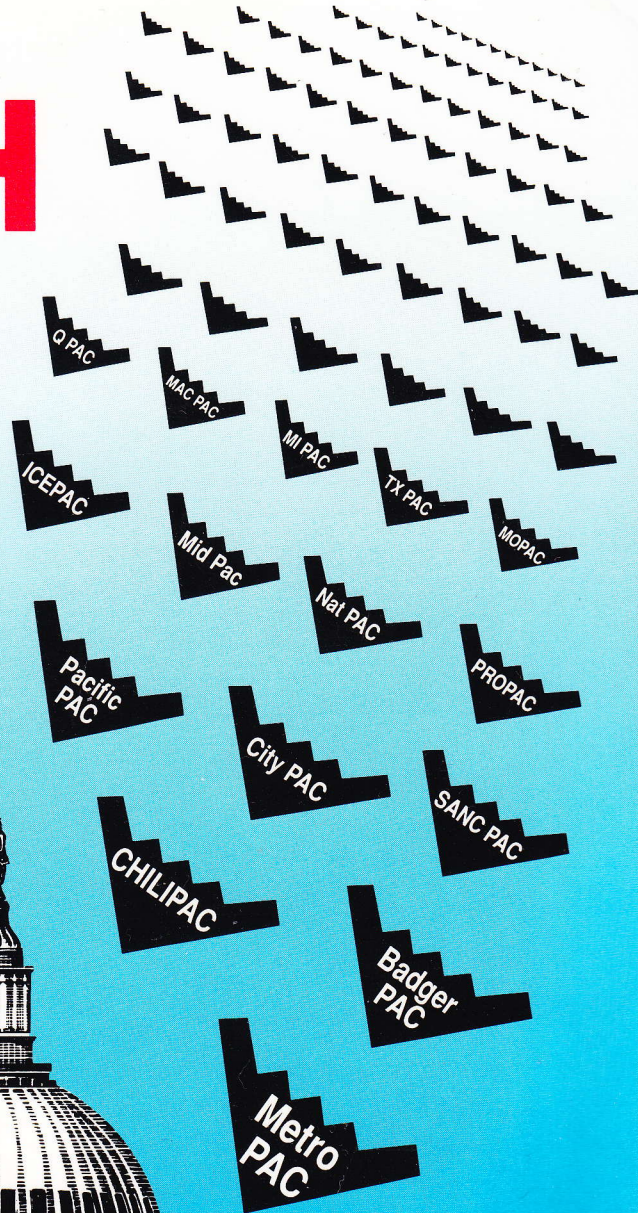


STEALTH PACs:

HOW ISRAEL'S
AMERICAN
LOBBY TOOK
CONTROL OF
U.S. MIDDLE
EAST POLICY

RICHARD H. CURTISS

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**Stealth PACs:
How Israel's American Lobby
Took Control of U.S. Middle East Policy**

Text by Richard H. Curtiss
Documentation by Parker L. Payson
Foreword by Andrew I. Killgore

Published by the
American Educational Trust
Washington, DC

*To five American statesmen to whom history will be kind:
Former Senators James G. Abourezk, J. William Fulbright and Charles Percy
and
Former Representatives Paul Findley and Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey*

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Contents

Preface: What's Special About Pro-Israel PACs?	v
Acknowledgments	ix
Foreword: The Complaint Against AIPAC	
By Andrew I. Killgore	xi
Chapter 1. The Road to Hell is Paved With Good Intentions:	
Campaign Reform and the 1978 Elections	15
Chart I. Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations, 1978	25
Chapter 2. Mighty Oaks From Little Acorns Grow: Targeting	
a Congressman in the 1980 Elections	27
Chart II. Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations, 1980	33
Chapter 3. Going for the Jugular: First Blood in Illinois and	
California in the 1982 Elections	37
Chart III. Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations, 1982	44
Chapter 4. Stealth PACs: Going National Without Leaving	
Tracks in the 1984 Elections	54
Chart IV. Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations, 1984	62
Chapter 5. The Smoking Gun: Creating Winners and Losers	
in the 1986 Elections	75
Chart V. Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations, 1986	83
Chapter 6. Getting Caught: Losing a Big One in the 1988 Elections	97
AIPAC Press Guidance Memorandum	105
Chart VI. Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations, 1988	107
Chapter 7. The Other Side of the Coin: Arab-American,	
Muslim-American and Jewish-American Peace PACs	123
Chart VII. 1984, 1986 & 1988 Recipients of Pro-Arab PAC Donations ...	131
Chapter 8. Kiss of Death? Why Congressmen Feared Both AIPAC	
and Their Constituents in the 1990 Elections	136
Chart VIII. Total Pro-Israel PAC Donations to Incumbents: 1978-1988 ...	145
Chapter 9. Still Unique: What Should Be Done About Israel's	
American Lobby?	159
Chart IX. Total Pro-Israel PAC Donations by Election Cycles 1976-1988 .	165
Chart X. List of Pro-Israel PACs, Receipts and Direct Contributions	
to Candidates for Federal Office 1978-1988	166
Index	170
PAC-Tracking: Where the Pro-Israel PACs are Headquartered	174
AIPAC Operational Memorandum Calling Upon PACs to Donate	
to Named Candidates	175
The People Behind the Book	176
Map of the Middle East (inside back cover)	

Preface: What's Special About Pro-Israel PACs?

"An examination of pro-Israel PACs provides a classic study of the PAC problem in our political system—the proliferation of PACs, the increase of PAC dollars, the concentration of interest group money in key congressional committees, and the single-minded focus of PAC giving."

—President Fred Wertheimer of Common Cause

"Most lobbies, no matter how good they are, fade into insignificance beside the most effective—and vicious—of them all. Israel's lobby in Washington, known simply as 'the Israel lobby,' or, 'the Lobby,' has refined to a high art form the techniques of putting pressure on members of Congress and on the administration."

Former Senator James G. Abourezk, *Advise and Dissent: Memoirs of South Dakota and the U.S. Senate*, Lawrence Hill Books, 1989

Virtually every special interest lobbying organization in the United States has created a Political Action Committee. The five largest such PACs in the United States are the National Association of Realtors PAC, which spent \$3 million in the 1988 election cycle, and PACs established by the Teamsters Union, the American Medical Association, the National Education Association and the National Association of Federal Employees, each of which spent more than \$2 million on candidates in 1988.

Federal law limits a PAC contribution to no more than \$5,000 to a candidate in the primary election, and another \$5,000 to a candidate in the general election. Therefore no PAC, even the giants named above, can donate more than \$10,000 in a single election year to reward an incumbent for voting according to the sponsoring lobby's recommendations, or to finance a challenger to a member of Congress who votes against that lobby's recommendations.

What would happen, however, if there were between 50 and 100 like-minded PACs, and if most of them followed recommendations of one special interest group, like Washington's pro-Israel lobby, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)?

What did happen in the 1988 election cycle was that 78 active like-minded pro-Israel PACs donated more than \$5.4 million to 477 candidates for Congress, more than any other special interest lobby. Three candidates each received more than \$200,000 from pro-Israel PACs, and four other candidates received more than \$100,000, 10 to 20 times more than candidates are permitted by law to accept from any single special interest PAC. A total of 118 candidates in 101 races received more than \$10,000 from pro-Israel PACs, which flouted the law in 30 of the 33 Senate elections and 71 of the 435 House elections in 1988.

The ability to spend more on elections than any other special interest in the United

States while remaining virtually invisible to the public, and to evade with impunity the letter and the spirit of the law limiting contributions to congressional candidates, are only two of the “special” qualities of pro-Israel PACs.

Other PACs, established by corporations, trade associations, consumer organizations, and religious or ideological groups, identify their sponsors or purpose in their titles. Not so with pro-Israel PACs, the largest of which are the National PAC, Washington PAC, Hudson Valley PAC, Joint Action Committee for Public Affairs PAC and Desert Caucus PAC, each of which spent more than \$200,000 in the 1988 election cycle.

Of the 124 pro-Israel PACs established since 1976, only six mention the Middle East, Israel, Judaism or Zionism in their titles. Of those, only two were active after 1984. Pro-Israel PACs are therefore unique in that since 1984 virtually all of them have deliberately sought non-descriptive titles to mask their purpose from the American public.

A fourth special feature about pro-Israel PACs is that they are virtually unopposed. Corporate PACs and professional associations usually are countered by consumer and public interest groups. Pro-Israel PACs organized by the American Jewish community, however, outspent the combined forces mustered by Arab Americans and Muslim Americans by 145 to one in the 1988 elections.

Additionally, when a foreign country chooses to lobby Congress, it generally is in pursuit of specific legislation concerning trade agreements, import quotas or technology exports. The foreign government hires an American lawyer, public relations consultant, or both, to make its case, and the legal or public relations firm must formally register as a foreign agent in the United States.

Neither the American Israel Public Affairs Committee nor any of the PACs that follow its guidance have ever registered as a foreign agent, on grounds that the funds they spend originate in the United States. Yet their principal concern is to lobby Congress to maintain or increase U.S. government military and economic assistance to a foreign state, Israel. During the two-year 1988 election cycle, Israel received well over \$6 billion in direct U.S. taxpayer grants, while pro-Israel PACs spent \$5,432,055 on congressional campaigns, a return to Israel of more than \$1,105 in taxpayer grants for every \$1 spent lobbying Congress for such aid.

Another special feature of AIPAC and the pro-Israel PACs is that virtually all of their activities are in opposition to administration and American private sector initiatives supported by the Department of Commerce, the State Department and the Pentagon concerning reduction of impediments to commercial trade with Middle Eastern countries, sales of defensive arms to friendly Arab states, and limiting transfers of military and civilian technology and jobs to Israel. AIPAC and its affiliated PACs are virtually the only PACs in Washington whose successes result in loss of American jobs to overseas competitors, and exposure to danger overseas of American military and diplomatic personnel, and even American businessmen and tourists. This danger results not from U.S. measures in defense of U.S. interests against unfriendly states, but from

U.S. measures in defense of Israeli refusal to negotiate land for peace with its Arab neighbors.

Those are six special features of pro-Israel PACs. This book describes how the American Israel Public Affairs Committee used them to take control of American foreign policy in the Middle East.

Acknowledgments

This book grew out of days, weeks, months and years of thankless and generally unpaid or underpaid work by volunteers, interns, contractors and staff members of the American Educational Trust and its magazine, the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*.

Its genesis was in articles by John Fialka in the *Wall Street Journal* and Edward Roeder of Sunshine News Services, who literally wrote the book on pro-Israel PACs in the 1984 elections, and lists of pro-Israel PACs painstakingly identified and made available to AET by the National Association of Arab Americans.

Additional work was done in 1986 by Common Cause, which published its own list of pro-Israel PACs and their donations early in the cycle; and by Washington attorney and writer Rex Wingerter, on contract to AET, who also reported on the elections for the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. Computer consultant Mary Holmes helped devise the programs by which FEC reports were tabulated in the format used by the *Washington Report*, and subsequently in this book.

In the 1988 election cycle similar work was done for AET by volunteers Sandra Lee Abu El-Haj and Donna Bourne Curtiss, interns Tracy Rose and Jamil Khoury, and staff member Sally Nyhan, who reported on the elections for the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. Rex Wingerter, *Washington Report* congressional correspondent Dennis Wamsted, and *Washington Report* executive director Tom Pfeiffer provided guidance and direction throughout this cycle.

American Educational Trust publications editor Parker L. Payson supervised the production of this book. In 1989 he compared identifications of pro-Israel PACs with all of the organizations named above, and tabulated and verified the FEC filings of 124 pro-Israel PACs established in one or more of seven election cycles covering 14 years. Assistance was provided by Ruth Annick Avera, Ziyad Hopkins, Afshin Molavi, Edward Prados, Oliver Wilcox and Uzra Zeya. *Washington Report* art director Linda Warschoff formatted the manuscript and secured the illustrations.

Volunteer Donna Bourne Curtiss assisted editorial production, prepared the index, and, with *Washington Report* associate editor Janet McMahon, checked both tables and manuscript for editorial style and accuracy.

Mr. Payson compiled the PAC and candidate documentation presented in this book. *Washington Report* editor Richard Curtiss wrote its narrative text. AET President Andrew I. Killgore secured much of the funding that made the years of research that went into this publication possible. Ambassador Killgore has written a foreword describing the legal complaint he, Mr. Curtiss, and five other former U.S. government officials have lodged formally with the Federal Election Commission to halt the abuses the book documents.

Foreword: The Legal Complaint Against AIPAC

By Andrew I. Killgore

"AIPAC is not a political action committee but a public-affairs committee that does not make campaign contributions. But many leaders in the 'Jewish community,' as politically active American Jews refer to themselves, talk freely of the political guidance AIPAC provides to more than eighty pro-Israel PACs set up by Jewish organizations or community groups to raise and funnel campaign funds to friendly candidates. Most pro-Israel PACs have innocuous names like National PAC, Joint Action Committee, Florida Congressional Committee, Hudson Valley PAC or St. Louisans for Better Government. Those pro-Israel PACs donated roughly \$4 million to candidates in 1986, according to Federal Election Commission records."

Hedrick Smith, *The Power Game*, Ballantine Books, 1988

In January, 1988, I was one of seven former U.S. government officials who submitted a complaint to the Federal Election Commission against the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and 27 pro-Israel political action committees (PACs). A press conference was held by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) at the time the complaint was submitted, and there was a brief ripple of interest in the national press.

The interest was based on the substance of the complaint and also on the identities of my fellow complainants. They included former Under Secretary of State George Ball, who also served as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; former U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia James E. Akins; former Congressman from Illinois Paul Findley; former Commander of the U.S. Navy's Middle East Force Robert Hanks; former President Orin Parker of Amideast; and former U.S. Information Agency Chief Inspector Richard Curtiss, the author of this book.

Subsequently, we received acknowledgment from the FEC that it had received our complaint that AIPAC, which lobbies in Washington for Israel, and some or all of the named PACs were violating U.S. election laws.

After submission of the complaint, some of the named PACs reorganized to drop officers who also serve as directors of AIPAC. Very likely AIPAC and the 27 named pro-Israel "stealth PACs" retained separate lawyers to fight their cases. Otherwise the respondents (AIPAC and its PACs) might seem to lend support to our charge that they are illegally colluding to evade the law that limits donations by a special interest PAC to \$10,000 per candidate per election cycle.

An average complaint with the FEC can last two to three years, if the FEC assigns a staff attorney to prepare a "reason to believe" report. Such a report in this case would document charges that the respondents had engaged in "a consistent, long-standing pattern of violating numerous provisions" of the law governing elections.

If such a report is prepared, the next step would be an FEC report to respondents that the General Counsel's office is prepared to recommend, if that is the case, that there is "probable cause to believe" that respondents have violated the law. Investigations looking toward a probable cause to believe can include interrogatories (legal questionnaires) and depositions (sworn testimony). Respondents then have an opportunity to reply. In this case they would have to explain that their similar donation patterns and obvious stealth in concealing from public view the real purpose of the named PACs result from coincidence. Based on responses, a final report goes to the commissioners, who vote on whether there is "probable cause to believe" the law has been violated.

What the FEC calls "conciliation" then begins. This is not as amicable as it sounds. If respondents are found to be violating the law in one or more ways, they will be ordered to stop. This stage can generate the unwelcome publicity that AIPAC and the pro-Israel PACs avoid like the plague.

Like a night flower that blooms in the dark and perishes in the sunlight, AIPAC shuns the spotlight. Boasts by Executive Director Thomas Dine that AIPAC "got" such politicians as congressmen Paul Findley and Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey in 1982, Senator Charles Percy in 1984 and Senator James Abdnor in 1986 are made only behind closed doors to AIPAC members. Nor do 78 presently active pro-Israel PACs have names that suggest in any way their real purposes. The Delaware Valley Political Action Committee and San Franciscans for Good Government Political Action Committee are examples of pro-Israel "stealth PACs," set up to support or try to defeat representatives and senators solely on the basis of whether they vote in Congress in accordance with AIPAC recommendations on Middle East matters.

Not one American in 10,000 understands how successfully the Israel lobby has subverted the American political process to take control of U.S. Middle East policy and provide huge amounts of military and economic aid for Israel. When the television program "60 Minutes" revealed in the fall of 1988 that AIPAC had targeted Republican Senator John Chafee of Rhode Island for defeat, the voters of that state reacted negatively. They decisively defeated his challenger, Lieutenant Governor Richard Licht, a former United Jewish Appeal fundraiser, who had received \$241,600 from deceptively named pro-Israel PACs. Chafee's campaign manager told the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* that it was the public revelation of AIPAC's role that defeated Licht.

Six years of research by the *Washington Report* reveal that since 1978 pro-Israel PACs, whose officers are often past or present members of AIPAC's board of directors, have raised \$30,728,315 and contributed \$16,299,865 directly to campaigns for or against senators and representatives. A great many of those campaigns involved

members of congressional appropriations, armed services, foreign affairs and intelligence committees. This is “dirty money” in that it intimidates congressmen into taking positions that they know are not in the best interests of the United States, and because this is accomplished secretly and concealed from the American people.

Through overlapping board memberships, AIPAC preferences are conveyed almost without a trace to a network of pro-Israel PACs with deceptive names. As a result, the pro-Israel lobby can and frequently does concentrate a quarter of a million dollars or more in PAC donations on a single political campaign, 25 times the amount permitted by law for a single political action committee.

This book, *Stealth PACs*, issued by the American Educational Trust, documents this perversion of U.S. politics, and subversion of hundreds of individual members of Congress, beginning in the electoral cycle of 1976 and going through the cycle of 1988. It is a case study of how to subvert democratic government for the benefit of a special interest. It is my fond hope that our pending complaint with the FEC alleging that AIPAC has broken federal election laws may turn out to be a case study of how to preserve government of the people, by the people and for the people of the United States.

Andrew I. Killgore, a career foreign service officer who was US ambassador to the State of Qatar, is publisher of the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs and president of the American Educational Trust, the publisher of this book. As he notes above, he is one of the complainants in the FEC case discussed in this foreword.

Chapter One

The Road to Hell Is Paved With Good Intentions: Campaign Reform and the 1978 Elections

“Do not pervert justice or show partiality. Do not accept a bribe, for a bribe blinds the eyes of the wise and twists the words of the righteous.” (Deuteronomy 16:19)

“The person who accepts a bribe is not necessarily a criminal who intends to pervert justice. He might be a well-meaning person who is sure he will manage to remain objective and not be swayed by accepting some insignificant gift. Torah warns us, however, that the bribe will work within him like poison: His eyes will lose their clear sight and his sense of equity will be twisted. . . . Bribery undermines a basic foundation of human existence: that there is one humanity and that all humans have the right to stand as equals before the law. It pulls the rug out from under the widow, the orphan and all other defenseless and poor people. Bribery, although transacted in secret, is a flagrant violation of the order of the world entrusted to us.” (From “Torah This Week,” Rabbi Pinchas H. Peli, *Washington Jewish Week*, Aug. 18, 1988)

“The Israel lobby in the United States has found the political erogenous zone of most congressional candidates—money—and applies pressure on that zone very effectively. Because most politicians care very little for either Arabs or Jews, it becomes for them simply a matter of who can contribute the most money to their campaigns.”

Former Senator James G. Abourezk, *Advise and Dissent*, Lawrence Hill Books, 1989

“The lobby can just about tell the President what to do when it comes to Israel. Its influence in Congress is pervasive and, I think, profoundly harmful . . . to us and ultimately to Israel itself.”

Former Senator J. William Fulbright
The Price of Empire, Pantheon Books, 1989

The first appearance of a pro-Israel Political Action Committee (PAC) on the national scene was in 1976. In that year a group founded 20 years earlier and called “Women For” disbursed \$2,450 to five California candidates: John V. Tunney (D-Senate) \$1,500; Anthony C. Beilenson (D-23rd Dist.) \$100; Gary Familian (D-27th Dist.) \$500; George E. Brown (D-36th Dist.) \$100; and Vivian Hall (D-40th Dist.)

\$250.

By the 1978 election cycle, the number of pro-Israel PACs had grown to three, which distributed \$43,475 to 47 candidates. Although it represented a 17-fold increase over pro-Israel PAC activity during the previous election, the impact still was negligible compared to total election contributions by pro-Israel individuals and organizations.

Such direct contributions had, over a 30-year period, played an increasingly important role in the formulation of U.S. Middle East policy. Originally they were largely expressions of support by wealthy Jewish individuals for candidates, mostly for Congress, who expressed concern for Israel. Contributions were supplemented by honoraria, fees paid by Jewish civic or religious groups, for speeches delivered by these same supportive candidates. Together, however, they had a powerful effect, not just on the candidates elected from districts with a large number of Jewish voters, but on representatives from districts anywhere in the United States.

A congressman might be invited to speak at a banquet or luncheon. The invitation might be relayed by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the principal pro-Israel lobbying organization in the national capital. If the congressman indicated he was too busy to prepare a speech, an AIPAC representative might offer to prepare it for him. If the congressman was too busy to deliver the speech, a member of the host organization might offer to do that too. There were times, it appears, that members of Congress were paid for speeches they didn't write and didn't deliver to audiences that may not have assembled at all. The congressman, or a colleague, generally introduced the AIPAC-prepared pro-Israel text into the *Congressional Record*, however, and the speech earned a \$1,000 to \$2,000 honorarium. The congressman pocketed the money, and he or she could mail the speech out at re-election time to remind pro-Israel individuals to send in their personal campaign contributions. The potential for influencing a member of Congress through this potent combination of honoraria and individual donations was tremendous.

Nor, initially, was it difficult for legislators to take pro-Israel positions on Middle East issues that had begun before there was a State of Israel at all, as a continuation of persuasion exerted by members of the U.S. Congress on President Franklin D. Roosevelt and on the British government toward the end of World War II to permit increased Jewish immigration into Palestine.

American Jews, even those who might otherwise have had reservations about the viability of a Jewish state in the Middle East, and of its effect on well-established Jewish communities in the United States, Britain, France, Latin America and in the Middle East itself, were swept into action by a tidal wave of world sympathy for the European Jewish survivors of the Nazi holocaust of World War II. Starting in late 1944 and early 1945, war correspondents had transmitted to the American public shocking photos of what Allied troops sweeping across Europe had found in Hitler's concentration camps. As the carnage was revealed, camp by camp, the world learned that perhaps as many as six million Jewish men, women and children, half of Europe's

pre-war Jewish population, had perished.

When Americans heard that few of the survivors wished to return to their pre-war homes, and that many hoped to join Jews already in Palestine to create a refuge for Jews from persecution anywhere, there were few to oppose the idea. Among those who did, however, were American and British officials with first-hand experience in the Middle East who understood the problems involved in carving a Jewish homeland out of a populated area like Palestine.

The problems had begun in earnest when, in pursuit of their own ends in World War I, the British had made conflicting promises. In correspondence with Sherif Hussein, a descendent of the Prophet Mohammad and guardian of Islam's holiest shrine in Mecca, the British government had promised independence to the Arabs who joined them in driving out the Ottoman Turks, who had ruled the area for 400 years. In the Balfour Declaration of 1917, aimed at securing Jewish political support in the U.S. and elsewhere for their war effort, the British had also promised a Jewish homeland in Palestine, so long as it did not prejudice the rights of the Arab population.

Jewish immigrants, attracted by the Zionist slogan of "land without people for people without land," had been coming into Palestine from Czarist Russia and Eastern Europe since well before World War I. Muslim and Christian Arab inhabitants of what in fact was one of the more fertile and heavily populated areas of the Middle East were forced off land purchased by well-funded Zionist agencies as a condition of its purchase.

Palestinian Arabs felt deeply threatened. Between the wars there were three major rounds of deadly rioting between Arabs and Jews, and from 1936 to 1938 Arab Palestinians were in open revolt against what they perceived as British support for Jewish immigration.

On the eve of World War II, Britain halted that immigration. Some Jewish groups then revolted and continued underground warfare against British forces, even as the latter resisted German incursions into the Middle East from three directions.

Most inhabitants of Palestine, whether Christian, Jewish or Muslim, supported the British war effort, however. At the end of World War II, large contingents who had enlisted for service in Jewish and Arab brigades of the British Army were demobilized. This launched trained soldiers into both sides of the struggle over Jewish immigration. Members of the Jewish brigades, moreover, carefully preserved their military units and ranks, and actively prepared to fight for establishment of a Jewish state.

This was the Middle East tinderbox that confronted America's new president, Harry Truman, who, within six months of succeeding to the presidency upon Roosevelt's death early in 1945, had presided over the surrender of both Germany and Japan, and found American and other Western armies warily face-to-face with Soviet occupiers, or nationalist and communist guerrilla armies, in areas as far apart as Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia, Burma, Greece and Germany.

In a time of unprecedented dislocation abroad, and massive reorientation of the

American economy at home, the new and untried president was pressed by members of Congress and Jewish organizations to support immigration of their co-religionists into Palestine. He in turn pressed the British to permit the immediate entry of an additional 100,000 Jews from Europe into Palestine. Some private Jewish Americans and Jewish members of Congress also warned the British that failure to do so might imperil the American financial aid Britain desperately needed to rebuild its war-shattered economy.

All of the pressures on the President did not come from supporters of a Jewish state, however. The secretary of state assembled American chiefs of diplomatic missions in the Middle East to meet with the president. They warned him to proceed with caution, lest in the short run he touch off a bloodbath in Palestine and surrounding Arab states, and in the long run create animosity against the United States among all the Muslims inhabiting a strategic arc stretching from Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean across North Africa, the Middle East, and Central and Southern Asia as far as the present states of Malaysia and Indonesia on the Pacific rim.

"I am sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism," Truman told his diplomats. "I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents."

It was a choice that set the precedent for virtually every American action in the Middle East for the next two generations. The British acceded to the American request to admit additional Jewish immigrants. At the same time they also announced their intention to wash their hands of a problem they could no longer control by withdrawing from Palestine on May 15, 1948.

This touched off still another domestic political pressure campaign in the U.S. in support of a United Nations resolution to partition the British Mandate of Palestine into two states, one for its Jewish and one for its Arab inhabitants, with Jerusalem to remain under international administration. The ensuing resolution was manifestly unfair in that it gave the Jewish one-third of the population 56.4 percent of the land, less than 6 percent of which was Jewish-owned. This was accomplished by gerrymandering the partition in such a way that the Jewish state would contain 497,000 Arabs, while the Arab state would contain only 10,000 Jews.

By this time, however, Truman was under highly targeted domestic pressure. The Democratic Party candidate had lost in a special 1946 congressional by-election in the Bronx, where 55 percent of the voters were Jewish. Among campaigners for the successful American Labor Party candidate had been Truman's predecessor as vice president, Henry Wallace. He had told voters, "Truman still talks Jewish, but acts Arab."

Clark Clifford, Truman's domestic political adviser, warned him that unless he twisted enough arms to assure passage in the United Nations of the partition plan, Democratic party control of Congress, and his own election in 1948, would be jeopardized.

The U.S. twisted arms in the U.N. in 1947, and adoption of the U.S.-backed plan, which was vehemently opposed by the Arabs, set off the predicted bloodbath. In fact, although there was aggression on both sides, the well-organized Jewish militias were able to take and hold a large number of Arab villages and neighborhoods, particularly on the road linking Jewish-held coastal areas to Jewish neighborhoods in Jerusalem. Arab attacks on Jewish convoys or settlements resulted in some deaths, but they brought about little exchange of land.



General George C. Marshall

Truman now came under pressure from his secretary of state, General George C. Marshall, who had been the highest-ranking U.S. military officer in World War II, to call for postponement of the partition and substitution of a U.N. trusteeship over Palestine. Instead, Clifford, supported by David Niles, a Jewish White House adviser, and leaders from the American Jewish community, persuaded Truman to recognize the new Jewish state only 11 minutes after the British mandate ended and the existence of Israel was proclaimed.

The U.S. recognition of Israel set off a scramble to do the same thing among other states, including the Soviet Union, which recognized Israel only a few hours later. It also set a dangerous example. Never, before or since, has the U.S. recognized a state that had not defined its own boundaries.

The decision not to define the borders of the new Jewish state was made deliberately by David Ben Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, to avoid a confrontation with Israeli hardliners who were not content with the boundaries assigned them by the United Nations. Meanwhile his government and the Haganah—the mainstream Jewish militia from World War II, which now became the Israeli army—were able to confront and halt military units from Iraq, Jordan and Egypt which, on May 15, the day the British left, entered Palestine to supplement Arab volunteers from Syria and Lebanon already backing up the Palestinians.

The newly independent Israelis saw it as an Arab invasion. The Arab states saw it as a rescue operation to halt the rout of the Palestinians. Both versions have gone down as indisputable facts in the two conflicting histories of the conflict. In any case, the Arab military intervention was a disaster for the Palestinians as well as the Arab countries concerned. The failure of the Arab armies even to retrieve many of the areas assigned in the partition plan to the Palestinians, but seized by the Haganah early in 1948, led directly to subsequent nationalist revolutions in Egypt and Iraq, and contributed to later coups in Syria and instability in Lebanon.

By the time an armistice agreement was signed in 1949, Israel occupied 78 percent of Palestine. Jerusalem, instead of being an internationally administered “corpus separatum” as called for under U.N. plans, had been divided between Israeli and Jordanian armies. Recently, convincing evidence of collusion between then King Ab-

dullah of Jordan and Israeli leaders to deprive the Palestinians of their state and leave the Jordanian army in permanent control of the West Bank has been released in Israel. It lends credence to the view that what happened in 1948 in Palestine is the key to understanding the more than 20 years of Middle East upheaval that followed.

After the armistice agreement of 1949, of the areas that escaped Israeli occupation, East Jerusalem and the West Bank remained under Jordanian military occupation, and the Gaza strip under Egyptian occupation. As a result, the Palestinians had no state of their own, the Arab states refused to recognize Israel, and within the U.S. there was little serious opposition to the financial aid Congress voted for Israel each year.

In fact, most of the initial U.S. financial support came to Israel from the American Jewish community in the form of tax-free bonds and donations. Nor, at first, was Israel particularly dependent upon the U.S. for armaments. Because France was engaged in a bitter battle against Algerian rebels, it supplied Israel with armaments for possible use against Egypt and other Arab supporters of the Algerians.

In 1956, however, the U.S. and Israel came into direct confrontation for the first time. Israel had colluded with France and, to a lesser extent, Britain to attack Egypt. The Israeli goal had been to draw Jordan into the fighting and occupy East Jerusalem and the West Bank. The French goal was to end Egyptian support for Algerian independence. The British goal was to reoccupy the Suez Canal, which had been operated by a joint British-French company until it was nationalized by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser.



Dwight D. Eisenhower

Despite the not-coincidental fact that the tri-partite invasion of Egyptian territory was launched only a week before he was scheduled to stand for re-election to a second term, President Dwight Eisenhower shrugged off a barrage of criticism from the organized U.S. Jewish community and a pro-Israel American press and broke up this anachronistic spasm of European gun-boat diplomacy.

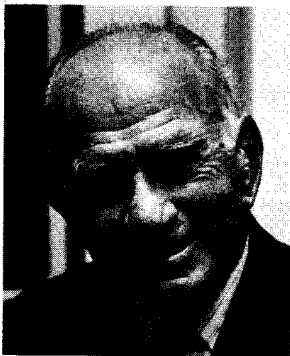
Eisenhower saw the dispute as a possible catalyst for World War III, along with the Soviet suppression of Hungary's brief revolt, which took place while the West was preoccupied with the Suez War. Three months later, when David Ben Gurion ignored demands both from the Soviet Union and from the U.S. that Israeli forces withdraw from the Sinai territory seized from Egypt, the U.S. president threatened to revoke the unique laws that grant exemption from U.S. taxes for any American's contribution to an Israeli tax-exempt institution.

Israeli forces withdrew, but Eisenhower's stand marked the first and last time a U.S. president ever confronted an Israeli government on a major issue without eventually backing down in the face of sustained pro-Israel pressure from Congress, the media and American Jewish organizations and individuals. It also marked the begin-

ning of a sustained pro-Israel political mobilization within mainstream American Jewish organizations to develop their lobbying and funding skills in Congress.

Although Eisenhower was a Republican, and Senator J. William Fulbright was an Arkansas Democrat, the former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has written in his book *The Price of Empire*:

“Eisenhower was the last president to stand up to the Israelis—at a time when the Israel lobby was not nearly as well-organized and as well funded as it is today . . . In effect, he said, ‘If you don’t withdraw we’ll cut off your money.’ He demonstrated, at least at that time, that you could oppose them.”



Senator J. William Fulbright

Fulbright spoke from experience. He had first run afoul of the Israel lobby even before the Suez War when, as chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, he had supported U.S. participation, along with the World Bank, in the building of Egypt’s Aswan Dam. He then became acquainted with Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. He also befriended Zionist leader Nahum Goldman and his son, Guido Goldman. With them, Fulbright became an advocate of the idea that, after making peace with its Arab neighbors, Israel should strive in concert with them to become a scientific and technological center serving the entire Middle East. When

Fulbright sought to expound these ideas in a speech at Tel Aviv University, however, he was picketed and prevented from speaking.

In the 1960s, when he opened a series of hearings on foreign influence buying in Congress, his principal target was a Caribbean state which was believed to have offered bribes to congressmen to increase its sugar quota. Instead, wherever the hearings turned, he found evidence of Israeli tampering with the machinery of American decision making.

“I hadn’t realized before the hearings that the Jewish lobby was so powerful,” Fulbright ruefully admits today. “I wasn’t conscious of what dangerous territory I was in. I didn’t know they were subverting the Congress.”

Fulbright quickly found out. Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, soon to be vice president, warned him, Fulbright recalls, that the hearings were “‘creating all kinds of trouble and must be stopped.’” The senator from Arkansas didn’t stop, however, and incurred the undying enmity of Israel’s American supporters.

It was the beginning of years of problems for Fulbright with *The New York Times* and other national media, and down home political machinations that eventually produced a well-funded Democratic rival, Governor Dale Bumpers, who defeated Fulbright in the Democratic senatorial primary election in 1974. Eisenhower’s resistance to Zionist pressure in 1956, according to Fulbright, only strengthened the resolve of Israel’s partisans to build an impregnable bastion in Congress.

