behalf of the bipartisan For Country Caucus of U.S. military veterans in the United States House of Representatives, we write to extend a cordial invitation to meet with a 12-Member delegation attending the upcoming London Defence Conference on **May 9, 2025**, at Bush House, King's College London.

We propose a transatlantic conversation between military veterans across party lines in the British Parliament and U.S. Congress. Our unique armed forces service backgrounds position us to approach defence and security policy with a sense of duty, clarity, and pragmatism. We believe closer collaboration among veterans in legislatures across our allied nations can enhance mutual understanding and help shape the future of international security cooperation.

We would be honored to meet with you during the Conference to discuss avenues for deeper engagement and to begin laying the groundwork for a continued enduring transatlantic alliance among military veterans in public office. Such a network can significantly contribute to policy, deterrence, and long-term alliance cohesion.

Please join us for dinner **on Friday, May 9 at the Travellers Club, 106 Pall Mall, London SW1Y at the time of 19:00 as well as dinner on the evening of Saturday, May 10 at the Beefsteak Club**. You or your staff may RSVP to Mr. Joshua Clark (joshua@londondefenceconference.com) of the London Defence Conference. We look forward to meeting in person and exploring how our shared experiences can support a safer and more stable world.

Yours Sincerely,

Representative Jake Ellzey



U.S. House of Representatives
Co-Chair, For Country Caucus

Representative Don Davis



U.S. House of Representatives
Co-Chair, For Country Caucus

THE UNITED STATES, THE WEST, AND ALLIANCES

Since the end of World War II, America's alliances have proved central to promoting U.S. and Western interests around the world. They helped the United States avoid direct military confrontation with the Soviet Union; they continue to boost regional stability in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere; and they enable the West to promote and defend democratic values.

America's alliances date back to the American Revolution (when the colonies signed [treaties with France](#)) but – until the end of World War II – its alliances were generally temporary. For 150 years, the nation largely followed the advice of George Washington, in his Farewell Address of 1796, to “steer clear of permanent alliances.” The United States worked with other nations when necessary, but it had no permanent military establishment or permanent military commitment to any other country. Even after leading the Allies to victory in World War I, the United States did not join the League of Nations and instead returned to its traditional global posture.

After World War II, however, the United States and its Western allies found themselves facing a new global threat from an aggressive and expansionist Soviet Union. At that time, Great Britain, France, and the other traditional European powers were exhausted by war – with their economies barely functioning, their infrastructure in ruins, and their people suffering from hunger and homelessness. Only the United States had the means to prevent the Soviets from expanding across Europe and elsewhere. In response to the challenge, and in bipartisan fashion, America's leaders helped create a series of multilateral alliances in Europe, Asia, and Latin America to promote Western interests.

[NATO](#) was America's “first peacetime military alliance outside the Western Hemisphere.” The product of the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949, NATO arose in the aftermath of events that raised U.S.-Soviet tensions and prompted concerns about European security: the Soviets had helped engineer a communist coup in Czechoslovakia, and it then threatened Finland and blockaded West Berlin. In response to these and other developments, NATO was formed as a mutual defence agreement among the United States, Canada, and 10 European – with, under Article 5, a commitment by each ally to consider an attack on any one of them to be an attack on all. Over time, and especially after the Cold War, NATO expanded and now numbers [32 nations](#).

America's other major post-war alliances, however, stretch far beyond Europe. They [include](#) the RIO Treaty (crafted in 1947), the Organization of American States (OAS, 1948), the Australia, New Zealand, and United States Security Treaty (ANZUS, 1951), the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO, 1954), and the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD, 1958). The United States also has fashioned scores of military, diplomatic, commercial, and other alliances with individual nations or regional bodies like the European Union.

America's alliances have proven not just durable but extremely valuable:

- They are a “force multiplier,” enabling the United States and the West to increase the military force they can bring to the battlefield.
- They spur military, diplomatic, and economic cooperation across the West, which helps nourish regional stability and boost global economic growth.
- They encourage information sharing on military, intelligence, and other matters, better enabling the United States and the West to meet emerging threats.

THE UNITED STATES, THE WEST, AND ALLIANCES (cont.)

The United States and its NATO allies, for instance, conducted military strikes in the 1990s that brought peace to the Balkans, preventing a wider war in Europe. For the only time in its history, NATO invoked Article 5 after the terrorist attacks of September 11th. NATO allies then served side by side with their U.S. brothers-in-arms in Afghanistan, and the United Kingdom lost 457 soldiers while honoring its commitment to NATO and the United States. NATO also conducted military operations against Muammar Gaddafi's regime in 2011 to protect the Libyan people.

America's fiercest adversaries certainly understand the value of alliances, which explains why they are coming together to challenge U.S. supremacy. China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea have formed an alliance – which Western officials and experts have nicknamed **CRINK**, an “Axis of Upheaval,” and a “common market of autocracies” – that revolves around opposition to the U.S.-led West. Increasingly, these nations:

- Send troops to fight one another's battles,
- Share military weaponry,
- Conduct joint military drills,
- Build economic ties,
- Work together to evade Western sanctions, and
- Launch disinformation campaigns to shape the politics of Western nations.

These nations are increasingly working together through their own alliance, and they pose a serious threat to U.S. interests.

With its theme of “Alliances,” the London Defence Conference comes at a crucial moment in global affairs. The U.S.-led network of alliances is facing internal strains and even threats to its continued existence.

With Honor is proud to help facilitate discussions on this crucial topic between Members of the For Country Caucus of the U.S. House and Members of the British Parliament.



LONDON DEFENCE CONFERENCE 2025

Please see below a programme for delegates from the US Congress,
9-10 May at King's College London.

