

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

EMPLOYEE POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM Original Amendment

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

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

1. Name of Traveler: David Horsley
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ **OR** None
b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: Friday, August 8, 2025 Return: Sunday, August 17, 2025
b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ **OR** None
4. Departure City: Washington, D.C., USA Destination: Tel Aviv, Israel Return City: Washington, D.C., USA
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: The Jewish Institute of National Security of America (JINSA)
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended: See attached Tab A for final itinerary
7. Attached to this form are **each** of the following, *signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box*:
 - a. a completed *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form*;
 - b. the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* completed by the trip sponsor **prior** to the trip, **including all** attachments **and** the *Additional Sponsor Form(s)*;
 - c. page 2 of the completed *Traveler Form* submitted by the employee; **and**
 - d. the letter from the Committee on Ethics approving my participation on this trip.
8. a. I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the attached sponsor's agenda. *Signify statement is true by checking the box.*
b. If not, explain: _____

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

Signature of Traveler: David Horsley Date: 9/30/2025

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

Name of Supervising Member: August Pfluger Date: 9/30/2025

Signature of Supervising Member: August Pfluger

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: The Jewish Institute of National Security of America (JINSA)

2. Travel Destination(s): Israel

3. Date of Departure: August 8, 2025 Date of Return: August 17, 2025

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): David Horsley

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	\$3,645 (\$2,805 for round trip international flights, \$840 for bus transportation to the airport and between sites in Israel)	\$2,940	\$952	\$1,365 (guides, entry fees)
Accompanying Family Member				

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

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

Signature:  Date: Aug. 20, 2025

Name: Dr. Michael Makovsky, PhD Title: President and CEO

Organization: The Jewish Institute of National Security of America

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

Address: 1101 14th Street, NW, Suite 1030, Washington, D.C., 20005

Telephone: mmakovsky@jinsa.org Email: (202) 667-3900

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: David Horsley

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: David Horsley

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For Staff (name of employing Member or Committee): Rep. August Pfluger

Office Address: 2202, Rayburn House Office Building, 50 Independence Avenue, SW, Washington, DC

Telephone Number: 202-225-3605

Email Address of Contact Person: david.horsley@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: David Horsley
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: _____
The Jewish Institute for National Security of America (JINSA)
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: Israel
4. a. Date of Departure: Friday, August 8 Date of Return: Sunday, August 17
b. Yes No Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?
If yes, list dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Yes No Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? **If yes:**
 - (1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: _____
 - (2) Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
 - (3) Yes No Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age?
6. a. Yes No Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)?
b. **If yes**, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:

7. Yes No *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, invitation, invitee list, and any other attachments and Additional Sponsor Forms.
NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.
8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to the traveler's individual official or representational duties. **Staff should include their job title and how the activities on the itinerary relate to their duties.**
As National Security Advisor for Congressman Pfluger who handles his defense and foreign affairs work, this trip would provide me greater insight into the Israel-Gaza-and Iran conflict and propose legislative solutions to assist our ally in the Middle East.
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:

The Jewish Institute for National Security of America (JINSA)

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): _____

See attached Tab A

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

6. Date of Departure: Friday, August 8, 2025 Date of Return: Sunday August 17, 2025

7. a. City of departure: Washington, D.C., USA

b. Destination(s): Tel Aviv, Israel

c. City of return: Washington, D.C., USA

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:
 For nearly 50 years, JINSA has been dedicated to educating congressional, military and civilian national security decision-makers on American defense and strategic interests, primarily in the Middle East, the cornerstone of which is a robust U.S.-Israel security cooperation relationship. Organized and run entirely by JINSA, this trip directly supports our core educational mission.
-

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): \$178
 - 2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: Educational travel to deepen understanding of the U.S.-Israel bilateral defense relationship.
-

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

Hotel Name: Ritz Carlton City: Herzliya Cost Per Night: \$420
 Reason(s) for Selecting: Centrally located for meetings in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and in the north and south of the county.