“As a consequence of this,” Fulbright writes, “supporters of Israel mobilized to

create the powerful Israel lobby that exists in this nation today. Under the direction of B'nai B'rith and many other organizations, they have created the most effective political lobbying group in the United States.”

This was increasingly necessary because, after the six-day war of June 1967, divergences between U.S. and Israeli interests became more pronounced. That war started as a crisis between Egypt and Israel over freedom of passage for Israeli ships through the straits of Tiran and into the Gulf of Aqaba to Israel's port of Eilat. Despite an appeal from President Lyndon Johnson to Israel to let the US take the lead in organizing an international naval flotilla to break a threatened Egyptian blockade, Israel launched what it called a pre-emptive strike against Egypt and Syria. Jordan came to the support of its Arab allies by attacking Israeli forces in Jerusalem. After only six days of fighting, Israel again had occupied Sinai to the banks of the Suez Canal and had seized the Golan Heights from Syria. Most significantly, it had accomplished its largest piece of unfinished business from the 1948 war by taking East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan, the long-term goal of such Israeli hawks as David Ben Gurion and his protege, Moshe Dayan.

This seemingly incredible victory marked a high point in world esteem for Israel. Even heretofore skeptical Jewish non-Zionists joined in prayers of thanksgiving for what they saw as the miraculous deliverance of Israel from the Arab enemies they believed had wanted only to push the Israelis into the sea.

In fact, Israel's 1967 triumph also altered the nature of the dispute, and pointed to an eventual way out, acceptable to both sides. The U.S. joined the Western powers and the Soviet Union in passing the British-drafted U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 in November 1967. It called upon Israel to withdraw from “territories seized in the recent conflict” in exchange for Arab acknowledgment of Israel's “right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries.”

After a few months, Arab rhetoric began to adapt itself to this possible solution. Leaders of the major Arab states began limiting their demands to Israeli withdrawal from “occupied Arab lands.” This Arab rhetorical formula signaled a gradual acceptance of Resolution 242's land-for-peace formula by all of the Arab states, including even Syria for a time. It also was briefly accepted by Israel, during the tenure of Prime Minister Golda Meir, and became the basis of U.S. Middle East policy through the administrations of six successive American presidents, from Lyndon Johnson to George Bush.

As moderate leaders gained ascendancy in more and more Arab states, however, the opposite was occurring in Israel. Sentiment to keep the “occupied territories” rather than exchange them for the long-awaited peace with Israel's neighbors was growing.

It put pro-Israel influence in Congress to increasingly difficult tests as first the Richard Nixon administration, and then the Gerald Ford administration increasingly perceived Israeli rather than Arab intransigence as the principal obstacle to peace.

A land-for-peace plan was advanced by Secretary of State William Rogers early in the first Nixon term. When, after first denouncing it, Egypt moved to accept the "Rogers Plan," Nixon's pro-Israel National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger,



*Secretary of State
William Rogers*

engineered its withdrawal during the first Nixon term and, during the second term, his own assumption of Rogers' position. From those vantage points, he ignored increasingly insistent overtures from Egypt's new president, Anwar Sadat, for peace negotiations.

The result was a fourth Middle East war in 1973 in which Israel was almost overrun by what Egypt and Syria had planned as a limited attack only into their own territories lost in 1967. The air lift of American equipment and ammunition that saved Israel was unprecedented in size. It deeply strained relations between the U.S. and its allies in Europe. Before it was over, it also brought the U.S. and the Soviet Union

to the brink of nuclear confrontation.

The war had been ended with a Kissinger-drafted U.N. cease-fire resolution co-sponsored by the US and the USSR. The Arabs accepted it and so did Israel, but for days afterward Israeli forces under General Ariel Sharon continued to advance behind Egyptian lines, severing all supply lines to Egyptian forces in Sinai. The Soviets threatened to send their own forces, with or without U.S. participation, into Egypt to force Israeli compliance with the cease-fire.



*Secretary of State
Henry Kissinger*

It was an example of the Israeli tactics that were gradually turning Israel, after 1967, into an international pariah, totally dependent upon the U.S. not only for massive financial support, but also for its military supplies, all of which had to be approved by Congress.

When Anwar Sadat made it clear that he was ready to accept a peace based upon Resolution 242 that hardliners in Israel would not, new American President Gerald Ford called for a moratorium on U.S. aid to Israel while the administration "reassessed" its Middle East policy. Seventy-three U.S. senators signed a letter protesting the reassessment, pulling the rug out from under the administration's Middle East strategy.

It was a raw and shocking demonstration of the Israel lobby's hold on Congress. It also ran contrary to polls of American opinion at the time, and even the privately expressed opinions of many of the senators who had signed the letter. Just as Israel's 1967 victory in war marked a high-water mark, and the beginning of a gradual decline in international support for the Jewish state, the May 1975 Senate letter may have revealed for the first time the manner in which Israel's American lobby had, through Congress, begun to assume control over American Middle East policy.

Reining in Special Interests

Such demonstrations of congressional actions out of step both with administration policy and with public opinion were by no means limited to U.S. foreign policy. The growing power of lobbyists of many kinds prompted calls for campaign finance reform.

The resulting laws were well-intentioned. Members of the House of Representatives were barred from retaining honoraria for speeches and articles totaling more than 30 percent of their salaries. Senators were barred from retaining more than 40 percent.

Similarly, individuals were barred from contributing more than \$1,000 to a single candidate in an election, and more than a total of \$25,000 to all candidates per election. These measures were not aimed specifically at Israel's growing influence in Congress. At first, however, it appeared that they might considerably reduce the means available to the pro-Israel community to keep Congress in line. It was just that kind of challenge, to special interests in many fields, that led to the creation of Political Action Committees (PACs).

Chart I. 1978 Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Alabama	S		Stewart, Donald W*	D	1000	100	C	
Alaska	S		Heflin, Howell T*	D	1000	100	O	
Arizona	S		Stevens, Ted*	R	500	100	I	A, D
California	H	02	Udall, Morris K	D	500	0	I	
	H	27	Peck, Carey	D	125	0	C	
Connecticut	H	03	Giaimo, Robert N	D	500	100	I	A, D, I†
Delaware	S		Biden, Joseph R Jr*	D	2000	100	I	FR, I
Georgia	S		Nunn, Sam A Jr*	D	500	100	I	AS
	H	05	Fowler, Wyche Jr	D	500	100	I	FA
Idaho	H	01	Truby, Roy	D	500	100	C	
	H	02	Kress, Stanley R	D	1000	50	C	
Illinois	S		Seith, Alex R*	D	1000	100	C	
	H	03	Russo, Martin A	D	500	100	I	
Indiana	H	10	Mikva, Abner J	D	500	100	I	
Iowa	H	03	Brademas, John	D	500	100	I	FR
Kansas	S		Clark, Dick*	D	2000	100	I	
Massachusetts	H		Roy, William R	D	1000	100	O	
	S		Brooke, Edward W*	R	1000	100	I	A, D
	H	06	Mavroules, Nicholas	D	500	100	O	
Michigan	S		Griffin, Robert P*	R	1000	0	I	FR, NE
	S		Levin, Carl*	D	1000	100	C	
	H	03	Wolpe, Howard	D	1000	100	C	
Minnesota	S		Anderson, Wendell R*	DFL	1000	100	I	AS
	S		Boschwitz, Rudolph E*	I-R	1000	100	C	

KEY: * = Senate election year, \$ = the amount of pro-Israel PAC money received by each candidate by year of Federal Election Commission filings. In some cases, the filing year is not the same as the election year. **Party:** D = Democrat, R = Republican, I-R = Independent Republican, DFL = Democratic Farmer Labor, L = Libertarian; % Out of State = percentage of pro-Israel PAC money coming from sources outside of candidate's home state; **Running Status:** I = Incumbent, C = Challenger, O = Open; **Committees:** A—Appropriations (D—Defense Subcommittee), AS—Armed Services, FA—Foreign Affairs (ME—Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee), FR—Foreign Relations (NE—Near East and South Asia Subcommittee), I—Intelligence, †—House Select Committee on Intelligence.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Montana	S		Baucus, Max*	D	1000	100	C	A
	H	01	Williams, Pat	D	1000	100	O	
Nebraska	S		Exon, James J*	D	1000	100	O	
New Hampshire	S		McIntyre, Thomas J*	D	1000	100	I	AS
New Jersey	S		Bradley, Bill*	D	500	100	C	
New Mexico	S		Domenici, Pete V*	R	100	100	I	
New York	S		Moynihan, Daniel P	D	500	100	I	I
Ohio	H	02	Luken, Thomas A	D	500	100	I	
	H	12	Baumann, James L	D	500	100	C	
Oklahoma	H	01	Jones, James R	D	500	100	I	
Pennsylvania	H	24	Marks, Marc L	R	1000	100	I	
Rhode Island	S		Pell, Claiborne*	D	4500	100	I	FR
South Carolina	S		Ravenel, Charles D*	D	2000	100	C	
Tennessee	S		Baker, Howard H*	R	500	100	I	FR, NE, I
	S		Eskind, Jane*	D	250	100	C	
	H	05	Boner, Bill	D	500	100	O	
Texas	S		Krueger, Robert*	D	2000	100	C	
	H	24	Frost, Martin	D	500	100	C	
Virginia	S		Miller, Andrew P*	D	2000	100	O	
Washington	H	05	Foley, Thomas S	D	500	100	I	
Wisconsin	H	01	Aspin, Les	D	500	100	I	AS, I†
Wyoming	S		Simpson, Alan K*	R	500	100	O	

Chapter 2

Mighty Oaks From Little Acorns Grow: Targeting a Congressman in the 1980 Elections

"It is about time that Jews used more of their political energies and resources to sustain the principle that a secure Israel serves American interests. With the Congress being called upon to approve increased aid levels for Israel at a time of huge budget deficits, American Jews have to shoulder almost all of the burden of lobbying the Congress on this issue as well as others directly relating to Israel's security." Former AIPAC Director Morris Amitay, founder of Washington PAC, quoted in *Washington Jewish Week*, March 21, 1985

"When I ran for re-election in 1980, I was asked a question about peace in the Middle East, and I said if we were going to have peace in the Middle East we members of Congress were going to have to stand up to our Jewish constituents and respectfully disagree with them on Israel. Well, the next day the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith accused me of fomenting anti-Semitism, saying that my remarks were patently anti-Semitic."

Representative Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey (R-CA)

By 1980 there were 10 pro-Israel PACs. They made 208 contributions, totaling \$414,400, to 107 Congressional candidates. It was still a pittance, but increasingly the manner in which they could influence elections was becoming clear. An individual could give \$1,000 to a candidate in each election. In practice this meant he could give his candidate \$1,000 for a primary election and another \$1,000 for a general election, for a total of \$2,000 in each election cycle. A spouse could do the same. Like-minded relatives, friends or obedient employees could further multiply the individual's influence.

In this manner, pro-Israel candidates in heavily Jewish metropolitan areas like New York, adjacent areas of New Jersey, Philadelphia, Miami and Los Angeles could still be provided sufficient funding by individual donors to ensure their elections. It had long been obvious that candidates critical of Israel need not apply in such areas.

But there are 50 states, most with few Jewish residents. And in some areas, particularly in the Midwest, Rocky Mountain states, and Far West outside Los Angeles, Jewish residents tend to be less concerned with strictly Jewish issues. How, as the congress-

sional role in supporting Israel became increasingly critical, could AIPAC, Israel's American lobby, ensure the continued cooperation of senators and representatives from such areas with both the honoraria system and the influence of individual local "fat cats" curtailed?

Here the unique value of political action committees gradually became apparent. AIPAC could raise its money in Los Angeles, New York or Philadelphia, but it didn't have to spend it there. A Jewish congressman representing one of those prosperous, heavily Jewish constituencies could even set up his own PAC, raise money far beyond his own campaign needs, and then dole it out to pro-Israel candidates in trouble in the South, Midwest or Far West.

One of the first professional lobbyists for Israel to realize this was Morris Amitay, executive director of AIPAC. Criticized for his abrasive and heavy-handed lobbying for Israel, he resigned from AIPAC in the spring of 1980, and shortly reappeared as director of Washington PAC, one of the first, and still one of the largest, pro-Israel PACs. A PAC could contribute \$5,000 per candidate per election, meaning \$10,000 in the same year to the same recipient. If, instead of organizing just one PAC as some trade associations or companies did, the pro-Israel community could organize a multiplicity of PACs, there was virtually no limit on the support that could be brought to bear on behalf of one candidate.

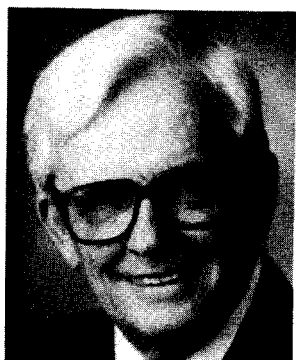
Suppose all 12 pro-Israel PACs in existence in 1980 each contributed \$10,000 to one candidate in a tight race? The resulting \$120,000 might seem like small change in Los Angeles or New York. When applied to the purchase of television time, newspaper advertisements or billboards in South Dakota, Idaho, Kansas or North Carolina, however, it could help secure re-election of any candidate who had a good voting record on aid to Israel.

Could it also unseat a popular candidate in a Midwestern district who had a "bad" record on Israel? That was what the pro-Israel community set out to determine in the 1980 elections. The test took place in a southern Illinois constituency which included areas once represented in Congress by Abraham Lincoln.

By 1980 the district had been represented for 20 years by Paul Findley, who, after serving as a Navy officer in World War II, had married a Navy nurse he courted on Guam and returned to Illinois to edit and publish local newspapers. It was a natural jump from informing his home district via the press to representing it in Congress. Findley was elected in 1960 on the same Republican ticket as his distinguished predecessor of a century earlier, and found time between successful election campaigns to write a highly acclaimed biography of that predecessor, Abraham Lincoln.

In 1973 a peculiar thing happened to one of Paul Findley's constituents, a young man who had been teaching in an American school in Kuwait for the children of American geologists, businessmen and diplomats. The 23-year-old teacher and two colleagues had traveled during a school break to visit the wild animal parks of Kenya. On the way back, their commercial airliner developed mechanical problems and made

an unscheduled landing in Aden, the South Yemeni capital.



Congressman Paul Findley

Aden was once a busy British-ruled coaling stop for ships traveling between Europe and Asia via the Suez Canal. The British had established themselves there, while the adjacent mountainous Yemeni areas to the north remained remote and independent. Then, in the second half of the 20th century, Aden had become an isolated backwater. When the British withdrew, under pressure from Soviet-backed Yemeni nationalists, they were replaced by the self-proclaimed "People's Democratic Republic of Yemen" (PDRY). The new rulers nationalized all businesses, inspiring an immediate exodus of the new state's entire entrepreneurial class, with its savings, to adjacent North Yemen, which became increasingly prosperous. Soon PDRY's major import was Soviet and East German security experts, and its only visible export seemed to be trained revolutionaries headed for nearby Oman, North Yemen and Saudi Arabia. The U.S. and PDRY had broken diplomatic relations shortly after they were established in 1967. An American citizen who dealt in rare coins had subsequently ventured into Aden and disappeared without a trace.

Paul Findley's young constituent and his companions knew none of this as they were driven into the darkened city to spend the night in a decaying hotel while mechanics worked to get their aircraft in shape for departure the next morning. Rising early, the teacher from Illinois walked out of his hotel to take some photographs and vanished, like the coin dealer before him.

Upon reaching Kuwait, his companions reported his disappearance to the American Embassy, which notified his family. His mother turned to her congressman for help. Findley went to the State Department, expecting the diplomats to take up the matter with the government of South Yemen. That was not so easy, however, in the case of a country with which the US had no diplomatic relations.

Findley, whose directness owes much to Abraham Lincoln and the state that shaped them both, soon found himself at the PDRY mission to the United Nations. When diplomats there said they could do nothing, Findley asked for a visa to go to South Yemen to discuss what had by then turned into accusations of espionage against the American teacher. Findley approached his trip just as Lincoln might have. He discussed the matter thoroughly with State Department Middle East experts, and in the Middle East he sought the advice and good offices of Arab leaders he considered likely to have influence with his constituent's captors, including Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

Although Findley took food and mail for his constituent to Aden, to their mutual surprise the prisoner was released into his custody. By mid-afternoon of the same day, the two were being interviewed by the world press in Beirut, 1,000 miles to the north.

The effectiveness of Findley's Midwestern approach to Mideastern diplomacy

caught the attention of the international media. People at the State Department were highly interested in Findley's impressions of Al-Assad and the reclusive and mysterious South Yemeni leaders. So were many of his congressional colleagues.

As Findley continued to speak out on Middle Eastern matters, and revisit the State Department and the Middle East, however, he also attracted the attention of Israel's formidable Washington lobby. His district, the lobby decided, needed a new representative in Congress.

At AIPAC direction, Jewish donors collected funds for a Republican challenger for the primaries, whom Findley defeated. Then money and student "volunteers" poured into his district to work in the general election for his Democratic opponent, who also lost. Findley was re-elected in 1980, although the onslaught caused his margin to drop to 53 percent, down 17 points from the high mark of 70 percent he had chalked up in 1978. This margin would disappear completely in the election two years later. At the time, however, Findley viewed his 1980 victory as cause for rejoicing. It demonstrated that it isn't a casual matter for Washington lobbyists to defeat popular incumbents in places like Illinois, where the voters take the trouble to get to know their representatives in Congress.

Nor is it easy to defeat charismatic and media-wise congressmen like Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey of California, whose criticisms of Israel during his 1980 re-election campaign shocked AIPAC strategists. He easily won re-election, however, on the basis of his record and his obvious potential in a state that prides itself on developing presidential candidates.

The reason for AIPAC's growing concern about individual congressional critics from Illinois and California wasn't hard to understand. Problems were developing in American support for Israel. Current political wisdom had it by then that a second-term president from the Republican Party, which was far less dependent upon Jewish donations than was the Democratic Party, would be more likely to "impose" a land-for-peace settlement on Israel and the Arabs.

Richard Nixon, who had armed Israel to the teeth during his first term and then, in 1973, during the first year of his second term, saved it from military defeat, clearly had plans for an active second-term Middle East peace policy. To Israel's watchful friends in Washington, it appeared that he planned to turn to the Jewish state and insist that, with its security against all comers ensured, it was time for it to make peace with its Arab neighbors.

Nixon's second-term plan was thwarted, however, by the politically debilitating Watergate revelations and the ubiquitous Henry Kissinger, who in his memoirs has made it abundantly clear that his own Middle East agenda differed from Nixon's.

Was there a connection between the Watergate revelations and Nixon's second term plans for the Middle East? All Arab leaders think so, but only then-*Washington Post* Editor Howard Simon, his investigative reporters Robert Woodward and Carl Bernstein, and their White House source or sources, collectively labeled "deep throat,"

know for sure. All three of the *Washington Post* staffers, who almost single-handedly kept "Watergate" alive with their published "leaks" from inside the White House, had ties with Israel or its Washington lobby.

Whatever the truth of the matter, it is clear that at the time Nixon suspected his fall was connected to Jewish or pro-Israel insiders seeking to thwart his Middle East peace plans. Kissinger notes in his memoirs that Nixon's last order before his resignation in 1974 enjoined his secretary of state to work for a complete cutoff of U.S. aid for Israel. Kissinger put the Nixon memorandum aside and did nothing about it during the two more years he remained as secretary of state under President Gerald Ford.

Because Ford had been deeply engaged in Middle East peace efforts from his first month in office, and had developed a deep respect for Anwar Sadat, the Israel lobby worked hard to prevent Gerald Ford's election to a term of his own in 1976.

Then it became equally concerned about Jimmy Carter, who came into office with a burning determination to bring about peace in the Middle East, based upon his deep religiosity. With his wife, Rosalyn, and his future press secretary, Jody Powell, Carter had invested some time before his presidency driving personally through Israel and the occupied territories. He came into office with a clear understanding of what had to be done to secure a lasting peace there.

Unfortunately for Carter, however, in 1977, after 29 years of unbroken rule by various components of the present-day Israeli Labor Coalition, power passed to Menachem Begin. Begin's Herut party, the major component of the present-day Likud bloc, carried on the traditions of the extremist Jewish "Revisionists," who had fought the bitter and bloody pre-independence underground war against both the British and the Arabs.

Begin had been the leader of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, a Revisionist terrorist group that had blown up the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, executed two British sergeants in reprisal for executions of Jewish terrorists, and, together with the Stern Gang, carried out the April 1948 massacre of men, women and children in the Arab village of Deir Yassin. That massacre was credited with panicking the residents of dozens of other Palestinian Arab villages into fleeing their homes.

Begin's subsequent political mystique was based upon his role in "cleansing the land" of its Palestinian inhabitants. He had dedicated his life to the dream of "greater Israel," a concept that barred any land-for-peace settlement.

Carter's first move had been a joint call with the Soviet Union for an international peace conference under UN auspices to negotiate a peace based upon UN Security Council Resolution 242. It prompted a tremendous outburst of AIPAC-orchestrated media and congressional criticism. Ironically, however, it was not the domestic Jewish opposition to the international conference, but Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem that moved the spotlight from the proposed multilateral conference to bilateral Egyptian-Israeli negotiations.

Undeterred, Carter cajoled a willing Sadat and an unwilling Menachem Begin into

a 13-day negotiation at Camp David. They emerged with a “framework for peace” between Israel and Egypt on the one hand, and between Israel and the Palestinians on the other. Sadat, reluctant to violate a pledge among the Arab states against making a separate peace with Israel, had signed only on Carter’s solemn promise that he would secure for the Palestinians the same peace terms he had secured for the Egyptians, and that Israeli settlement activities on Palestinian lands would be frozen until those peace negotiations were completed.

“If you give me this statement, I will stick with you to the end,” Sadat had solemnly told Carter. But only one day after the three came down from Camp David to be photographed together at the White House, Begin had made a speech in New York that seemed to renege on parts of the agreement, particularly on the pledge Carter said Begin had made to freeze the settlements. Three months later, work on settlements resumed. As for the pledge, Begin and Carter each said the other was mistaken.

With Israel’s prime minister and the U.S. president now publicly disagreeing upon what had been promised at Camp David, Israel’s lobby needed all the support it could muster in Congress to keep the essential U.S. military and economic aid flowing to the Jewish state.

It was helped immeasurably by the seizure of the American Embassy staff in Tehran by supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini, which diverted Carter’s attention and turned American public perceptions of his role in the Middle East from winner to loser. Senator Edward Kennedy then mounted a determined effort to wrest the Democratic nomination away from Carter in the 1980 primaries. Part of Kennedy’s strategy was to accuse Carter of being too tough on Israel and thus win the New York primary. Kennedy won the primary, but not the nomination. The sequence of events, however, persuaded Carter to defer further pressure on Israel while he campaigned. He abandoned his hopes of producing tangible progress toward an overall Middle East settlement before the general elections in the fall.

It was no coincidence that there was a massive shift of traditionally pro-Democratic Jewish votes away from Carter in 1980. Many who could not persuade themselves to vote for Republican Ronald Reagan instead backed third party candidate John Anderson. Despite this, the Middle East issue that had the most effect on Carter’s defeat was not his pressure on Menachem Begin’s Israeli government, but his seeming inability to deal with the Khomeini government’s unwillingness to release the hostages in the American Embassy in Tehran.

This spurred AIPAC and the 30-odd Jewish organizations represented on its board of directors to increase their efforts in Congress, which they now perceived as the last redoubt of pro-Israeli influence should the incoming Reagan administration decide to pursue its own goals in the Middle East as actively as had Carter.

As AIPAC and some of the other major components of the Israel lobby in America studied their failed effort against Findley in Illinois, and McCloskey’s heretical remarks in California, both were targeted for defeat in the 1982 elections, by fair means or foul.

Chart II. 1980 Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Alabama	S		Stewart, Donald W	D	11,500	100	I	
	H	06	Buchanan, John H	R	2,000	100	I	FA
Arizona	S		Schulz, William R	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	02	Udall, Morris K	D	2,750	100	I	
California	S		Cranston, Alan ^{*1}	D	8,300	100	I	
	H	01	Johnson, Harold T	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	07	Miller, George III ²	D	643	0	I	
	H	11	Lantos, Thomas P	D	4,250	100	I	
	H	11	Holsinger, G W (Joe)	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	21	Corman, James C ³	D	6,509	21	I	
	H	24	Waxman, Henry A	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	27	Peck, Carey ⁴	D	1,224	92	C	
	H	28	Dixon, Julian C	D	1,000	100	I	A
	H	31	Dymally, Mervyn ⁵	D	853	0	C	
	H	32	Anderson, Glenn ⁶	D	1,428	0	I	
	H	34	Lynch, Ivan E ⁷	D	558	0	C	
	H	35	Lloyd, Jim ⁸	D	2,435	100	I	AS
Colorado	H	41	Wilson, Bob	D	1,000	100	O	AS
	S		Hart, Gary W [*]	D	10,750	100	I	AS
Connecticut	H	02	Wirth, Timothy E	D	5,000	100	I	
	S		Dodd, Christopher J [*]	D	13,000	100	O	
	H	02	Gejdenson, Samuel	D	250	100	O	
	H	03	Lieberman, Joseph	D	500	100	O	

KEY: * = Senate election year; \$ = the amount of pro-Israel PAC money received by each candidate by year of Federal Election Commission filings. In some cases, the filing year is not the same as the election year; **Party:** D = Democrat, R = Republican, I-R = Independent Republican, DFL = Democratic Farmer Labor, L = Libertarian; % **Out of State** = percentage of pro-Israel PAC money coming from sources outside of candidate's home state; **Running Status:** I = Incumbent, C = Challenger, O = Open; **Committees:** A = Appropriations (D—Defense Subcommittee), AS = Armed Services, FA = Foreign Affairs (ME—Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee), FR = Foreign Relations (NE—Near East and South Asia Subcommittee), I = Intelligence, ↑ = House Select Committee on Intelligence.

¹\$800 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.
²\$643 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.
³\$459 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.
⁴\$24 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.
⁵\$853 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.
⁶\$428 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.
⁷\$558 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.
⁸\$435 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Delaware Florida	S		Biden, Joseph R Jr	D	500	100	I	FR, I
	S		Stone, Dick	D	32,500	99	I	FR, NE
	S		Hawkins, Paula*	R	5,000	0	C	
	H	01	Hutto, Earl Dewitt	D	2,000	50	I	
	H	02	Fuqua, Don	D	2,000	0	I	
	H	05	Best, David R	D	1,000	0	C	
	H	05	McCollum, Bill	R	2,500	20	C	
	H	07	Gibbons, Sam M	D	2,000	0	I	
	H	08	Ireland, Andy	D	2,000	0	I	FA
	H	09	Nelson, Bill*	D	2,000	50	I	
Georgia Hawaii Idaho	H	11	Mica, Daniel Andrew	D	3,000	67	I	FA
	H	11	Coogler, Monroe A Jr	R	1,000	0	C	
	H	12	Becker, Alan S	D	5,500	82	C	
	H	12	Shaw, Eugene Clay Jr	R	2,000	50	C	
	H	13	Lehman, William M	D	1250	20	I	A
	H	15	Fascell, Dante B	D	1,000	0	I	FA
	S		Talmadge, Herman*	D	2,500	100	I	
	S		Inouye, Daniel K*	D	8,500	100	I	A, D, I
	S		Church, Frank*	D	24,500	100	I	FR
	H	01	Nichols, Glenn W	D	1,000	100	O	
Illinois	S		Dixon, Alan J*	D	3,000	100	O	
	H	09	Yates, Sidney R	D	500	100	I	A
	H	10	Porter, John Edward	R	1,000	0	I	
	H	20	Nuessen, C David	R	6,000	100	C	
	H	20	Robinson, David I	D	12,500	100	C	
	S		Bayh, Birch E Jr*	D	23,500	100	I	A, I
Indiana	S		Quayle, Dan*	R	1,000	100	C	FA
	H	03	Brademas, John	D	2,500	100	I	
	H	11	Suess, Sheila S	R	5,500	100	C	
	S		Culver, John C*	D	2,500	100	I	AS
Iowa	S		Grassley, Charles E*	R	1,000	100	C	
	H	03	Cutler, Lynn	D	3,000	100	O	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Kansas	S		Dole, Robert J*	R	8,500	100	I	
Kentucky	H	03	Winn, Larry Jr	R	1,500	100	I	FA, ME
Maryland	S		Ford, Wendell H*	D	1,000	100	I	
	S		Mathias, Charles Jr*	R	1,000	100	I	A
	H	02	Long, Clarence D	D	5,000	100	I	A
Massachusetts	H	08	Barnes, Michael D	D	3,500	100	I	FA, ME
Michigan	H	01	Conte, Silvio O	R	1,000	100	I	A
	S		Riegle, Donald W Jr	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	03	Wolpe, Howard E	D	11,000	100	I	FA
	H	10	Allen, Richard J	D	2,500	100	I	
	H	14	Hertel, Dennis M	R	1,000	100	C	
Minnesota	S		Boschwitz, Rudolph	D	1,500	100	O	
Missouri	S		Eagleton, Thomas F*	I-R	5,000	100	I	
	H	05	Bolling, Richard	D	500	100	I	A, D
Nebraska	H	10	Burlison, Bill D	D	1,500	100	I	
New Hampshire	H	02	Fellman, Richard M	D	1,000	100	I	A, D, I
New Jersey	S		Durkin, John A	D	16,500	100	O	
New York	H	07	Maguire, Andrew	D	5,000	100	I	A
	S		Holtzman, Elizabeth	D	200	100	I	
	H	02	Downey, Thomas J	D	2,000	100	C	
	H	03	Ambro, Jerome A	D	2,000	100	I	
	H	18	Green, Mark J	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	23	Peyser, Peter A	D	250	100	C	
	H	27	McHugh, Matthew F	D	4,000	100	I	A
North Carolina	S		Morgan, Robert B	D	1,000	100	I	
North Dakota	S		Andrews, Mark	R	4,000	100	I	A
	H	00	Dorgan, Byron L	D	2,500	100	O	
Ohio	S		Glenn, John	D	1,000	100	O	
	H	02	Luken, Thomas A	D	5,000	100	I	FR
	H	03	Hall, Tony P	D	3,500	100	I	
	H	19	Williams, Lyle	D	1,000	100	I	FA
	H	22	Eckart, Dennis E	R	3,000	100	I	
				D		100	O	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Oregon	S		Packwood, Bob	R	12,500	100	I	
	H	03	Wyden, Ronald L	D	500	100	C	
	H	04	Weaver, James	D	1,000	100	I	
Pennsylvania	S		Flaherty, Pete	D	1,500	100	O	
	S		Specter, Arlen	R	4,000	100	O	
	H	07	Edgar, Robert W	D	3,000	100	I	
	H	08	Kostmayer, Peter H	D	2,000	100	I	
	H	11	Mitchell, Ed	D	500	100	C	
	H	15	Reibman, Jeanette F	D	500	100	C	
South Carolina	S		Hollings, E Fritz	D	1,000	100	I	A, D
South Dakota	S		McGovern, George	D	500	100	I	FR, NE
Texas	H	08	Eckhardt, Robert	D	5,000	100	I	
Vermont	S		Leahy, Patrick J	D	17,500	100	I	A, D
Virginia	H	08	Harris, Herbert E II	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	10	Fisher, Joseph J	D	1,000	100	I	
Washington	S		Magnuson, Warren G	D	2,000	100	I	A, D
	H	05	Foley, Thomas S	D	250	100	I	
	H	06	Dicks, Norman D	D	500	100	I	A, D
Wisconsin	S		Kasten, Robert W Jr	R	2,500	100	I	
	S		Nelson, Gaylord A	D	9,500	100	I	
Presidential	P		Baker, Howard H	R	2,000	NA	NA	
	P		Carter, Jimmy	D	1,000	NA	NA	
	P		Dole, Robert J*	R	2,000	NA	NA	
	P		Kennedy, Edward M ⁹	D	5,300	NA	NA	
	P		Reagan, Ronald	R	1,000	NA	NA	

⁹\$800 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

Chapter 3

Going for the Jugular: First Blood in California and Illinois in the 1982 Elections

“The sale of Airborne Warning and Control System planes, known as AWACS, represented a stinging defeat for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the unchallenged leader among the groups that constitute the pro-Israel lobby. But like the kid who has sand kicked in his face, AIPAC decided to develop new muscle. It was shocked but energized by the defeat.”

Robert Gentile, Newhouse News Service, Oct. 2, 1988

“In 1982, Illinois Rep. Paul Findley, then the ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee that earmarked aid to Israel, angered Jewish groups by occasionally championing pro-Palestinian causes. He was defeated after his politically little-known opponent received \$104,325 from 31 Jewish PACs.”

John Fialka and Brooks Jackson
Wall Street Journal, Feb. 26, 1985

“In 1982 James Thompson, the governor of Illinois, received sustained support from the Chicago Jewish community, presumably because his opponent, Adlai Stevenson III, had made a number of anti-AIPAC votes in the Senate. The fact that Thompson had nothing to do with the Middle East wasn't seen as relevant by either Dine or AIPAC's supporters.”

Eric Alterman, *Regardie's*, March 1988

“Thomas Dine, AIPAC's executive director, told the organization's 24th annual policy conference . . . the committee could take some credit for winning record high levels of aid for Israel and for the electoral defeats of Congressmen Adlai Stevenson and Paul Findley.”

Middle East magazine article “Secret Strategy of the Israeli Lobby,” December, 1983

Pro-Israel PACs had quadrupled going into the 1982 election cycle, from 10 in 1980 to 40, and the amount they donated to candidates more than quadrupled, from \$414,400 to \$2,027,200. They established the pattern followed ever since of concentrating their efforts on supporting friendly members of the committees most important to Israel, and replacing unfriendly members of those committees. These were the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate and the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House; Appropria-

tions Committees in both houses with special concentration on foreign operations; and Armed Services and Intelligence.