VENUE ADDRESS

Bush House
Strand Campus
30 Aldwych, London
WC2B 4BG

HOTEL ADDRESS

Strand Palace Hotel
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FRIDAY 9 MAY

Friday 9 May is day two of the LDC 2025, the annual geopolitical gathering drawing together leaders, policymakers, military, industry, academia and selected media.

There is a full conference agenda on 9 May. The panel topics are subject to change and revision subject to global events.

Throughout the day there is space set aside on floor two of the conference for Members of Congress and other delegations to take bilateral meetings.

Breakfast Panel: 08:00 - 08:45

Financing European Rearmament - This panel explores transatlantic burden-sharing and defence investment, directly supporting U.S. interests in strengthening NATO and allied deterrence.

Main Event: 09:15 - 17:00

Opening remarks: 09:00 - 09:15

Opening Keynote: 09:15 - 09:45 - Dr. Klaus Hommel, Chair of NATO Innovation Fund.

Panel V 09:45 - 10:45

Defence Industrial Transformation: What will the new international and defence sector configurations be?
Delegates will gain insights into how global defence industries are evolving, with implications for U.S. supply chains, innovation and interoperability with allies.

Moderator:



Mark Urban
Diplomatic Editor,
BBC News

Panelists:



Shyam Sankar
Chief Technology Officer,
Palantir

- Max Decman
- Anduril
- BAE Systems

Break: 10:45 - 11:15

Panel VI 11:15 - 12:15

CRINK - This session addresses strategic challenges posed by adversarial states - China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea, which are core to U.S. national security priorities.

Moderator:



Deborah Haynes
Security and Defence Editor,
Sky News

Panelists:



Mark Dubowitz
CEO, Foundation for Defense
of Democracies



Scott Morrison
30th Prime Minister of Australia



Francesca Ghiretti
Research Leader & Director
RAND Europe China Initiative



Representative Jake Ellzey
Co-Chair, For Country Caucus,
U.S. House of Representatives



Representative Don Davis
Co-Chair, For Country Caucus,
U.S. House of Representatives

Opinion Poll: 12:15 - 12:30

Lunchtime: 12:30 - 14:00

Lunchtime Sessions: 13:00 - 14:00

Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress - *Transatlantic Relations*
Council on Geostrategy - *Providing Leadership: British Seapower in the New Europe.*

Moderator:



Viktorija Starych-Samuoliene
Co-Founder,
Council on Geostrategy

Panelists:



Ben Key
First Sea Lord,
British Royal Navy



Andrew Burns
Fleet Commander,
British Royal Navy



James Rogers
Co-Founder,
Council on Geostrategy



Kevin Rowlands
Head of Royal Navy Strategic Studies Centre,
UK Ministry of Defence

Panel VII 14:00 - 15:00

Shaping the Battlespace: Seabed to Stratosphere, Cyber to Biology - A forward-looking discussion on emerging technologies and multi-domain warfare, essential for understanding the future of conflict and allied capabilities.

Moderator:



Mark Urban
Diplomatic Editor,
BBC News

Panelists:



Alice Bunn
CEO,
Institution of Mechanical Engineers



Brandon Daniels
CEO,
Exiger



Igor Jablokov
CEO,
Pryon



Matt McKnight
General Manager, Biosecurity,
Ginkgo Bioworks, Inc.

Break: 15:00 - 15:15

Panel VIII 16:15 - 17:15

Winning the Public Debate on Defence - This panel examines how to build and sustain public support for defence policy which is crucial for bipartisan leadership and democratic resilience in the U.S. and abroad.

Moderator:



Laura Kuenssberg
Political Editor
BBC News

Panelists:



Deborah Haynes
Security and Defence Editor
Sky News



Iain Martin
Director
London Defence Conference

Side Sessions

11:00 - 12:00 - GINKGO - *A New National Purpose: Biosecurity as the Foundation for Growth and Global Leadership.*

14:00 - 15:00 - Ukraine Delegation - *Economics of Warfare: Strategic Choices in Resource-Limited Warfare*

Evening Events: Transatlantic Dinner - The Travellers Club
(Spouses are welcome)

SATURDAY 10 MAY

09:30 - Members of Congress travel to Hatfield House, historic home of Lord and Lady Salisbury, 45 minutes from central London.

10:30 - Private tour of Hatfield House by Lord Salisbury, including the archives and original papers from the Virginia Company and Winston Churchill.

12:00 - Light lunch with Lord and Lady Salisbury.

13:30 - Return to central London.

14:30 - 15:30 - Panel at LDC 2025 Future Leaders Day on military service in politics, featuring Members of Congress.

15:30 - 18:30 - Rest and recuperation.

19:00 - Closing dinner hosted by With Honor and the London Defence Conference at the Beefsteak Club with veterans in the U.S. Congress and British Parliament.
(Spouses are welcome)

SUNDAY 11 MAY

Return to Washington DC or NYC.



REP. JAKE ELLZEY
R-TX
VETERAN, U.S. NAVY

Congressman Jake Ellzey represents Texas’s 6th Congressional District, which encompasses southeastern areas of the Dallas/Fort Worth metropolitan area. After graduating from the United States Naval Academy, Ellzey served his country for 20 years as a helicopter pilot and fighter pilot in F-14s and F/A-18s. He concluded his military service as the Air Boss on the U.S.S. Ronald Reagan aircraft carrier. Ellzey was deployed nine times during his career, with five combat tours, including a ground tour supporting SEAL Team 5 in Iraq. He retired at the rank of Commander. After retiring from the military, Ellzey was a military contractor in Afghanistan, a small business owner, a commercial airline pilot, and a Commissioner on the Texas Veterans Commission. In 2020, he was elected to the Texas House of Representatives and won a special election in 2021 to represent the 6th District in Congress. In the 119th Congress, he is the Co-Chair of the For Country Caucus. He serves on the House Committee on Appropriations, where he is the Vice Chair of the Defense Subcommittee, and on the House Committee on Small Business, where he is the Chair of the Rural Development, Energy, and Supply Chains Subcommittee.