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

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

17. I represent that all expenses connected to the trip will be for actual costs incurred and not a per diem or lump sum payment. *Signify that the statement is true by checking the box.*

18. **Total Expenses for each Participant:**

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$3,550 (\$3,000 for round trip international flights, \$550 for bus transportation to and from the airport and between sites in Israel)	\$2,940	\$1,206
For each Accompanying Family Member			

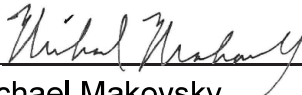
	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$700	Guides, entry fees
For each Accompanying Family Member		

19. **Check only one:**

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

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

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

Signature:  Date: 6/11/2025
 Name: Dr. Michael Makovsky Title: President and CEO
 Organization: The Jewish Institute for National Security of America (JINSA)
 Address: 1101 14th Street, NW, Suite 1030, Washington, D.C. 20005
 Email: mmakovsky@jinsa.org Telephone: (202) 667-3900

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

Tab A
2025 JINSA Congressional National Security Program to Israel
Participant List

The Jewish Institute for National Security of America (JINSA) is dedicated to educating Congressional, military and civilian national security decision-makers on American defense and strategic interests, primarily in the Middle East, the cornerstone of which is a robust U.S.-Israeli security cooperation relationship. To help fulfill this mission, JINSA runs an annual Congressional National Security Program to Israel that equips legislative staff with greater insight and understanding into shared threats and opportunities facing the United States and Israel in the Middle East. Invitees are staff to Members of Congress with national security, foreign policy, or defense policy portfolios.

1. Jamie Fleet, Senior Advisor to Rep. Hakeem Jeffries (D-NY)
2. Steven Goodall, Legislative Assistant to Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D-FL)
3. David Horsley, National Security Advisor to Rep. August Pfluger (R-TX)
4. Zach Huff, Military Legislative Assistant to Rep. Abe Hamadeh (R-AZ)
5. Delia Kashat, Legislative Director to Rep. Don Davis (D-NC)
6. John Mark Kolb, Deputy Chief of Staff to Rep. Maria Salazar (R-FL)
7. William Layton, Senior Policy Advisor to Rep. Michael Lawler (R-NY)
8. Sarah Berlan-Salas, Policy Advisor to Rep. Elise Stefanik (R-NY)
9. Bethany Schrock, Legislative Assistant to Rep. Jim Baird (R-IN)



**The Jewish Institute for National Security of America
2025 Congressional National Security Program to Israel
August 8–17, 2025**

TRAVEL: Friday, August 8th

18:30 Departure from Dulles International Airport, Washington, D.C., USA

TRAVEL: Saturday, August 9th

8:20 Arrival in Barcelona-El Prat Airport, Barcelona, Spain

NO PROGRAMMING

20:45 Depart Barcelona-El Prat Airport, Barcelona, Spain

Day 1: Sunday, August 10th

Parliament & Grand Strategy and Regional Perspective, Israel's Policy and Defense Strategy Day

01:55 Arrival at Ben Gurion Airport, Tel Aviv, Israel

02:25-03:00 Depart to the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, 4 Hashunit Street, Herzliya, 4655504, Israel

06:30 Breakfast Available

06:30-08:00 Executive Time

08:00-09:30 Depart for the Knesset, Jerusalem

09:30-10:30 Tour of the Knesset (Parliament) with **Liat Margalit, Foreign Affairs Department of the Knesset** at the Knesset in Jerusalem

Topic: Explanation of the role of the Knesset in the Israeli system of government and the role it plays in the development and execution of Israeli national security policy via visits to a copy of the Israeli Declaration of Independence, the Knesset chamber, and committee briefing rooms.

10:30-11:15 Briefing by **Roni Tal, Chief of Staff to Speaker of the Knesset**, at the Knesset in Jerusalem

Topic: Discussion of how the legislative process operates in Israel, challenges in designing and executing policy within the Israel system of government, and discussion of similarities and differences to how the U.S. Congress operates.