The principal issue was foreign aid. It was the job of AIPAC, Israel's Washington lobby, to make sure that the total foreign aid appropriation was as large as possible so that friendly committee members would have a big pot from which to ladle Israel's ever-increasing share. Here it wasn't difficult to build coalition support. It was conventional Washington wisdom that, although Israel was already getting more than a quarter of U.S. aid round the globe, there might be no foreign aid program at all without the tremendous support provided for it by Israel's friends in Congress. Instead of competing with Israel's lobbyists, advocates for Third World countries in need generally climbed on the same bandwagon.

AIPAC's other issue was to block as many sales of U.S. weapons to Arab countries as possible. This issue was touchier. Major American companies already blamed the pro-Israel establishment in the United States for the loss of billions of dollars in American sales in the Middle East. This was the result of the strict laws against cooperation with the Arab boycott of Israel passed by Congress after tense and lengthy negotiations arranged by the Department of Commerce in the late 1970s between representatives of B'nai B'rith, representing Israeli interests, and the Business Roundtable, representing American industry.

Now AIPAC had gone further than influencing the laws governing U.S. trade in the Middle East. The Israel lobby was intervening directly to stop specific military sales to such countries as Saudi Arabia and the other friendly and oil-rich Arab states of the Gulf. It was a loss not only to the American contractors involved, but also to American labor, traditionally a key player in the pro-Israel establishment in the United States, and a major investor, through union pension funds, in Israel bonds for many years.

Twice, in 1977 and again in 1981, Congress overrode strong Israel lobby campaigns against such arms sales to Arab states. In the first case, after the Carter administration tucked arms sales to Israel into the same package as arms sales to Jordan and Egypt, the Israeli government sent out mixed signals. As a result, AIPAC first supported and then opposed the sales. Nevertheless, the sales were approved.

In 1981, however, AIPAC went all-out to oppose a multi-billion dollar contract to sell airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft to Saudi Arabia. The deal also involved the basing of U.S. AWACS aircraft in Saudi Arabia for an interim period, both to protect the Arab states of the Gulf from possible Iranian incursions and to train Saudi airmen while the Saudi aircraft were being built. President Reagan made support for the sale a matter of Republican party discipline, and a coalition of contractors and subcontractors, representing nearly every state in the union, lobbied Congress on behalf of the sale. A vote to block the sale failed by a narrow margin in the Senate, leaving bruised feelings on both sides.

AIPAC only strengthened its policy of making positive votes on foreign aid and

negative votes on arms sales to Arab states the "litmus test" a congressman must pass in order to secure campaign donations from pro-Israel PACs and individuals. Two candidates who wouldn't pass that litmus test were targeted for defeat in 1982 by AIPAC, which by now could deploy a large number of individual donors who followed its recommendations, and a growing array of PACs to carry out its wishes.

Representative Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey was potential presidential material, and the thought was anathema to leaders of major Jewish organizations across the United States. He had repeatedly expressed his opinion that, if an incumbent administration couldn't keep the Israel lobby from blocking its Middle East policies, it was time to take the issue to the people. He demonstrated how this could be done by introducing in Congress a short-lived measure to reduce U.S. economic aid to Israel by whatever amount Israel continued to spend on Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza.

Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter had all at one time or another called the settlements both illegal and an obstacle to peace. The problem grew rapidly after Menachem Begin's Likud bloc assumed power and the Israeli government began encouraging and financing Jewish settlements in these Arab territories instead of dragging its feet as had Labor Coalition governments.



*Congressman Paul N.
(Pete) McCloskey*

Clearly, from AIPAC's viewpoint, McCloskey had to go. The 1982 elections presented the opportunity. The California congressman gave up his safe seat in the House of Representatives to run for the Republican senatorial nomination to replace retiring Senator George Murphy.

McCloskey had first come to national attention when he took on and defeated former child film star Shirley Temple Black for the House seat representing the Palo Alto-Silicon Valley area. A Navy veteran of World War II, McCloskey had again volunteered for service as a Marine officer in Korea. He personally led six bayonet charges, was wounded, and won the silver star and Navy Cross.

Early questioning of the Vietnam War by an authentic national hero was bound to catch media attention, and McCloskey had been one of the first Republicans in Congress to do so. He also was the very first Republican member of Congress to call upon President Nixon to resign because of the spreading stain of Watergate.

Now, because this leader so consistently ahead of his time was speaking critically of Israel, the Israeli-Palestinian dispute suddenly became a major campaign issue in distant California. McCloskey's principal opponent in a three-way Republican senatorial primary race was former San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson. Wilson's fundraising flyers were mailed not just to the well-heeled Hollywood film colony, but to the subscription lists of such magazines as *Commentary* and the *New Republic*, both Jewish-owned and targeted for Jewish readers. They made it appear that McCloskey was a greater threat to Israeli security than any combination of Arab states.

McCloskey's own campaign literature confronted the charges and the underlying issue. He defended the thesis that, in the seeming absence of a rational peace plan in Israel, it was time, in the words of former Under Secretary of State George Ball, for America "to save Israel in spite of itself."

What made it even more interesting is that the contest occurred after two years of the Reagan administration, when the pro-Israel establishment was working hard to disassociate itself from its traditional attachment to and identification with the Democratic party. To quote Suzanne Garment of the *Wall Street Journal*:

"The politics of the Israel issue in the U.S. were once stable. Liberal, pro-Israel American Jews supported the liberal, pro-Israel Democratic Party. But in the late 1960s, the political left cooled toward Israel, and the political connections based on old-style progressivism eroded. Soon, many supporters of Israel concluded that Israel's best defense lay in a tough anti-Soviet American defense policy. New ideas in politics have unintended consequences. While supporters of Israel drew themselves a new, more hawkish picture of the world, important hard-line activists looked at the same picture and grew both more pro-Israel and less charmed by Israel's Mideast adversaries. At some point the new analysis attracted a critical mass of adherents and took off on its own. Ronald Reagan, of course, helped build these new connections."

McCloskey didn't have to worry about northern California, where he had strong liberal Republican support. He campaigned hard in prosperous southern California areas like Orange County, where many conservatives still resented his stands on Vietnam and the Nixon resignation. McCloskey spent a lot of time meeting voters there face to face.

Wilson, popular in San Diego but little known in Los Angeles and virtually unknown in less populous Northern California, relied more on television. Large donations from the prosperous Los Angeles Jewish community bought him the television time he needed to become a familiar figure throughout the state.

It was a close race, but Wilson won, and went on to win the general election in the fall. He probably would not have entered the race, and almost certainly would not have won it, without the promised and delivered pro-Israel financial support. Although pro-Israel PACs donated \$7,500 to his campaign, the bulk of that pro-Israel funding came from individual donations.

McCloskey has not held political office since. He still receives letters from Jewish detractors warning that he never will hold elected office again. He has not, however, stopped alerting Americans to the power of the pro-Israel lobby. His legal representation of the surviving crew members of the USS Liberty, a U.S. intelligence ship attacked by Israeli aircraft and torpedo boats during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, with the loss of 34 American dead and 110 wounded, attracted so much harassment of the Palo Alto law firm with which he was first associated that he finally voluntarily left it. He has opened his own firm and is successfully practicing law in Menlo Park.

Because the circumstances of Democratic Senator J. William Fulbright's defeat in Arkansas, after repeated criticism of Israeli and other foreign lobbying activities in the United States, were not so clear-cut, McCloskey can fairly claim to be the first nationally recognized victim of the Israel lobby. He surely also will go down in history as an authentic American political as well as military hero. He proved, by example, that he would rather be right than be president.

Lobbying produced another election-day victory for pro-Israel forces in 1982, this time in Illinois. For the AIPAC directors who had been targeting Congressman Paul Findley for defeat for nearly four years, the year began on a promising note. Findley had been gerrymandered out of key parts of his district. For the reapportionment of Illinois congressional seats that followed the 1980 census, the state legislature and the governor could not agree upon a plan. Finally, three different plans were submitted to a three-judge panel consisting of two Republicans and one Democrat.

After much debate, a Republican known for his Zionist sympathies surprised his fellow Republican on the panel by voting with the Democrat to adopt the plan most damaging to Findley and other Illinois Republicans. Either of the rejected maps would have assured Findley's re-election. The panel's choice, devised with Findley's defeat as a primary goal, became law. It deprived Findley of most of his Republican base, including the two towns in which he had lived most of his life, and in return gave him the town of Decatur, which had the highest unemployment rate in the state and was unlikely to produce many voters to support a Republican incumbent.

Findley was popular, however, and not afraid to inject the Middle East into a local campaign, surely a first in southern Illinois. In fact, events in the Middle East during the summer of 1982 were causing an anti-Israel backlash. Americans had read of Israeli tanks crashing across the border into Lebanon in what the invasion's author, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, had indicated to President Ronald Reagan's Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, would be a campaign to move only 25 miles into Lebanon in pursuit of the PLO. In fact the Lebanese border had been completely quiet for 10 months as the PLO observed an American-brokered cease-fire, partly because the Palestinians knew Sharon was spoiling for an excuse to launch his war.

The 25-mile incursion quickly turned into an Israeli race to link up with Maronite Christian militias in East Beirut. Within days of the invasion, Israelis had wiped out any Syrian army units standing in their way, downed a good part of the Syrian air force, killed an estimated 20,000 Lebanese and Palestinian civilians and made perhaps 200,000 homeless. Then they began raining shells on heavily populated and largely Muslim West Beirut in an effort to goad its Lebanese occupants to turn on the armed Palestinians (and Syrians) trapped in their midst.

Reagan fired Haig for allegedly giving a "green light" to what the Israelis by now were calling "Sharon's War," and then blocking moves within the UN to stop it. It then took U.S.-organized intervention to lift the siege of the city and evacuate the PLO under a flag of truce. American, French and Italian forces withdrew immediately after

the PLO fighters were put on ships for other Arab states.

To secure the PLO withdrawal, President Reagan's intermediary, Philip Habib, had extracted promises from Israel that its forces would not invade West Beirut, and would not molest the families of its PLO defenders after their departure.

Immediately after the U.S. withdrawal, Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel was assassinated. Only 18 hours later, Israeli forces broke their promise to the U.S. and forced their way into West Beirut, now defended only by Lebanese Muslim militias. Hundreds of Lebanese civilians were killed.

On the same day they invaded West Beirut, Israeli forces surrounded Sabra and Shatilla, two of its biggest Palestinian refugee camps, blocked their inhabitants from leaving, and then trucked in Maronite militiamen who spent nearly three days and nights massacring the families the PLO fighters had left behind and undefended. Only when the world press, alerted by European doctors and nurses trapped in the camp hospitals, entered the camps, did the slaughter stop.

Enough of this was shown on American television to produce a strongly negative reaction in U.S. public opinion. Two nationwide polls taken in October 1982, just before the U.S. congressional elections, showed Americans split almost evenly, for the first time in history, between those who felt basically sympathetic toward Israel and those who felt basically sympathetic toward the Arabs or the Palestinians.

Meanwhile, Findley's newly created district was being swamped with Jewish canvassers from all over the state, including 200 students bussed in by AIPAC two weeks before the election, to ring doorbells to campaign for Findley's Democratic rival, Richard Durbin. Durbin received \$104,325 from pro-Israel PACs, an astronomical sum for a congressional campaign in southern Illinois. Even that may have been a pittance compared to the individual donations that flowed into his campaign from Jewish contributors all over the United States. The contest was one of only two that had been flagged by AIPAC for an all-out, nationwide effort. The other, anti-McCloskey, campaign had ended almost before it began in the primaries.

Although running as a Republican in a Democratic district and swamped by out-of-state funding—AIPAC's executive director, Thomas Dine, later declared that 90 percent of Durbin's money came from Jewish sources—Findley still lost by only 1400 votes. If each of AIPAC's 200 student volunteers influenced only seven Democratic voters to go to the polls, that action alone tipped the balance against Findley.

An Unanticipated Effect

While AIPAC and the mainstream Jewish groups in the U.S. were openly jubilant at this proof that they could not only protect legislators who were pro-Israel, but target and eventually defeat those who were not, the victory had one effect AIPAC had not anticipated.

Findley had been a journalist before he became a congressman. Instead of returning immediately to Illinois, where he now lives, Findley stayed on in Washington for

two years. Together with the part-time help of two graduate students, he set out to interview personally everyone he could find who had some direct experience with the pro-Israel lobby, until then largely unknown to the non-Jewish public.

The result was his carefully documented but, nevertheless, sensational and ground-breaking book, *They Dare To Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby*. Published in 1985 and re-issued in an updated paperback edition in 1989, it has sold more than 100,000 copies, a phenomenal figure for a non-fiction public affairs book. It became a seminal work on the subject, helping to inspire a number of subsequent treatments. Eventually, it provided the nucleus around which an organization headed by Findley, the Council for the National Interest, coalesced and opened its doors in Washington, DC in 1989.

In the not-so-long run, AIPAC's 1982 triumph over Paul Findley, an Illinois editor and biographer of Abraham Lincoln as well as a congressman who dared to speak out, may turn out to be a Pyrrhic victory for his persecutors.

Chart III. 1982 Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Alabama	S		Heflin, Howell Thomas	D	5,000	0	I	
	H	01	Edwards, William J III	R	1,500	100	I	A, D
	H	02	Camp, Billy Joe	D	7,500	67	C	
	H	06	Smith, Albert Lee Jr	R	2,000	0	I	
	H	06	Erdreich, Ben	D	6,250	52	C	
	H	07	Kartus, Jack L	D	800	0	C	
Arizona	S		DeConcini, Dennis*	D	32,000	100	I	A
	H	01	West, Donna Carlson	R	750	100	O	
	H	03	Bosch, Pat	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	05	Kolbe, Jim	R	5,000	100	O	
	H	01	Alexander, William Jr	D	250	100	I	A
	S		Brown, Edmond Jr*	D	12,200	92	O	
Arkansas California	S		Wilson, Pete*	R	7,500	100	O	
	H	01	Bosco, Douglas H	D	10,250	100	C	
	H	03	Matsui, Robert T	D	200	100	I	
	H	04	Fazio, Victor H	D	500	100	I	A
	H	05	Burton, Phillip	D	21,250	100	I	
	H	06	Boxer, Barbara	D	3,000	100	O	
	H	06	Burton, John	D	5,000	100	O	
	H	09	Stark, Pete	D	7,750	100	I	
	H	11	Lantos, Thomas P	D	15,550	100	I	FA, ME
	H	12	Zschau, Edwin V W	R	250	100	O	
	H	13	Mineta, Norman Y	D	250	100	I	I
	H	14	Reed, Baron	D	5,500	5	C	
	H	15	Coelho, Anthony Lee	D	5,000	100	I	

KEY: * = Senate election year; \$ = the amount of pro-Israel PAC money received by each candidate by year of Federal Election Commission filings. In some cases, the filing year is not the same as the election year; **Party:** D = Democrat, R = Republican, I-R = Independent Republican, DFL = Democratic Farmer Labor, L = Libertarian; % Out of State = percentage of pro-Israel PAC money coming from sources outside of candidate's home state; **Running Status:** I = Incumbent, C = Challenger, O = Open; **Committees:** A—Appropriations (D—Defense Subcommittee), AS—Armed Services, FA—Foreign Affairs (ME—Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee), FR—Foreign Relations (NE—Near East and South Asia Subcommittee), I—Intelligence, t—House Select Committee on Intelligence.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Delaware, Con't.	S		Levinson, David*	D	18,500	100	C	
	H	00	Evans, Thomas B Jr	R	500	100	I	
	S		Chiles, Lawton*	D	1,100	48	I	A, D
	H	01	Hutto, Earl	D	2,000	100	I	AS
	H	02	Fuqua, Don	D	2,000	50	I	
	H	04	Chappell, William V Jr	D	3,000	60	I	A, D
	H	05	McCollum, Bill	R	2,400	60	I	
	H	05	Batchelor, Dick J	D	2,000	50	C	
	H	06	Mackay, K H Jr	D	1,500	40	O	
	H	07	Gibbons, Sam M	D	2,000	50	I	
Florida	H	09	Bilirakis, Michael	R	2,750	23	O	
	H	09	Kiser, Curtis	R	2,250	31	O	
	H	09	Sheldon, George H	D	11,500	63	O	
	H	10	Ireland, Andy	D	1,000	60	I	FA
	H	11	Nelson, Bill	D	1,500	60	I	
	H	12	Lewis, Tom	R	5,500	92	O	
	H	12	Culverhouse, Brad	D	1,250	43	O	
	H	12	Koehler, Dennis P	D	250	100	O	
	H	13	Mack, Connie III	R	1,000	50	O	
	H	14	Mica, Daniel A	D	4,250	68	I	FA
	H	15	Shaw, E Clay	R	8,750	82	I	
	H	16	Becker, Alan S	D	250	100	O	
	H	16	Berkowitz, Maurice	R	1,700	38	O	
	H	16	Smith, Lawrence J	D	2,750	10	O	
	H	17	Lehman, William	D	1,250	100	I	A
	H	18	Pepper, Claude	D	1,000	50	I	
	H	19	Facell, Dante B	D	42,250	66	I	FA
	H	02	Hatcher, Charles	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	03	Ray, Richard B	D	1,000	0	O	
Georgia	H	04	Levitas, Elliott H	D	3,750	74	I	
	H	05	Fowler, Wyche Jr	D	2,250	56	I	I
	H	06	Gingrich, Newton L	R	1,000	0	I	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Georgia, Con't.	H	07	McDonald, Lawrence	D	1,000	0	I	AS
	H	07	Sellers, David A	R	1,250	100	C	
	H	08	Evans, Billy Lee	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	08	Rowland, J Roy	D	1,000	0	C	
	H	10	Barnard, Doug	D	761	100	I	
Hawaii	S		Matsunaga, Spark M*	D	11,000	100	I	
Idaho	H	01	Larocco, Lawrence P	D	2,000	100	C	
	H	02	Stallings, Richard H	D	250	100	C	
Illinois	S		Dixon, Alan J	D	2,050	52	I	
	H	04	Derwinski, Edward J	R	4,750	85	I	FA
	H	06	Hyde, Henry J	R	6,000	100	I	
	H	07	Collins, Cardiss	D	400	0	I	
	H	08	Rostenkowski, Dan	D	1,000	0	I	
Iowa	H	09	Yates, Sidney R	D	13,450	69	I	A
	H	10	Porter, John Edward	R	6,100	95	I	A
	H	13	Erlenborn, John N	R	500	0	I	
	H	16	Martin, Lynn M	R	1,000	0	I	
	H	17	Evans, Lane A	D	200	0	C	
Indiana	H	18	Michel, Robert H	R	8500	79	I	I
	H	19	Gwinn, John	D	500	50	C	
	H	20	Durbin, Richard J	D	104,325	78	C	
	H	22	Simon, Paul	D	2,100	0	I	
	S		Lugar, Richard G*	R	5,000	100	I	FR, I
Iowa	S		Fithian, Floyd J*	D	6,250	100	C	
	H	02	Sharp, Philip Riley	D	5,500	100	I	
	H	09	Hamilton, Lee Herbert	D	300	100	I	FA, ME, I
	H	03	Cutler, Lynn G	D	61,600	100	C	
	H	05	Harkin, Thomas R	D	1,500	100	I	
Kansas	H	02	Kay, Morris	R	5,000	100	C	
	H	03	Winn, Larry Jr	R	250	100	I	FA
	H	04	Glickman, Daniel R	D	200	100	I	
Kentucky	H	04	Mann, Terry L.	D	200	100	C	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Louisiana	H	01	Livingston, Robert L Jr	R	1,000	0	I	A
	H	02	Boggs, Lindy	D	1,000	0	I	A
	H	03	Tauzin, Billy	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	04	Roemer, Buddy	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	06	Moore, W Henson	R	1,000	0	I	
	H	07	Breaux, John B	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	08	Long, Gillis W	D	1,500	34	I	
	S		Mitchell, George*	D	77,400	100	I	
Maine	H	01	Kerry, John Michael	D	250	100	O	
Maryland	H	02	Snowe, Olympia J	R	500	100	I	FA, ME
	S		Sarbanes, Paul*	D	48,500	100	I	FR, NE
	H	02	Long, Clarence D	D	29,250	100	I	A
	H	03	Mikulski, Barbara A	D	2,000	100	I	
	H	05	Hoyer, Steny H	D	250	100	I	
	H	08	Barnes, Michael D	D	6,800	100	I	FA
	S		Kennedy, Edward M*	D	10,420	96	I	
	H	01	Conte, Silvio O	R	200	100	I	A
Massachusetts	H	04	Frank, Barney	D	11,916	100	I	
	H	05	Shannon, James M	D	250	100	I	
	H	06	Mavroules, Nicholas	D	5,250	100	I	AS
	H	09	Moakley, John Joseph	D	250	100	I	
	S		Riegle, Donald W Jr*	D	29,000	100	I	
	H	03	Wolpe, Howard	D	10,150	100	I	FA
	H	05	Monsma, Stephen V	D	800	100	C	
	H	06	Carr, Bob	D	6,000	100	C	
Michigan	H	09	Vander Jagt, Guy	R	300	100	I	
	H	15	Ford, William David	D	250	100	I	
	H	17	Brodhead, William M	D	250	100	O	
	H	17	Levin, Sander	D	1,250	100	O	
	H	17	Rosen, Gerald E	R	1,000	100	O	
	H	18	Blanchard, James J	D	250	100	C	
	S		Durenberger, David*	I-R	56,000	100	I	I

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Minnesota, Con't.	H	06	Erdahl, Arlen	I-R	1,500	100	I	FA
	H	06	Sikorski, Gerry	DFL	1,000	100	C	
	H	07	Wenstrom, Gene	DFL	5,500	100	C	
Mississippi	H	03	Frenzel, Bill	I-R	500	100	I	
	S		Stennis, John C*	D	100	0	I	A, D, AS
	S		Barbour, Haley R*	R	8,250	85	C	
	H	02	Clark, Robert	D	750	67	O	
	H	02	Franklin, William W	R	100	0	O	
Missouri	H	04	Dowdy, C Wayne	D	5,200	97	I	
	H	04	Williams, Liles E	R	100	0	C	
	S		Danforth, John C*	R	19,950	100	I	
	S		Woods, Harriett*	D	4,500	100	C	
	H	01	Clay, William Lacey	D	5,000	0	I	
	H	02	Young, Robert A	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	04	Skelton, Ike	D	20,200	86	I	AS
	H	05	Wheat, Alan D	D	8,750	78	O	
Montana	S		Baucus, Max	D	1,200	100	I	
	S		Melcher, John*	D	5,000	100	I	
Nebraska	H	01	Williams, Pat	D	2,500	100	I	
	S		Keck, Jim*	R	500	100	C	
	H	01	Bereuter, Douglas K	R	250	100	I	
Nevada	H	02	Fellman, Richard M	D	14,500	100	C	
	S		Cannon, Howard W*	D	1,000	100	I	AS
	S		Hecht, Chic*	R	46,750	100	C	
	S		Fore, Richard L	R	1,000	100	C	
	S		Santini, James D	D	4,850	100	C	
New Hampshire New Jersey	H	01	Reid, Harry M	D	250	100	O	
	H	02	Gojack, Mary L	D	200	100	O	
	H	01	D'Amours, Norman E	D	250	100	I	
	S		Bradley, Bill	D	2,000	100	I	
	S		Lautenberg, Frank R*	D	10,500	100	O	
	H	03	Howard, James J	D	5,000	100	I	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
New Jersey, Con't.	H	03	Muhler, Marie S	R	5,000	100	C	
	H	07	Levin, Adam K*	D	750	100	C	
New Mexico	H	09	Hollenbeck, Harold C	R	5,200	100	I	
	S		Bingaman, Jeff*	D	36,575	100	C	
	H	01	Hartke, Jan Alan	D	500	100	C	
	H	03	Richardson, William B	D	5,500	100	O	
New York	S		Moynihan, Daniel P*	D	11,000	100	I	I
	H	02	Downey, Thomas J	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	04	Lent, Norman F	R	250	100	I	
	H	05	McGrath, Raymond J	R	250	100	I	
	H	06	Addabbo, Joseph P	D	250	100	I	A, D
	H	07	Rosenthal, Benjamin S	D	300	100	I	FA, ME
	H	08	Scheuer, James H	D	200	100	I	
	H	10	Schumer, Charles E	D	250	100	I	
	H	13	Solarz, Stephen J	D	1,500	100	I	FA
	H	15	Green, Sedgwick (Bill)	R	250	100	I	A
	H	17	Weiss, Ted	D	250	100	I	
	H	20	Ottinger, Richard I	D	11,250	100	I	
	H	21	Fish, Hamilton	R	250	100	I	
	H	22	Bingham, Jonathan B	D	1,000	100	I	FA
	H	22	Gilman, Benjamin A	R	6,500	100	I	FA
	H	27	Wortley, George C	R	750	100	I	
North Carolina	H	28	McHugh, Matthew F	D	13,200	93	I	A
	H	31	Kemp, Jack	R	10,200 ¹	100	I	A
	H	33	Nowak, Henry J	D	250	100	I	
	H	02	Michaux, Henry M Jr	D	2,750	100	O	
	H	03	McDaniel, E "Red"	R	500	100	C	
	H	05	Neal, Stephen Lybrook	D	5,500	100	I	
North Dakota	H	08	Hefner, Bill	D	250	100	I	A, D
	S		Burdick, Quentin N*	D	45,025	100	I	A
	H	00	Dorgan, Byron L	D	3,250	100	I	

¹\$1500 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Ohio	S		Metzenbaum, Howard*	D	35,175	100	I	
	H	01	Luken, Thomas A*	D	250	100	I	
	H	03	Hall, Tony P	D	250	100	I	
	H	07	DeWine, Michael	R	250	100	O	
	H	11	Eckart, Dennis E	D	8,750	100	I	FA
	H	12	Shamansky, Robert M	D	23,450	100	I	FA, ME
	H	17	Williams, Lyle	P	1,500	100	I	
	H	19	Mortl, Ronald A	D	900	100	I	
	H	21	Stokes, Louis	D	300	100	I	
	H	01	Jones, James R Jr	D	350	100	I	A
Oklahoma	H	04	McCurdy, Dave	D	5,000	100	I	AS
	S		Packwood, Robert W	R	500	100	I	
	H	01	Aucoin, Les	D	11,250	100	I	
	H	02	Willis, Larryann C	D	7,000	100	O	
Oregon	H	03	Wyden, Ronald L	D	1,850	100	I	
	S		Heinz, John*	P	15,000	100	I	
	H	01	Foglietta, Thomas M	D	6,250	100	I	AS
	H	02	Gray, William H III	D	7,950	100	I	A
	H	03	Glancey, David B	D	250	100	I	
	H	03	Dougherty, Charles F	R	500	100	I	AS
	H	03	Borski, Robert Jr	D	5,000	100	C	
	H	04	Kolter, Joseph P	D	5,250	100	C	
	H	06	Yatron, Gus	D	250	100	I	FA
	H	07	Edgar, Bob	D	8,250	100	I	
Pennsylvania	H	08	Kostmayer, Peter H	D	2,900	100	C	
	H	12	Murtha, John P	D	750	100	I	A, D
	H	13	Coughlin, Lawrence	R	200	100	I	A
	H	15	Ritter, Donald L	R	500	100	I	
	H	18	Walgren, Doug	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	21	Andrezeski, Anthony	D	7,250	100	O	
	S		Michaelson, Julius C*	D	32,250	100	C	
	H	02	Byrne, Martin T	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	02	Schneider, Claudine	R	5,250	100	I	
Rhode Island								

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
South Carolina	H	05	Spratt, John M Jr	D	250	0	C	
	H	06	Tallon, Robin M Jr	D	850	0	C	
South Dakota	S		Pressler, Larry	R	500	100	I	FR, NE
	H	01	Daschle, Thomas A	D	8,500	100	I	
Tennessee	S		Sasser, James R*	D	58,750	100	I	A
	H	04	Baker, Cynthia	R	5,100	100	O	
	H	07	Sundquist, Donald K	R	2,000	100	O	
	H	09	Ford, Harold	D	500	100	I	
Texas	S		Bentsen, Lloyd*	D	7,500	88	I	I
	H	05	Bryant, John W	D	550	100	O	
	H	09	Brooks, Jack	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	12	Wright, Jim	D	5,000	100	I	I
	H	16	Coleman, Ronald D	D	5,000	100	O	
	H	18	Leland, George T	D	5,500	100	I	
	H	21	Loeffler, Tom	R	5,000	100	I	A
	H	23	Wentworth, Earl J	R	7,500	100	C	
Utah	H	24	Frost, Martin	D	18,550	96	I	
	H	25	Andrews, Michael A	D	5,000	100	O	
	H	26	Vandergriff, Tom J	D	5,000	100	O	
	S		Wilson, Ted L*	D	53,200	100	C	
Vermont	H	02	Farley, Frances	D	250	100	C	
	S		Guest, James A Jr*	D	41,300	100	C	
Virginia	H	00	Kaplan, Mark Alan	D	250	100	C	
	S		Trible, Paul S Jr*	R	5,000	100	O	AS
	S		Davis, Richard*	D	45,350	100	O	
	H	04	Sisisky, Norman	D	9,450	100	C	
	H	08	Harris, Herbert E II	D	2,250	100	I	
	H	10	Lechner, Ira M	D	2,375	100	C	
Washington	S		Jackson, Henry (Scoop)*	D	11,750	100	I	AS, I
	S		Gorton, Slade	R	500	100	I	
	H	03	Bonker, Donald L	D	350	100	I	FA
	H	05	Foley, Thomas S	D	5,500	100	I	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Washington	H	06	Dicks, Norman D	D	400	100	I	A, D
Con't.	H	08	Bland, Beth	D	1,000	100	O	
West Virginia	S		Byrd, Robert Carlyle*	D	55,500	100	I	A
	H	01	Mollohan, Alan B	D	750	100	O	AS
Wisconsin	H	01	Aspin, Les	D	250	100	I	AS
	H	03	Offner, Paul	D	2,500	100	C	
	H	04	Adelman, Lynn S	D	15,350	100	C	
	H	05	Aronson, Marty	D	2,250	100	O	
	H	08	Clusen, Ruth C	D	750	100	C	
Wyoming	S		McDaniel, Rodger*	D	28,200	100	I	
	S		Wallop, Malcolm*	R	5,000	100	I	I
President			Udall, Morris K	D	200			

Chapter 4

Stealth PACs: Going National Without Leaving Tracks in the 1984 Elections

“Taken together, the Jewish PACs gave \$1 million more during the 1984 elections than the nation’s largest single PAC, the 110,000-member Realtors PAC, which gave \$2.5 million . . . The spending patterns of the Jewish PACs show that their giving was tightly focused: Of \$1.52 million given to Senate candidates, 44 percent went to opponents of five Republican senators who voted for the controversial 1981 sale of airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft to Saudi Arabia, which the Senate approved. Sens. Percy of Illinois and Roger Jepsen of Iowa lost re-election. Sens. Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Thad Cochran of Mississippi and Gordon Humphrey of New Hampshire won. Other senators who voted for AWACS may be targets in 1986. ‘Like the Indian elephant, we don’t forget,’ Mr. Dine said in his Toronto speech.”

John Fialka and Brooks Jackson
Wall Street Journal, Feb. 26, 1985

“The pro-Israel PACs all have names suggesting nothing whatever to do with the Middle East, Israel, Zionism, American Jewry or even foreign policy. Those with names that even vaguely suggest political links to foreign policy or the American Jewish community are inactive and have failed to file required periodic disclosure reports with the FEC, or have reported that they have little or no money.”

Edward Roeder
Financing the Elections of the 99th Congress: Pro-Israel PACs, 1984

Edward Roeder, editor of an encyclopedic publication called *PACs Americana*, was puzzled. He made it his job to sift through the records that all political action committees are required to file with the Federal Election Commission to compile descriptive listings of the more than 3,600 PACs that had been established by 1984.

His book listed names of the PACs, described their purposes, provided names and addresses of the officers, and totaled the amounts of money collected and disbursed by each PAC. Normally, collection of such data from FEC records was routine. Most PACs have a company, union, or trade or professional association “sponsor” that raises the bulk of its money, much of which is contributed to re-election campaigns of members

of committees of interest to that sponsor. There were some PACs, however, that had neither explicit titles nor "sponsors," which made Roeder's task difficult.

It was simplified, however, by another observation. Whereas in the 1982 election there had been a few active PACs whose titles made it evident that they had been established to support Israel, in 1984 these seemed to be no longer active. He began to call around.

One of his first telephone calls was to Philadelphia, where he spoke with the treasurer of the Delaware Valley PAC, which raised \$237,128 in the 1984 election cycle. He asked its purpose.

"Basically, we don't give that out," Roeder was told. Next he called the PAC's president, Robert Golder, who, in answer to Roeder's persistent questions, told him:

"This PAC is a group of American Jewish people working for a stronger American position on Israel . . . We see no need to have a specific name, a specific title . . . I don't know that it's necessary for outsiders to know who we are. It's a small group of Jewish fundraisers raising money from mostly Jewish contributors, and we can explain who we are to them."

Roeder continued his calls, and eventually concluded that 54 of the unidentified PACs, which by mid-summer of 1984 had raised more than \$4 million, were pro-Israel PACs. He reported some of his further conversations in an article in the Oct. 15, 1984 issue of the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*:

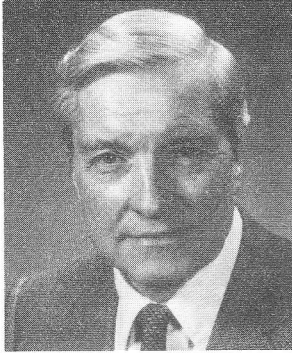
"One former official of a pro-Israel PAC, who asked not to be identified, told of being criticized and chastised by an official of another pro-Israel PAC for choosing a PAC name that merely suggested the PAC's links to American Jewry. 'Leaders of the other PACs appeared to be concerned about being out front with the name "Jewish" in a PAC name, or with any name associated with Israel,' the former PAC official said. 'They're afraid of the appearance of being tagged as part of the "all powerful Jewish Lobby.'" They just thought it was a bad idea and didn't want me to do it.' His PAC is now inactive. Another pro-Israel PAC, formerly called 'Texans for a Sound Middle East Policy,' changed its name last year to simply 'TxPAC.'"