COMMITTEES

- Appropriations
- Small Business

Chairman - Subcommittee on Rural Development, Energy, and Supply Chains



REP. DON DAVIS
D-NC
VETERAN, U.S. AIR FORCE

Congressman Don Davis represents North Carolina’s 1st Congressional District, consisting of parts of northeastern North Carolina. A United States Air Force Academy graduate, he served for eight years. As a first lieutenant, Davis coordinated Air Force One and CODEL operations at Andrews Air Force Base and supported families of military members as a mortuary officer. He was honorably discharged at the rank of Captain. Davis returned to North Carolina as an assistant professor of Aerospace Studies at East Carolina University Air Force ROTC Detachment 600, where he taught national security affairs, military history, and leadership courses. He was elected mayor of his hometown of Snow Hill, then served as a state senator for twelve years before his election to Congress in 2022. In the 119th Congress, Davis is the Co-Chair of the For Country Caucus. He serves on the House Committee on Armed Services, where he is the Vice Ranking Member of the committee, and the House Committee on Agriculture, where he is the Ranking Member of the Commodity Markets, Digital Assets, and Rural Development Subcommittee. Davis holds a bachelor’s degree in social sciences from the U.S. Air Force Academy, a master’s degree in administration from Central Michigan University, a master’s degree in sociology with a concentration in regional development, and a doctoral degree in education from East Carolina University.

COMMITTEES

- Armed Services
Vice Ranking Member of the Full Committee
- Agriculture

Ranking Member - Subcommittee on Commodity Markets, Digital Assets, and Rural Development



REP. TROY DOWNING
R-MT
VETERAN, U.S. AIR FORCE
SPOUSE, HEATHER DOWNING

Congressman Troy Downing represents Montana’s 2nd Congressional District, encompassing the state’s eastern half. Before being elected to the House of Representatives in 2024, he served in one of the five elected statewide constitutional offices for the State of Montana as State Auditor. Downing began his career in education as a research scientist and educator at New York University (NYU). He left NYU to found a technology startup company that merged with Yahoo. Downing enlisted after September 11th in the U.S. Air Force/Air National Guard, serving eight years in a Combat Search and Rescue squadron with two tours of duty in Afghanistan. In Congress, he is a Vice Chair of the For Country Caucus. He serves on the House Committee on Financial Services and the House Committee on Small Business. He holds a bachelor’s degree from NYU.

COMMITTEES

- Financial Services
- Small Business



REP. HERB CONAWAY
D-NJ
VETERAN, U.S. AIR FORCE

Congressman Herb Conaway, MD represents New Jersey’s 3rd Congressional District. Dr. Conaway is a lifelong resident of Burlington County, New Jersey. Dr. Conaway received a bachelor’s degree from Princeton University, a medical degree from Jefferson Medical College, and a law degree from Rutgers Law School in Camden. After finishing his education, Dr. Conaway joined the United States Air Force, becoming a Captain in the Medical Corps at McGuire Air Force Base. There, he served as general medical officer and rose to assistant director of the primary care clinic during his four years of service. Dr. Conaway served the residents of the 7th Legislative District as a State Assemblyman for 25 years before his election to Congress in 2024. In Congress, he is a Vice Chair of the For Country Caucus and serves on the House Committee on Veterans’ Affairs, where he is the Vice Ranking Member of the committee, and on the House Committee on Small Business.

COMMITTEES

- Veterans’ Affairs
Vice Ranking Member of the Full Committee
- Small Business



REP. JIM BAIRD
R-IN
VETERAN, U.S. ARMY
SPOUSE, DANISE BAIRD

Congressman Jim Baird represents Indiana’s 4th Congressional District. He is a former Vice Chair of the For Country Caucus. He serves on the House Committee on Agriculture, where he is the Vice Chair of the Conservation, Research, and Biotechnology Subcommittee, and on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology. Baird previously served in the Indiana State Legislature and as a County Commissioner, and is a businessman and farmer by profession. He is a decorated Vietnam War veteran, earning a Bronze Star with V device and two Purple Hearts for his distinguished service. Baird holds a bachelor’s and master’s degree from Purdue University, and received a doctoral degree in animal science from the University of Kentucky.

COMMITTEES

- Agriculture
Vice Chair - Subcommittee on Conservation, Research, and Biotechnology
- Foreign Affairs
- Science, Space & Technology



REP. SALUD CARBAJAL
D-CA
VETERAN, U.S. MARINE CORPS

Congressman Salud Carbajal represents the 24th Congressional District of California. He is a former Vice Chair of the For Country Caucus. He serves on the House Committee on Armed Services, the House Committee on Agriculture, and the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, where he is the Ranking Member of the Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation Subcommittee. Carbajal served eight years in the United States Marine Corps Reserve, including active-duty service during the Gulf War in 1992 when he was mobilized to Jacksonville, North Carolina. Before his congressional service, Carbajal served on the Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors for 12 years. He holds a bachelor’s degree from the University of California, Santa Barbara, and a graduate degree from Fielding University.