- 11:15-11:45 Briefing by **Liat Margalit, Foreign Affairs Department of the Knesset**, at the Knesset in Jerusalem
Topic: Discussion of the role and activities of the U.S.-Israel Parliamentary Friendship Group since the Oct. 7, 2023 attacks.
- 11:45-12:00 Executive Time
- 12:00-13:00 Round Table discussion with **Amit Halevi, Knesset Member (Likud)** at the Knesset in Jerusalem
Topic: Insights into how the Israeli legislative process operates, current national security issues under active consideration by Knesset members, and how members incorporate foreign diplomatic considerations into their deliberations.
- 13:00-13:10 Meeting and group photo with **Amir Ohana, Speaker of the Knesset** at the Knesset
Topic: The strength of the U.S.-Israel security partnership.
- 13:10-15:00 Drive to the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Herzliya. Lunch on the bus (no speakers)
- 15:00-16:00 Briefing by **MG Amidror**, former National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of Israel at the Ritz-Carlton complex, Herzliya.
Topic: “Israel’s Asymmetric Position in the Middle East,” an overview of the Israel’s overall strategic environment, followed by discussion of U.S. / Israel defense cooperation relationship since the Oct. 7, 2023 attacks in particular.
- 16:00-17:00 Briefing by **MG Yaacov Ayish**, Former Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Defense Attaché to the U.S. and Canada and JINSA’s Senior Vice President for Israeli Affairs at the Ritz-Carlton complex, Herzliya.
Topic: “The State of Israel,” a strategic overview of Israel including a discussion of population concentrations, key strategic infrastructure, and current security threats. Discussion of how the mil-to-mil partnership between the United States and Israel strengthens the ability of both nations to address shared security concerns.
- 17:00-17:15 Executive Time
- 17:15-17:45 **Screening of the IDF Spokesperson office video “Bearing Witness”** about the massacre of October 7th at the Ritz-Carlton complex, Herzliya.
Topic: The video is a sequential collection of raw footage of the Oct. 7 Hamas terrorist attack painstakingly compiled and put together by the IDF. It includes videos taken by terrorists themselves from their own body cameras and dashcams, data from the phones of victims, and security camera footage.
- 17:45-18:00 Executive Time

- 18:00-19:00 Briefing with **LtC Roi Bloch, Head of the International Law Branch within the Israeli Military Advocate General (MAG)** at the Ritz-Carlton complex, Herzliya.
Topic: Organization of the MAG and how it operates within the IDF to ensure the laws of armed combat are adhered to and the mechanisms available to the MAG to enforce compliance.
- 19:00-21:00 **JINSA Delegation Welcome Dinner with Stephanie L. Hallett**, Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Israel, at the Ritz-Carlton complex, Herzliya.
Topic: “The State of U.S. / Israel Relations,” a strategic overview from the American perspective including an explanation of U.S.-Israel defense and security priorities with regards to the current conflicts with Hamas and Hezbollah and the regional impacts of those conflicts and highlighting the challenges and opportunities they present.

Overnight: Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Herzliya

Total Hours of Programming: 8+

Day 2: Monday, August 11th

Southern Command and the Gaza Strip

- 06:00 Breakfast Available
- 08:15-10:00 Drive to **Israeli Air Force (IAF) Base Nevatim Air Force Base** near Beersheba. Briefing by **MG Ayish** on the bus.
Topic: Israel’s lack of strategic depth in the south and discussion of economically important strategic sites such as the Ashkelon Desalination Plant.
- 10:00-11:45 Briefing by **IAF Squadron at Nevatim Air Force Base** and walk-around of the base led by **IAF Maj Altar Dagan**.
Topic: Tour led by an IAF Maj Altar Dagan explaining day-to-day base operations by viewing runways, hangars, and a mission briefing room. Briefing by an IAF Maj Dagan on the F-35 squadrons’ role in current wartime operations, with a specific briefing on Israel’s “Operation Rising Lion” against Iran from June 13-24, 2025.
- 11:45-13:00 Depart to **IDF Camp Amitay**, in southern Israel.
- 13:00-13:45 Briefing at **Gaza Humanitarian Foundation (GHF) headquarters** at Camp Amitay.
Topic: How this joint American Israeli program is addressing the ongoing Gaza humanitarian crisis and prevent Hamas from seizing aid provided to civilians.
- 13:45-14:15 Depart to **Kfar Aza**, in southern Israel. Lunch on the bus with briefing by MG Ayish.

Topic: Briefing on upgraded capabilities on the Israeli southern border to protect Israel's civilian population from Gaza in the aftermath of the Oct. 7, 2023 attacks.