Edward Zuckerman, another "PAC tracker," working independently, had also noted the coincidence of the appearance of PACs with non-descriptive names, and the fading away of the PACs with unabashedly Jewish names which had been active in 1982. Zuckerman looked at the names of the still-active PACs that had contributed to Richard Durbin of Illinois two years earlier in 1982, when they had ganged up to defeat Paul Findley. Then he looked at where those same PACs were putting their money in 1984, and which newly established PACs were giving to the same candidates. Using that method, he reached about the same conclusions as had Roeder.

What they found was that the new wave of pro-Israel stealth PACs were ganging up in 1984 on liberal Republican Senator Charles Percy of Illinois, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, by contributing heavily to his opponent, Democratic Representative Paul Simon. In Iowa they had targeted Senator Roger

Jepsen for defeat. They were also opposing conservative Republican Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina by contributing to his Democratic opponent, North Carolina Governor James Hunt.

As Golder explained to reporter Roeder: “This guy [Helms] has never voted for Israel. Whether it’s foreign aid or airplanes or economic aid or grants, he votes against Israel. It doesn’t really matter to me that he’s anti-Semitic. It matters personally, but as president of a PAC what matters to me is that as a senator with a vote he [Helms] is 100 percent against Israel and we are interested in helping the state of Israel.”



Senator Charles Percy

Golder said the opposition by his and the other pro-Israel PACs to Percy was somewhat different: “Senator Percy is a very powerful senator because, unlike Helms, he is a moderate, and people listen when he talks and he has not always been for Israel. He has not been 100 percent pro-Israel. We would be much happier with Paul Simon, who is 100 percent pro-Israel.”

These statements were made during the heat of the campaign, and quoted in a book Roeder published in October, 1984, entitled *Financing the Elections of the 99th Congress: Pro-Israel PACs*. Only months later, when the last returns for the 1984 election cycle were filed with the FEC, did the full details emerge.

In fact, 81 pro-Israel PACs were active in the 1984 election cycle, more than double the 40 active PACs in the 1982 elections, and they had dumped \$3,772,994 into congressional campaigns, again almost double the amount they had spent in 1982.

Their contributions to North Carolina Governor Hunt totaled \$222,342. Helms, as a national icon of the populist far right and a senator from a major tobacco-producing state, had sufficient resources of his own. In the end, by slightly outspending Hunt, he made it the most expensive election campaign in the state’s history.

Helms’s voting record had been described by AIPAC President Tom Dine prior to the 1984 election as the “worst” in the Senate. Hunt’s campaign secretary picked up the theme, word for word: “Senator Helms has the worst anti-Israel record in the United States Senate, and supporters of Israel throughout the country know it.”

Helms’ own press secretary explained: “It has been alleged that Senator Helms has cast some 25 anti-Israel votes, yet 23 of the votes in question were on foreign aid legislation and appropriations. But since entering the US Senate in 1973, Senator Helms has consistently voted against all foreign aid legislation and appropriations, regardless of the beneficiaries. The remaining votes in question were in support of AWACS and F-16s for the Saudis, and Senator Helms voted with the majority of the US Senate on both occasions.”

Helms squeaked by with a victory over Hunt, and at first it seemed that AIPAC’s vow in advance of the elections to “get” him had failed. After his narrow election victory, however, Helms was a changed man. With Jewish constituents, Helms flew

off to Israel, had himself photographed wearing a yarmulke and kissing the Wailing Wall, and bombarded the media with pro-Israel statements.

In the Senate, he has been a zealous supporter of Israel ever since, building a record of 100 percent compliance with AIPAC recommendations, and in a few cases seeming to go beyond them. He has demonstrated almost embarrassing continuing support for a proposal to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, even after it was voted down.

The reason that the U.S. and all other major countries which have diplomatic relations with Israel maintain their embassies in Tel Aviv rather than in Jerusalem is that, when the United Nations originally voted to partition the British Mandate of Palestine into a state for its Jewish inhabitants and a state for its Muslim and Christian inhabitants, Jerusalem was to remain a "corpus separatum" under international control. In the 1948 fighting, Israel had seized western parts of Jerusalem and Jordan the rest, including all of the walled Old City. In the 1967 fighting, Israel took from Jordan all of Jerusalem along with the West Bank. The Israeli government then extended Jerusalem's city limits well into West Bank areas and subsequently announced that it had "annexed" the entire city.

Most Middle East experts agree that the city should never again be divided. Any peace acceptable to both sides almost certainly will provide equal rights for all of the city's occupants, and for equal access to all parts of the city for adherents of all three religious faiths. To recognize Israel's claim to Jerusalem as its capital in advance of an overall peace settlement, however, ignores the guiding principle of the United Nations charter, which bars the acquisition of territory by war.

None of these considerations for a lasting Middle East peace motivated Jesse Helms' refusal to appropriate money for a badly needed new U.S. Embassy building in Tel Aviv, however. In insisting that the new Embassy should, instead, be built in Jerusalem, he was concerned with never again having pro-Israel PACs back an election rival in North Carolina. When the State Department explained to him that its existing embassy building in Tel Aviv was both a firetrap and indefensible on a crowded downtown street where anti-American demonstrations are becoming more frequent, Helms relented only to the extent of voting for construction funds for new US government buildings in both Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, on condition that construction on both sites be suitable for eventual use as embassies. AIPAC, it appears, "got" Helms after all.

The AIPAC campaign against Percy, as Golder's remarks revealed, had a different motivation. Like Helms, Percy had ignored AIPAC recommendations in 1981 and voted not to oppose the sale of airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft to Saudi Arabia. Since the Reagan administration had staked its prestige on the sale, however, virtually every Republican senator had voted the same way.

What also bothered AIPAC was the fact that Percy, from his powerful position as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had shown other signs of in-

dependence on Middle East policy. He insisted on hearing a variety of viewpoints at committee hearings. On visits to Arab countries and Israel in 1975, he had called for a settlement that would take into consideration Palestinian "rights" as well as Israeli security. That went a step beyond administration expressions of concern for Palestinian "interests," and in AIPAC's book it was heresy. Percy, however, had not backed down from this stand in the face of heavy AIPAC-generated pressure from Jewish constituents.

Since there were unemployment and other problems unrelated to the Middle East that could be exploited against any incumbent in Illinois, AIPAC's Dine decided Percy could be defeated with the same strategy of concentrating resources gathered from all over the country that had finally brought down Findley. Dine made no secret of the plan, even though the PACs which were to play a large role in the operation were still in hiding. Pro-Israel PACs donated \$51,650 to a Republican primary election challenger, Tom Corcoran, to soften up Percy for the main assault. Percy easily won the Republican primary nomination, however.

Meanwhile, Democratic Representative Paul Simon, who until then had a reputation in Illinois as a "straight arrow" who could not be bought by special interests, was persuaded to leave his safe seat in Congress to run against Percy. The "persuasion" was a simple pledge of all the financial resources he would need to carry both the primary and general elections.

As general election day grew closer, however, polls showed Percy, who had a lot of financial backing of his own, maintaining a slight lead. Pro-Israel PACs had contributed \$301,383 to Simon's campaign, and pro-Israel individuals had contributed considerably more.

At this point one of those pro-Israel individuals, Southern California real estate developer Michael Goland, a member of the AIPAC Board of Directors, introduced \$1,200,000 of his own personal funds into the race. The law does not permit an individual to give more than \$1,000 per election to a single candidate, nor to contribute more than a total of \$25,000 to the election campaigns of individual candidates. However, it does not stop an individual from spending additional money on election activities that are not "coordinated" with the expenditures of the candidate it is supporting. Goland, therefore, spent nearly a million and a quarter dollars on preparation of negative "attack" commercials against Percy and on purchasing the television time to show them. The negative advertising did not concentrate on Percy's record on the Middle East, which might have been no liability with non-Jewish voters in Illinois. Instead it assailed Percy with charges aimed partly to convince Black voters not to vote for him. Throughout, Goland claimed that his efforts were not coordinated with Simon's campaign.

The combined weight of pro-Israel resources focused on positive advertising for Simon and "attack" advertising against Percy resulted in a close victory for Simon. Four years later, Goland was convicted of federal election law violations for concealing

the fact that he was the source of some of the funds used for the television campaign against Percy. Goland was fined \$5,000, a joke for a Californian willing to spend more than a million dollars of his personal funds in support of the AIPAC campaign to defeat the distinguished senator from Illinois.

Senator Jepsen's sin was a vote for the AWACS sale. Pro-Israel PACs donated some \$110,000 to his opponent, Thomas Harkin, who was elected. As a result, the Washington political vocabulary was enriched by two new terms, the "Percy factor" and the "Jepsen factor," both code words for the fear that keeps members of Congress from breaking ranks when AIPAC calls for their support.

A major Democratic beneficiary of AIPAC's largesse in 1984 was Senator Carl Levin of Michigan, whose \$175,038 from pro-Israel PACs, most of them from outside Michigan, was about a third of the total he spent in his campaign.

"I don't see anything inappropriate about it," a member of Levin's staff explained. "If [candidates] took money only from in-state, most campaigns would lose. . . I guess they like his position. He's always voted for money for Israel, and he's a member of Armed Services." The House Armed Services Committee oversees arms transfers, a vital part of U.S. aid to Israel.

Although three-quarters of pro-Israel PAC contributions in 1984 went to Democrats, Republican Senator Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota, chairman of the Near Eastern Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, received \$125,775 toward his successful 1984 re-election campaign. It was more than half of the pro-Israel PAC money spent on Republican senatorial campaigns nationwide in that election cycle.

Other senatorial candidates in 1984 who received \$45,000 or more from pro-Israel PACs included Albert Gore (D-TN), Norman D'Amours (D-NH), William Winter (D-MS), Howell Heflin (D-AL) and Max Baucus (D-MT).

Just as AIPAC telegraphed its punch against Charles Percy in the Senate, it announced its intention to "save" Maryland Democrat Clarence Long in the House from a determined challenger, Republican Helen Delich Bentley, a Baltimore newspaper-woman turned politician. Long, chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, staked his claim on AIPAC assistance by taking credit for legislation that had replaced the former mixed package of U.S. government grants and loans to Israel with outright grants for the entire amount.

Despite an astounding total of \$165,175 poured into Long's campaign by pro-Israel PACs, Bentley won. She was perhaps the only candidate in 1984 who turned AIPAC endorsement of her opponent to her advantage, by making sure that potential supporters understood why Israel's lobby was working so hard on behalf of Long. This probably attracted some out-of-state money to Bentley's own campaign.

Close to two-thirds of all of the PAC money donated to Long's campaign came from pro-Israel PACs. No other House candidate received even a quarter as much from pro-Israel PACs. Twenty who received more than \$10,000 in 1984 were Ben Erdreich

(D-AL) \$43,150; Sam Gejdenson (D-CT) \$21,650 and Bruce Morrison (D-CT) \$23,300; Larry Smith (D-FL) \$44,818 and Dan Mica (D-FL) \$18,500; Cardiss Collins (D-IL) \$21,250 and Richard Durbin (D-IL) \$24,808; Lee Hamilton (D-IN) \$14,350; Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) \$29,250; Sedgwick Green (R-NY) \$12,750, Thomas Downey (D-NY) \$12,208, Robert Mrazek (D-NY) \$30,488 and Joseph Adabbo (D-NY) \$10,500; Harry Reid (D-NV) \$26,650; Ron Wyden (D-OR) \$22,000; Peter Kostmayer (D-PA) \$26,450, Robert Edgar (D-PA) \$14,550; Charles Wilson (D-TX) \$24,100; Lynn Adelman (D-WI) \$14,100, and Les Aspin (D-WI) \$10,250.

Lessons From 1984

A number of lessons emerged from the 1984 elections. AIPAC, which had seemed to go into a temporary eclipse after losing the 1981 AWACS vote, emerged boasting about its ability to sustain friendly incumbents, and find and fund challengers to unfriendly members of Congress. Its victory over Senator Percy, Tom Dine boasted to a closed meeting of AIPAC members, had “defined Jewish political power in the United States for the remainder of this century.” On the other hand, it had lost some big ones, including the campaign to unseat Senator Helms and to save Representative Long, one of its most valuable friends in Congress.

The Israel lobby’s secret weapon, the stealth PACs, had proven extraordinarily effective, able to concentrate more than \$300,000 on a candidate. The PACs of other special interests could not provide more than \$10,000 to a single candidate in a single election cycle—unless, of course, they coordinated donations with like-minded PACs, which would be illegal.

On the down side for AIPAC, however, was the fact that its stealth PACs had been exposed, although very few establishment newspapers had given the matter more than passing notice. The efficiency demonstrated by these PACs in concentrating on friendly candidates facing strong challengers, and not wasting funds on campaigns that didn’t need them, also raised questions.

Howard Katz, vice chairman of the Florida Congressional Committee, refused to answer any of the obvious ones in a telephone interview with Roeder. Asked the purpose of his PAC, his laconic answer was “good government.” Asked if he could be more specific, he answered “no.” Told that the reporter had learned that it was a pro-Israel PAC, he responded, “It’s largely pro-Israel, yes.” Asked the reason for keeping such purposes secret, he responded, “I really don’t care to answer that,” and hung up.

Democratic Representative Larry Smith, a Florida recipient of \$44,818 from pro-Israel PACs, admitted, when asked by Roeder if he had ever voted contrary to AIPAC recommendations, “At this moment I really can’t recall. Obviously I have been a strong supporter of Israel.” Asked if his pro-AIPAC voting record was related to the PAC contributions, Smith insisted:

“I receive money from a lot of different people and a lot of different groups that represent a lot of different interests. I think they’re interested in people who are in-

terested in a strong relationship between the US and Israel. These [pro-Israel PACs] don't lobby. Those PACs have nothing to do with AIPAC.''

It was an answer prompted by Smith's knowledge that most of the pro-Israel PACs had officers who were also directors of AIPAC, and that it would be illegal for AIPAC to provide any coordination of their efforts. Increasingly, as both candidates and PACs filed their final returns from the 1984 cycle with the FEC, however, it appeared that such collusion was exactly what was happening.

Chart IV. 1984 Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations

Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Alabama	S	Heflin, Howell T*	D	42,850	89	I	A, D
	H	Callahan, Sonny	R	2,000	100	O	
	H	McRight, Frank	D	2,000	0	O	
	H	Erdreich, Ben	D	43,150 ¹	77	I	
	H	Shelby, Richard C	D	3,000	100	I	
Alaska	S	Stevens, Ted*	R	10,000	100	I	
-Arizona	H	McNulty, James F Jr	D	15,000	100	I	
	H	Kolbe, James T	R	1,700	100	C	
Arkansas	S	Pryor, David H*	D	45,100	100	I	
	H	Petty, Judy C	R	8,450	100	O	
	H	Riviere, Paul F	D	7,500	100	O	
	H	Robinson, Tommy F	D	250	100	O	
	H	Bosco, Douglas H	D	250	100	I	
California	H	Matsui, Robert T	D	200	100	I	
	H	Fazio, Victor H	D	750	100	I	A
	H	Burton, Sala	D	6,400	100	I	
	H	Burton, Phillip	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	Boxer, Barbara	D	7,350	86	C	
	H	Stark, Fortney H Jr	D	750	100	I	
	H	Lantos, Thomas E	D	8,150	100	I	FA, ME
	H	Mineta, Norman Y	D	500	100	I	I
	H	Coelho, Anthony L	D	6,130 ²	100	I	
	H	Fiedler, Bobbi	R	5,750	100	I	

KEY: * = Senate election year; \$ = the amount of pro-Israel PAC money received by each candidate by year of Federal Election Commission filings. In some cases, the filing year is not the same as the election year; **Party:** D = Democrat, R = Republican, I-R = Independent Republican, DFL = Democratic Farmer Labor, L = Libertarian; % **Out of State** = percentage of pro-Israel PAC money coming from sources outside of candidate's home state; **Running Status:** I = Incumbent, C = Challenger, O = Open; **Committees:** A = Appropriations (D—Defense Subcommittee), AS = Armed Services, FA = Foreign Affairs (ME—Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee), FR = Foreign Relations (NE—Near East and South Asia Subcommittee), I = Intelligence, † = House Select Committee on Intelligence.

¹\$500 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

²\$130 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
California Con't.	H	21	Davis, Charlie	D	250	0	C	
	H	24	Waxman, Harry A	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	25	Roybal, Edward R	D	250	100	I	A
	H	26	Berman,Howard L	D	5,750	100	I	FA
	H	27	Levine, Meldon	D	7,600 ³	100	I	FA,ME
	H	28	Dixon, Julian	D	7,500	100	I	A
	H	30	Martinez, Matthew G	D	13,250	100	I	
	H	31	Dymally, Mervin M	D	500	100	I	FA,ME
	H	32	Anderson, Glenn M	D	500	100	I	
	H	35	Lewis, Jerry	R	5,750	100	I	A
	H	36	Brown, George E Jr	D	6,000	84	I	
	H	38	Patterson, Jerry M	D	17,700	95	I	
	H	38	Dornan, Robert K	R	1,200	100	C	
	H	39	Ward, Robert E	D	250	100	C	
	H	40	Bradford, Carol Ann	D	1,485	59	C	
	H	42	Brophy, Mary Lou	D	250	0	C	
	H	44	Bates, Jim	D	250	100	I	
	S		Armstrong, William*	R	5,500	82	I	
	S		Dick, Nancy*	D	3,000	50	C	
	H	01	Schroeder, Patricia M	D	250	100	I	AS
Colorado	H	02	Wirth, Timothy E	D	7,000	100	I	
	H	02	Buechner, John C	R	250	100	C	
	H	03	Strang, Michael L	R	1,700	71	O	
	S		Dodd, Christopher J	D	3,000	100	I	FR
	S		Weicker, Lowell P Jr	R	3,000 ⁴	100	I	A,D
	H	01	Kennelly, Barbara B	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	02	Gejdenson, Samuel	D	21,650	100	I	FA
	H	03	Morrison, Bruce A	D	23,300	100	I	
	H	04	McKinney, Stewart B	R	250	100	I	
	H	05	Ratchford, William N	D	13,500	100	I	A
Connecticut								

³\$800 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

⁴\$2,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Connecticut, Con't.	H	05	Rowland, John G	R	1,000	100	C	
	H	06	Johnson, Nancy L	R	5,250	100	I	
Delaware	S		Biden, Joseph*	D	42,577	100	I	FR, I
	H	00	Carper, Thomas	D	2250	100	I	
Florida	S		Hawkins, Paula	R	3,500	29	I	
	S		Stone, Dick	D	1,000 ^s	100	C	
	H	01	Hutto, Earl D	D	1,000	0	I	AS
	H	02	Fuqua, Don	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	04	Chappell, William V	D	1,000	100	I	A, D
	H	05	McCollum, Bill	R	1,000	0	I	
	H	06	Mackay, Kenneth III	D	4,250	30	I	
	H	07	Gibbons, Sam M	D	9,500	85	I	
	H	07	Kavloukis, Michael N	R	500	0	C	
	H	09	Bilirakis, Michael	R	6,500	0	I	
	H	10	Ireland, Andy	R	1,000	0	I	FA, ME
	H	10	Glass, Patricia M	D	500	100	C	
Georgia	H	11	Nelson, Bill	D	1,500	34	I	
	H	12	Lewis, Tom	R	1,000	0	I	
	H	13	Mack, Connie	R	1,250	0	I	
	H	14	Mica, Daniel A	D	18,500	71	I	FA
	H	15	Shaw, E Clay Jr	R	4,500	78	I	
	H	16	Smith, Lawrence J	D	44,818 ^e	79	I	FA, ME
	H	16	Smith, Joseph (Doc)	R	250	100	C	
	H	17	Lehman, William	D	1,750	50	I	A
	H	18	Pepper, Claude	D	3,500	15	I	
	H	19	Fascell, Dante B	D	25,750	95	I	FA
	S		Nunn, Sam	D	8,000	75	I	AS, I
	H	04	Levitas, Elliot H	D	16,500	21	I	
	H	04	Swindall, Patrick L	R	2,200	100	C	
	H	05	Fowler, W W Jr	D	8,500	71	I	I
	H	07	Darden, George W III	D	1,000	0	I	

^s\$1,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

^e\$1,688 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Hawaii	H	Hefel, Cecil L	D	500	100	I	
Idaho	H	Stallings, Richard H	D	8,750	100	C	
Illinois	S	Percy, Charles H	R	500	0	I	FR, NE
	S	Dixon, Alan J	D	500	100	C	
	S	Corcoran, Tom	R	51,650	93	C	
	S	Rock, Phillip J	D	500	0	C	
	S	Seith, Alex R	D	1,000	0	C	
	S	Simon, Paul*	D	301,383	81	C	
	H	Collins, Cardiss	D	21,250	73	I	
	H	Rostenkowski, Dan	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	Yates, Sidney R	D	6,500	100	I	A
	H	Sohn, Herbert	R	1,000	0	C	
	H	Porter, John E	R	8,350	77	I	A
	H	Annunzio, Frank	D	250	100	I	
	H	Fawell, Harris W	R	500	0	O	
	H	Groberg, John E	R	500	0	O	
	H	Martin, Lynn M	R	1,000	0	I	AS
	H	Schwerdtfeger, Carl	D	500	100	C	
	H	Evans, Lane	D	7,600	96	I	
	H	Michel, Robert H	R	9,250	63	I	I
	H	Bruce, Terry	D	1,000	100	C	
Indiana	H	Durbin, Richard J	D	24,808	75	I	
	H	Gray, Kenneth J	D	1,500	100	O	
	H	Patchett, John R	R	5,000	100	O	
	H	Hall, Katie	D	250	100	I	
	H	Visclosky, Peter J	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	Sharp, Philip R	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	Smith, Arthur E	D	500	100	C	
	H	McCloskey, Francis X	D	6,000	100	I	AS
	H	McIntyre, Richard D Sr	R	5,250	100	C	
	H	Hamilton, Lee H	D	14,350	100	I	FA, ME, I
	S	Jepsen, Roger W*	R	8,000	100	I	AS

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Iowa, Con't.	S		Harkin, Thomas*	D	109,830	100	C	
	H	01	Leach, James A	R	130 ⁷	100	I	FA
	H	05	Fitzgerald, Jerome D	D	6,250	100	O	
	H	05	Lightfoot, Jim R	R	7,500	100	O	
	S		Dole, Robert	R	3,000 ⁸	100	I	
Kansas	S		Kassebaum, Nancy L*	R	4,000	100	I	FR
	H	03	Meyers, Jan	R	6,000	100	O	
	H	03	Reardon, John E	D	700	100	O	
	H	03	Uhlman, John W	R	300	100	O	
	H	04	Glickman, Daniel R	D	250	100	I	
Kentucky	S		Huddleston, Walter*	D	12,000	100	I	A, D, I
	S		McConnell, Mitch*	R	17,600	100	C	I
	H	03	Mazzoli, Romano L	D	1,000	100	I	I
	H	03	Musselman, Cissy	R	250	100	C	
	H	04	Mulloy, William P II	D	500	100	C	
Louisiana	S		Johnston, J Bennett*	D	7,500	47	I	A, D
	S		Long, Russell E	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	01	Livingston, Robert L	R	7,750	75	I	A
	H	02	Boggs, Lindy	D	15,000	68	I	A
	H	03	Tauzin, Wilbert J II	D	2,000	0	I	
Maine	H	05	Huckaby, Thomas G	D	2,000	0	I	
	H	06	Moore, W Henson	R	2,500	0	I	
	H	07	Breaux, John B	D	2,000	0	I	
	H	08	Long, Cathy	D	2,250	12	I	
	S		Cohen, William*	R	42,950	100	I	AS, I
Maryland	S		Mitchell, George J	D	1,000 ⁹	100	I	
	H	01	McKernan, John R Jr	R	5,300	100	I	
	H	02	Snowe, Olympia J	R	5,500	100	I	FA
	S		Sarbanes, Paul S	D	1,000	100	I	FR, NE

⁷\$130 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

⁸\$1,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

⁹\$1,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Maryland, Con't.	H	01	Dyson, Roy	D	500	100	I	AS
	H	02	Long, Clarence D	D	165,175 ¹⁰	99	I	A
	H	02	Bentley, Helen D	R	1,200	100	C	
	H	03	Mikulski, Barbara A	D	500	100	I	
	H	04	McMillen, Tom	D	500	100	C	
	H	05	Hoyer, Steny	D	1,500	100	I	A
	H	08	Barnes, Michael D	D	1,500	100	I	FA
	S		Kennedy, Edward M	D	2,000	100	I	AS
Massachusetts	S		Shannon, James M	D	250	100	O	
	H	01	Conte, Silvio D	R	5,250	100	I	A
	H	04	Frank, Barney	D	3,517	97	I	
	H	05	Atkins, Chester G	D	500	100	O	FA
	H	05	Shannon, James M	D	250	100	O	
	H	06	Mavroutles, Nicholas	D	2,050	52	I	AS
	H	07	Markey, Edward J	D	4,250	100	I	
	H	09	Moakley, John J	D	250	100	I	
	H	10	Studds, Gerry E	D	6,600	100	I	FA
	H	10	Crampton, Lewis S W	D	3,500	100	C	
	S		Levin, Carl*	D	175,038	100	I	AS
	H	03	Wolpe, Howard	D	17,850	100	I	FA
	H	04	Siljander, Mark D	R	30,850 ¹¹	100	I	FA, ME
	H	05	Henry, Paul B	R	1,200	100	O	
	H	05	McInerney, Gary J	D	500	100	O	
	H	06	Carr, M Robert	D	4,250	100	I	A
	H	09	Vander Jagt, Guy	R	5,300	100	I	
	H	10	Schuetz, William D	R	8,900	100	C	
	H	11	Stewart, Thomas P	D	500	100	C	
	H	16	Dingell, John D	D	500	100	I	
	H	17	Levin, Sander M	D	250	100	I	
Michigan								

¹⁰\$1,000 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

¹¹\$1,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Michigan, Con't. Minnesota	H	18	Broomfield, William	R	5,000	100	I	FA
	S		Boschwitz, Rudolph*	I-R	125,775	100	I	FR, NE
	S		Durenberger, Dave	I-R	750	100	I	I
	S		Growe, Joan A	DFL	1,500	100	C	
	S		Oberstar, James L	DFL	7,850	100	C	
Mississippi	H	01	Spicer, Keith P	I-R	3,900	100	C	
	H	04	Vento, Bruce F	DFL	250	100	I	A
	H	05	Sabo, Martin O	DFL	450	100	I	
	H	06	Sikorski, Gerry	DFL	22,850	100	I	A, D
	S		Cochran, Thad*	D	6,500	100	I	
	S		Winter, William F*	D	68,990	100	C	
	H	02	Franklin, William W	R	6,250	100	I	
	H	02	Clark, Robert G	D	4,200	96	C	
	H	04	Dowdy, Charles W	D	10,000	100	I	
	H	05	Lott, Trent	R	6,500	100	I	
Missouri	S		Danforth, John C	R	1,000	100	I	
	H	01	Clay, William L	D	500	100	I	
	H	02	Young, Robert A	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	03	Gephardt, Richard A	D	6,130 ^{1,2}	8	I	AS
	H	04	Skelton, Ike	D	3,000	67	I	
	H	05	Wheat, Alan	D	18,600	40	I	
	H	06	Coleman, E Thomas	R	250	100	I	
	H	09	Francke, Carrie D	R	11,900	84	C	
	S		Baucus, Max*	D	51,050	100	I	
	H	02	Blaylock, Chet	D	1,250	100	C	
Montana	S		Exon, J James*	D	7,750	100	I	AS
	H	01	Reid, Harry M	D	21,900	100	I	FA
	S		Humphrey, Gordon*	R	5,000	100	I	AS
	S		D'Amours, Norman*	D	90,700	100	C	
	H	01	Dudley, Dudley	D	3,250	100	O	
Nebraska Nevada New Hampshire	H	01	Smith, Robert C	R	6,000	100	O	
	H	01	Brady, Lawrence J	D	4,800	100	O	

^{1,2}\$130 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
New Jersey	S		Bradley, Bill*	D	40,000	100	I	I
	S		Lautenberg, Frank B	D	1,750	100	I	
	H	01	Florio, James J	D	700	100	I	
	H	04	Smith, Christopher H	R	5,500	100	I	FA, ME
	H	04	Yates, Craig W	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	05	Rohrlich, Mark	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	06	Dwyer, Bernard J	D	250	100	I	A, I
	H	07	Rinaldo, Matthew J	R	250	100	I	
	H	08	Roe, Robert A	D	500	100	I	I
	H	09	Torricelli, Robert G	D	29,250	100	I	FA, ME
New Mexico	H	13	Saxton, H James	R	1,000	100	O	
	H	14	Guarini, Frank	D	1,750	100	I	
	S		Bingaman, Jeff	D	7,500	100	I	AS
	S		Domenici, Pete V*	R	18,000	100	I	A
	S		Pratt, Judith A	D	500	100	C	
	H	01	Lujan, Manuel	R	5,000	100	I	
	H	03	Richardson, William	D	10,100	100	I	
	S		D'Amato, Alphonse	R	1,000	100	I	A, D
	H	01	Carney, William	R	5,000	100	I	
	H	01	Hochbrueckner, George	D	3,367 ¹³	0	C	
New York	H	02	Downey, Thomas J	D	12,208 ¹⁴	11	I	
	H	03	Mrazek, Robert J	D	30,488 ¹⁵	81	I	A
	H	04	Lent, Norman F	R	500	100	I	
	H	04	Englehard, Sheldon	D	8 ¹⁶	0	C	
	H	05	McGrath, Raymond J	R	500	100	I	
	H	05	D'Innocenzo, Michael	D	9,061 ¹⁷	0	C	
	H	06	Addabbo, Joseph P	D	10,500	100	I	A, D
	H	07	Ackerman, Gary L	D	1,500	100	I	
	H	09	Ferraro, Geraldine	D	7,500	100	I	

¹³\$3,367 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

¹⁴\$8 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

¹⁵\$27,420 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

¹⁶\$8 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

¹⁷\$9,061 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
New York, Con't.	H	09	Manton, Thomas J	D	1,000	100	O	
	H	10	Schumer, Charles E	D	635 ¹⁸	100	I	
	H	11	Towns, Edolphus	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	12	Owens, Major R	D	5,250	100	I	
	H	13	Solarz, Stephen J	D	350	100	I	FA
	H	15	Green, Sedgwick (Bill)	D	12,750	100	I	A
	H	16	Rangel, Charles B	D	5,500	91	I	
	H	17	Weiss, Ted	D	1,000	100	I	FA
	H	18	Garcia, Robert	D	5,750	100	I	FA
	H	20	Dioguardi, Joseph J	R	1,600	94	O	
	H	20	Teicher, Oren J	D	17,750	100	O	
	H	21	Fish, Hamilton Jr	R	1,000	100	I	
	H	22	Gilman, Benjamin	R	6,150	100	I	FA
	H	25	Boehlert, Sherwood L	R	250	100	I	
	H	27	Wortley, George E	R	5,000	100	I	
	H	28	McHugh, Matthew E	D	18,500	96	I	A
	H	30	Eckert, Fred J	R	6,000	100	O	
	H	31	Kemp, Jack F	R	12,799 ¹⁹	100	I	A
	H	33	Nowak, Henry J	D	500	100	I	
	H	34	Lundine, Stanley N	D	5,250	91	I	
	S		Hunt, James B*	D	222,342	100	C	
	H	04	Cobey, William W JR	R	11,150	100	C	
	H	05	Neal, Stephen L	D	4,750	100	I	
	H	06	Coble, John H	R	1,200	100	C	
	H	06	Britt, Charles (Robin)	D	5,000	100	O	AS
	H	09	McMillan, J Alex III	R	6,200	100	O	
	H	11	Clarke, James M	D	2,350	100	I	
	H	11	Hendon, William M	R	700	100	C	
	H		Dorgan, Bryon L	D	8,600	100	I	
	H	01	Luken, Thomas A	D	7,000	100	I	
North Carolina								
North Dakota								
Ohio								

¹⁸\$135 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.
¹⁹\$2,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Ohio, Con't.	H	02	Porter, Thomas J	D	250	100	C	
	H	03	Hall, Tony F	D	500	100	I	
	H	07	DeWine, Michael	R	500	100	I	FA
	H	09	Kaptur, Marcy	D	1000	100	I	
	H	11	Eckart, Dennis E	D	5,750	100	I	
	H	17	Williams, Lyle	R	5,000	100	I	
	H	19	Feighan, Edward F	D	32,450	100	I	FA
	H	21	Stokes, Louis	D	5,500	100	I	A, I
	H	01	Jones, James R	D	9,250 ²⁰	100	I	
Oklahoma	H	04	McCurdy, Dave	D	250	100	I	AS, I
	H	05	Edwards, Mickey	R	5,000	100	I	A
	H	01	AuCoin, Les	D	26,750 ²¹	100	I	A, D
	S		Packwood, Robert W	R	1,000	100	I	
	S		Hendriksen, Margie*	D	1,000	100	C	
Oregon	H	02	Willis, Larryann C	D	2,000	100	C	
	H	03	Wyden, Ronald E	D	22,000	100	I	
	H	04	Long, John B	R	300	100	C	
	H	05	McFarland, J Ruth	D	9,300	100	C	
	S		Specter, Arlen	R	8,500	100	I	A
Pennsylvania	H	01	Foglietta, Thomas M	D	5,000	100	I	AS
	H	02	Gray, William H III	D	9,000	100	I	A
	H	03	Borski, Robert A	D	500	100	I	
	H	06	Yatron, Gus	D	1,850	100	I	FA
	H	07	Edgar, Robert W	D	14,550	100	I	
	H	08	Kostmayer, Peter H	D	26,450	100	I	FA
	H	09	Kulp, Nancy J	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	11	Kanjorski, Paul E	D	2,600	19	C	
	H	12	Murtha, John P	D	500	100	I	A, D
	H	13	Coughlin, Lawrence	R	5,750	100	I	A
	H	15	Wells-Schooley, Jane	D	2,500	100	C	
	H	18	Walgren, Doug	D	5,000	100	I	