COMMITTEES

- Armed Services
- Agriculture
- Transportation & Infrastructure
Ranking Member - Subcommittee on Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation



REP. GIL CISNEROS
D-CA
VETERAN, U.S. NAVY

Congressman Gil Cisneros represents California’s 31st Congressional District. Cisneros is the former representative for California’s 39th district from 2019-2021. Before his public service, he was a philanthropist and a non-profit leader, and served as a lieutenant commander in the United States Navy. After his first term in Congress, he served as the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness from 2021 to 2023 in the Biden Administration. In Congress, he serves on the House Committee on Armed Services and the House Committee on Small Business, where he is the Ranking Member of the Contracting and Infrastructure Subcommittee. He holds a bachelor’s degree from The George Washington University and two master’s degrees from Regis University and Brown University.

COMMITTEES

- Armed Services
- Small Business
Ranking Member - Contracting and Infrastructure



REP. JARED GOLDEN
D-ME

VETERAN, U.S. MARINE CORPS
SPOUSE, ISOBEL GOLDEN

Congressman Jared Golden represents Maine’s 2nd Congressional District, encompassing the northern and western parts of the state. Golden paused his university studies to enlist in the Marine Corps after 9/11, where he served combat tours in Afghanistan and Iraq as an infantryman. After completing his service in the Marine Corps at the rank of Corporal, Golden went on to complete a degree from Bates College through the G.I. Bill before returning to Afghanistan as a civilian to help establish schools for young Afghans. He also served as a policy advisor on the U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs before running to represent Lewiston in the Maine Legislature. He served in the legislature until his election to Congress in 2018. In Congress, he is a former Co-Chair of the For Country Caucus and serves on the House Committee on Natural Resources and the House Committee on Armed Services.

COMMITTEES

- Armed Services
- Natural Resources



REP. PAT HARRIGAN
R-NC

VETERAN, U.S. ARMY

Congressman Pat Harrigan represents North Carolina’s 10th Congressional District, encompassing western parts of the state, including the city of Winston-Salem. A graduate of the Military Academy at West Point, he deployed to Afghanistan and led soldiers in the Arghandab valley. Upon his return to the United States, he was selected for the Special Forces and became a Green Beret, where he returned to Afghanistan leading his unit. He received two Bronze Stars for his service and reached the rank of Captain. While on active duty, Harrigan and his wife founded a small business, which he ran until his election to Congress in 2024. In Congress, he serves on the House Committee on Armed Services and the House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology.

COMMITTEES

- Armed Services
- Science, Space & Technology



REP. JEN KIGGANS
R-VA

VETERAN, U.S. NAVY
SPOUSE, STEVE WILLIAM
KIGGANS

Congresswoman Jen Kiggans represents Virginia’s 2nd Congressional District, encompassing Virginia’s eastern shore and Virginia Beach. After graduating from Boston University, Kiggans was winged as a Naval Aviator in 1995. She served 10 years as a helicopter pilot, flying H-46 and H-3 helicopters and completing two deployments to the Persian Gulf. After her service, Kiggans used her GI Bill benefits to return to school and become a board-certified Adult-Geriatric Primary Care Nurse Practitioner. A graduate of Old Dominion University’s Nursing School and Vanderbilt University’s Nurse Practitioner program, Kiggans worked in several long-term care and nursing facilities in Virginia Beach and Norfolk and worked as a primary care provider for a small private practice in Virginia Beach. Kiggans then served in the Virginia State Senate for two years before her election to Congress in 2022. In Congress, she serves on the House Committee on Armed Services, the House Committee on Natural Resources, and the House Committee on Veterans’ Affairs, where she is the Chair of the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee.

COMMITTEES

- Armed Services
- Veterans’ Affairs
- **Chairwoman** - Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations
- Natural Resources



REP. SETH MOULTON
D-MA

VETERAN, U.S. MARINE CORP

Congressman Seth Moulton represents Massachusetts' 6th Congressional District, encompassing parts of the North Shore. He is a member of the For Country Caucus. He serves on the House Committee on Armed Services, where he is the Ranking Member of the Strategic Forces Subcommittee, on the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, and on the Select Committee on Strategic Competition between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party. Moulton joined the Marine Corps in 2001, days after his college graduation and a few months before the attacks on 9/11. Leading a frontline infantry platoon in the first Marine company to enter Baghdad, he later worked to establish a free and independent Iraqi media and served as a liaison to senior Iraqi military and political leaders for General David Petraeus. He attained the rank of Captain during his active-duty service. He was first elected in 2014 to represent Massachusetts's 6th District in Congress. Moulton holds a bachelor's degree and two master's degrees from Harvard University.

COMMITTEES

- Armed Services
- **Ranking Member** - Subcommittee on Strategic Forces
- Select Committee on Strategic Competition between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party
- Transportation & Infrastructure



REP. JIMMY PANETTA
D-CA

VETERAN, U.S. NAVY

Congressman Jimmy Panetta represents California's 19th Congressional District. He is a founding Co-Chair of the For Country Caucus and serves on the House Committee on Ways and Means, the House Committee on the Budget, and as Chief Deputy Whip of the House Democratic Caucus. Before his congressional service, Panetta served his community as a prosecutor in Monterey and Alameda Counties and served as an Intelligence Officer in the U.S. Navy Reserve. In 2007, Panetta volunteered for active duty, was deployed to Afghanistan in support of Operation Enduring Freedom, and was awarded the Bronze Star for meritorious service. Upon returning home, he served as a Veterans Transition Center board member, helped open Monterey County's first Veterans Treatment Court, and worked to establish the Central Coast Veterans Cemetery on the former Fort Ord.