- 14:15-15:30 **Visit to Kfar Aza**, in southern Israel.
Topic: Tour led by **IDF SGT. Oriyah Solomon, Diplomatic Liaison in the IDF Spokesperson Unit**, of the one of the focal points of the October 7th Hamas attack, to see the extent of the destruction and the impact on the community first-hand.
- 15:30-15:45 Depart for **Nova Festival Victims Memorial**, near Kibbutz Re'im.
- 15:45-16:15 Visit **Nova Festival Victims Memorial**, near Kibbutz Re'im.
Topic: Tour led by **IDF SGT. Oriyah Solomon** of the one of the focal points of the October 7th Hamas attack, where more than 300 people were killed and some 40 taken hostage. Photos of each of the victims are displayed in their memory, along with Israeli flags and red anemone sculptures, symbolizing the flowers that bloom nearby in the forest during the winter and as a symbol of the lives lost.
- 16:15-16:30 Depart to Kibbutz Gevim, in southern Israel.
- 16:30-17:00 Briefing at the **Iron Dome** missile defense battery site by an **IDF SGT. Oriyah Solomon**, the Defense Ministry's Administration for the Development of Weapons and Technological Infrastructure (MAFAT), near Kibbutz Gevim.
Topic: The value of this critically important joint-U.S. / Israeli produced system in protecting civilian life and infrastructure.
- 17:00-18:30 Drive to Dinner, Concierge, Dizengoff 95, Tel Aviv.
- 18:30-19:30 Dinner at Concierge, Tel Aviv (no speakers).
- 19:30-20:00 Return to the Ritz-Carlton Hotel

Overnight: Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Herzliya Total Hours of Programming: 6

Day 3 Tuesday, August 12th

Northern Command Day- Syria-Lebanon-Hezbollah Day

- 06:30 Breakfast available
- 07:30-09:00 Depart Hotel for **War Reserves Stockpile Allies-Israel (WRSA-I)**. Brief by **MG Ayish** on bus.
Topic: Israel's lack of strategic depth in the north, highlighting economically important strategic sites including Haifa Port and off-shore natural gas platforms.

- 09:00-09:30 Briefing by **MG Ayish on the War Reserves Stockpile Allies-Israel (WRSA-I)**, one of the United States' largest collections of warfighting material pre-positioned to be used in wartime at a WRSA-I observation point.
Topic: How WRSA-I functions and serves as an example of U.S. / Israel security cooperation.
- 09:30-10:00 Travel to Travel **IDF Northern Command, 91st Division** at Mt. Adir.
- 10:00-11:00 Briefing by **IDF 91st Division at Northern Command with IDF BG Offer Shafran**
Topic: The strategic threat Israel faces on its northern border facing Lebanon from Hezbollah (and Iran) and the impact of combat operations since October 7, 2023, to degrade Hezbollah's capabilities.
- 11:00-12:00 Drive to **Mt. Bental, IDF 210th Division** (near the Syrian border). Briefing by **MG Ayish** on the bus.
Topic: Overview of the contentious history between Israel and Syria, who have technically been at war since 1948, and have fought each other in three major wars: the 1948 Arab Israeli War, the 1967 Six-Day War, and the 1973 Yom Kippur War.
- 12:00-13:00 Briefing by **IDF 210th Division by Lt. Avital Zelig, Golan Israel Liaison Office**, at Mt. Bental overlooking the Israel-Syria border.
Topic: Briefing on the tank battles between Israel and Syrian forces during the Six-Day War in 1967 and Yom Kippur War in 1973 on the Golan Heights. Further discussion of the evolving threat Israel faces from Syria today, particularly in light of the Syrian Civil War that began in 2011 and ended with the overthrow of the Assad regime in 2024, and current prospects for improved relations between the two nations.
- 13:00-13:15 Drive to **Israel-Syrian militarized zone/UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)** post at Quneitra Crossing
- 13:15-13:45 Briefing by **IDF Lt. Avital Zelig** at Quneitra Crossing
Topic: IDF management of the Israel-Syrian border and the role of the United Nations at Quneitra Crossing, created in the aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Discussion of the role of the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) at the crossing and its current role in the aftermath of the fall of the Assad regime in Syria.
- 13:45-14:00 Drive to Bahat Restaurant in Kibbutz Ein Zivan.
- 14:00-15:30 Lunch at Bahat Restaurant. Brief by **MG Ayish**.
Topic: The history and continuing use of Israel's Kibbutz economic system, the role it played in the history of Zionism and helping Israel to settle and secure its northern border region.