²⁰\$2,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

²¹\$1,000 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Pennsylvania, Con't.	H	21	Young, James A	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	22	Pryor, Nancy S	R	500	100	C	
	S		Pell, Claiborne*	D	25,350	100	I	FR
Rhode Island	H	02	Schneider, Claudine	R	7,250	100	I	
	S		Hollings, Ernest F	D	750	100	I	A, D
	H	01	Pendarvis, Edward T	D	750	0	C	
South Carolina	H	02	Stevenson, Fredinan	D	250	100	C	
	H	04	Smith, Jeff	D	500	0	C	
	H	06	Tallon, Robin	D	5,000	100	I	
South Dakota	S		Pressler, Larry*	R	14,800	100	I	FR, NE
	H	01	Daschle, Thomas A	D	11,500	100	I	
	S		Sasser, James R	D	500	100	I	A
Tennessee	S		Gore, Albert Jr*	D	77,390	100	O	I
	H	01	Quillen, James R	R	5,000	100	I	
	H	04	Cooper, James H S	D	5,750	100	I	
Texas	H	06	Sir, Martin S	D	50	100	O	
	H	06	Gordon, Barton J	D	8,500	100	O	
	H	07	Sundquist, Donald K	R	1,500	100	I	
	H	09	Ford, Harold E	D	1,750	100	I	
	S		Bentsen, Lloyd	D	1,000	100	I	I
	S		Doggett, Lloyd A*	D	105,550	1	O	
	S		Gramm, William P*	R	1,000	100	O	
	S		Hance, Kent R	D	2,250	100	O	
	S		Krueger, Robert	D	250	100	O	
	H	02	Wilson, Charles	D	24,100	94	I	A, D
	H	03	Bartlett, Steve	R	250	100	I	
	H	05	Bryant, John W	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	06	Kubiak, Daniel J	D	4,500	95	O	
	H	08	Buford, Donald E	D	1,000	75	C	
	H	10	Pickle, James J	D	500	100	I	
	H	12	Wright, Jim	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	14	Sweeney, Mac	R	7,450	74	C	
	H	16	Coleman, Ronald	D	12,050	92	I	AS

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Texas, Con't.	H	18	Leland, George T	D	1,750	100	I	
	H	19	Combest, Larry E	R	1,000	100	O	
	H	23	Bustamante, Albert G	D	15,650	93	C	
	H	24	Frost, Martin	D	8,250	97	I	
	H	25	Andrews, Michael A	D	500	100	I	
	H	26	Vandergrift, Tom	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	27	Ortiz, Solomon P	D	500	100	I	AS
Utah	H	02	Farley, Frances	D	5,700	100	O	
	H	02	Monson, David S	R	1,200	100	O	
	H	00	Guest, James A	D	1,250	100	I	
Vermont	S		Warner, John V*	R	5,500	100	I	AS
	S		Harrison, Edythe C*	D	1,500	100	C	
	H	01	Bateman, Herbert H	R	250	100	I	
Virginia	H	01	McGlennon, John J	D	1,700	100	C	
	H	04	Sisisky, Norman	D	9,750	100	C	AS
	H	05	Garland, Ray L	R	101,510	100	C	
	H	08	Saslaw, Richard L	D	9,250	100	C	
	H	09	Boucher, Frederick C	D	8,450	100	C	
	H	10	Wolf, Frank	R	5,000	100	I	
	H	10	Lechner, Ira M	D	250	100	I	
	S		Evans, Daniel J	R	3,500	100	I	
	S		Lowry, Michael	D	13,000	100	C	
	H	01	Evans, Michael B	D	700	100	O	
Washington	H	01	Miller, John	R	12,750	100	O	
	H	03	Bonker, Don	D	250	100	I	FA
	H	05	Foley, Thomas S	D	6,250	100	I	
	H	06	Dicks, Norman D	D	1,000	100	I	A, D
	H	07	Lowry, Michael	D	1,200	100	I	
	H	08	Chandler, Rod	R	3,000	100	I	
	S		Rockefeller, Jay*	D	43,500	100	O	
	H	01	Mollohan, Alan	D	5,250	100	I	
	H	01	Altmeyer, James E	R	4,700	100	C	
West Virginia								

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
West Virginia, Con't. Wisconsin	H	02	Staggers, Harley O Jr	D	2,000	100	I	
	S		Kasten, Robert W Jr	R	500	100	I	A, D
	H	01	Aspin, Les	D	10,250	100	I	AS
	H	04	Klecza, Gerald D	D	5,300	100	I	
	H	04	Adelman, Lynn S	D	14,100	100	C	
Wyoming	H	07	Obey, David R	D	5,100	100	I	A
	S		Simpson, Alan K*	R	10,000	100	I	
	H	00	Cheney, Richard B	R	5,250	100	I	I
Presidential			Cranston, Alan	D	17,000	NA	NA	
			Udall, Morris K	D	250	NA	NA	
			Hart, Gary W	D	1,364	NA	NA	
			Mondale, Walter F	D	1,775	NA	NA	
			Reagan, Ronald	R	3,384	NA	NA	
			Glenn, John	D	7,500	NA	NA	
			Hollings, Ernest	D	7,850	NA	NA	

Chapter 5

The Smoking Gun: Creating Winners and Losers in the 1986 Elections

“Despite the budget-cutting mood here in Washington, the (1985 foreign aid) legislation contained the most generous Israel aid package ever: \$3 billion in regular aid plus an additional \$1.5 billion in emergency economic aid. All the funds are grants. The \$3 billion in aid represents an increase of \$400 million over the previous fiscal year, and a doubling of grant assistance since 1983.”

AIPAC Executive Director Thomas Dine
in a 1986 report to AIPAC members

“At present, only four Republican incumbents are unacceptable to the pro-Israel community—Helms, Steven Symms, Jeremiah Denton (the three most right-wing members of the Senate), and James Abdnor (who is of Arab descent)—and all are trying to make amends. If Republicans keep control of the Senate, and the new crop of GOP freshmen follows the formula, fewer and fewer right-wing incumbents may ever face Democratic challengers who can expect the kind of help from Jewish PACs that such people used to get. That prospect certainly isn’t good for the Democrats. But is it good even for the Jews?”

Robert Kuttner, in his article “Unholy Alliance,” *New Republic*, May 26, 1986

“According to a computer-aided analysis of 1986 Federal Election Commission reports, despite AIPAC’s claims of non-involvement in political spending, no fewer than 51 pro-Israel PACs—most of which draw money from Jewish donors and operate under obscure-sounding names—are operated by AIPAC officials or people who hold seats on AIPAC’s two major policy-making bodies. The study shows that 80 pro-Israel PACs spent more than \$6.9 million during the 1986 campaigns, making them the nation’s biggest-giving, narrow-issue interest group.”

Staff Reporter John Fialka, *Wall Street Journal*, June 24, 1987

Emboldened by its 1984 successes, and determined to brook no further failures, AIPAC went into the 1986 election year with some problems, and an agenda to overcome them. There were by then 94 active pro-Israel PACs, and before the 1986 cycle was over, they had collected \$8,154,211 and made direct donations of \$4,609,984 to 420 candidates, exclusive of administrative costs and of donations to state party com-

mittees, get-out-the-vote drives and other expenditures of so-called “soft money.”

Overseas, Israel had rapidly increasing problems with an economy in shambles; more Jews exiting than entering; its electorate too polarized to provide a clear mandate to either the leftist Labor Coalition or the rightist Likud bloc; and its leaders therefore unable to agree on land-for-peace negotiations with the Arabs, or to suggest any alternative.

The one thing upon which Israeli leaders were agreed was that they needed economic help from the U.S., quickly and in larger amounts than ever before. Counting upon Israel's plight to unify American Jews, AIPAC and such allied groups as the Council of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations mounted a rescue operation. They pushed a U.S.-Israel free trade agreement through Congress over virtually no opposition and lobbied an increasingly compliant Reagan administration into turning U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation agreements into reality. They headed off administration plans for major weapons sales to Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Most important of all, with strong administration as well as congressional support, they pushed the total of U.S. aid to Israel well past \$3 billion annually. Through previous legislation they already had turned all of it into grants rather than loans.

To crush any administration dissent, they inspired a media campaign against Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, whom they had identified as the only high-level Reagan official bold enough to drag his feet on congressionally-mandated military and technological plums for Israel, and to call public attention to Israeli violations of U.S. military assistance rules. They also set out to demonstrate conclusively that they could protect friendly members of Congress, and punish others anywhere in the U.S. whom they suspected of non-compliance—or even potential non-compliance—with their recommendations.

So intent was AIPAC upon intimidating Congress and proving its effectiveness with rank-and-file Jewish donors across the United States that it paid little attention to either the spirit or the letter of the law. With a tame press, a supportive Congress, and a cowed administration, who would prosecute? AIPAC employees began to leave a paper trail of serious violations of federal elections laws that could, eventually, return to haunt them.

Pro-Israel PAC contributions went to Democrats by nearly a three-to-one margin over Republicans in 1986, and the contributions were concentrated on senatorial campaigns. AIPAC sought to focus pro-Israel PAC resources upon re-electing Democratic Senator Alan Cranston in California, and unseating Republican Senators Steve Symms of Idaho and James Abdnor of South Dakota.

Abdnor, like Helms in 1984, was a conservative who had voted for the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia in 1981. Subsequently he worked against arms sales to Saudi Arabia and Jordan. He consistently voted against foreign aid bills.

A Rapid City real estate developer and former AIPAC board member, Stanford M. Adelstein, counseled Abdnor. Unless the senator saw the light on foreign aid, of

which Israel was by then receiving 25 percent, Adelstein warned, his opponent would receive significant pro-Israel campaign funding. Abdnor not only saw the light, he allowed Adelstein to arrange a mid-campaign trip to Israel, where Abdnor publicly recanted his previous opposition to all foreign aid.

It did no good, however, as word went out to the pro-Israel community and PACs to give Representative Thomas Daschle, the Democratic candidate for Abdnor's Senate seat, all the help they could. Once again, mailing lists of Jewish donors were utilized nationwide to solicit pro-Israel individual donations.

Pro-Israel PACs donated \$262,130 to Daschle's campaign. And in case that sum was not enough, the same PACs and individuals associated with them provided an additional \$91,000 to the South Dakota Democratic Party's elaborate get-out-the-vote drive, which included telephone banks, computerized voter lists, and drivers combining Indian reservations to offer Democratic voters rides to the polls.

The reason Abdnor's mid-campaign conversion was not accepted by AIPAC was the subject of some soul searching within the Jewish community nationwide. Although it had not influenced his voting record, Abdnor was of Arab descent. In the future, as the going got rougher in defending Israel's ever-increasing needs, AIPAC didn't want an Arab-American senator making waves, even though to date he had shown no visible inclination to do so.

Not all Jews found that sufficient reason to defeat him, however. Edelstein, who estimated that of South Dakota's 150 Jewish families, half are Republican, told the *Wall Street Journal* after Daschle had defeated Abdnor: "I'm angry. I really, in a sense, gave up on AIPAC."

Unlike Abdnor, Symms, a conservative senator from Idaho, was targeted for a very specific reason. While in the House of Representatives he had traveled to Muammar Qaddafi's Libya in an attempt to sell Idaho wheat there. Knowing that, one potential opponent, former Idaho Democratic Governor John V. Evans, knew right where to go for support. After he met with AIPAC officers, AIPAC assistant director of political affairs Elizabeth Schroyer sent him a list of pro-Israel PACs. Before the 1988 election cycle was over, they had donated \$209,846 to his campaign. It was an extraordinary sum from a single lobby for lightly populated Idaho, but it did Evans little good. Symms was re-elected.

Just how hard, and illegally, Israel's American lobby, AIPAC, worked on behalf of both Daschle and Evans is revealed by an internal memorandum, dated Sept. 30, 1986, from Schroyer, who subsequently became AIPAC's political director. Her memorandum instructs a colleague to contact nine named pro-Israel PACs to urge them to give, or give more, to named candidates. The typed memorandum makes it clear that AIPAC was monitoring how much these PACs had collected, how much they had already given to candidates AIPAC was supporting, and which of those candidates still needed more funds:

"ICEPAC . . . have given \$500 to Evans and Daschle—6/30/86 they had 11,048.

Try for 1,000 to Bond Moore, Evans, Daschle & Reid," reads one of her instructions. "YAP has done nothing for Evans & Daschle—WHY?" reads another. "Congressional Action of Texas \$8,162 has done nothing for Evans & Daschle NV & MO. Try \$500 for Daschle and Evans," reads still another instruction in the memo.

The AIPAC internal memorandum, which was provided to CBS's "Sixty Minutes" two years later and also found its way to *The Washington Post*, which published the copy reproduced in this book, also contains notes by a recipient of actions taken in response to the instructions. FEC filings from both the PACs and the candidates mentioned indicate that the PACs complied with most of the Schroyer requests.

Documents from Schroyer and others make it clear that AIPAC also was encouraging donations for Representative Harry Reid (D-NV), who received \$185,890 for his successful senatorial campaign from pro-Israel PACs. Other major beneficiaries of pro-Israel PAC donations, all members of the Middle East Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, included Lawrence Smith (D-FL), who received \$55,300; Edward Feighan (D-OH), who received \$52,500; and Mel Levine (D-CA), who received \$20,000. Representative Sam Gejdenson (D-CT) of the Foreign Affairs Committee received \$40,829.

A major senatorial recipient was Wisconsin Republican Robert Kasten, who received \$128,300. It was a reward for his role, as chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in co-sponsoring with Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HI) legislation that reduced the interest on all outstanding U.S. government loans to Israel from an average of 11.4 percent to 5 percent. This is less than the interest the U.S. government pays on its own debt, part of which is the money Israel still owes it.

The bill, which slipped almost unnoticed through Congress, saves the government of Israel more money each year than the annual total collected for Israel by all American Jewish charities combined. Inouye, who was not seriously threatened by challengers, nevertheless received \$48,825 from pro-Israel PACs in the 1986 election cycle.

The re-election campaign of California Democratic Senator Alan Cranston, certainly one of AIPAC's most reliable Senatorial supporters and a member of the Near East Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, became a major concern of U.S. Jewish organizations. AIPAC officers are fond of saying that contributions by pro-Israel PACs are only "the tip of the iceberg," perhaps no more than 10 percent of Jewish campaign donations that an AIPAC recommendation can mobilize. In Cranston's case, this boast may well have been true, since a California candidate has direct access to many well-heeled Jewish campaign contributors, particularly in the Los Angeles-Hollywood area. Pro-Israel PACs, nevertheless, contributed a total of \$241,232 to Cranston's campaign.

His opponent was Republican Representative Edwin Zschau. Zschau had been elected in 1982 in the northern California district represented by Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, after McCloskey gave up the seat to run unsuccessfully in the Republican

senatorial primary election. As a House member, Zschau had favored arms sales to Saudi Arabia and reducing supplementary aid to Israel. He had responded to questions about the Middle East by saying he would not automatically vote for Israel on any issue before him. As a result, pro-Israel PACs had already given \$19,250 to a conservative Jewish opponent, Bruce Herschenson, in a bitterly fought and widely publicized Republican primary. Zschau won anyway.

At this point, a familiar figure, Michael Goland, who was a member of AIPAC's National Council and had his own California-based pro-Israel PAC, entered the campaign. He had been busy during the two years since he had spent \$1,200,000 of his own funds on television advertising attacking Senator Percy in the 1984 Illinois election.

On May 6, 1986, when the Senate was preparing to vote on an already much-reduced arms sale to Saudi Arabia, Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN) had brought Goland to the Capitol building. There, as a blunt reminder of the political dangers of antagonizing AIPAC, which was working hard against the sale to Saudi Arabia, Boschwitz introduced Goland to several undecided senators, including Republicans Phil Gramm of Texas and Daniel Evans of Washington. Evans reported that Goland actually described the television attack advertisement he would prepare if Evans supported the sale. Both Evans and Gramm voted for the sale nevertheless, and AIPAC's Dine described Goland's Washington threats as a "disaster."

Later in the same month, when a Jewish supporter of Zschau arranged a fund-raiser in an effort to convince other California Jewish donors that Zschau was not their enemy, Goland appeared. He confronted Zschau and, in the presence of Zschau's campaign manager, Goland told Zschau, "I'm going to get you just like I got Percy."

Like Abdnor, Zschau then dashed off to Israel in mid-campaign. He apparently believed that even if he could not blunt AIPAC support for his opponent, he could at least convince individual donors and voters in California's large Jewish community that he was not an enemy of Israel. Zschau might as well have stayed at home, however. No candidate could match Cranston's years of devotion to every Israel lobby whim.

Nevertheless, as election day neared, Cranston's handlers and AIPAC strategists became increasingly worried. Polls showed Zschau with an edge in an electorate where few undecided voters remained. AIPAC officials then devised a bizarre strategy. Evidence subsequently collected by the FBI suggests that it was Michael Goland who carried it out.

In September, three AIPAC staff members met with Libertarian Party senatorial candidate Breck McKinley in AIPAC's Los Angeles office. Present were AIPAC regional director Murray Wood, lobbyist Dan Cohen and intern Michael Tuchin. McKinley says Cohen told him frankly that their "stated purpose was to defeat Zschau" by drawing conservative votes to McKinley and away from Zschau. To do so, they offered to get McKinley a campaign manager and to finance a direct mail campaign for him in conservative and heavily Republican Orange Country. McKinley says he

also was telephoned by Mark Barnes, founder of a Los Angeles political consulting firm, who said he represented potential contributors. McKinley reports that when he asked for more information, Barnes said he was working for Michael Goland. Barnes admits he made the call, but denies mentioning Goland. In any case, McKinley says he rejected the offers from the AIPAC officers and from Barnes.

AIPAC moved on to another fringe candidate, Michael Vallens, a 67-year-old retired contractor who, ironically, calls himself an anti-Zionist. He says that in mid-October he received a telephone call from Barnes, offering \$120,000 in donations from “very conservative Republicans who don’t want Zschau in there.” Vallens was instructed to go to a television studio where he made commercials claiming that he, not Zschau, was the only real conservative in the Senatorial race.

The commercials were widely aired and undoubtedly contributed to Vallen’s total of 101,856 votes. According to Zschau’s campaign manager, they probably also discouraged many conservatives from turning out to vote at all. Zschau lost to Cranston by 116,000 votes in what was the most expensive senatorial campaign in American history, with more than \$24 million dollars spent by the various candidates.

The *Los Angeles Times* pursued the Vallens story after the election, reporting that many of the private individuals who donated funds to the Vallens campaign for the television advertisements were either officers of Michael Goland’s pro-Israel PAC, Young Americans Political Action Committee (YAPAC), or friends, relatives or employees of Goland. If Goland was delighted with the publicity up to that point, the story then took a different turn.

The FBI quietly put the bank accounts of those same Vallens contributors under scrutiny, and noted that deposits soon were made into some of them exactly matching their expenditures on the Vallens campaign. Federal investigators concluded that those replenishment deposits came from funds controlled by Goland. Once again Goland was indicted, this time on charges that he used other individuals as fronts to make illegal contributions of his own funds to the Vallens campaign. If convicted, he likely will face a considerably stiffer penalty than the \$5,000 fine imposed upon him for concealing the source of some of the money he used to buy attack television commercials against Percy in Illinois.

Impact on the US Political System

In a July 7, 1987 report on AIPAC’s 1986 campaign activities, Robert Pear and Richard L. Berke reported in *The New York Times*:

“There is no official list of pro-Israel political action committees. Federal Election Commission records show that there were at least 60 such committees in the 1985-86 campaign and that they contributed \$3.8 million to candidates.” (These figures understate the actual numbers of pro-Israel PACs and their donations, reported at the beginning of this chapter.)

“By comparison, the PAC affiliated with the National Association of Realtors gave

\$2.7 million to congressional candidates in 1985-86, the most of any committee. The PAC affiliated with the American Medical Association contributed \$2.1 million in that period, while the National Rifle Association's committee gave \$909,549. In all, 3,152 PACs contributed \$139.5 million to congressional candidates in 1985-86."

The obvious conclusion from the *Times* analysis is that, although the percentage of total contributions by pro-Israel PACs doesn't amount to much more than the percentage of Jews in the total population, if the pro-Israel PACs are coordinating their contributions, theirs is the largest special interest lobby in the United States.

The extraordinary power this creates on behalf of Israel has been, to date, the object of more public concern among liberals within the Jewish community itself than among the still oblivious general American public. Robert Kuttner reports in an article entitled "Unholy Alliance" in the May 26, 1986 issue of the *New Republic*:

"As Israel has seemed more strategically and economically vulnerable, AIPAC and a new spate of pro-Israel political action committees have emerged as the dominant forms of Jewish political activity. . . Since 1981 some 70 pro-Israel PACs have been founded. By 1985, in a general political climate of. . . single-issue politics, they were giving. . . over 90 percent to incumbents. So successful has this strategy been that only a handful of far-right legislators cannot be counted today as friends of Israel. . .

"The Israel connection is now delivering Jewish financial backing to candidates far to the right of positions that most Jews hold on most issues. Incumbent conservative Republicans have discovered a cynical formula. They have only to demonstrate sufficient loyalty to Israel, and they can all but lock out their Democratic challengers from a substantial fraction of Jewish support, even when the challenger is more sympathetic to such other deeply held Jewish concerns as separation of church and state. . .

"Not only is substantial money flowing from Jewish PACs to far-right Republicans, but in several key states the most viable Democratic challengers have been dissuaded from making the race. The GOP has no such problems. Republican challengers can count on an ocean of business support. Democrats depend on labor and wealthy idealistic liberals, many of them Jewish.

"Within the community of mainstream Jewish organizations, the continuing rise of AIPAC and the sudden rise of pro-Israel PACs has prompted an anguished debate about whether Jews are being perceived as a single-issue community. . . Meanwhile the Christian right has targeted one pro-Israel liberal after another for defeat, because of their votes on abortion, civil liberties, social spending and war and peace. . . The fact remains. . . that pro-Israel money has moved well to the right of most Jewish voters. "

This concern of traditionally left-of-center Jews has prompted the founding of some so-called "multi-issue" Jewish PACs which give only to candidates who, besides being pro-Israel, also take liberal positions on other issues important to many American

Jews. It is donations from such “multi-issue” PACs, sometimes to opponents of AIPAC-endorsed candidates, and generally in considerably smaller amounts than those bestowed by the AIPAC-influenced PACs, that provide the only anomalies in charts of donations by pro-Israel PACs. Where pro-Israel PACs are found to have donated to rival candidates in a race, there almost always are multi-issue Jewish PACs involved.

Long before any AIPAC internal documents had reached the press, or the FBI investigations of Goland’s activities in California had become public, *Wall Street Journal* staff reporter John Fialka asked members of the AIPAC board of directors who also were officers of pro-Israel PACs to explain how they could maintain that in funding candidates who cooperate with AIPAC recommendations the PACs are not operating as extensions of AIPAC.

“We don’t discuss that. It happens to be illegal to work cooperatively,” said Jeffrey L. Berkowitz, head of the National Action Committee PAC of Miami, FL, and a member of AIPAC’s executive committee. He told Fialka it was “coincidence” that his and 28 other PACs represented on the executive committee often agree on which candidates to back. “I don’t give a damn what the other PACs are doing. When I lobby I do it on behalf of the 400 members of NACPAC.”

Betty Chrustowski, a member of the AIPAC executive committee who also is treasurer of Badger PAC, of Milwaukee, WI, would say only that, “When you’re politically active, you kind of get a feel for what’s going on.”

Donald Linker, a member of AIPAC’s executive committee and chairman of San Franciscans for Good Government PAC told Fialka: “I’ve never been in a meeting where we discuss who we’re endorsing and why we’re endorsing. . . . Because of my role with AIPAC I’m better informed. It’s just like being informed citizens and taking information from one organization and giving it to another.”

Those explanations were made 10 months after Elizabeth Schrayner wrote her memo, and 16 months before someone mailed it to the media to show exactly how “informed citizens” on AIPAC’s staff and in nine pro-Israel PACs were “taking information from one organization and giving it to another.”

Chart V. 1986 Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Alabama	S		Hefin, Howell T	D	1,000	100	I	
	S		Denton, Jeremiah A*	R	4,000 ¹	0	C	
	S		Shelby, Richard C*	D	62,025	84	C	
	S		Siegelman, Don	D	3,499	100	C	
	H	01	Callahan, Sonny	R	10,000	50	I	
	H	05	Flippo, Ronnie G	D	500	0	I	
	H	06	Erdreich, Ben	D	4,250 ²	53	I	
	H	07	Harris, Claude Jr	D	17,000	39	O	
Alaska	H	07	Hill, William R Jr	D	2,500	0	O	
	S		Murkowski, Frank H*	R	22,500	100	I	I
	S		Olds, Glenn A*	D	500	100	C	
	S		Bumpers, Dale*	D	22,350	100	I	A
Arkansas	H	01	Alexander, William V	D	250	100	I	A
	H	02	Robinson, Tommy F	D	21,000	100	I	A
	H	02	Collins, Thedford L	D	500	100	I	AS
	S		DeConcini, Dennis	D	2,000	100	C	
Arizona	S		McCain, John*	R	54,000	100	I	A
	H	01	Rhodes, John J	R	5,000	100	O	FA
	H	02	Udall, Morris K	D	500	100	O	
	H	04	Davis, Philip R	D	500	100	I	FA
	H	04	Kyl, John L	D	9,350	100	O	
	H	05	Kolbe, James T	R	6,250	100	I	
	S		Cranston, Alan*	D	241,232	91	I	FR, NE
	S		Zschau, Edwin*	R	500	100	C	FA, ME

KEY: * = Senate election year; \$ = the amount of pro-Israel PAC money received by each candidate by year of Federal Election Commission filings. In some cases, the filing year is not the same as the election year; **Party:** D = Democrat, R = Republican, I-R = Independent Republican, DFL = Democratic Farmer Labor, L = Libertarian; % Out of State = percentage of pro-Israel PAC money coming from sources outside of candidate's home state; **Running Status:** I = Incumbent, C = Challenger, O = Open; **Committees:** A—Appropriations (D—Defense Subcommittee), AS—Armed Services, FA—Foreign Affairs (ME—Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee), FR—Foreign Relations (NE—Near East and South Asia Subcommittee), I—Intelligence, †—House Select Committee on Intelligence.

¹\$250 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

²\$400 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

California, Con't.	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
	S		Antonovich, Michael D	R	1,750	100	C	
	S		Davis, Edward M	R	3,200	100	C	
	S		Fiedler, Bobbi	R	500	100	C	
	S		Herschensohn, Bruce	R	19,250	100	C	
	S		Wilson, Pete	R	1,000	100	I	AS
	H	02	Herger, Wally	R	5,500	100	O	
	H	02	Swendiman, Stephen C	D	1,250	0	O	
	H	03	Matsui, Robert T	D	650	100	I	
	H	04	Fazio, Victor H	D	5,900	100	I	A
	H	05	Burton, Sala	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	06	Boxer, Barbara	D	750 ³	0	I	
	H	08	Dellums, Ronald V	D	50	0	I	AS
	H	09	Stark, Pete	D	1,250 ⁴	100	I	
	H	11	Lantos, Thomas P	D	1,750	100	I	FA, ME
	H	12	Skornia, Thomas A	R	500	100	C	
	H	12	Konnyu, Ernest L	R	6,750	100	O	
	H	13	Mineta, Norman Y	D	500	100	I	
	H	15	Coelho, Anthony L	D	1,050	100	I	
	H	21	Gallegly, Elton W	R	5,250	100	O	
	H	24	Waxman, Henry A	D	1,082	100	I	
	H	26	Berman, Howard L	D	1,250	71	I	FA
	H	27	Levine, Mel	D	20,000	100	I	FA, ME
	H	28	Dixon, Julian C	D	1,050	100	I	A
	H	30	Martinez, Matthew G	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	32	Anderson, Glenn M	D	250	100	I	
	H	35	Lewis, Jerry	R	5,300	100	I	A
	H	36	Brown, George E Jr	D	16,500	48	I	I
	H	38	Dornan, Robert K	R	1,500	100	I	FA, ME
	H	38	Carter, Dave	D	200	100	C	
	H	38	Robinson, Richard H	D	19,900	100	C	
	H	39	Vest, David D	D	100	100	C	

³\$200 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.
⁴\$250 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
California, Con't.	H	40	Rosenberg, Nathan O	R	400	100	C	
	H	40	Sumner, Bruce	D	500	100	C	
	H	41	Kripke, Daniel F	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	42	Blackburn, Michael P	D	100	100	C	
	H	44	Bates, Jim	D	550	100	I	
	H	45	Hunter, Duncan L	R	5,250	100	I	AS
Colorado	S		Kramer, Kenneth B	R	8,250	100	O	AS
	S		Wirth, Timothy E	D	111,750	100	O	
	H	01	Schroeder, Patricia	D	250	100	I	AS
	H	02	Skaggs, David E	D	12,850	100	I	
	H	02	Baca, Polly	D	150	100	C	
	H	03	Strang, Michael L	R	6,000	100	I	
	H	03	Campbell, Ben N	D	250	100	C	
	H	05	Krause, Harold A	R	500	100	C	
	H	05	Hefley, Joel M	R	5,000	100	O	
	S		Dodd, Christopher J*	D	44,050	100	I	FR
Connecticut	S		Weicker, Lowell P Jr	R	500	100	I	A, D
	H	01	Kennelly, Barbara B	D	500	100	I	
	H	02	Gejdenson, Sam	D	40,829	100	I	FA
	H	03	Morrison, Bruce A	D	500	100	I	
	H	04	McKinney, Stewart B	R	5,550	100	I	
	H	05	Rowland, John G	R	250	100	I	
	H	05	Cohen, James H	D	4,100	100	C	
	S		Biden, Joseph R Jr	D	1,000	100	I	FR
	H	00	Carper, Thomas R	L	500	100	I	
	S		Hawkins, Paula*	R	99,650	80	I	
Delaware	S		Graham, Bob*	D	22,250	65	C	
	H	01	Hutto, Earl	D	1,000	100	I	AS
	H	02	Grant, Bill	D	6,000	84	O	
	H	04	Chappell, William V JR	D	2,750	64	I	A, D
	H	05	McCollum, Bill	R	1,000	100	I	
	H	06	Mackay, Buddy	D	1,500	15	I	FA

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Florida, Con't.	H	07	Gibbons, Sam M	D	14,000	32	I	
	H	08	Young, C W Bill	R	1,000	0	I	A, D
	H	09	Bilirakis, Michael	R	2,056	0	I	
	H	10	Ireland, Andy	R	1,000	0	I	I
	H	11	Nelson, Bill	D	1,500	34	I	
	J	12	Lewis, Tom	R	1,000	0	I	
	H	13	Mack, Connie	R	1,550	36	I	FA
	H	14	Mica, Daniel A	D	10,500	91	I	FA
	H	15	Shaw, Clay J	R	1,000	0	I	
	H	16	Smith, Lawrence J	D	55,300	81	I	FA, ME
	H	17	Lehman, William	D	3,250	70	I	A
	H	18	Pepper, Claude	D	8,500	89	I	
	H	19	Fascell, Dante B	D	17,500 ^s	92	I	FA
	S		Mattingly, Mack E*	R	8,000	100	I	A
	S&H		Fowler, Wyche Jr*	D	94,600	100	C	
	S		Jordan, W Hamilton	D	1,100	100	C	
	H	01	Thomas, Robert L	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	02	Hatcher, Charles F	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	04	Swindall, Patrick L	R	2,000	50	I	
Georgia	H	05	Fowler, Wyche Jr	D	6,500	97	C	
	H	05	Lewis, John R	D	21,900	96	O	
	H	06	Gingrich, Newton L	R	5,000	30	I	
	H	07	Darden, Buddy	D	1,000	100	I	AS
	H	08	Rowland, Roy	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	09	Jenkins, Edgar L	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	10	Barnard, D Douglas Jr	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	00	Blaz, Ben	R	850	100	I	AS
	S		Inouye, Daniel K*	D	48,825	100	I	A, D
	S		Matsunaga, Spark M	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	01	Hannemann, Muliufi F	D	6,000	100	O	
	H	01	Hefel, Cecil L	D	250	100	O	
	H	01	Saiki, Patricia	R	1,250	100	O	
Guam								
Hawaii								

^s\$500 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Idaho	S		Symms, Steve*	R	5,000	100	I	
	S		Evans, John V*	D	211,846 ⁶	100	C	
	H	01	Busch, Peter M	D	500	100	C	
	H	01	McKay, Terry B	D	1,000	100	C	
Illinois	H	02	Stallings, Richard H	D	13,000	100	I	
	S		Dixon, Alan J*	D	36,450	78	I	
	S		Simon, Paul	D	9,500 ⁷	100	I	
	H	03	Russo, Martin A	D	250	0	I	
	H	04	Collins, Shawn	L	1,000	0	O	
	H	04	Davis, Jack	R	5,000	100	O	
	H	07	Collins, Cardiss	D	30,750	82	I	
	H	10	Porter, John E	R	7,000	86	I	A
	H	13	Fawell, Harris W	R	1,000	50	I	
	H	14	Hastert, J Dennis	R	5,000	100	O	
	H	14	Kearns, Mary Lou	D	500	0	O	
	H	16	Martin, Lynn M	R	5,250	100	I	AS
Indiana	H	17	Evans, Lane A	D	14,785	45	I	
	H	18	Michel, Robert H	R	5,250	100	I	I
	H	19	Bruce, Terry L	D	500	0	I	
	H	20	Durbin, Richard J	D	5,700	84	I	A
	H	22	Patchett, John R	R	1,000	0	C	
	S		Quayle, Dan*	R	5,750	100	I	AS
	H	02	Sharp, Philip R	D	4,300	100	I	
	H	03	Barnes, Michael P	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	05	Long, Jill L	D	500	100	C	
	H	05	Butcher, James R	R	500	100	O	
	H	05	Jontz, James	D	17,750	100	O	
	H	06	Burton, Danny L	R	9,250	100	I	FA
	H	07	Myers, John T	R	5,000	100	I	A
	H	08	McCloskey, Frank	D	5,500	100	I	AS