COMMITTEES

- Ways & Means
- Budget



REP. STEVE WOMACK
R-AR

VETERAN, U.S. ARMY

Congressman Steve Womack represents Arkansas's 3rd Congressional District, encompassing the northwestern part of the state. Womack retired from the Arkansas Army National Guard in 2009 at the rank of Colonel with over thirty years of service. His deployment to Sinai, Egypt in 2002 marked the first time a National Guard unit performed the mission of the Multinational Force and Observers. His military awards include the Legion of Merit and the Arkansas Distinguished Service Medal. In 2015, Womack was presented with the Harry S. Truman Award, the highest award given by the National Guard Bureau. Before his election to Congress in 2010, he served as the mayor of Rogers, Arkansas for twelve years. In Congress, he serves on the House Committee on Appropriations, where he is the Chair of the Transportation and Housing and Urban Development Subcommittee. He formerly served as the Chairman of the House Committee on the Budget.

COMMITTEES

- Appropriations
- **Chairman** - Subcommittee on Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies



TOM TUGENDHAT

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Tom Tugendhat (Conservative) was Minister of State (Minister for Security) between 6 September 2022 and 5 July 2024 and attended cabinet. He previously served as the Chair of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee from 2017 to 2022. He was elected the MP for Tonbridge and Malling in 2015. When the Iraq War broke out in 2003, he was mobilised as an Arabic-speaking intelligence officer to serve with the Royal Marines.

In 2005, Tugendhat was asked by the Foreign Office to travel to Afghanistan to establish the National Security Council. After two years in Afghanistan and a brief return to the UK, Tom was mobilised and served operationally for a further two years with the Royal Marines. Tugendhat went on to work on the Army Strategy Team helping to prepare for the Strategic Defence and Security Review. He later served as the Chief of the Defence Staff's military assistant and principal adviser. He remains an Army Reserve officer.



ANDREW MITCHELL

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Andrew Mitchell (Conservative) was a Minister of State in the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO) between 25 October 2022 and 5 July 2024. On 12 April 2024 he was given the honorific title of Deputy Foreign Secretary. He was previously Secretary of State for International Development from May 2010 to September 2012. He was elected Conservative MP for Sutton Coldfield on 7 June 2001.

He served in the Royal Tank Regiment from 1975 to 1977 before joining Lazard, where he worked with British companies seeking large-scale overseas contracts.



PAUL FOSTER

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Paul Foster (Labour) is the MP for South Ribble, serving since 2024 in his first term in office. Prior to being elected to Parliament, Foster was a member of the British Army's Corps of Royal Engineers at 18, serving for 15 years from 1988-2003. During this time, he served operationally during the Kosovo conflict and in the Gulf War as part of Operation Haven, defending Kurdish refugees. After his military service, he began a career in construction project management and consulting and served as a local council leader before being elected to Parliament in the 2024 election.



DAVID DAVIS

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The Right Honorable David Davis was Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union from 13 July 2016 to 8 July 2018. Davis was elected the MP for Goole and Pocklington in 2024 after serving as the elected MP for Haltemprice and Howden from 1997 to 2024 and Boothferry from 1987-1997. He studied molecular science and computing at Warwick University, and then gained a masters in business at the London Business School 1971-73. At Harvard he took the advanced business programme from 1984-85. Davis served for a short time in the British Army Reserves in the 1970s.



JAMES CLEVERLY

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James Cleverly (Conservative) was Secretary of State for the Home Department between 13 November 2023 and 5 July 2024. He was previously Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs between 6 September 2022 and 13 November 2023. He was Secretary of State for Education from July 2022 to September 2022.

Before that, Cleverly was Minister of State for Europe and North America in the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO) from February to July 2022. He was also Minister for Middle East, North Africa and North America from September 2020 to February 2022. Cleverly was first appointed as a joint Minister of State for Middle East and North Africa in the Foreign Office on 13 February 2020. He was first elected as the Conservative MP for Braintree in May 2015. He has served for 36 years in the British Army Reserve as a member of the Royal Artillery. He currently holds the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.



CALVIN BAILEY

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Calvin Bailey (Labour) serves as the Member of Parliament for Leyton & Wanstead, being first elected in 2024. Bailey served for 26 years in the Royal Air Force from 1999 to 2024, eventually earning the rank of Wing Commander. He served as a commander of Air Mobility forces during Operation Pitting, the United Kingdom’s efforts to evacuate British nationals and eligible Afghan allies from Kabul in 2021.

Bailey serves as the Chair of the All Party Group on the Armed Forces Community.



ALISTAIR “AL” CARNS

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Alistair Carns (Labour) serves as the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Veterans and People in the Labour Government, serving since July 2024. He serves in the Ministry of Defence. He is the Labour MP for Birmingham Selly Oak, first elected in July 2024.

Carns joined the Royal Marines at the age of 19 in 1999 and eventually rose to the Rank of Colonel. He served as a military adviser to three Secretaries of Defence. He resigned his commission to stand for election and then subsequently re-enlisted in the Reserves.



FRED THOMAS

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Fred Thomas (Labour) serves as the Member of Parliament for Plymouth Moor View, first elected in 2024. After graduation from University, Thomas joined the Royal Marines, where he trained in arctic warfare and worked in nuclear security. He left active duty in 2023 at the rank of Captain, and continues to serve in the Reserves.

In Parliament, he serves on the Defence Select Committee and is the co-chair of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Defence Technology, particularly focusing on defence technology modernization.