- 15:30-16:00 Depart for Majdal Shams, Golan Heights.
- 16:00-16:45 Visit to Druze village of **Majdal Shams**. Briefing by Druze village leaders on the July 27, 2024 Hezbollah rocket attack that landed on a soccer game resulting in the death of 12 children and the Druze community in Israel more broadly.
- 16:45-17:45 Depart for old Caesarea Port, Caesarea.
- 17:45-18:30 Executive time in Caesarea.
- 18:30-20:00 Dinner at Hazalbanim Restaurant (or Crusaders Restaurant), Caesarea Port Caesarea. **MG Ayish** led roundtable discussion.
Topic: Summary of the key points from the day's briefings and site visits in the north, open conversation and dialogue on topics including the Hezbollah drone threat and the role of Caesarea as the principal port in the Roman-era and how this compares to the Haifa Port complex of today. Guidance and preview of the next day's events.
- 20:00-21:00 Return to Ritz-Carlton, Herzliya
- Overnight: Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Herzliya* *Total Hours of Programming: 7+*

Day 4: Wednesday, August 13th
U.S.-Israel Defense Cooperation Day

- 06:30 Breakfast Available
- 08:15- 09:15 Depart to the IDF HQ, HaKiryat, Tel Aviv.
- 09:15-10:15 Briefing by **IDF BG (ret.) Daniel “Danny” Gold at the Directorate of Defense Research and Development (DDR&D)** on how Israel develops technological, logistical and industrial infrastructure to support Israeli national security operations at IDF HQ.
- 10:15-11:00 Depart to Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI) in International Airport Ben Gurion in Lod.
- 11:00-13:00 Visit to IAI and brief by **IAI executives Yael Barenboim (Rocket Division), Yechiel Shalev (Space Division) and Amir Dan (Aerial Defense Division)** in Lod.
Topic: History of Israel Aerospace Industries and background of collaboration with the U.S. defense industrial base, with a focus on the significant role IAI has played in the development of Israel's world class integrated air and missile defense systems, and emerging technologies in this field.

- 13:00 Lunch on the bus (no speakers)
- 13:00-15:00 Depart to the **David Institution, Rafael Advanced Defense Systems Ltd** in Lod.
- 15:00-17:00 Visit to **the David Institution, Rafael Advanced Defense Systems Ltd** main offices & testing sites and **briefings by Rafael executives Gidi Wise, Yossi Pinto (on Trophy) and Jonathan (on Iron Beam)** in Lod.
Topic: Gain insight into how collaboration between U.S. and Israeli defense industries contribute to the defense of both nations in the air domain, particularly with regards to the Iron Beam directed energy missile defense system, the Trophy tank defense system, and Spike family of electro-optical missiles.
- 17:00-18:00 Drive to Ritz Carlton, Herzliya.
- 18:00-19:00 Briefing by **Koby Shtairman, CEO of Oraqon**, on how Israel's defense industrial base quickly adapted to meet wartime requirements.
- 19:00-20:00 **Dinner** at the Ritz-Carlton complex, Herzliya. **MG Ayish** led roundtable discussion.
Topic: Summary of the key points from the day's briefings on the future of Israeli integrated air and missile defense efforts. Briefing on how Israeli's mandatory military service requirements operate. Guidance and preview of the next day's events.

Overnight: Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Herzliya

Total Hours of Programming: 7+

Day 5: Thursday, August 14th
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- 06:30 Breakfast Available
- 08:00-09:00 Briefing by **IDF Col. Yotam Shefer with the Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories (COGAT) office** at the Ritz-Carlton complex, Herzliya.
Topic: How Israel manages humanitarian aid distribution in Gaza in coordination with partners including the UN, the Gaza Humanitarian Foundation, and private sector actors.
- 09:00-10:30 Depart for Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Kiryat HaLeom, Jerusalem
- 10:30-11:30 Meeting with **Dor Shaphira, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs North America Bureau** official at Kiryat HaLeom, Jerusalem.
Topic: Briefing of U.S.-Israeli relations from the Israeli perspective, including a challenges and opportunities presented by the current ongoing conflict between

Israel and Iran and its proxies Hamas and Hezbollah, and the upcoming need to negotiate a new Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the United States.