⁶\$646 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

⁷\$1,000 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Indiana, Con't.	H	08	McIntyre, Richard D	R	1,750	100	C	
	H	09	Hamilton, Lee H	D	15,050	100	I	FA, ME, I
Iowa	S		Grassley, Charles E*	R	16,600	100	I	
	S		Harkin, Thomas R	D	1,100	100	I	A
	H	03	Nagle, David R	D	4,500	100	O	
	H	05	Lightfoot, James R	R	100	100	I	
	H	05	Hughes, Scott H	D	2,000	100	C	
Kansas	H	06	Grandy, Frederick L	R	6,100	100	O	
	H	06	Hodgson, Clayton D	D	1,750	100	O	
	S		Dole, Robert J*	R	9,500	100	I	
	H	03	Meyers, Jan	R	500	100	I	
	H	04	Glickman, Daniel R	D	12,700	100	I	
	S		McConnell, Mitch	R	11,000	0	I	I
Kentucky	S		Ford, Wendell H*	D	16,000	100	I	
	S		Andrews, Jackson M*	R	500	100	C	
	H	04	Bunning, Jim	R	7,500	100	O	
	S		Breaux, John B*	D	54,850	91	O	
	S		Moore, W Henson III*	R	37,250	87	O	A
Louisiana	H	02	Boggs, Lindy	D	2,750	27	I	
	H	05	Huckaby, Jerry	D	3,500	15	I	
	H	06	Baker, Richard H	R	8,250	10	O	
	H	06	Hudson, Thomas H	D	12,250	60	O	
	H	07	Hayes, James A	D	9,350	68	O	
	J	07	Lowenthal, Margaret W	D	4,000	25	O	
	H	08	Holloway, Clyde C	R	5,000	400	O	
	H	08	Long, Cathy	D	2,250	100	O	
Maine	H	08	Williams, Faye	D	3,000	100	O	
	S		Cohen, William	R	500	100	I	AS, I
	S		Mitchell, George J	D	2,500	100	I	
	H	01	Brennan, Joseph E	D	5,000	100	O	
	H	02	Snowe, Olympia J	R	5,250	100	I	FA
Maryland	S		Barnes, Michael D	D	1,000	100	O	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Maryland, Con't.	S		Chavez, Linda*	R	8,600	100	O	
	S		Mikulski, Barbara*	D	31,940	100	O	
	H	01	Dyson, Roy	D	5,500	100	I	AS
	H	02	Bentley, Helen D	R	5,500	100	I	
	H	02	Townsend, Kathleen K	D	26,530	100	C	
	H	03	Cardin, Benjamin L	D	10,000	100	O	
	H	04	McMillen, Charles T	D	11,260	100	O	
	H	05	Hoyer, Steny H	D	1,350	100	I	A
	H	07	Mfume, Kweisi	D	5,000	100	O	
	H	08	Bainum, Stewart Jr	D	100	100	O	
Massachusetts	H	08	Barnes, Michael D	D	4,500*	100	O	FA
	H	08	Billings, Leon G	D	1,250	100	O	
	H	08	Gelman, Esther P	D	1,250	100	O	
	S		Kennedy, Edward M	D	1,000	100	I	AS
	H	01	Conte, Silvio	R	5,050	100	I	A, D
	H	03	Early, Joseph D	D	250	100	I	A
	H	04	Frank, Barney	D	750	100	I	
	H	06	Mavroules, Nicholas	D	5,850	100	I	AS
	H	07	Markey, Edward J	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	08	Kennedy, Joseph P II	D	6,000	100	I	AS
Michigan	S		Levin, Carl	D	500	100	I	
	S		Riegle, Donald W Jr	D	2,000	100	I	
	S		Jones, Alfonzo	I	500	100	C	
	H	02	Grimes, Donald R	D	500	0	C	
	H	03	Wolpe, Howard E	D	38,800	81	I	FA
	H	04	Siljander, Mark D	R	20,100	100	C	FA, ME
	H	06	Carr, Bob	D	32,000	80	I	A
	H	06	Callahan, Douglas J	R	1,750	100	C	
	H	09	Vander Jagt, Guy A	R	5,300	100	I	
	H	10	Schuetz, William D	R	7,600	100	I	
	H	10	Albosta, Donald J	D	1,000	0	C	

*\$3,500 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Michigan, Con't.	H	13	Griffin, Mary H	R	500	100	C	
	H	14	Hertel, Dennis M	D	2,500	0	I	AS
	H	15	Ford, William D	D	2,700	8	I	
	H	16	Dingell, John D	D	2,000	50	I	
	H	17	Levin, Sander	D	750	100	I	
Minnesota	H	18	Broomfield, William S	R	5,500	100	I	FA
	S		Durenberger, Dave	I-R	2,750	100	I	I
	H	02	Weber, Vin	I-R	41,200	100	I	
	H	06	Sikorski, Gerry	DFL	6,500	100	I	
	H	07	Peterson, Collin C	DFL	1,750	100	C	
Mississippi	H	08	Oberstar, James L	DFL	500	100	I	
	S		Cochran, Thad	R	1,000	100	I	A, D
	H	02	Espy, Mike	D	14,500	100	I	
	H	02	Franklin, Webb	R	3,800	93	I	
	H	04	Dowdy, Charles W	D	6,050	96	I	
Missouri	H	05	Lott, Trent	R	6,000	100	I	
	S		Danforth, John C	R	500	100	I	
	S		Bond, Christopher S*	R	16,160	100	O	
	S		Woods, Harriet*	D	96,100	100	O	
	H	02	Young, Robert A	D	5,000	0	I	
Montana	H	03	Gephardt, Richard A	D	7,000	14	I	AS
	H	04	Skelton, Ike	D	2,750	64	I	
	H	05	Wheat, Alan	D	7,250	87	I	
	H	06	Hughes, Doug R	D	1,000	0	C	
	H	09	Volkmer, Harold L	D	2,500	0	I	
Nevada	H	01	Williams, Pat	D	350	100	I	
	H	02	O'Brien, Buck	D	5,500	100	C	
	S		Laxalt, Paul	R	1,000	100	O	A
	S		Reid, Harry M*	D	185,890	100	O	FA, ME
	H	01	Bilbray, James H	D	5,750	100	O	
New Hampshire	H	01	Demers, James M	D	50	100	C	
New Jersey	S		Bradley, Bill	D	2,500	100	I	I

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
New Jersey, Con't.	S		Lautenberg, Frank R	D	7,000	100	I	A
	H	01	Florio, James J	D	250*	100	I	
	H	04	Smith, Christopher H	R	5,500	100	I	FA, ME
	H	04	Laurent, Jeffrey	D	1,500	100	C	
	H	07	Rinaldo, Matthew J	R	250	100	I	
	H	09	Torricelli, Robert G	D	13,500	100	I	FA, ME
	H	10	Rodino, Peter W Jr	D	7,000	100	I	
	H	11	Gallo, Dean	R	5,250	100	I	
	H	12	Courter, Jim	R	5,000	100	I	AS
	H	13	Saxton, H James	R	0	100	I	
	H	14	Guarini, Frank J	D	250	100	I	
	S		Bingaman, Jeff	D	5,000	100	I	AS
	S		Domenici, Pete V	R	250	100	I	A
	H		Richardson, William B	D	16,750	100	I	
New Mexico	S	03	D'Amato, Alfonse M*	R	25,705	99	I	A, D
	S		Green, Mark*	D	4,000	100	C	
	S		Moynihan, Daniel P	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	01	Blass, Gregory J	R	5,250	100	O	
	H	01	Hochbrueckner, George	D	12,500	20	O	
	H	02	Downey, Thomas J	D	7,000	93	I	
	H	03	Mrazek, Robert J	D	15,669	96	I	A
	H	04	Lent, Norman F	R	500	100	I	
	H	04	Sullivan, Patricia	D	500	100	C	
	H	05	McGrath, Raymond J	R	500	100	I	
	H	06	Addabbo, Joseph P	D	500	100	O	A, D
	H	06	Flake, Floyd H	D	5,000	100	O	
	H	06	Waldon, Alton R Jr	D	8,000	100	O	
	H	07	Ackerman, Gary L	D	750	100	I	FA, ME
New York	H	09	Manton, Thomas J	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	10	Schumer, Charles E	D	250	100	I	

*\$200 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
New York, Con't.	H	11	Towns, Edolphus	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	12	Owens, Major R	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	13	Solarz, Stephen J	D	1,750	100	I	FA
	H	14	Molinari, Guy V	R	180	0	I	
	H	15	Green, Sedgwick W	R	2,500	100	I	A
	H	16	Rangel, Charles B	D	5,500	100	I	
	H	17	Weiss, Ted	D	250	100	I	FA
	H	18	Garcia, Robert	D	5,000	100	I	FA
	H	20	Dioguardi, Joseph J	R	8,750	89	I	
	H	20	Abzug, Bella	D	12,500	100	C	
	H	20	Teicher, Oren J	D	10,000	100	C	
	H	21	Fish, Hamilton Jr	R	1,350	100	I	
	H	22	Gilman, Benjamin A	R	2,750	100	I	FA, ME
	H	25	Boehlert, Sherwood L	R	250	100	I	
	H	27	Wortley, George C	R	5,500	100	I	
	H	27	Pooler, Rosemary S	D	1,250	100	C	
	H	28	McHugh, Matthew E	D	12,000	96	I	A, I
	H	30	Eckert, Fred J	R	7,500	87	I	
	H	30	Slaughter, Louise M	D	6,250	100	C	
	H	31	Kemp, Jack F	R	4,950	100	I	A
	H	33	Nowak, Henry J	D	300	100	I	
	H	34	Houghton, Amory Jr	R	5,000	100	O	
	S		Helms, Jesse	R	1,500	100	I	FR
	S		Sanford, James T*	D	82,925	100	C	
	H	03	Lancaster, Harold M	D	9,500	100	O	
	H	04	Cobey, William W Jr	R	12,000	100	I	
	H	04	Price, David E	D	4,400	100	C	
	H	05	Neal, Stephen L	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	06	Coble, John H	R	7,750	100	I	
	H	06	Britt, Robin	D	4,350	100	C	
	H	07	Rose, Charles G III	D	6,800	100	I	
North Carolina								

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
North Carolina, Con't.	H	09	McMillan, J Alex	R	6,000	100	I	
	H	10	Ballenger, Thomas C	R	9,250	100	O	
	H	11	Hendon, William M	R	500	100	I	
	H	11	Clarke, James M	D	1,000	100	C	
North Dakota	S		Andrews, Mark*	R	28,250	100	I	A, D
	S		Conrad, Kent*	D	32,700	100	C	
	H	00	Dorgan, Byron I	D	7,500	100	I	
	S		Glenn, John*	D	16,500	100	I	
Ohio	S		Metzenbaum, Howard	D	2,000	100	I	
	H	01	Lukens, Thomas A	D	750	100	I	
	H	07	Dewine, Mike	R	500	100	I	FA
	H	08	Lukens, Donald E	R	6,000	100	O	
	H	09	Kaptur, Marcy	D	250	100	I	
	H	11	Eckart, Dennis E	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	12	Kasich, John R	R	5,500	100	I	AS
	H	14	Sawyer, Thomas C	D	9,250	100	I	
	H	15	Jackson, David L	D	1,000	100	O	
	H	19	Feighan, Edward F	D	52,500	100	C	
	H	21	Stokes, Louis	D	5,750	100	I	FA, ME A, I
	S		Jones, James R*	D	47,750	100	I	
	H	01	Inhofe, James M	D	7,000	100	C	
	H	02	Synar, Michael L	R	500	100	O	
	H	03	Watkins, Wesley W	D	1,250	100	I	A
Oregon	H	04	McCurdy, David	D	7,500	100	I	AS, I
	H	05	Edwards, Mickey	R	5,000	100	I	A
	S		Packwood, Robert W*	R	37,500	100	I	
	H	01	AuCoin, Les	D	25,750	100	I	A, D
	H	02	Smith, Robert	D	500	100	I	
	H	03	Wyden, Ronald L	D	2,500	100	I	
	H	04	Defazio, Peter A	D	5,500	100	O	
	H	04	Hendriksen, Margaret E	D	1,000	100	O	
	H	05	Smith, Dennis A	R	500	100	I	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Pennsylvania	S		Heinz, John	R	1,000	100	I	
	S		Specter, Arlen*	R	145,923	100	I	A, I
	S		Edgar, Robert W*	D	20,450	100	C	
	H	01	Foglietta, Thomas M	D	8,250	100	I	AS
	H	02	Gray, William H III	D	12,250	100	I	A
	H	03	Borski, Robert A	D	5,500	100	I	
	H	06	Yatron, Gus	D	7,500	100	I	FA
	H	07	Edgar, Robert W	D	1,500	100	I	
	H	07	Weldon, Curt	R	6,500	100	O	
	H	08	Kostmayer, Peter H	D	36,500	100	I	FA
	H	10	McDade, Joseph M	R	5,000	100	I	A, D
	H	11	Kanjorski, Paul E	D	4,750	100	I	
	H	11	Holtzman, Marc L	R	500	100	C	
	H	11	Johnson, David L	D	500	100	C	
	H	12	Murtha, John P	D	1,250	100	I	A, D
	H	13	Coughlin, Lawrence	R	13,850	100	I	A
Rhode Island South Carolina	H	13	Hoefel, Joseph M III	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	18	Walgren, Doug	D	13,750	100	I	
	H	23	Wachob, Bill	D	18,250	100	C	
	H	02	Schneider, Claudine	R	6,000	100	I	
	S		Hollings, Ernest F*	D	14,500	100	I	A, D, I
	H	01	Ravenel, Arthur Jr	R	200	0	O	
	H	01	Stuckey, James A	D	450	54	O	
	H	02	Zeigler, Frederick M	D	200	0	C	
	H	04	Campbell, Carroll A Jr	R	500	100	O	
	H	04	Patterson, Elizabeth J	D	450	56	O	
South Dakota	H	04	Workman, William D	R	750	100	O	
	S		Pressler, Larry	R	1,000	100	I	FR, NE
	S		Daschle, Thomas A*	D	262,130	100	C	
	S		Janklow, William J	R	31,750	100	C	
Tennessee	H		Johnson, Timothy P	D	16,450	100	O	
	S	00	Sasser, James R	D	500	100	I	A, D

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Tennessee, Con't.	S		Gore, Albert Jr	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	01	Quillen, James H	R	250	100	I	
	H	05	Boner, William H	D	5,500	100	I	A
	H	06	Gordon, Bart	D	7,750	100	I	
	H	07	Sundquist, Donald K	R	2,000	100	I	
	H	09	Ford, Harold E	D	1,250	20	I	
	S		Tower, John G	R	2,500	100	C	AS
	H	01	Chapman, Jim	R	5,500	91	I	
	H	01	Hargett, Edward E	R	700	100	C	
Texas	H	02	Wilson, Charles	D	6,750	97	I	A, D
	H	04	Hall, Ralph M	D	1,500	67	I	
	H	05	Bryant, John W	D	17,000	100	I	
	H	06	Barton, Joe	R	2,000	100	I	
	H	09	Brooks, Jack	D	250	100	I	
	H	10	Pickle, J J	D	2,000	75	I	
	H	12	Wright, Jim	D	13,000	100	I	I
	H	13	Boulter, Beau	R	3,500	680	I	
	H	14	Sweeney, David M	R	10,550	93	I	
	H	16	Coleman, Ronald D	D	12,500	90	I	A
	H	17	Stenholm, Charles	D	500	100	I	
	H	18	Leland, Mickey	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	19	Combest, Larry	R	2,800	72	I	
	H	21	Smith, Lamar S	R	7,000	100	O	
	H	21	Snelson, W E	D	1,000	100	O	
	H	22	Delay, Tom	R	5,600	90	I	
	H	23	Bustamante, Albert G	D	5,750	100	I	AS
Utah	H	24	Frost, Martin	D	1,600	100	I	
	H	26	Arney, Richard K	R	250	100	I	
	H	01	McKay, Gunn	D	7,550	100	C	
	H	02	Monson, David S	R	500 ¹⁰	100	O	
	H	02	Owens, Wayne	D	23,100	100	O	

¹⁰\$500 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Utah, Con't. Vermont	H	02	Shimizu, M Tom	R	250	100	O	
	S		Leahy, Patrick J*	D	88,700	100	I	A, I
Virginia	H	00	Jeffords, James M	R	50	100	I	
	S		Trible, Paul S Jr	R	150	100	I	FR
	H	01	Bateman, Herbert H Jr	R	6,000	100	I	AS
	H	01	Scott, Robert C	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	02	Canada, A Joseph Jr	R	1,950	100	O	
	H	03	Billey, Thomas J Jr	R	6,000	100	I	
	H	04	Sisisky, Norman	D	1,500	100	I	AS
	H	07	Slaughter, D French	R	750	100	I	
	H	09	Boucher, Frederick C	D	250	100	I	
	H	10	Wolf, Frank R	R	11,250	100	I	A
Washington	H	10	Milliken, John G	D	500	100	C	
	S		Gorton, Slade*	R	30,000	100	I	
	S		Adams, Brock*	D	33,750	100	C	
	S		Evans, Daniel J	R	500	100	C	FR
	H	01	Miller, John R	R	12,000	100	I	
	H	01	Lindquist, Reese M	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	03	Bonker, Don	D	250	100	I	FA
	H	05	Foley, Thomas S	D	5,250	100	I	
	H	06	Dicks, Norman D	D	500	100	I	A, D
	H	01	Mollohan, Alan	D	500	100	I	
West Virginia	S		Kasten, Robert W Jr*	R	128,300	100	I	A, D
	S		Garvey, Edward R*	D	7,700	100	C	
Wisconsin	H	01	Aspin, Les	D	8,500	100	I	AS
	H	04	Klecaska, Gerald D	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	05	Moody, Jim	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	07	Obey, David R	D	26,750	100	I	A
	H	00	Cheney, Richard B	R	5,000	100	I	I

Chapter 6

Getting Caught: Losing a Big One in the 1988 Elections

"AIPAC says it is the spearhead for support for Israel here in Washington. It is not a Political Action Committee. It does not make campaign contributions. But the clout of AIPAC here on Capitol Hill is legendary . . . The charge is that apart from lobbying, AIPAC also gets involved in election campaigns by setting the tone, the line for about 80 pro-Israel political action committees around the country—pro-Israel PACs that have given \$6 million this year to a variety of candidates."

CBS Correspondent Mike Wallace
"Sixty Minutes," Oct. 23, 1988

"We're very sensitive about the security, about the future, of Israel, and support of Israel means that we feel that it is in the interest not merely of Israel, but also in the interest of the United States. Israel is a strategic ally of the United States."

Rabbi Israel Miller
AIPAC Vice President, October, 1988

"I don't believe it's an ally at all. We have no alliance with it. I mean, they insist on total freedom of action, and they insist on our subsidizing their total freedom of action . . . Practically every congressman and senator says his prayers to the AIPAC lobby. They've done an enormous job of corrupting the American democratic process. It's the most effective lobby in the United States today. . . I think it's a caricature of the American way."

Former Under Secretary of State George Ball, October 1989

"If people begin to believe that little Israel is calling the shots, then I'm certain Americans would resent that. They won't want any country, big or small, to be calling the shots in the Congress of the United States. But I don't think that AIPAC is calling the shots as far as I'm concerned."

Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HI), October, 1988

AIPAC Executive Director Tom Dine went into the 1988 election cycle with an aura of invincibility. George Shultz had solemnly told members at an earlier AIPAC convention that during his tenure as secretary of state he had built such strong institutional ties with Israel that it would take any subsequent administration at least eight years to

dismantle them. In May, 1988, speaking for the second time at an AIPAC convention, Shultz, like a cheerleader, led enthusiastic delegates in a repetitive chant, "PLO, hell no."

AIPAC members, in turn, set up a chant, "George Shultz for President in '88." The euphoria of the convention was, in fact, a collective sigh of right-wing Jewish relief.

Thoughtful American Jews had been deeply worried when Israel and its American supporters were exposed as instigators of the Iran-Contra scandal. The Israeli government and AIPAC had worked hard and successfully, particularly with Senator Daniel Inouye, to see that whenever the Israeli role was brought up by witnesses in the congressional hearings, committee lawyers would divert the testimony to safer topics. Inouye actually made a secret trip to Israel only days before the hearings opened, a trip neither he nor his staff will acknowledge or discuss.

By the time the hearings were over, Americans had almost forgotten that the "other country" involved in the scandal (which Ronald Reagan had first vehemently denied and then reluctantly admitted was Israel) had broached the arms-for-hostages idea, made the actual arms shipments to Iran, put some of the funds collected into a Swiss bank account to be used for the contras, and even provided the key-shaped cake carried by a team of three Americans (including former National Security Adviser Robert MacFarlane) and one Israeli (the late Avraham Nir) to Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran in May, 1986. Even many of the witnesses at the hearings had cooperated, often referring to Israel by one or the other of the two code names used in the investigation and the operation itself, "country number one" and "banana."

The *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, which had reported the continuing Israeli shipments of U.S. arms to Iran while both Israel and the U.S. were denying them, and before a Lebanese newspaper broke the news that they were ransom for hostages, noted in its report on the obvious cover-up at the congressional hearings that "country number one has demonstrated it's still top banana with Congress."

The conviction of Jonathan Jay Pollard for spying for Israel, however, had resulted in more serious damage to American public perceptions of Israel, even though the Navy counterintelligence specialist agreed to a plea bargain to avoid a public trial, apparently in return for promises by the Israeli government and some of its American middlemen that he would not remain in prison for long. Pollard's arrest was followed by some discreet U.S. government scrutiny of Jews with known ties to Israel who also held sensitive security and intelligence positions. There was a transfer to a less sensitive job for at least one officer in the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs while investigations took place. There were even "resignations" from the Pentagon that appeared to result from the perceptions by the officials involved that their clearances, essential to their work, were about to be revoked. Nonetheless, at the beginning of the 1988 election year, members of Congress again were trooping to the AIPAC convention in greater numbers than before.

“We may have just had the worst 12 months on record in terms of publicity, but we had one of the best years on record in terms of concrete legislation,” Executive Director Dine told delegates. These included joint military production agreements between the Israeli defense forces and the Pentagon, and protection of increased U.S. aid to Israel from the Gramm-Rudman cuts which were whittling away at budgets of U.S. government agencies and federally funded programs. When the administration again tried to sell Saudi Arabia missiles and aircraft in May, hundreds of congressmen agreed to sign AIPAC-drafted letters of protest.

Some members of Congress also had cooperated with AIPAC in an ultimately unsuccessful initiative to strip U.S. presidents of their major tool in pushing through arms sales to Arab states. During the Carter administration and again during the Reagan administration’s successful campaigns to sell AWACS in 1981 and \$250 million in missiles to Saudi Arabia in 1986, the president had vetoed congressional legislation to stop the sales and then Congress was unable to muster the two-thirds votes necessary to override the veto.

At AIPAC’s behest, Senator Joe Biden (D-DE) and Representative Mel Levine (D-CA) introduced into both houses of Congress a rule change whereby, instead of Congress having to cast a negative vote to stop an administration-proposed arms sale, the administration could not make the sale unless Congress voted for it. The purpose was to take the initiative away from the president by making it possible to stop an arms sale by a simple majority vote, rather than the two-thirds vote needed to override a presidential veto. The practical effect would have made it impossible for any administration to sell arms to an Arab country unless it cut a deal with AIPAC in advance. The initiative had not been adopted, but it had a chilling effect on arms sales to Arab countries during the final months of the Reagan administration.

The Israel lobby’s euphoria was premature, however. Only a few months after its 1988 convention, on October 23rd, the Columbia Broadcasting System’s Mike Wallace discussed some of AIPAC’s best kept secrets on “Sixty Minutes,” America’s most widely viewed television news program. All of the quotations at the beginning of this chapter are drawn from that program.

That same month, *Washington Post* investigative reporter Charles Babcock produced the Elizabeth Schrayer memorandum from 1986 and other documents from 1988 pointing to illegal AIPAC “steering” of PAC contributions.

These journalists, working for a network and a newspaper normally reluctant to reveal facts that cast Israel in a bad light, had decided that, after the Iran-Contra and Pollard revelations, the American public was ready to accept some hard truths, not about Israel, but about Israel’s powerful lobby in Washington. AIPAC had made itself particularly vulnerable when, like a pool hall hustler, it began publicly calling in advance some of its most difficult shots.

In previous years AIPAC had clearly marked major targets, and hit some of them, including Findley and McCloskey in 1982, Percy in 1984, and Abdnor in 1986. By

the spring of 1988, readers of cautiously worded articles in America's Jewish weekly newspapers realized that one major AIPAC target for electoral defeat was to be Republican Senator John Chafee of Rhode Island.

Chafee's transgressions were no greater than those of most Republicans in the Senate. At President Reagan's urging, he had supported the sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia in 1981. AIPAC, however, described it as part of a "poor" record on Israel. Probably the real reason for concentrating its resources on defeating Chafee was that his Jewish opponent, Rhode Island Lieutenant Governor Richard Licht, was a former fund-raiser for the United Jewish Appeal. For AIPAC it was a chance to exchange a senator relatively indifferent to AIPAC's agenda for one certain to be highly supportive. Also, since Chafee was considered vulnerable, regardless of what AIPAC did, if AIPAC targeted him and he was subsequently defeated, AIPAC could claim the victory and use the fear it generated to keep other members of Congress in line.

The Rhode Island senator didn't undergo a mid-campaign conversion and rush off to Israel. He did, however, feign ignorance of the thumbs down signal about him that AIPAC was sending its supporters. Alerted by an article in the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* that Israel's lobby was out to defeat Chafee, a support group for him was formed in Boston. When members phoned Chafee's Washington office to explain why they were contributing to his campaign, however, Chafee staffers professed not to know that he had been targeted by AIPAC, even though pro-Israel PACs were in the process of donating \$241,600 to Licht, and not a penny to Chafee.

Even when Mike Wallace chose the AIPAC effort to defeat Chafee as the centerpiece for his unprecedented CBS expose of Israel's Washington lobby, Chafee refused to be interviewed for the program. Wallace waylaid him at a Rhode Island state park celebration to ask, on camera, "Why does the pro-Israel lobby find you so unfriendly?" Chafee answered only that "I'm not going to get into that."

Apparently the targeted senator and his staff felt that giving credence to the reports that Israel's lobby was out to get him would inspire any individual Jewish voters who hadn't gotten the word to vote against him. The idea that there might be such one-issue Jewish voters who were also ignorant of AIPAC wishes was probably naive. And, for whatever reasons, Chafee was falling behind in the polls as elections approached. After the CBS program was aired just before election day, however, Chafee was re-elected. He still chooses not to talk about it on the record, but members of his staff readily agree that public exposure of AIPAC's campaign to destroy him probably "saved" his candidacy.

Unlike Jesse Helms, Chafee's narrow victory apparently ended his awe of a lobby that had orchestrated nearly a quarter of a million dollars, exclusive of individual donations, for his opponent's campaign, and probably will go after him again in 1994 to fulfill Dine's boast that, "like elephants, we have long memories."

In 1989, Chafee sponsored a successful amendment to the appropriations bill calling upon Israel to keep Palestinian schools open in the West Bank and not to use ac-

cess to education for political coercion. The amendment was adopted, both in the House and the Senate. Clearly Chafee now feels free to follow his conscience.

There were other campaigns which, judging by the amounts contributed to them by pro-Israel PACs, were equally important to AIPAC. The most expensive was that of Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH), who is Jewish and a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee. Pro-Israel PACs provided \$286,285 to his successful re-election campaign against Cleveland Mayor George Voinovich.

Almost equally costly to AIPAC was the successful campaign of Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), a Jewish member of the Senate Appropriations Committee. He was judged by AIPAC at the beginning of the year to be particularly vulnerable to his Republican challenger, former General Pete Dawkins, a West Point football all-American, former Rhodes scholar and war hero. Mindful of New Jersey's large and wealthy Jewish population, Dawkins made the obligatory pilgrimage to Israel and verbally vied with Lautenberg as to who would be the best friend of Israel in the Senate. Just how much good it did him is revealed by the final filings with the Federal Election Commission. Lautenberg's campaign received \$260,000 from pro-Israel PACs. Dawkins received exactly nothing.

Such close coordination is not always evident where the battle is between a non-Jewish but "friendly to Israel" incumbent and a Jewish challenger. The friendly incumbent gets the official nod from AIPAC as a matter of policy. The PACs that follow AIPAC directions then contribute to the non-Jewish incumbent. As individuals, however, many Jews and even some Jewish PACs not so intimately associated with AIPAC sometimes contribute to his opponent. A 1988 case in point occurred in Connecticut. Liberal Republican Lowell Weicker Jr., a non-Jewish Senator who often used his position on the Defense Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee to support AIPAC wishes, received \$127,000 from pro-Israel PACs for his re-election campaign against a Jewish challenger, Joseph Lieberman. Some pro-Israel PACs broke ranks and donated \$17,800 to Lieberman, however. The campaign was what AIPAC calls a "win-win" situation, where either victor can be expected to be pro-Israel. Lieberman won and became the only Orthodox Jew in the Senate. He has taken a leading pro-Israel role ever since assuming his seat.

Being Jewish, however, didn't help Senator Chic Hecht (R-NV), who received only \$12,500 from pro-Israel PACs while his successful non-Jewish Republican opponent, Governor Richard Bryan, received \$91,350. Hecht has frequently operated outside AIPAC guidelines. He took a group of Jewish supporters to the White House in 1981 to listen to Ronald Reagan's arguments for selling AWACS to Saudi Arabia, supported a 1983 bill to provide arms to Jordan and in 1986 supported another arms sale to Saudi Arabia.

Hecht made a clearly desperate 11th hour attempt to restore his standing with AIPAC in March, 1988. After 30 generally pro-Israel senators signed a letter to Israeli Prime Minister Shamir urging him to agree to the "land-for-peace" formula endorsed by

the U.S., Hecht drafted a counter letter, signed by six other conservative Republican senators, urging the secretary of state not to exert any pressure on the Israeli government.

The last-minute pandering did Hecht no good. Instead, it probably lost him support from Nevada voters, who might have rewarded an independent-minded Jewish senator who didn't take direction from Israel's Washington lobby, but instead elected Bryan. It was a sad final blow to the Jewish politician whom the mainstream media had been deriding as a dim bulb ever since the early 1980s, when he began showing his independent streak on Mideast policy.

Republican Pete Wilson of California was a non-Jewish candidate who, since his election to the Senate in 1982, had earned a 100 percent pro-Israel rating except for missing one foreign aid vote. He had enjoyed extraordinarily solicitous AIPAC support, starting with his 1982 primary victory over Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey. To make sure that rank-and-file members got the message, a published AIPAC guide to the upcoming 1988 election explained that Republican Wilson "has made considerable inroads with traditional Democratic fund-raising communities." In case that appeal for Jewish donations didn't adequately depict the urgency of supporting Wilson in what threatened to be a very close 1988 California campaign, the AIPAC booklet explained further that, "California's expensive media markets call for a massive fund-raising effort."

Wilson received \$80,050 from pro-Israel PACs for his successful campaign to retain his seat. However, his Democratic opponent, Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, also received \$51,490 from pro-Israel PACs. This was a case study in the emergence of the self-styled "multi-issue" Jewish PACs. Their backers have reproofed AIPAC, and the PACs that follow its lead, for concentrating only on support for Israel and ignoring other so-called "Jewish issues," such as preserving abortion rights and a ban on school prayer. It was they who provided the pro-Israel donations received by McCarthy.

Another example of pro-Israel PAC support for incumbents when both candidates are pro-Israel was provided in the Minnesota contest between Republican Senator David Durenberger, a member of the Intelligence Committee who did yeoman service in deflecting the Iran-Contra hearings away from Israel's role in the scandal, and challenger Hubert "Skip" Humphrey III, whose father, former Vice President Hubert Humphrey, was for many years a committed Senate proponent of Israel. Durenberger received \$167,000 from pro-Israel PACs. His Democratic Farmer Labor Party Challenger received \$16,000 from liberal "multi-issue" pro-Israel PACs.

Pro-Israel PACs also differed in an open race in Mississippi, where Democratic candidate Charles W. (Wayne) Dowdy received \$143,100 for his successful senatorial contest with Republican Trent Lott, who received \$17,000. In Nebraska, Senate incumbent Republican David Karnes received \$31,050 and his successful Democratic challenger, John Robert (Bob) Kerrey, received \$99,000.

In an open senate race in Florida, pro-Israel PACs gave about equally to successful Republican Connie Mack, who received \$34,622 for his winning campaign, and to Buddy MacKay, his Democratic challenger, who received \$37,000. Other major senatorial recipients of pro-Israel PAC donations included Jeff Bingaman (D-NM), a pro-Israel stalwart, whose entire congressional career has been supported by AIPAC, who received \$139,100; James (Jim) Sasser (D-TN), \$85,500; Quentin Burdick (D-ND) \$76,550; current Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-ME) \$63,000; Donald Riegle (D-MI) \$55,250; Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) \$46,750; Paul Sarbanes (D-MD) \$39,500; and John Danforth (R-MO) \$39,336.

Some major House recipients of pro-Israel PAC donations during 1988, all of whom were members of the House Foreign Affairs or Appropriations Committees, were John Miller (R-WA) \$71,378; Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT) \$47,700; Peter Kostmayer (D-PA) \$45,050; Wayne Owens (D-UT) \$45,050; Howard Wolpe (D-MI) \$42,100; Vin Weber (R-MN) \$38,200; Lawrence J. Smith (D-FL) \$34,100; David Obey (D-WI) \$30,250; George Hochbrueckner (D-NY) \$26,800; James McClure Clarke (D-NC) \$25,050; Dante B. Fascell (D-FL) \$24,750; William (Bill) Chappell (D-FL) \$21,500; James Bilbray (D-NV) \$24,750; and Mel Levine (D-CA) \$15,500.

Overall in the nation, pro-Israel PACs supported more winners than losers, but that was because, like most PACs, they concentrated their money on incumbents, and most incumbents won. As a result of this PAC policy, incumbents have become very difficult to defeat. At present, congressmen are about as likely to die in office as to lose an election, and most members of Congress retire well before they die.