DAN JARVIS

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Dan Jarvis (Labour) was appointed Minister of State for Security at the Home Office on 6 July 2024. A Member of Parliament since 2011, Jarvis graduated from Aberystwyth University with a degree in International Politics and Strategic Studies before attending the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. From Sandhurst, he was commissioned into the Parachute Regiment and subsequently deployed to Kosovo, Northern Ireland, Iraq and Afghanistan. His service included: Platoon Commander with 1 Para, Aide-de-Camp to General Sir Mike Jackson, and Adjutant 3 Para. On promotion to major, he worked as a staff planner in the Permanent Joint Headquarters and then at the Army’s Headquarters. He also served as a company commander in the Special Forces Support Group. Jarvis served in various shadow front bench roles between 2011 and 2015 before serving on the Joint Committee on the National Security Strategy between 2017 and 2019.



LORD CHRISTOPHER GEIDT

Christopher Geidt, Baron Geidt is a non-partisan member of the House of Lords. Lord Geidt served as Private Secretary to the Sovereign for Queen Elizabeth II from 2007 to 2017. As private secretary, he was the principal channel of communication between Queen Elizabeth II and the governments of the commonwealth over which she presided, and was one of the most senior members within the Royal Household. Lord Geidt served in the Intelligence Corps of the British Army, serving from 1987-1994. From 1994 until his recruitment to serve in the Royal Household in 2002, he served in multiple diplomatic posts in the Foreign Office.



ADMIRAL LORD ALAN WEST

westaa@parliament.uk

Admiral Alan West, Baron West of Spithead has served as a Labour member of the House of Lords since 2007. He joined the Royal Navy in 1965 and spent the majority of his career at sea, serving in fourteen different ships, and commanding three.

He was promoted to Admiral in November 2000 when he became Commander-in-Chief Fleet, NATO Commander-in-Chief East Atlantic and NATO Commander Allied Naval Forces North. He led the United Kingdom's maritime response to 9/11 including the invasion of Afghanistan. In 2002, he was appointed as the First Sea Lord and Commander in Chief of the Royal Navy, a post he held until his retirement in 2006. He was also a member of the Defence Council and Admiralty Board as well as First and Principal Naval Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty the Queen. From 2007 until 2010, Lord West served as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State and Government Spokesperson at the Home Office with responsibility for Security, Counterterrorism and Police.

FORMER MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, DEFENCE EXPERTS, AND OTHER BRITISH DIGNITARIES



LORD ROBERT MICHAEL JAMES GASCOYNE-CECIL

Robert Michael James Gascoyne-Cecil, 7th Marquess of Salisbury, Baron Gascoyne-Cecil is a British Conservative politician. From 1979 to 1987, he represented South Dorset in the House of Commons, and in the 1990s, he was Leader of the House of Lords under his courtesy title of Viscount Cranborne. Lord Salisbury lives in one of England's largest historic houses, the 17th-century Hatfield House in Hertfordshire, and currently serves as Chancellor of the University of Hertfordshire.



TOBIAS ELLWOOD

al.carns.mp@parliament.uk

Tobias Ellwood (Conservative) was Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the Ministry of Defence from June 2017 to July 2019. Ellwood served as Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office from July 2014 to June 2017. He was elected MP for Bournemouth East in May 2005, serving until July 2024.

Ellwood was in the Royal Green Jackets from 1991 to 1996, and served in Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Kuwait, Germany, Gibraltar and Bosnia. He is a current Army Reservist at the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Tobias was a senior business development manager with the London Stock Exchange for two years, and then with Allen and Overy in a senior role.



MICHAEL FALLON

mf@michaelfallon.org.uk

Sir Michael Fallon served as the elected Conservative MP for Sevenoaks, Kent from 1997 to 2019, after previously representing the seat of Darlington from 1983 to 1992. He was a minister in the Department for Education and Science from 1990 to 1992. More recently, held positions on the Treasury Select Committee and was Deputy Chairman of the Conservative Party. He was appointed Minister for Business and Enterprise in September 2012 and Minister of State for Energy in March 2013. In 2014 he also became Minister for Portsmouth. He was appointed Defence Secretary on 15 July 2014 and served until 2017. He did not run for re-election in the 2019 election.



DR. KARIN VON HIPPEL

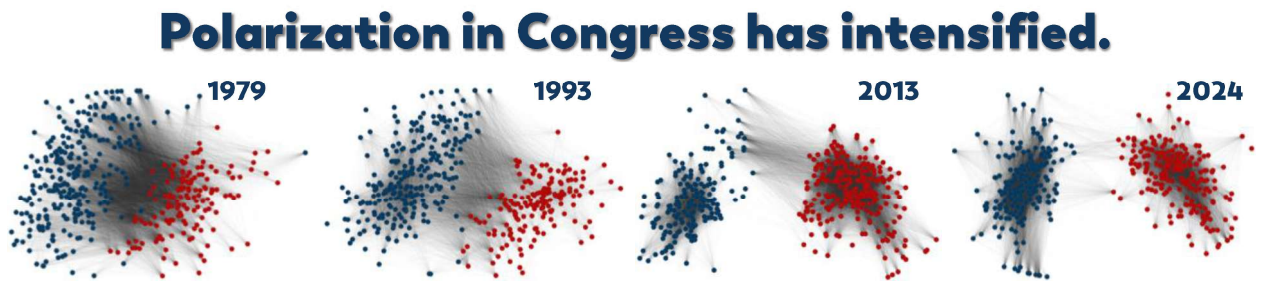
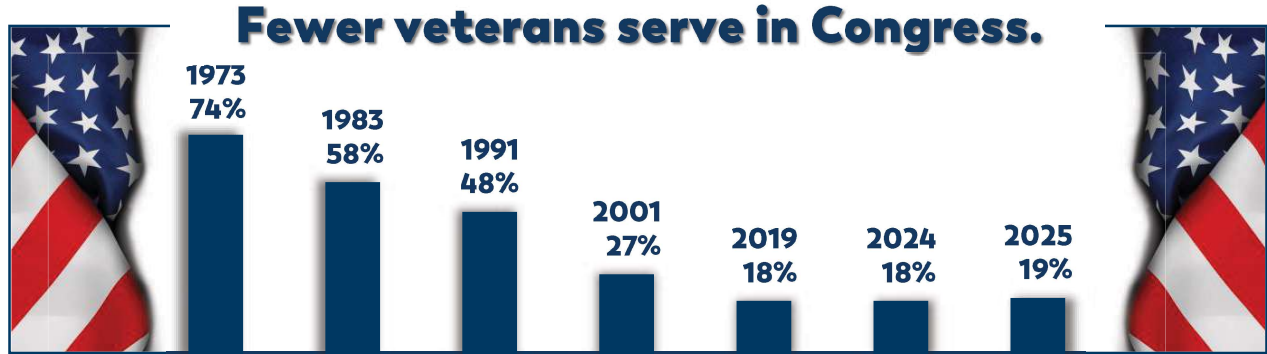
Dr. Karin von Hippel was Director-General of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) for nine years (2015 – 2024). She joined RUSI after serving for nearly six years in the US Department of State as a Senior Adviser in the Bureau of Counterterrorism, as a Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, and finally, as Chief of Staff to General John Allen, Special Presidential Envoy for the Global Coalition to Counter-ISIL.