- 11:30-12:15 Meeting with **Nadav Ashkar, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Strategic Affairs Bureau official** at Kiryat HaLeom, Jerusalem.
Topic: Briefing on the Iranian nuclear program over the years, Operation Rising Lion (the 12-day war with Iran), and considerations for next steps moving forward to prevent the Iranians from rebuilding their nuclear program.
- 12:15-13:30 Meeting with the **Jonathan Tzadka, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs Middle East Bureau official** at Kiryat HaLeom, Jerusalem.
Topic: Briefing on Israel's perspective of the Middle East and the current state of relations with countries including Egypt, Jordan, the UAE, Bahrain, and Morocco.
- 13:30-14:00 Depart to David Citadel hotel, Jerusalem.
- 14:00-15:00 Lunch at David Citadel hotel, Jerusalem (no speakers).
- 15:00-16:00 Executive Time
- 16:00-17:00 Briefing with **Dr. Avner Golov, VP Research & Alliances with MIND Israel**, Former Senior Director for Foreign Policy, at Israel's National Security Council.
Topic: Options for Israel's grand strategy post 10/7: A people that dwells alone vs. a leading valued partner in the international arena.
- 17:00-17:30 Depart for Western Wall, Ha'Omer 2 Jerusalem, Israel 97500
- 17:30-19:00 **Western Wall Tunnel Tour**, Ha'Omer 2 Jerusalem, Israel 97500
Topic: Western Wall Tunnel Guided Tour, Ha'Omer 2 Jerusalem, Israel 97500
Topic: The Western Wall is one of the four supporting walls of the Temple Mount that still stands after the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans. It is the wall that faces westward and is the closest in proximity to the site of the Holy of Holies, the most sacred location within the Temple for the Jewish people. Since the Temple's destruction, the Western Wall has served as a source of inspiration, and the focus of yearning and prayer for the Jewish people. It has helped keep the memory of the Temple alive and is now a site of prayer and a location for formal ceremonies of the State of Israel, including swearing in ceremonies for IDF soldiers. This guided tour examines archeological evidence about the history of the Temple Mount to enable participants to better understand how Israelis, from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, perceive their history and connection to the land of Israel, and to provide context for how and why struggles for control of religious sites in Jerusalem remain major political flashpoints with local and global security implications.

19:00-20:00 Return to Ritz-Carlton, Herzliya.

20:00-21:00 Dinner at Casa Bella Restaurant, Herzliya right below the Ritz-Carlton hotel complex (no speakers).

Overnight: Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Herzliya

Total Hours of Programming: 7+

Day 6: Friday, August 15th

Israel's Roots, Heritage, and the Impact on National Security

05:55 Departure from Ben Gurion Airport, Tel Aviv, Israel (James Fleet)

06:30 Breakfast Available

08:30-09:00 Depart Hotel for Yad Vashem, Israel's Holocaust Memorial Museum

09:00-11:00 Visit to **Yad Vashem, Israel's Holocaust Memorial Museum, Jerusalem**
Background: By 1945, the Nazi's Third Reich had killed the majority of Europe's Jewish population, destroying a civilization that had flourished for centuries. Yad Vashem encapsulates and memorializes this tragic history. The visit will provide participants with an unparalleled opportunity to learn about the Holocaust, how it is perceived and understood through the eyes of Israelis, and how it significantly impacts Israel's national defense posture and diplomatic relationships today.

11:00-11:30 Depart for the City of David, Jerusalem

11:30-14:00 Tour of the **City of David, Jerusalem**
Background: The United States Embassy in Jerusalem, together with the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, have recognized the City of David as a testament to America's Judeo-Christian heritage and founding principles. The archeological discoveries at the City of David bring Biblical Jerusalem back to life and reaffirm the prophetic messages of freedom, justice and peace that inspired America's founders. The City of David is an archaeological excavation of the city of ancient Jerusalem, prior to the Jewish-Roman wars and the destruction and the Second Temple in 70 CE. Participants will learn how Israelis, from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, perceive their history and connection to the land of Israel. A key focus will be how this history and the interpretation of it strongly manifests itself in the political and religious challenges that Israeli experiences today in the modern world and how this impacts Israel's national defense posture.

14:00-15:00 Lunch Abu Camal, Old City, Jerusalem. Briefing by **Mr. Khaled Abu Toameh**, an Israeli Arab Journalist in Jerusalem.