Lloyd Bentsen, who was up for re-election as Texas senator while also serving as Democratic vice presidential nominee, received \$40,700 toward his successful senatorial campaign.

Pro-Israel PAC contributions in 1988 to presidential campaigns included George Bush, \$5,000; Robert Dole, \$6,000; Michael Dukakis, \$24,713; Richard Gephardt, \$16,750; Albert Gore, \$18,250; Alexander Haig, \$5,000; Jack Kemp \$13,250; and Paul Simon \$12,694.

Jewish Power in the Formulation of U.S. Middle East Policy

Congressional candidates spent a total of \$457 million in the 1988 elections. Of that amount, PACs contributed a total of \$46.4 million, \$24.9 million to Democrats and \$21.5 million to Republicans. The five largest PAC contributors were the National Association of Realtors, \$3 million; International Brotherhood of Teamsters, \$2.9 million; American Medical Association, \$2.3 million; the National Education Association, \$2.1 million; and the National Association of Retired Federal Employees, \$2 million.

Nationwide, 78 pro-Israel PACs active in 1988 made a total of \$5,432,055 in direct contributions to 479 candidates for congressional office. That was about 12 percent of the total of all PAC contributions to congressional candidates. The figure is high,

since Jews at present constitute only about 2.5 percent of the population of the United States. Political analysts estimate, however, that individual Jewish contributions amount to even higher percentages of total individual contributions to candidates. Jewish contributions may provide 50 percent of total contributions to Democratic candidates, and perhaps more than half of that to Republicans.

Surprising as these figures may be, by themselves they do not explain how AIPAC can maintain almost complete control of U.S. policy in the Middle East. Since the outbreak of the Palestinian uprising, AIPAC-supported measures have had to overcome opposition from representatives of business and industry, human rights advocates, Muslim Americans and Arab Americans (who, combined, almost certainly outnumber Jewish Americans), and increasing numbers of Christian peace activists, including both Catholics and members of the mainstream Protestant churches.

The explanation for Jewish power in the formulation of U.S. Middle East policy lies in its single-issue focus, and the fact that the larger pro-Israel PACs coordinate their contributions. They accept AIPAC's designation of preferred candidates, especially those who serve on committees important to Israel. They then concentrate their donations on re-electing those preferred candidates who face strong competition, and on creating and supporting strong rivals to unhelpful candidates on important committees who are vulnerable.

With \$5.4 million to target in this manner, the PACs that follow AIPAC's lead can function as a single PAC, while claiming to act separately. That single PAC has as much money at its disposal as the combined assets of the next two largest PACs in the nation. Moreover, whereas all other PACs are limited to contributing \$10,000 to a candidate in an election year, the pro-Israel PACs provide whatever they believe the candidate needs to win an election. As the record shows, contributions in the neighborhood of \$50,000 to House candidates, five times the maximum that the law permits, and of a quarter million dollars to Senate candidates, 25 times the legally permissible amount, were not uncommon in 1988.

With such huge amounts at its disposal, and the ability to orchestrate, with impunity, apparently massive violations of the letter and the spirit of the law, it is clear why, throughout the 1980s, AIPAC was referred to by Washington insiders simply as "The Lobby."

AIPAC Press Guidance Memorandum

MEMORANDUM

November 3, 1987

TO: Barbara Anouval
FROM: Brenda Pearson
RE: News Suggestions for Reporters
CC: Liz Schraver

What follows is a summary of what type of information is available and suggested seeds to plant:

Babbitt

The most recent comprehensive articles are from 1/85. The stories mostly focused on Arizona's agricultural relationship to Israel. Babbitt's been to Israel twice.

We need an interview that focuses on Middle Peace Process, Foreign Aid and Arms sales. Perhaps the Phoenix or Tucson papers could do a follow-up to the 1/85 interview.

Dukakis

Back in 1979 Dukakis signed an anti-boycott bill into Mass. law when he learned that several banks and business were sundering to the Arab boycott. This is great lead for a Jewish paper to pick up on. Most articles have focused on Kitty rather than the candidate.

Dukakis is a very viable candidate. The Boston paper and one of the bigger syndicated papers should do an interview. This is a priority since Dukakis doesn't have a voting record. Dukakis needs to be asked the standard questions and go on record with his responses.

Geohardt

Nearly all of Geohardt's foreign policy articles have focused on trade on the Persian Gulf situation. No article has focused on the Middle East.

A major Jewish paper should interview Geohardt and focus specifically on our issues.

Gore

Gore has made a recent trip to Israel. Walter Ruck did a good piece on Gore, which concentrated on Gore's chances of winning more than the standard questions.

Above and next page: Three pages of AIPAC inter-office "news suggestions for reporters" dated Nov. 3, 1987. The notes, prepared for use with cooperating journalists, describe the record on Israel of each candidate in the 1988 presidential primaries for both the Republican and Democratic parties. The notes also make suggestions for generating stories concerning presidential candidates. Of particular interest is the suggestion to "find someone to spill the beans" on candidate Jesse Jackson with the caution that "this is something you shouldn't solicit." The reputed access of supporters of Israel to federal, state and local records that might contain material personally embarrassing to a candidate or members of a candidate's family, and AIPAC's ability to "plant" any damaging information turned up in the media, is at the core of the Israel lobby's legendary power in American political life.

Perhaps a Southern Jewish paper could do an article and focus on Israel as a strategic ally.

Jackson

We have more than enough articles on Jackson unless you can find someone willing to spill the beans on Jackson's extramarital affairs and finances of his PUSH operation. (This is something you shouldn't solicit).

Simon

We have a good article by Ruby and an older article by the Chicago paper. Many of the Biden supporters have gone over to Simon, which could be an interesting angle.

An interview by the Chicago paper would be useful.

Bush

It is difficult to get a handle on Bush. He did a speech for the National Jewish Coalition but we haven't been able to obtain the text. We desperately need an article for him.

Bush is scheduled to meet with the Conference of Jewish Presidents in December, maybe someone who is close to the organization could do a tag interview with him. This article needs to be from a major paper.

Dole

The pieces we have on Dole are not recent. However, we have his voting record so this complements the articles. Also, we have pieces on the PLO bill. Dole doesn't have a position paper nor has he done a recent article.

Dole is close to the Kansas City community and maybe an interview could come from that area's paper. We need a current, complimentary piece rather than something all encompassing.

DuPont

Basically we don't have a single article. Anything would do.

Main

A while back Edwin Black sent out a release but I never saw the printed article. If you could track this down, this would solve the problem. Otherwise, we need an overview piece.

Kato

We have enough articles on Kato to send a different one out every week. But if someone's interested, we don't have anything specific on the Peace Process.

Robertson

Again, this is the case where we don't have anything suitable for selling out to people. Robertson previously operated a large broadcast center in Israel--this could be an interesting opening. Robertson is a good supporter of Israel and is on record as such.

However, the candidate should be questioned more on domestic issues such as church/state, whether he would appoint a Jew to his cabinet (He has said only Christians are moral men and he would appoint only moral men to lead the country).

SENATE RACE

Lt. Governor Richard Licht (D) of Rhode Island is running against incumbent Senator John Chafee (R). Licht, who is Jewish, has a very good chance. Our problem is that the pro-Israel community is not excited and as forthcoming as they should be. We need to put the word out on this race--emphasizing Chafee's poor record. The focus should be to generate interest for a terrific candidate to replace a poor supporter of our issue. See attached voting record and Marty's analysis.

Chart VI. 1988 Recipients of Pro-Israel PAC Donations

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Alabama	S		Heflin, Howell T	D	1,000	100	I	FR, I
	H	01	Callahan, Sonny	R	19,750	75	I	
	H	01	Alexander, Dan C Jr	D	1,050	100	C	
	H	05	Flippo, Ronnie Gene	D	1,700	30	I	
	H	06	Erdreich, Benjamin L	D	2,750	64	I	
Alaska	H	07	Harris, Claude	D	9,500	74	I	
	S		Murkowski, Frank H	R	1,500	100	I	FR, I
	H	00	Young, Donald E	R	300	100	I	
	H	00	Gruenstein, Peter	D	1,500	100	C	
	S		DeConcini, Dennis*	D	46,750	90	I	A, D, I
Arizona	H	01	Rhodes, John J III	R	250	100	I	
	H	02	Udall, Morris K	D	1,000	100	I	FA
	H	04	Kyl, Jon L	R	1,500	100	I	AS
	H	05	Kolbe, James T (Jim)	R	7,500	100	I	A
	H	01	Alexander, William Jr	D	500	100	I	A
Arkansas	H	02	Robinson, Tommy F	D	8,500	100	I	AS
	H	03	Hammerschmidt, John	R	300	100	I	
	H	04	Anthony, Beryl F Jr	D	6,500	100	I	
	S		Cranston, Alan	D	4,000 ¹	39	I	I, FR, NE
	S		Wilson, Peter*	R	80,050	98	I	AS
California	S		McCarthy, Leo*	D	51,490	52	C	
	S		Press, Bill	D	3,000	54	C	
	H	01	Bosco, Douglas H	D	300	100	I	
	H	02	Herger, Walter W Jr	R	500	100	I	

KEY: * = Senate election year; \$ = the amount of pro-Israel PAC money received by each candidate by year of Federal Election Commission filings. In some cases, the filing year is not the same as the election year; **Party:** D = Democrat, R = Republican, I-R = Independent Republican, DFL = Democratic Farmer Labor, L = Libertarian; % **Out of State** = percentage of pro-Israel PAC money coming from sources outside of candidate's home state; **Running Status:** I = Incumbent, C = Challenger, O = Open; **Committees:** A—Appropriations (D—Defense Subcommittee), AS—Armed Services, FA—Foreign Affairs (ME—Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee), FR—Foreign Relations (NE—Near East and South Asia Subcommittee), I—Intelligence, †—House Select Committee on Intelligence.

¹\$7,500 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

California, Con't.	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
	H	03	Matsui, Robert T	D	2,500	100	I	
	H	04	Fazio, Vic	D	5,950	100	I	A
	H	04	Smith, Larry T	R	780	100	C	
	H	05	Pelosi, Nancy	D	16,000	100		I
	H	06	Boxer, Barbara	D	3,000 ²	100	I	AS
	H	07	Miller, George	D	6,550	100	I	
	H	08	Dellums, Ronald V	D	500	100	I	AS
	H	09	Stark, Fortney Jr (Pete)	D	2,000	100	I	
	H	10	Edwards, Don	D	500	100	I	
	H	11	Lantos, Thomas P	D	8,250	100	I	FA, ME
	H	12	Campbell, Thomas J	R	5,300	100	O	
	H	12	Eshoo, Anna G	D	20,450	32	O	
	H	12	Konnyu, Ernest	R	15,500	100	O	
	H	13	Mineta, Norman Y	D	2,100	100	I	
	H	15	Coelho, Anthony L	D	2,000	100	I	
	H	16	Panetta, Leon E	D	2,000	100	I	
	H	17	Hartnett, John	D	500	100	I	
	H	18	Lehman, Richard H	D	500	100	I	
	H	19	Lagomarsino, Robert	R	5,000	100	I	FA
	H	19	Hart, Gary K	D	39,500	44	C	
	H	21	Gallegly, Elton	R	11,000	100	I	
	H	24	Waxman, Henry A	D	1,500	100	I	I
	H	25	Roybal, Edward R	D	500	100	I	A
	H	26	Berman, Howard L	D	5,500	58	I	FA
	H	27	Levine, Mel	D	15,500 ³	79	I	FA, ME
	H	28	Dixon, Julian C	D	6,000	100	I	A
	H	29	Hawkins, Augustus F	D	500	100	I	
	H	30	Martinez, Matthew G	D	21,250	58	I	
	H	30	Chen, Lily	D	100	0	C	
	H	31	O'Brien, Colin Kilpatrick	D	1,000	100	C	

²\$2,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

³\$2,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
California, Con't.	H 32	Anderson, Glenn M	D	1,000	100	I	
	H 35	Lewis, Jerry	R	5,500	100	I	A
	H 36	Brown, George E Jr	D	22,500	29	I	I
	H 38	Dornan, Robert K	R	1,000	100	I	FA
	H 38	Yudelson, Jerry M	D	3,362	48	C	
	H 40	Cox, Christopher	R	5,000	100	O	
	H 40	Lenney, Lida	D	850	0	O	
	H 40	Rosenberg, Nathan O	R	5,250	24	O	
	H 41	Lowery, William D	R	5,500	100	I	A
	H 42	Kimbrough, Guy C	D	250	0	O	
	H 42	Rohrabacher, Dana	R	250	100	O	
	H 42	Wieder, Harriett	R	10,000	100	O	
	H 44	Bates, Jim	D	8,500	18	I	
	H 45	Hunter, Duncan Lee	R	5,500	100	I	AS
	S	Wirth, Timothy E	D	2,000 ⁴	100	I	AS
	H 01	Schroeder, Patricia	D	5,500	100	I	AS
Colorado	H 02	Skaggs, David E	D	30,000	100	I	
	H 03	Campbell, Ben N	D	8,250	100	I	
	H 05	Hefley, Joel M	R	5,000	100	I	
	H 05	Kramer, Kenneth B	R	1,000	100	C	
	H 06	Schaefer, Dan	R	5,000	100	I	
	H 06	Ezzard, Martha M	D	2,000	100	C	
	S	Dodd, Christopher J	D	6,000	100	I	FR
	S	Weicker, Lowell P Jr*	R	127,500	100	I	A, D
	S	Lieberman, Joseph*	D	17,800	100	C	
	H 02	Gejdenson, Sam	D	47,700 ⁵	100	I	FA
Connecticut	H 03	Morrison, Bruce A	D	1,000	100	I	
	H 04	Shays, Christopher	R	4,000	100	I	
	H 04	Niedermeier, Christine	R	5,000	100	C	
	H 05	Rowland, John G	R	7,800	100	I	AS

⁴\$1,000 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

⁵\$1,000 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Delaware	S		Roth, William V Jr*	R	13,500	100	I	I
	S		Beard, Samuel	D	6,500	100	C	
	H	00	Carper, Thomas R	D	2,250	100	I	
Florida	S		Graham, Bob	D	7,500	34	I	
	S		Askew, Reuben O	D	1,000	100	O	
	S		Gunter, William D Jr	D	8,500	30	O	
	S		Mack, Connie*	R	34,622	95	O	FA
	S		MacKay, Buddy	D	37,000	100	O	
	S		Mica, Daniel	D	14,900	100	O	FA
	H	02	Grant, Bill	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	04	Chappell, William (Bill)	D	21,500	84	I	A, D
	H	05	McCollum, Bill	R	5,000	100	I	
	H	06	Mills, Jon	D	16,500	88	O	
Georgia	H	07	Gibbons, Sam M	D	2,000	100	I	
	H	11	Nelson, Bill	D	350	100	I	
	H	13	Conway, Jack T	D	1,000	100	O	
	H	13	Goss, Porter J	R	6,750	100	O	
	H	14	Johnston, Harry A II	D	13,350	82	O	
	H	16	Smith, Lawrence J	D	34,100	63	I	FA, ME
	H	17	Lehman, William	D	3,300	100	I	A
	H	18	Pepper, Claude	D	500	100	I	
	H	19	Fascell, Dante B	D	24,750	70	I	FA
	S		Fowler, Wyche Jr	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	04	Swindall, Patrick	R	1,500	100	I	
	H	04	Jones, Ben L	D	10,250	100	C	
	H	05	Lewis, John R	D	2,550	100	I	
	H	06	Gingrich, Newton L	R	250	100	I	
	H	06	Worley, David J	D	6,000	100	C	
	H	09	Jenkins, Edgar L	D	500	100	I	
	H	00	Blaz, Ben G	R	250	100	I	AS
Guam	S		Matsunaga, Spark M*	D	7,000	100	I	
	H	01	Saiki, Patricia F	R	1,550	100	I	
Hawaii								

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Hawaii, Con't. Idaho	H	01	Bitterman, Mary G F	D	500	100	C	
	S		McClure, James A	R	500	100	I	A, D
	H	01	Craig, Larry E	R	250	100	I	
Illinois	H	02	Stallings, Richard H	D	9,550	100	I	
	S		Simon, Paul	D	5,156 ⁶	75	I	FR
	H	03	Russo, Martin A	D	1,750	88	I	
	H	04	Davis, Jack	R	20,100	89	I	AS
	H	04	Sangmeister, George E	D	2,000	100	C	
	H	05	Lipinski, William O	D	250	100	I	
	H	07	Collins, Cardiss	D	3,500	72	I	
	H	07	Bevel, James L	R	1,000	100	C	
	H	07	Davis, Danny K	D	250	100	C	
	H	08	Rostenkowski, Dan	D	1,000	100	I	
Indiana	H	09	Yates, Sidney	D	7,750	84	I	A
	H	10	Porter, John E	R	6,000	93	I	A
	H	11	Annunzio, Frank	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	13	Fawell, Harris W	R	1,000	100	I	
	H	14	Hastert, J Dennis	R	5,850	92	I	
	H	15	Madigan, Edward R	R	500	100	I	AS
	H	16	Martin, Lynn Morley	R	600	100	I	
	H	17	Evans, Lane A	D	3,750	82	I	
	H	18	Michel, Robert H	R	9,250	88	I	
	H	19	Bruce, Terry L	D	6,050	92	I	
	H	20	Durbin, Richard J	D	11,800	87	I	A
	H	21	Costello, Jerry F	D	6,000	92	I	
	H	22	Poshard, Glendal W	D	7,250	80	I	
	S		Lugar, Richard G*	R	7,500	100	I	FR
	S		Wickes, John F (Jack)*	D	500	100	C	
	H	01	Visclosky, Peter J	D	500	100	I	
	H	02	Sharp, Philip R	D	8,900	100	I	
	H	03	Ward, Thomas W	D	14,350	100	C	

⁶\$2,156 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf. \$2,097 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Indiana, Con't.	H	05	Jontz, James (Jim)	D	23,150	100	I	
	H	06	Burton, Danny L	R	12,550 ⁷	100	I	FA
	H	08	McCloskey, Frank	D	4,250	100	I	AS
	H	09	Hamilton, Lee	D	14,250	100	I	FA, ME
Iowa	S		Harkin, Thomas R	D	2,000	100	I	A
	H	02	Tauke, Thomas J	R	250	100	I	
	H	02	Tabor, Eric Jon	D	500	100	C	
	H	03	Nagle, David R	D	18,350	100	I	
	H	04	Smith, Neal E	D	1,000	100	I	A
	H	05	Lightfoot, James R (Jim)	R	750	100	I	
	H	06	Grandy, Frederick L	R	11,750	100	I	
	H	06	Hodgson, Clayton E	D	6,000	100	C	
	H	03	Meyers, Jan	R	3,000	100	I	FA, ME
	H	04	Glickman, Daniel	D	17,650	100	I	
Kansas	H	05	Whittaker, Bob	R	300	100	I	
	S		McConnell, Mitch	R	2,000	100	I	FR, NE
	H	01	Hubbard, Carroll Jr	D	400	100	I	
	H	03	Mazzoli, Romano L	D	600	100	I	
	H	03	Hutter, Jeffrey Vance	D	500	100	C	
Louisiana	H	04	Bunning, Jim	R	5,850	100	I	
	H	07	Perkins, Carl C	D	500	100	I	
	S		Breaux, John B	D	1,292	100	I	
	S		Johnston, J Bennett	D	1,000	100	I	A, D
	H	01	Livingston, Robert	R	2000	0	I	A, D
	H	02	Boggs, Lindy H	D	3,000	34	I	A
	H	03	Tauzin, Wilbert J II	D	2,587	4	I	
	H	04	McCrery, James Otis III	R	5,000	0	I	
	H	04	Campbell, Foster	D	8,500	83	C	
	H	05	Huckaby, Jerry	D	2,300	14	I	
	H	06	Baker, Richard H	R	8,100	67	I	
	H	07	Hayes, James (Jimmy)	D	5,750	53	I	

⁷\$1,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Louisiana, Con't. Maine	H	08	Holloway, Clyde C	R	15,850 ^s	100	I	
	S		Mitchell, George*	D	63,000	100	I	
	H	01	Brennan, Joseph E	D	5,350	100	I	AS
	H	01	Kerry, John M	D	1,000	100	C	
Maryland	H	02	Snowe, Olympia J	R	500	100	I	FA
	S		Barnes, Michael D	D	250	100	I	
	S		Mikulski, Barbara	D	1,000	100	I	A
	S		Sarbanes, Paul S*	D	39,500	100	I	FR, NE
	S		Keyes, Alan*	R	500	100	C	
	H	01	Dyson, Roy	D	9,150	100	I	AS
	H	02	Bentley, Helen D	R	10,600	100	I	
	H	02	Townsend, Kathleen	D	600	100	C	
	H	03	Cardin, Benjamin L	D	7,500	100	I	
	H	04	McMillen, C Thomas	D	8,800	100	I	
Massachusetts	H	05	Hoyer, Steny H	D	4,350	I	A	
	H	06	Byron, Beverly B	D	500	100	I	AS
	H	07	Mfume, Kweisi	D	5,350	100	I	
	H	08	Morella, Constance	R	8,450	100	I	
	H	08	Franchot, Peter	D	1,300	100	C	
	S		Kennedy, Edward M*	D	30,000	100	I	AS
	S		Kerry, John Forbes	D	1,000	100	I	FR
	H	01	Conte, Silvio	R	5,000	100	I	A, D
	H	02	Neal, Richard E	D	11,750	100	I	
	H	03	Early, Joseph D	D	250	100	I	A
	H	04	Frank, Barney	D	3,750	100	I	
	H	05	Atkins, Chester G	D	484	100	I	FA
	H	06	Mavroules, Nicholas	D	1,000	100	I	AS
	H	08	Kennedy, Joseph P II	D	6,100	100	I	
	H	09	Moakley, John J (Joe)	D	500	100	I	
	H	10	Bryan, Jon L	R	6,000	100	C	

^s\$5,000 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Michigan	S		Levin, Carl	D	2,500	100	I	AS
	S		Riegle, Donald*	D	55,250	92	I	
	H	02	Pursell, Carl	R	8,300	100	I	A
	H	02	Pollack, Lana	D	17,000	86	C	
	H	03	Wolpe, Howard	D	42,100	85	I	FA
	H	05	Henry, Paul B	R	1,250	100	I	
	H	06	Carr, Bob	D	14,000	83	I	A
	H	08	Traxler, Bob	D	300	100	I	A
	H	09	Vander Jagt, Guy A	R	5,700	100	I	
	H	10	Schuette, William (Bill)	R	12,400	100	I	
	H	11	Davis, Robert W	R	1,050	100	I	AS
	H	11	Irwin, Mitch	D	20,600	69	C	
	H	12	Bonior, David E	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	14	Hertel, Dennis	D	3,000	17	I	AS
	H	15	Ford, William	D	3,250	24	I	
	H	16	Dingell, John D	D	2,000	60	I	
	H	18	Broomfield, William S	R	5,500	100	I	FA
	S		Boschwitz, Rudy	I-R	5,000	100	I	FR, NE
Minnesota	S		Durenberger, Dave*	I-R	167,000	100	I	
	S		Humphrey, Hubert III*	DFL	16,000	100	C	
	S		Weber, Vin	I-R	38,200	100	I	A
	H	02	Frenzel, Bill	I-R	500	100	I	
	H	06	Sikorski, Gerry	DFL	22,850	100	I	
	H	07	Hanson, Marv	DFL	1,000	100	C	
	H	08	Oberstar, James L	DFL	500	100	I	
	S		Dowdy, Charles W*	D	143,100	100	O	
	S		Lott, Trent*	R	17,000	100	O	
	H	02	Espy, Mike	D	46,500	100	I	
Mississippi	H	04	Parker, Mike	D	9,050	99	O	
	H	05	Smith, Larkin I	R	7,300	95	O	
	S		Bond, Christopher S	R	4,000	100	I	
	S		Danforth, John C*	R	39,336	75	I	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Missouri, Con't.	S		Nixon, Jay*	D	1,000	100	C	
	S		Woods, Harriett	D	200	100	C	
	H	01	Clay, William Lacey	D	1,000	0	I	
	H	02	Buechner, John (Jack)	R	19,750	83	I	
	H	03	Gephardt, Richard A	D	7,000	65	I	
	H	04	Skelton, Ike	D	2,250	56	I	AS
	H	05	Wheat, Alan	D	9,100	83	I	
	H	06	Hughes, Douglas R	D	1,050	100	C	
	H	07	Hancock, Melton D	R	500	100	O	
	H	07	Smith, Dennis W	R	500	0	O	
Montana	H	08	Cryts, Phillip (Wayne)	D	8,750	83	C	
	H	09	Volkmer, Harold	D	1,500	0	I	
	S		Baucus, Max	D	2,000	100	I	
	S		Melcher, John D*	D	22,500	100	I	
	S		Burns, Conrad*	R	28,800	100	C	
	H	01	Williams, Pat	D	6,250	100	I	
	H	02	O'Brien, Richard	D	38,250	100	C	
	S		Karnes, David*	R	31,050	100	I	
	S		Kerrey, John R (Bob)*	D	97,500	100	C	
	H	02	Hoagland, Peter	D	12,500	100	O	
Nebraska	H	02	Milder, Alice R	R	19,750	100	O	
	H	02	Schenken, Jerry	R	300	100	O	
	H	02	Zorinsky, Cecile	D	3,000	100	O	
	H	03	Smith, Virginia D	R	350	100	I	A
	S		Hecht, Chic*	R	12,500	100	I	I
	S		Reid, Harry M	D	500	100	I	A
	S		Bryan, Richard H*	D	89,850	100	C	
	H	01	Bilbray, James H	D	24,750	96	I	FA
	H	02	Spoo, James L	D	3,250	31	C	
	S		Peabody, Endicott	D	1,000	100	C	
New Hampshire	H	02	Donchess, James W	D	800	100	O	
	H	02	Douglas, Charles G III	R	7,250	100	O	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
New Jersey	S		Bradley, Bill	D	2,200	100	I	I
	S		Lautenberg, Frank*	D	253,500	98	I	A
	H	01	Florio, James J	D	17,350	100	I	
	H	03	Azzolina, Joseph	R	1,300	100	O	
	H	03	Howard, James J	D	250	100	O	
	H	03	Pallone, Frank Jr	D	10,800	100	O	
	H	04	Smith, Christopher	R	11,500	100	I	FA, ME
	H	05	Roukema, Marge	R	300	100	I	
	H	06	Dwyer, Bernard J	D	600	100	I	A, I
	H	07	Rinaldo, Matthew	R	5,600	100	I	
	H	09	Torricelli, Robert	D	11,000	100	I	FA, ME
	H	10	Payne, Donald M	D	13,750	100	O	
	H	10	Rodino, Peter W Jr	D	500	100	O	
	H	11	Gallo, Dean	R	5,750	100	I	
New Mexico	H	12	Courter, James A (Jim)	R	5,600	100	I	AS
	D	13	Saxton, J James	R	250	100	I	
	H	14	Guarini, Frank J	D	750	100	I	
	S		Bingaman, Jeff*	D	139,100	100	I	
	H	01	Schiff, Steven H	R	15,800	100	O	
	H	01	Udall, Thomas A	D	7,800	100	O	
	H	03	Richardson, Bill	D	7,250	100	I	
	S		Moynihan, Daniel P*	D	35,500	100	I	FR, NE
	S		McMillan, Robert R*	R	2,000	100	C	
	H	01	Hochbrueckner, George	D	26,800	69	I	A
	H	02	Downey, Thomas J	D	9,000	89	I	
	H	03	Mrazek, Robert J	D	14,100	66	I	A
	H	04	Lent, Norman F	R	750	100	I	
	H	05	McGrath, Raymond J	R	1,250	100	I	
New York	H	06	Flake, Floyd H	D	5,500	100	I	
	H	07	Ackerman, Gary L	D	5,750	100	I	FA, ME
	H	08	Scheuer, James H	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	09	Manton, Thomas J	D	5,250	100	I	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
New York, Con't.	H	10	Schumer, Charles E	D	500	100	I	
	H	11	Towns, Edolphus (Ed)	D	5,750	100	I	
	H	12	Owens, Major R	D	10,000	100	I	
	H	13	Solarz, Stephen J	D	750	100	I	FA
	H	14	Molinari, Guy V	R	500	100	I	
	H	15	Green, Bill	R	6,500	100	I	
	H	16	Rangel, Charles B	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	17	Weiss, Ted	D	300	100	I	FA
	H	18	Garcia, Robert	D	6,000	H		I
	H	19	Engel, Eliot	D	5,750	100	O	
	H	20	DiGuardi, Joseph	R	8,100	66	I	
	H	20	Lowe, Nita M	D	7,500	100	C	
	H	21	Fish, Hamilton Jr	R	1,500	100	I	
	H	22	Gilman, Benjamin A	R	7,000	100	I	FA, ME
	H	23	McNulty, Michael R	D	5,000	100	O	
	H	27	Pooler, Rosemary S	D	10,750	91	O	
	H	27	Walsh, James T	R	5,300	91	O	
	N	28	McHugh, Matthew	D	10,550	91	I	A, I
	H	30	Slaughter, Louise	D	21,500	93	I	
	H	31	Paxon, L William	R	6,550	100	O	
	H	31	Swarts, David J	D	4,000	100	O	
	H	31	Kemp, Jack	R	2,750	100	I*	A
	S		Sanford, Terry	D	3,000	100	I	FR, NE
North Carolina	H	03	Lancaster, H Martin	D	250	100	I	
	H	04	Price, David	D	24,000	100	I	
	H	05	Gray, Lyons	R	550	100	I	
	H	06	Coble, James (Howard)	R	11,850	100	I	
	H	07	Rose, Charles G III	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	08	Hefner, W G (Bill)	D	850	100	I	A, D
	H	09	McMillan, J Alex	R	5,250	100	I	
	H	10	Ballenger, Cass	R	9,250	100	I	
	H	11	Clarke, James McClure	D	25,050	100	I	FA

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
North Dakota	S		Burdick, Quentin*	D	76,550	100	I	A
	S		Strinden, Earl S*	R	500	100	C	
	S		Conrad, Kent	D	15,000 ⁹	100	I	
	H	00	Dorgan, Byron	D	10,750	100	I	
Ohio	S		Metzenbaum, Howard*	D	286,285	100	I	
	H	01	Lukens, Thomas	D	14,250	100	I	
	H	04	Oxley, Michael G	D	300	100	I	
	H	05	Gillmore, Paul	R	10,250	100	I	
	H	07	DeWine, Michael	R	250	100	O	FA
	H	08	Lukens, Donald (Buz)	R	8,000	100	I	FA, ME
	H	09	Kaptur, Marcy	D	500	100	I	
	H	10	Miller, Clarence E	R	1,000	100	I	A, D
	H	10	Wilhelm, David C	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	11	Eckart, Dennis	D	9,100	100	I	
	H	12	Kasich, John R	R	5,500	100	I	AS
	H	13	Pease, Don	D	500	100	I	
	H	14	Sawyer, Thomas	D	9,800	100	I	
	H	19	Feighan, Edward E	D	8,250	100	I	FA, ME
	H	20	Oakar, Mary Rose	D	100	100	I	
	H	20	Kucinich, Dennis	D	4,500	100	C	
Oklahoma	H	21	Stokes, Louis	D	6,000	100	I	A, I
	H	01	Inhofe, James	R	5,500	100	I	
	H	01	Glassco, Kurt G	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	02	Synar, Michael L	D	500 ¹⁰	100	I	
	H	04	McCurdy, Dave	D	5,250	100	I	AS, I
	H	05	Edwards, Mickey	R	6,750	100	I	A
	H	01	AuCoin, Les	D	8,000	100	I	A, D
	H	02	Tuttle, Laurence (Larry)	D	500	100	C	
Oregon	H	03	Wyden, Ron	D	15,500	100	I	
	H	04	Defazio, Peter	D	2,100	100	I	

⁹\$2,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

¹⁰\$300 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Oregon, Con't.	H	05	Smith, Dennis A	R	800	100	I	
Pennsylvania	H	05	Kopetski, Michael J	D	1,000	100	C	
	S		Heinz, John*	R	29,000	100	I	
	S		Specter, Arlen	R	5,000	100	I	A, I
	H	01	Foglietta, Thomas	D	6,250	100	I	AS
	H	02	Gray, William H (Bill)	D	12,000	100	I	A
	H	03	Borski, Robert A	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	05	Schulze, Richard T	R	500	100	I	
	H	06	Yatron, Gus	D	7,500	100	I	FA
	H	07	Weldon, Curt	R	5,000	100	I	AS
	H	07	Landau, David E	D	5,850	100	C	
	H	08	Kostmayer, Peter	D	45,050	100	I	FA
	H	10	McDade, Joseph	R	5,300	100	I	A, D
	H	11	Kanjorski, Paul E	D	5,750	100	I	
	H	12	Murtha, John F	D	250	100	I	A, D
	H	13	Coughlin, Lawrence	R	7,850	100	I	A
	H	15	Ritter, Donald L	R	4,000	100	I	
Puerto Rico	H	15	Reibman, Edward D	D	500	100	C	
	H	18	Walgren, Doug	D	250	100	I	
	H	22	Murphy, Austin J	D	250	100	I	
	H		Fuster, Jaime B	D	250	100	I	FA
Rhode Island	S		Licht, Richard*	D	241,600	100	C	
	H	01	Wolf, J Scott	D	250	100	C	
South Carolina	H	02	Schneider, Claudine	R	6,050	100	I	
	S		Hollings, Ernest F	D	1,000	100	I	A, D, I
	H	01	Ravenal, Arthur Jr	R	2,350	58	I	AS
	H	02	Leventis, James	D	9500	90	C	
	H	03	Derrick, Butler C	D	16,000	94	I	
	H	04	Patterson, Elizabeth	D	10,500	91	I	
	H	05	Spratt, John M Jr	D	2,900	100	I	AS
	H	06	Tallon, Robin	D	8,000	100	I	
	H	06	Hayes, Donald R	R	2,500	100	C	