Prior to that, she co-directed the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC and was a senior research fellow at the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College London. She has also worked for the United Nations and the European Union in Somalia and Kosovo, and has direct experience in over two dozen conflict zones.

4CC MEMBER	BRANCH OF SERVICE	COMMITTEES
Rep. Jake Ellzey (TX-6) Co-Chair	NAVY	Appropriations Small Business
Rep. Don Davis (NC-1) Co-Chair	AIR FORCE	Armed Services [Vice Ranking Member] Agriculture
Rep. Nick LaLota (NY-1) Vice Chair	NAVY	Appropriations Small Business
Rep. Troy Downing (MT-02) Vice Chair	AIR FORCE	Financial Services Small Business
Rep. Chris Deluzio (PA-17) Vice Chair	NAVY	Armed Services Transportation & Infrastructure
Rep. Herb Conaway (NJ-03) Vice Chair	AIR FORCE	Veterans' Affairs [Vice Ranking Member] Small Business
Rep. Mark Amodei (NV-2)	ARMY	Appropriations Natural Resources
Rep. Don Bacon (NE-2)	AIR FORCE	Armed Services Agriculture
Rep. Jim Baird (IN-4)	ARMY	Agriculture Foreign Affairs Science Space & Technology
Rep. Tom Barrett (MI-07)	ARMY	Veterans' Affairs Transportation and Infrastructure
Rep. Jack Bergman (MI-1)	MARINE CORPS	Armed Services Veterans' Affairs Budget
Rep. Sheri Biggs (SC-03)	AIR FORCE	Homeland Security Foreign Affairs Science, Space & Technology
Rep. Sanford Bishop (GA-2)	ARMY	Appropriations
Rep. Salud Carbajal (CA-24)	MARINE CORPS	Armed Services Agriculture Transportation & Infrastructure
Rep. Gil Cisneros (CA-31)	NAVY	Armed Services Small Business
Rep. Dan Crenshaw (TX-02)	NAVY	Energy & Commerce Select Committee on Intelligence
Rep. Jason Crow (CO-6)	ARMY	Armed Services Select Committee on Intelligence
Rep. Gabe Evans (CO-08)	ARMY	Energy & Commerce Homeland Security
Rep. Scott Franklin (FL-18)	NAVY	Appropriations Science, Space, & Technology

4CC MEMBER	BRANCH OF SERVICE	COMMITTEES
Rep. Jared Golden (ME-2)	MARINE CORPS	Armed Services Natural Resources
Rep. Maggie Goodlander (NH-02)	NAVY	Armed Services Small Business
Rep. Pat Harrigan (NC-10)	ARMY	Armed Services Science, Space & Technology
Rep. Chrissy Houlahan (PA-6)	AIR FORCE	Armed Services Select Committee on Intelligence
Rep. John James (MI-10)	ARMY	Energy & Commerce
Rep. Jennifer Kiggans (VA-02)	NAVY	Armed Services Veterans' Affairs Natural Resources
Rep. Morgan Luttrell (TX-8)	NAVY	Armed Services Veterans' Affairs Homeland Security
Rep. Brian Mast (FL-21)	ARMY	Foreign Affairs [Chair] Transportation and Infrastructure
Rep. Rich McCormick (GA-06)	MARINE CORPS NAVY	Armed Services Science, Space & Technology Foreign Affairs
Rep. Mariannette Miller-Meeks (IA-1)	ARMY	Veterans' Affairs Energy & Commerce
Rep. Seth Moulton (MA-6)	MARINE CORPS	Armed Services Select Committee on the CCP Transportation & Infrastructure
Rep. Zach Nunn (IA-3)	AIR FORCE	Agriculture Financial Services Select Committee on the CCP
Rep. Jimmy Panetta (CA-19)	NAVY	Ways & Means Budget
Rep. August Pfluger (TX-11)	AIR FORCE	Homeland Security Energy & Commerce
Rep. Pat Ryan (NY-18)	ARMY	Armed Services Transportation & Infrastructure
Rep. Mikie Sherrill (NJ-11)	NAVY	Armed Services Select Committee on the CCP
Rep. Derek Tran (CA-45)	ARMY	Armed Services Small Business
Rep. Steve Womack (AR-3)	ARMY	Appropriations