Topic: Perspective on how the Arab world, (including Palestinian Arabs, Jordanians, Egyptians and others), understands and perceives Israel, how perceptions and misperceptions impact public opinion and government decision-making, and how this in turn impacts the regional security environment.

15:00-17:00 Guided tour of the Old City, Jerusalem with **Israeli Ministry of Tourism Certified Guide Ibgy Eliyahu**, Israeli Ministry of Tourism Certified Guide #022114755

Background: Participants will be exposed to Jerusalem as city of continuing vital importance to three of the world's great faiths. The walk through of the Old City will include an overview of government administration of the West Bank and a discussion of the current political dynamics in the West Bank, specifically the relationship between the Israeli Government and the Palestinian Authority and the ongoing security challenges that affect Israelis and Palestinians, and how this impacts the broader security environment in the Middle East.

They will start with a visit to the **Jewish Quarter** of the Old City and learn about the layers of Judaism from the time of the First Temple until the present day, including the **Cardo**, the main thoroughfare of Roman Jerusalem. Participants will then continue to the traditional **Via Dolorosa**, the Way of the Cross, to the **Church of the Holy Sepulchre**, to gain a greater appreciation of the importance of Jerusalem to the Christian world.

17:00-18:00 Return to Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Herzliya.

18:00-19:30 Executive Time.

19:30-22:00 Shabbat Dinner at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Herzliya with **MG Ayish**.
Background: Shabbat is a day of rest that lasts from sundown on Friday evening through nightfall on Saturday night. Friday night dinner consists of a traditional meal and guests are considered an integral part of the weekly ritual. The Shabbat ceremony will consist of hymns, recitations, blessings, and eating, and provide participants with a unique window into modern Israeli cultural practices. Participation is an opportunity to strengthen ties with American foreign policy partners in Israel on a personal basis and gain a deeper understanding of each nation's rich heritage through participation in a shared communal experience.

Overnight: Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Herzliya

Total Hours of Programming: 6+

Day 7: Saturday, August 16th

Day of Departure / Israel's Roots & Heritage, the Impact on National Security

06:30 Breakfast Available

- 08:00-10:00 Drive to the city **Tiberias**, founded in 20 CE and named after the Roman Emperor Tiberius.
Topics: Briefing by **Ibgy Eliyahu, Israeli Ministry of Tourism Certified Guide #022114755** on the importance Christians have placed on the Holy Land over the centuries and how this has impacted military and political decision making from diverse groups including Jewish revolutionaries in the Roman Era, Crusaders in the Middle Ages, and Great Britain in World War I.
- 10:00-12:30 **Tour of Capernaum and key Christian churches near the Sea of Galilee.**
 Exploration of the Sea of Galilee region with Ibgy Eliyahu by visiting Christian holy sites including the Mount of Beatitudes, site of Jesus's Sermon on the Mount; and Capernaum, one of the first villages where Jesus taught to gain a fuller understanding of the importance of the Holy Land to the Christian world, the security implications of the religious importance of the region, and how this impacts the global political landscape.
- 12:30-13:15 Tour of the **Kinneret**, also known as the Sea of Galilee.
Topic: Briefing on the importance of the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan River as both a border and a key water source for Israel and Jordan and the impact this plays in Israeli national security strategy. Discussion of the sea's historic importance, including to Christians for its connection to Jesus, who spent much of his life on or near it, and to late 19th century Zionists, who's dream of settling the Land of Israel became reality as pioneers and their families returned to the land and created a new form of agricultural settlement, the kibbutz.
- 13:15-13:30 Drive to the Yardenit, Jordan River Baptismal Site of Jesus, Kibbutz Kinneret.
- 13:30-14:30 **Briefing at Yardenit, Jordan River Baptismal Site of Jesus**, Kibbutz Kinneret, one of Israel's most sacred religious sites for Christians and the second oldest kibbutz in Israel.
Topic: Briefing on the significance the Christian community has placed on this historic site and the intimate relationship Christians have with Israel's biblical history.
- 14:30-15:30 Lunch, Magdalena Restaurant, Migdal Junction, Magala Center Migdal (no speakers).
- 15:30-17:00 Return to Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Herzliya
- 17:00-18:00 Voluntary review of trip by participants at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel
- END OF OFFICIAL PROGRAM***
- 20:00 Departure to Ben Gurion Airport, Tel Aviv.

No overnight

Total Hours of Programming: 6+

TRAVEL: Sunday, August 17th

- 00:05 Departure from Ben Gurion Airport, Tel Aviv, Israel (1) David Horsley)
- 01:00 Departure from Ben Gurion Airport, Tel Aviv, Israel (2) Steven Goodall, 3) William Layton, 4) Delia Kashat, and 5) John Kolb)
- 04:05 Arrival at John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, USA (1) David Horsley)
- 05:50 Arrival at John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, USA (2) Steven Goodall, 3) William Layton, 4) Delia Kashat, and 5) John Kolb)
- 08:35 Departure from John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, USA (all five)
- 10:14 Arrival in Washington Reagan Airport, Washington, D.C., USA (all five)

###

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
Suhas 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>

August 5, 2025

Mr. David Horsley
Office of the Honorable August Pfluger
2202 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Horsley:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to Israel,¹ scheduled for August 8 to 17, 2025, sponsored by the Jewish Institute for National Security of America (JINSA).

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

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

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

David Horsley
United States House of Representatives
Rayburn House Office Building, Room 2202
Washington, D.C. 20515

May 21, 2025

Dear David,

On behalf of the Jewish Institute for National Security of America (JINSA), it is my pleasure to invite you to participate in this year's [Congressional National Security Program to Israel](#), to be held **August 8-17, 2025**.¹

We take your security very seriously. Our Israel team, led by IDF MG (ret.) Yaacov Ayish, will constantly be monitoring the security situation and we will adjust accordingly if necessary.

JINSA is a not-for-profit 501(c)3 organization dedicated to working with military and civilian decisionmakers to ensure American strategic interests in the Middle East are defended. JINSA believes the cornerstone of this defense is a robust U.S.-Israeli security cooperation relationship.

One of the ways JINSA executes its educational mission is through [unique programs](#) that promote dialogue between prominent U.S. government officials and military leaders and their Mideast counterparts. The Congressional National Security Program provides insight and understanding into Israel's security challenges, the shared threats facing Israel and the United States, the benefits of U.S.-Israel security cooperation and ways to deepen that cooperation, and insight into how collaboration between U.S. and Israeli defense industries contribute to the defense of both nations. JINSA will cover your lodging, tours, food costs, and round-trip international travel between the United States and Israel.

The program curriculum will feature visits to strategically important sites, such as Israel's borders with Gaza, Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt, where participants will be briefed by IDF commanders to better understand the security challenges Israel faces on each respective border, including its lack of strategic depth. Delegation participants will also visit the Knesset, to understand the role it plays in developing and executing Israeli

¹ We will most likely depart for Israel late Friday, August 8 and arrive on Saturday, August 9. We will depart from Israel the evening of Saturday, August 16 and arrive back in the United States on the morning of Sunday, August 17.

national security policy, and key religious and historical sites to gain a deeper appreciation for the importance of the land to three of the world's great faiths and how this directly impacts the security environment in the Middle East.

The program will include briefings on topics such as:

- The impact of the Israel's war with Hamas in the aftermath of the October 7, 2023 terrorist attacks;
- Middle East regional security challenges confronting the United States and Israel;
- Prospects for U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation with Abraham Accords countries;
- Perspective on how the Arab world understands and perceives Israel; and
- Linkages between Israel's "Silicon Wadi," IDF weapons technology, and the U.S. defense establishment.

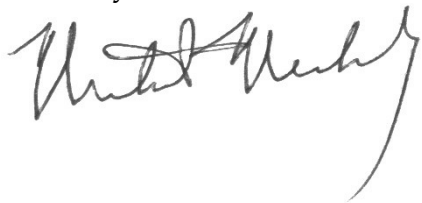
Please RSVP by May 30, 2025 to Matt Kenney at mkenney@jinsa.org or (703) 946-8363 to let us know if you are able to attend. Please also reach out if you have any questions about this invitation or travel arrangements.

Finally, the following information which participants will be required to submit to the House Ethics Committee no later than July 8, 2025 will be provided upon confirmation of participation:

- House Ethics Committee Primary Trip Sponsor Form
- Itinerary for participants

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael Makovsky". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping tail that extends downwards and to the right.

Michael Makovsky, Ph.D.

President & CEO

Jewish Institute for National Security of America (JINSA)