SENATOR	BRANCH OF SERVICE	COMMITTEES
Sen. Roger Wicker (MS)	AIR FORCE	Armed Services [Chair] Helsinki Commission [Chair] Select Committee on Intelligence Commerce, Science, & Transportation Environment & Public Works Rules & Administration
Sen. Jack Reed (RI)	ARMY	Armed Services [Ranking Member] Appropriations Banking, Housing, & Urban Affairs Select Committee on Intelligence
Sen. Gary Peters (MI)	NAVY	Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs [Ranking Member] Armed Services Appropriations
Sen. Todd Young (IN)	MARINE CORPS	Finance Small Business Commerce, Science, & Transportation Select Committee on Intelligence
Sen. Joni Ernst (IA)	ARMY	Small Business [Chair] Armed Services Agriculture Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs
Sen. Mark Kelly (AZ)	NAVY	Armed Services Select Committee on Intelligence Environment & Public Works Aging
Sen. Ruben Gallego (AZ)	MARINE CORPS	Banking, Housing, & Urban Affairs Veterans' Affairs Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs Energy & Natural Resources
Sen. Dave McCormick (PA)	ARMY	Foreign Relations Banking, Housing, & Urban Affairs Energy & Natural Resources Aging
Sen. Andy Kim (NJ)	DOS	Banking, Housing, & Urban Affairs Commerce, Science, & Transportation Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs Health, Education, Labor, & Pensions
Sen. Elissa Slotkin (MI)	CIA	Armed Services Veterans' Affairs Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs Agriculture
Sen. Dan Sullivan (AK)	MARINE CORPS	Armed Services Veterans' Affairs Commerce, Science, & Transportation Environment & Public Works



Charts show legislative work between individual legislators; blue dots are Democrats, red are Republicans.

THE MISSION

With Honor fights polarization in Congress by recruiting, electing, and supporting principled veterans who pledge to serve across party lines. With Honor's non-profit arms advocate for bipartisan legislation, lead bipartisan delegations, and educate the public. With Honor's PAC invests early in the most promising veteran candidates, builds national coalitions, and helps elect next-generation American leaders. With Honor PAC also defends principled veterans from extremist primary challengers.

WITH HONOR PLEDGE



Integrity

- I will be honest
- I will use the power of my office only for the service of my constituents and my country



Civility

- I will work to bring civility to elected office
- I will participate in a cross-partisan veterans caucus



Courage

- I will meet with a Member from a different party one-on-one at least once a month
- I will join with colleagues on both sides of the aisle on at least one piece of substantial legislation each year, and co-sponsor additional pieces

www.withhonor.org

RESULTS

116th Congress

580 Veteran candidates tracked

19 Veterans co-founded the bipartisan For Country Caucus in the U.S. House of Representatives

Members of the For Country Caucus supported the passage of 37 laws focused on national security, national service, and veterans affairs including:

- The establishment of the Office of the National Cyber Director in the White House
- Reduced the lifetime tax burden for 50,000+ Gold Star Family members by more than \$4B
- Creation of the Public Health Ready Reserve Officer Corps

117th Congress

545 Veteran candidates tracked and 23 elected

The For Country Caucus expands to 24 members

First gubernatorial candidate, former With Honor Action Advisor, Wes Moore, is elected

Members of the For Country Caucus supported the passage of 57 laws including:

- Authorized 8,000 additional Special Immigrant Visas for Afghan allies
- Passed the Brandon Act and helped establish 9-8-8 as the National Suicide and Crisis Lifeline
- Created the Digital Service Academy and passed 11 other recommendations from the National Security Commission on AI

118th Congress

642 Veteran candidates tracked and 20 elected

The For Country Caucus expands to 30 members

Launch of With Honor Action Senate arm with 6 bipartisan veteran Senators

Members of the For Country Caucus supported the passage of 130 laws including:

- Helped pass every major assistance package to fight for democracy in Ukraine
- The first major expansion of JROTC units in public high schools across the nation
- Helped establish the Military Quality of Life Panel and passed 17 recommendations including first major junior-enlisted pay raise in generations to fight military food insecurity

119th Congress

The For Country Caucus expands to 37 members

With Honor Action Senate affiliates grow to 11 bipartisan Senators

For Country Caucus founding Vice Chair becomes the 29th U.S. National Security Advisor

SELECT WITH HONOR ACTION ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS



RYE BARCOTT



KAHLIL BYRD



ROBERT GATES



BOB STERNFELS



NADJA WEST

www.withhonor.org

THE CONFERENCE

America's transatlantic alliance – exemplified by NATO – has proved central to promoting U.S. and European military interests.

That alliance, however, is now facing serious internal strains and even threats to its continued existence.

The London Defence Conference provides a timely opportunity for lawmakers from the United States and Europe to recommit to the alliance.

ALLIANCES

NATO and other Western alliances have proven extremely valuable:

- They are a “force multiplier,” enabling Western nations to increase the military force they can bring to the battlefield.
- They spur military, diplomatic, and economic cooperation across the West, which helps nourish regional stability and boost economic growth.
- They encourage information sharing on military, intelligence, and other matters, better enabling the West to meet emerging threats.

The transatlantic alliance has faced strains before but has endured because its members recognize its value – and we are confident it will continue to thrive in the years ahead.

FOR COUNTRY CAUCUS

As members of the For Country Caucus, we are extremely pleased to participate in this timely conference.

We hope to begin a transatlantic conversation between military veterans, across party lines, in the British Parliament and U.S. Congress.

We believe that closer collaboration among veterans in our legislative bodies can help us to jointly shape the future of international security cooperation.

We look forward to exploring ways that we can engage more deeply with British Parliament members on such matters.