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
South Dakota	S		Daschle, Thomas A	D	2,500 ¹	100	I	
	S		Pressler, Larry	R	3,500	100	I	FR, NE
Tennessee	H	01	Johnson, Timothy	D	11,250	100	I	
	S		Sasser, James B (Jim)*	D	85,500	98	I	A, D
	S		Gore, Albert Jr	D	3,500	42	I	AS
	H	01	Quillen, James H	R	500	100	I	
	H	02	Taylor, Dudley W	D	1,250	100	O	
	H	03	Lloyd, Marilyn	D	500	100	I	AS
	H	04	Cooper, James H S	D	5,000	100	I	
	H	05	Clement, Bob	D	5,750	100	I	
	H	06	Gordon, Bart	D	7,150	100	I	
	H	07	Sundquist, Donald K	R	6,500	77	I	
Texas	H	08	Tanner, John S	D	750	100	I	
	H	09	Ford, Harold E	D	1,500	50	I	
	S		Bentsen, Lloyd*	D	40,700	100	I	I
	S		Boulter, Beau*	R	250	100	C	
	H	01	Chapman, Jim	D	1,100	10	I	
	H	02	Wilson, Charles	D	5,500	100	I	A, D
	H	04	Hall, Ralph M	D	1,100	55	I	
	H	05	Bryant, John W	D	7,600	100	I	
	H	08	Fields, Jack M Jr	R	500	100	I	
	H	09	Brooks, Jack	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	10	Pickle, James J (Jake)	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	11	Leath, James (Marvin)	D	5,250	0	I	AS
	H	12	Wright, James C Jr	D	21,000	100	I	
	H	13	Milner, Larry S	R	2,250	100	O	
	H	13	Sarpalius, William (Bill)	D	9,450	99	O	
	H	14	Sweeney, David Mac	R	10,000	93	I	AS
	H	14	Laughlin, Gregory H	D	4,000	100	C	
	H	16	Coleman, Ronald D	D	1,750	100	I	A
	H	17	Stenholm, Charles W	D	250	0	I	

¹\$1,000 returned to PAC, often in repayment for a previous loan.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Texas, Con't.	H	18	Leland, George (Mickey)	D	15,000	100	I	
	H	21	Smith, Lamar	R	6,000	100	I	
	H	23	Bustamante, Albert G	D	6,050	100	I	AS
	H	24	Frost, Martin	D	5,250	100	I	
	H	27	Ortiz, Solomon P	D	250	100	I	AS
Utah	S		Hatch, Orrin G*	R	1,000	100	I	I
	H	01	McKay, Gunn	D	36,950	100	C	
	H	02	Owens, Wayne	D	45,050 ^{1 2}	100	I	FA, ME
Vermont	S		Guest, James A	D	200	100	O	
	S		Jeffords, James*	R	17,750	100	O	
	S		Gray, William B*	D	21,750	100	O	
	H	00	Guest, James A	D	3,500	100	O	
	H	00	Smith, Peter P	D	13,150	100	O	
Virginia	S		Trible, Paul S	R	12,350	100	I	FR
	S		Robb, Charles*	D	35,000	100	O	
	H	02	Pickett, Owen B	D	5,000	100	I	AS
	H	04	Sisisky, Norman	D	1,800	100	I	AS
	H	05	Arey, Linda L	R	1,000	100	C	
	H	09	Boucher, Frederick	D	6,600	100	I	
	H	10	Wolf, Frank	R	6,500	100	I	A
Washington	S		Adams, Brock	D	9,000	100	I	FR
	S		Lowry, Michael*	D	33,750	100	O	
	S		Gorton, Slade*	R	21,750	100	O	FA
	H	01	Miller, John	R	71,378	100	I	
	H	01	Lindquist, Reese M	D	6,500	100	C	
	H	02	Swift, Allan B	D	1,000	100	I	
	H	02	Haney, Ann J	R	600	100	C	
	H	03	Wight, Bill	R	800	100	O	
	H	03	Unsoeld, Jolene	D	8,550	100	O	
	H	03	Bonker, Donald L	D	5,750	100	O	FA
	H	04	Morrison, Sidney W	R	300	100	I	

^{1,2}\$1,000 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

	Office	District	Candidate	Party	\$	% Out of State	Running Status	Committees
Washington, Con't.	H	05	Foley, Thomas S	D	6,000	100	I	
	H	06	Dicks, Norman	D	7,100	100	I	A, D
	H	07	McDermott, James A	D	9,300	100	O	
	H	08	Chandler, Rod	R	300	100	I	
West Virginia	S		Byrd, Robert C*	D	12,000	100	I	A, D
	H	04	Rahall, Nick J II	D	250	100	I	
Wisconsin	S		Engelleiter, Susan*	R	10,500	100	I	
	S		Garvey, Edward R	D	3,000	100	I	
	S		Earl, Anthony	D	2,000	100	O	
	H	01	Aspin, Les	D	11,850	100	I	AS
	H	02	Kastenmeier, Robert W	D	500	100	I	I
	H	02	Wright, James A	R	1,000	100	C	
	H	05	Moody, Jim	D	28,600	100	I	
	H	07	Obey, David R	D	30,250	I	A	
Wyoming	H	08	Roth, Toby	R	300	100	I	FA
	S		Wallop, Malcolm*	R	11,733	100	I	
	S		Vinich, John P*	D	20,250	100	C	
	H	00	Simons, Lynn Osborn	D	1,000	100	C	
	H	00	Cheney, Richard B	R	5,500	100	I	I
	P		Bush, George	R	5,000	P		NA
	P		Dole, Robert	R	6,000	P		NA
Presidential	P		Dukakis, Michael S	D	24,713	P		NA
	P		Gephardt, Richard A	D	16,750	P		NA
	P		Gore, Albert	D	18,250	P		NA
	P		Haig, Alexander	R	5,000	P		NA
	P		Kemp, Jack	R	13,250	P		NA
	P		Simon, Paul	D	12,694 ^{1 3}	P		NA

^{1,3}\$444 uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

Chapter 7

The Other Side of the Coin: Arab-American, Muslim-American and Jewish-American Peace PACs

“The numbers tell only a small part of AIPAC’s success story. There are, it seems, 101 ways in which the organization’s victories over the National Association of Arab Americans, the Arab-American Institute, and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee can be measured. The Arab groups, which are smaller and less firmly entrenched than AIPAC, have nevertheless tried to cool U.S. favoritism toward Israel by emulating some of AIPAC’s tactics. But so far their efforts have been to little avail. . . If AIPAC is the Arnold Schwarzenegger of lobbies, then the Arab-American lobby is the Rodney Dangerfield.”

Eric Alterman, *Regardies’s*, March 1988

The “Arab-American lobby,” as it is called in the quotation above, differs from the pro-Israel lobby in more ways than just effectiveness and power. The fact that the membership traces its ancestry to 22 Arab states, and that some of these states have serious differences among themselves, means that no national Arab-American group can attach itself to any single Arab nationality, sect or state overseas and expect to attract and hold large numbers of members. Instead, policies have to be set in line with a consensus among American members of a minority who, unlike American Jews, are not highly politicized and are religiously divided among various Christian and Muslim sects.

The national Arab-American groups differ somewhat in the kinds of members they attract, and the roles they seek to play in the United States. The National Association of Arab Americans, founded in the mid-1970s, is the oldest of the national groups, but has had at least as much difficulty as any of the others in defining itself. Initially, it was badly divided by the Lebanese Civil War. This caused some of its members, descendants of turn-of-the-century Maronite Catholic immigrants to the U.S. from Lebanon, to lose interest for a time in NAAA’s continuing strong commitment to Palestinian self-determination.

As the Palestinians have increasingly unified around Yasser Arafat’s mainstream PLO and its commitment to a two-state solution with Israel, however, that divisive prob-

lem has been largely overcome within the NAAA, which also supports a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli dispute. In general, its members tend to be conservative and Republican-party oriented, and its programs emphasize the importance of the Arab world as a trading partner for the U.S. and the need for U.S. political and economic support for a unified Lebanon, as well as the right of the Palestinians to a state of their own. The NAAA is the only national Arab-American group registered to lobby Congress, and the only one that has a political action committee of its own. Increasingly, therefore, its leaders are resisting diversions into "cultural" programming and, like AIPAC, concentrating on political work, primarily with Congress, the State Department and the White House and, to a lesser extent, with the media.

The Arab-American organization with the largest membership is the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). It was founded in 1980 by former Senator James G. Abourezk, a Democrat, not to be confused with Senator James Abdnor, also an Arab-American from South Dakota, but a Republican. The ADC was to be the Arab-American equivalent of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League. Its initial purpose was to combat discrimination and defamation of Arab Americans.

As Abourezk and his staff increasingly have concluded that most defamation of Arabs in the United States grows out of conscious or unconscious efforts by American partisans of Israel to dehumanize all Arabs, however, more and more of the organization's resources are going into the fight for Palestinian human rights. Members are likely to be liberal Democrats, socially conscious and active in human rights causes across the board. ADC directors concluded early in the organization's history that discrimination against Blacks in South Africa and against Arabs in Israel and the occupied territories were similar manifestations of a similar racism. As a result, they have worked closely with American Black organizations.

This is in the pattern of Abourezk's career as a Democratic member of the House and Senate. He grew up on a South Dakota Indian reservation. From the time he won election in 1970 to the House of Representatives, he became identified with legislative support for American Indian rights and other liberal issues. As only the third Arab American to serve in Congress, he found he was being visited regularly by Arab Americans, Jewish Americans, Arab diplomats and Arab and Israeli visitors from the Middle East, all of whom expected him to be knowledgeable about the area.

He won election to the Senate in 1972, and a year later accepted an invitation to visit Lebanon, from which both of his parents had emigrated before he was born. His look at Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut gave him "the shock of my life," he has written in his autobiography, *Advise and Dissent*, published by Lawrence Hill Books in 1989. He writes:

"I left Lebanon feeling immensely betrayed. For most of my adult life I had believed that Israel had been picked on by the Arab countries. . . . To learn in Lebanon that the truth had been stood on its head was an emotional shock for me. That feeling, juxtaposed with the impression the squalor of the refugee camps had made on me, put

me in an angry mood.”

The mood intensified when, only six weeks after Abourezk's first visit to the Middle East, war broke out between Israel and Egypt and Syria, leading to the Arab oil embargo and gas lines in the United States. Afterward, when Israel's US supporters introduced a \$2.2 billion appropriation to pay for Israel's expenses in a conflict fought not to defend its own territory, but the Sinai peninsula seized from Egypt, and the Golan Heights seized from Syria, Abourezk and Senator J. William Fulbright unsuccessfully sought to defeat the bill.

In December 1973, Abourezk returned to the Middle East for visits to eight Arab states and Israel. It was the beginning of his personal crusade to put U.S. policy on a more even-handed course.

When Abourezk's support of the underdog turned to Palestinian rights, however, most of his liberal allies in Congress melted away. He soon heard from other congressmen that I.L. Kenan, then the founder-director of AIPAC, had vowed to “get Abourezk.” As the *Washington Post* and other newspapers began to crank out unfavorable stories, not linked in any way to the Middle East and clearly designed to hurt the senator's family as well as himself, Abourezk discovered how powerful Israel's lobby had become and to what depths it would stoop to punish critics of Israel. He writes in *Advise and Dissent*:

“I came to learn early in the Senate that any manifestation of support for a Palestinian state, or conversely, any sign of dissension from U.S. Middle East policy makes one a pariah of sorts. Senators who criticize Israel do so at their political peril. The Lobby hurls the charge of ‘anti-Semitism’ against those who dare to voice opposition to Israel’s occupation of contested territories, to the bombing of Arab refugee camps, and to other ghastly practices which, when undertaken by any other country, bring great cries of protest from the same people who will not allow criticism of Israel.”

Abourezk chose for personal reasons not to run for a second Senate term. However, he has never forgotten his frustration over the inability of critics of Israeli policies to make themselves heard in either Congress or the media, the unfair tactics used against such critics, and the hypocrisy of his fellow liberals when it comes to the Middle East.

These factors, as much his Lebanese-American heritage, motivated him to found the ADC after he retired from the Senate and opened a law practice in Washington, DC. The ADC supports a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli dispute, and reached that position years before the position was adopted by the PLO and the Arab League states that support it.

Attorney Abdeen Jabara, ADC's current president, says the organization has no intention of founding a political action committee of its own. Its publications, however, report favorable actions by individual members of Congress.

The Arab American Institute (AAI) was founded by James Zogby, a former executive director of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign and of the ADC. It defines

its role as that of encouraging participation by Arab Americans in the political process. To do so, it has developed separate subgroups to work within both the Democratic and Republican parties. Zogby is personally closely identified with Rainbow Coalition leader Jesse Jackson, and served in policy-making positions on Jackson's presidential campaign committees in both the 1984 and 1988 elections.

Although the AAI speaks out strongly on human rights for Palestinians, and support for a two-state solution, on domestic issues it is concerned less with the specific positions of Arab Americans holding elective or appointive office and more with creating a support network that will help move them up the ladders of local politics and onto the national political scene. AAI has no political action committee of its own.

A fourth national Arab-American organization is the Arab American University Graduates (AAUG). Originally it was as much a mutual support association for Arab-born faculty members at American universities and in the professions in the United States as a political action organization. Although its programs now concentrate largely on Palestinian rights, to some degree its policies still tend to reflect the perceptions and preoccupations of foreign-born rather than American-born Arab Americans.

Its ties overseas tend to be with secular reform elements in Lebanon and among the Palestinians, whose "marketplace of ideas" was Beirut. At present the AAUG seems to be seeking a niche on the liberal end of the U.S. political spectrum from which it strives to change American political attitudes toward the Palestinians. As individuals, its members probably are equally interested in contributing toward improvement of democratic secular reforms and women's rights within the Middle East itself. AAUG has no political action committee.

There are a number of other Arab-American groups, some based upon a single city or area in the U.S., and others with chapters nationwide built around a common hometown in the Middle East. The two largest in the latter category are the Ramallah and Al Bireh societies, composed of immigrants and their descendants from adjacent West Bank Palestinian towns, predominantly Christian Ramallah and predominantly Muslim Al Bireh. At one time or another, similar groups have been founded in the US by immigrants from virtually every Palestinian town or city.

Some Maronite Christians with roots in Lebanon created an American Lebanese League to support their co-religionists during Lebanon's civil war. Much of their activity now concentrates on securing U.S. economic assistance for Lebanon.

The American University of Beirut Alumni Society is the largest of several active alumni groups built around American-founded Middle Eastern educational institutions such as the American University in Cairo and other smaller colleges. These groups avoid overt political activities in order not to jeopardize whatever U.S. government and private funding the parent institutions still enjoy. None of these groups have political action committees.

At any given time there are four or five regional US-Arab Chambers of Commerce, and smaller chambers built around US trade with specific Arab countries such as Iraq

and Egypt. All are devoted to encouraging American trade with the Arab world, and some supply useful information in this regard to American businessmen. They are prepared to lobby on specific trade issues and enjoy varying degrees of support from Arab embassies and consulates. To date, none have become involved in general political issues, however, and none have active political action committees.

Both the ADC and the NAAA have a large percentage of non-Arab-American members, attracted by the opportunity to work for a more even-handed American Middle East policy, and the absence until very recently of non-ethnic national organizations dedicated to this goal. There also are other small groups within the U.S. working along the same lines. Some are local Middle East peace groups in major American cities. These generally have evolved around one or two informed activists in a community and then have become a magnet to people with religious or ethnic ties to the Middle East as well as non-ethnic "old Middle East hands," and others with similar goals.

In major urban communities, Muslim groups have also begun to test the waters of community-level politics. There also are incipient national Muslim institutions, but there are formidable ethnic and sectarian barriers to immediate success.

The educational and charitable activities of national Muslim groups have the potential for rapid growth if they can find a way to attract contributions from wealthy Muslim individuals and foundations overseas. Their hope is to attract funding from the oil-producing states of the Arabian peninsula to build attractive mosques and Islamic centers throughout the United States as a base from which Muslims can become more visible in all aspects of American life.

Although Muslim groups incorporated political action committees for the 1988 election cycle, only one was even mildly active. Whatever political impact American Muslims are making at present, therefore, is largely through their votes in major metropolitan areas. This is a force to be reckoned with increasingly in the future, however.

Of all the groups united around a more even-handed American Middle East policy, only one, the NAAA, officially lobbies Congress. Others, however, have worked hard with individual members of Congress to sponsor hearings, programs and investigations into matters of mutual concern. With the possible exception of some of the Muslim groups, who are so new to the American political scene that they have not yet drawn up common national goals, there is tacit agreement among the major groups to settle for a minimal program. This includes human rights for all peoples in the Middle East (and criticism of Arab as well as Israeli violations); removal of impediments to U.S.-Middle East trade; support and encouragement for moderate policies wherever they may appear in the Middle East (including sales of U.S. arms to such moderate Arab states as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan and Kuwait); and support for economic assistance for Arab countries in need, including Lebanon, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan.

Arab-American groups have condemned state and individual terrorism without reservation, and insist that Israeli acts against Arab civilians must also be officially recognized by the US government as terrorism. The Arab-American groups also call for the upholding of international law by all parties to Middle East disputes. All have, predictably, condemned Israeli and Iranian violations, but they also have been critical of Libyan and Syrian activities which seemed to support armed actions against civilians.

While making little headway against the pro-Israel lobby, Arab-American groups have called persistently for congressional investigations of Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights, and also of Israeli violations in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon of U.S. law specifying that U.S. arms supplied to foreign countries can be used only in self-defense. Arab-American groups have called for a moratorium on economic and military aid to Israel until Israel agrees to abide by U.S. rules for its use, and to abide by international agreements such as the nuclear non-proliferation agreement, which Israel has refused to sign, and the Geneva Conventions, which Israel has accepted but which it violates in its treatment of the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza.

To date, the combined efforts of Arab-American and Muslim-American groups have resulted in the formation of seven PACs, only four of which have made donations to political campaigns. The first was the National Association of Arab Americans PAC (NAAAPAC), founded for the 1983-84 election cycle. The activities of all of these seven PACs are summarized below:

Arab-American & Muslim-American PACs Registered During the 1987-88 Election Cycle

PAC Name/ Sponsor Name	Total of Funds Raised	Contributions to Campaigns of Candidates for Federal Office	Independent Expenditures to Campaigns	Total of Contributions Expenditures
NAAA PAC/ NAAA	\$20,338	\$28,950	none	\$28,950
ACPAC/ American Council of Presidents of National Arab American Organizations	\$44,170	\$4,620	none	\$4,620
Muslim PAC	\$49,312	\$4,800	none	\$4,800
Islamic Society of North America				0
Islamic Propagation Centre International USA				0
Muslims for a Better America				0
Arab American Leadership Political Action Committee				0

1985-1986 Election Cycle

NAAAPAC	\$79,781	\$49,225	\$11,922	\$61,147
Arab American Leadership Political Action Committee				0

1983-1984 Election Cycle

NAAAPAC	\$19,780	\$17,350	none	\$17,350
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Jewish Peace Groups

Although they don't like to be discussed in the context of "pro-Arab" groups, Jewish peace groups sometimes find themselves on the same side of political issues as Arab-American groups, particularly the ADC, because of its emphasis on human rights.

A limitation on the effectiveness of such Jewish groups, however, has been their reluctance to strike off on their own as purely American organizations, rather than as U.S. offshoots of peace groups in Israel. As a result, most of their programs are built around visiting Israeli speakers, and there is little interaction with other organizations. Unlike the Arab-American groups, which generally welcome participation of members with no Middle Eastern ethnic ties and of American Jews, the Jewish peace groups have virtually no non-Jewish participation and little mass participation within the U.S. Jewish community.

At present, cooperation between Arab-American and Jewish peace groups is further limited by the problem of aid to Israel. Even some of the most vociferous critics of Likud bloc policies, both in Israel and among American Jews, are hesitant to call publicly for strings upon U.S. aid.

For the Arab-American groups, this is the bottom line, since most of their members believe that only such strings can persuade the Israeli government to abandon its Jewish settlement activities and its military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza.

On the other hand, most members of both the Jewish peace groups and the Arab-American groups have in common support for a two-state solution as the only way to guarantee security for Israel and self-determination for the Palestinians.

If for no other reason than that, it is necessary, in discussing the "Arab-American lobby," to mention such Jewish peace groups. To date only one such group, the Jewish Peace Lobby, founded in 1988 by Dr. Jerome Segal of the University of Maryland, has established a political action committee. Its PAC, founded early in 1989, made no contributions to political campaigns and became inactive later in the same year.

The Jewish Peace Lobby PAC is not included in any of the comparisons presented in this book, nor in the comparisons below, because it has made no expenditures. All other Jewish PACs are considered "pro-Israel," and the Muslim-American PACs are included with the Arab-American PACs.

The Numbers Tell the Tale

The numbers tell a straightforward tale of the relative influence to date on Congress of the rival PACs.

There were no Arab-American PACs before the 1984 election cycle. In the 1984 cycle, the 81 active pro-Israel PACs spent \$3,772,994 and the one active Arab-American PAC spent \$17,350 on congressional campaigns. Pro-Israel PACs therefore outspent Arab-American PACs by 217 to 1.

In the 1986 election cycle, 94 active pro-Israel PACs spent \$4,609,984 and one active Arab-American PAC spent \$61,147. Pro-Israel PACs outspent Arab-American

PACs by 75 to 1.

In the 1988 election cycle, 78 active pro-Israel PACs spent \$5,432,055 on congressional campaigns and 3 active Arab-American and Muslim PACs spent \$38,370. Pro-Israel PACs outspent Arab American PACs by 141 to 1.

It is worth noting that of the seven Arab-American and Muslim-American PACs that have registered over the years, none has concealed its purpose with deceptive names.

Chart VII. 1984, 1986 & 1988 Recipients of Pro-Arab PAC Donations

	District	Office	Candidate	Party	Total Donations	1988	1986	1984
Alaska								
Arizona	01	S	Stevens, Ted*	R	500	0	0	500
Arkansas	03	H	Rhodes, John J III*	R	250	0	250	0
California			Hammerschmidt, John*	R	250	0	250	0
		S	Antonovich, Michael	R	2,500	2,500	0	0
	02	S	McCloskey, Paul N Jr	R	500	0	500	0
	10	H	Herger, Wally*	R	500	0	500	0
	11	H	Edwards, Don*	D	500	500	0	0
	12	H	Quraishi, G M (Bill)	R	500	0	500	0
	12	H	Campbell, Thomas J*	R	750	750	0	0
		H	Konnyu, Ernest L	R	500	0	500	0
		S&H	Zschau, Edwin	R	4,350	0	4,000	350
	13	H	Mineta, Norman*	D	500	500	0	0
	14	H	Shumway, Norman D*	R	200	0	0	200
	21	H	Gallegly, Elton W*	R	250	0	250	0
	22	H	Moorhead, Carlos J*	R	250	0	250	0
	31	H	Dymally, Mervyn M*	D	3,250	2,000	900	350
	35	H	Lewis, Jerry*	R	250	0	250	0
	37	H	McCandless, Alfred*	D	200	0	0	200
	40	H	Badham, Robert E	R	3,200	500	2,500	200
	40	H	Rosenberg, Nathan O	R	1,300	1,300	0	0
	43	H	Packard, Ron C*	R	1,750	750	1,000	0
Colorado		S	Armstrong, William*	R	250	0	0	250
	05	H	Hefley, Joel*	R	250	0	250	0
Connecticut	05	H	Rowland, John G*	R	250	0	250	0
Florida		S&H	Mackay, Buddy	D	1,800	850	750	200
	02	H	Grant, Bill*	D	250	0	250	0
	07	H	Gibbons, Sam M*	D	100	0	0	100
	10	H	Ireland, Andy*	R	450	0	250	200

KEY: * = candidate is an incumbent; **Party:** D = Democrat, R = Republican, I-R = Independent Republican, DFL = Democratic Farmer Labor, L = Libertarian.

	District	Office	Candidate	Party	Total Donations	1988	1986	1984
Florida, Con't.	14	H	Mica, Daniel A	D	300	300	0	0
	19	H	Fascell, Dante*	D	450	250	0	200
Georgia	04	H	Swindall, Patrick L	R	700	0	500	200
	05	H	Lewis, John R*	D	250	0	250	0
	10	H	Barnard, Douglas Jr*	D	250	0	250	0
Illinois		S	Percy, Charles H	R	2,000	0	0	2,000
	01	H	Hayes, Charles A*	D	100	100	0	0
	02	H	Davis, Leon	D	500	0	500	0
	02	H	Savage, Gus*	D	250	250	0	0
	03	H	Russo, Martin A*	D	250	0	250	0
	04	H	Davis, Jack	R	500	250	250	0
	13	H	Michel, Robert H	R	200	0	0	200
	21	H	Gaffner, Robert H	R	500	0	500	0
Indiana		S	Lugar, Richard G*	R	1,000	1,000	0	0
	09	H	Hamilton, Lee*	D	4,500	2,250	1,750	500
Iowa	03	H	McIntee, John E	R	250	0	250	0
	04	H	Smith, Neal*	D	200	0	0	200
Kansas		S	Kassebaum, Nancy L*	R	350	0	0	350
Kentucky	04	H	Bunning, Jim	R	250	0	250	0
Louisiana	06	H	Baker, Richard H*	R	250	0	250	0
	07	H	Hayes, James A*	D	500	250	250	0
	08	H	Williams, Faye	D	2,370	1,370	1,000	0
Maine	01	H	Brennan, Joseph E	D	250	0	250	0
Maryland		S	Ahmad, Imad A	L	200	200	0	0
	02	H	Bentley, Helen D*	R	500	0	500	0
	07	H	Mfume, Kweisi*	D	250	0	250	0
Massachusetts		S	Shamie, Raymond	R	1,000	0	0	1,000
	03	H	Early, Joseph D*	D	100	0	0	100
	05	H	Hyatt, Gregory S	R	950	0	0	950
	08	D	Kennedy, Joseph P II*	D	300	300	0	0
	08	H	O'Neill, Thomas P Jr	D	200	0	0	200
	10	H	Studds, Gerry E*	D	450	0	250	200

	District	Office	Candidate	Party	Total Donations	1988	1986	1984
Michigan	01	H	Conyers, John J*	D	4,200	2,000	2,000	200
	04	H	Upton, Fredrick S*	R	250	0	250	0
	07	H	Kiloe, Dale E*	D	250	250	0	0
	09	H	Vander Jagt, Guy A*	R	300	300	0	0
	12	H	Bonior, David E*	D	1,000	750	250	0
	13	H	Crockett, George Jr*	D	1,700	600	750	350
	16	H	Dingell, John*	D	450	250	0	200
Minnesota		S	Humphrey, Hubert III	DFL	1,000	1,000	0	0
	01	H	Penny, Timothy J*	DFL	500	0	500	0
Mississippi	07	H	Stangeland, Arlan*	I-R	200	0	0	200
		S	Cochran, Thad*	R	250	0	0	250
		S	Lott, Trent*	R	500	500	0	0
	01	H	Whitten, Jamie L*	D	200	0	0	200
	02	H	Espy, Mike*	D	500	250	250	0
		S	Bond, Christopher S*	R	1,000	0	1,000	0
	02	H	Buechner, John J*	R	750	500	250	0
Montana	04	H	Neall, Robert R	R	500	0	500	0
	06	H	Coleman, Tom*	R	500	0	500	0
	08	H	Emerson, Norvell W*	R	100	0	0	100
	02	H	Marlenee, Ron C*	R	500	250	250	0
	02	H	Abboud, Chris	R	1,900	1,900	0	0
	02	H	Daub, Hal	R	250	0	250	0
	03	H	Smith, Virginia H*	R	200	0	0	200
New Hampshire		S	Sununu, John H	R	1,000	0	0	1,000
	01	H	Blass, Gregory J	R	250	0	250	0
	06	H	Flake, Floyd H*	D	250	0	250	0
	22	H	Gilman, Benjamin A*	R	250	0	250	0
	24	H	Solomon, Gerald B*	R	1,000	0	0	1,000
	30	H	Bouchard, John D	R	250	250	0	0
	31	H	Houghton, Amory Jr	R	250	0	250	0
North Carolina	10	H	Ballenger, T Cass*	R	250	0	250	0
	11	H	Clarke, James M*	D	750	250	500	0

	District	Office	Candidate	Party	Total Donations	1988	1986	1984
Ohio	07	H	DeWine, Richard M*	R	500	500	0	0
	08	H	Lukens, Donald*	R	250	0	250	0
	09	H	Kaptur, Marcy*	D	250	0	250	0
	10	H	Miller, Clarence E*	R	100	0	0	100
	13	H	Brown, Dewey D	R	500	500	0	0
	17	H	Traficant, James A Jr*	D	950	450	500	0
	19	H	Feighan, Edward F*	D	500	0	500	0
	20	H	Oakar, Mary R*	D	6,300	3,750	1,550	1,000
	01	H	Inhofe, James M*	R	250	0	250	0
	04	H	Bradbury, Bill	D	900	0	900	0
Oklahoma								
Oregon	04	H	Kolter, Joseph P*	D	500	250	250	0
	11	H	Kanjorski, Paul E*	D	650	0	650 ¹	0
Pennsylvania	15	H	Simonetta, Joseph R	D	457	0	457 ²	0
	17	H	Gekas, George W*	R	250	0	250	0
	18	H	Walgren, Doug*	D	450	200	250	0
	22	H	Murphy, Austin J*	D	1,100	250	750	100
		S	Chafee, John H*	R	1,500	1,500	0	0
		S	Abdnor, James	R	4,000	0	4,000	0
	02	H	Duncan, John Jr*	R	500	500	0	0
	08	H	Jones, Ed	D	100	0	0	100
		S	Bentsen, Lloyd*	D	1,000	1,000	0	0
	01	H	Hargett, Edward E	R	500	0	500	0
Texas	02	H	Gordon, Julian H	R	2,000	0	2,000	0
	05	H	Carter, Thomas B	R	500	0	500	0
	06	H	Barton, Joe*	R	1,750	0	1,250	500
	12	H	Wright, Jim	D	1,000	0	1,000	0
	16	H	Coleman, Ronald*	D	550	350	0	200
	21	H	Smith, Lamar*	R	500	250	250	0
	26	H	Arney, Richard K*	R	1,000	0	500	500
	27	H	Ortiz, Solomon P*	D	500	0	500	0
	01	H	Hansen, James V*	R	250	0	250	0
	02	H	Shimizu, M Tom	R	500	0	500	0
Utah	03	H	Nielson, Howard C*	R	1,250	550	500	200

	District	Office	Candidate	Party	Total Donations	1988	1986	1984
Virginia								
	02	S	Warner, John W*	R	250	0	0	250
	08	H	Canada, A Joseph Jr	R	125	0	125	0
	10	H	Brickley, David G	D	100	100	0	0
Washington	03	H	Wolf, Frank R*	R	500	500	0	0
	05	H	Bonker, Don	D	200	0	0	200
	06	H	Foley, Thomas S*	D	500	500	0	0
West Virginia	02	H	Dicks, Norman D*	D	100	0	0	100
	04	H	Staggers, Harley O Jr*	D	200	0	0	200
Wisconsin			Rahall, Nick*	D	3,000	750	1,250	1,000
	02	S	Garvey, Edward R	D	10,821	0	10,821 ³	0
	07	H	Wright, James A	R	200	0	0	200
		H	Obey, David R*	D	2,100	1,000	750	350
Presidential			Jackson, Jesse L	D	1,000	1,000	0	0

¹\$400 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

²\$457 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

³\$10,821 of uncoordinated money spent on candidate's behalf.

Chapter 8

Kiss of Death? Why Congressmen Feared Both AIPAC and Their Constituents in the 1990 Elections

"The theme of Jewish history, of course, is the theme of survival. For several hundred years Jews have been justifiably anxious about new pharaohs who knew not Joseph, new czars, new popes, new Reichskanzlers, and new presidents of the United States. Jews have depended upon back channels to the palace ever since Queen Esther. Accommodation with the party in power is a necessary habit, not a shameful one."

Robert Kuttner, "Unholy Alliance," *New Republic*, May 26, 1986

"I believe we have to work with the party in power, even Jesse Helms. But the other PACs cross over from working with people in power to using the Jewish community to keep them in power."

Carole Boron, national director of Multi-Issue PAC, 1988

"Signs that AIPAC might be heading for trouble are easy to see. The Pollard case, the Iran-contra connection and recent television coverage of Israel's harsh military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza present a considerably less rosy picture of the Jewish state to Americans than the one that AIPAC presents to Congress. A recent Los Angeles Times poll indicates that Americans, including Jewish Americans, are far more sympathetic to a Palestinian state and far more open to negotiations with the PLO than AIPAC will allow any congressman to be. Moreover, AIPAC's relentless campaign to shut down the PLO's information office in Washington and its United Nations mission—seen by many to be a violation of First Amendment rights and international law—has been criticized across the board in the media and has even left a number of Israel's staunchest supporters noticeably uncomfortable."

Eric Alterman, *Regardie's*, March, 1988

"Jews agree on little else, but there is a total consensus on the survival of Israel."

Richard Altman, board member of AIPAC and NatPAC

"Jewish political watchdogs are keeping close tabs on U.S. Senate races for three Democratic incumbents . . . who are vulnerable in the 1990 election."

Kimberly Lifton
Detroit Jewish News, Sept. 8, 1989

By the beginning of the 1990 election year, the administration of President George Bush had made no secret of its exasperation with the unwillingness of Israel's Likud bloc leadership to come to grips with the need to trade land for peace. American public perceptions of Israel had also changed, perhaps irreversibly, propelled by the repression of the Palestinian uprising in Israeli-occupied territories. Americans who had once been favorably inclined toward what they saw as the tiny Jewish state's struggle for survival against eternally hostile neighbors now had a different perception of Israel. Politically, they saw a polarized and quarrelsome people. Economically, they saw the international equivalent of a "welfare mother," irritably dismissing advice from her benefactor on how to get off the dole. Militarily, they saw the children of victims victimizing children.

If American perceptions of the Arabs as a group had changed little, largely thanks to the predictably outrageous Muammar Qaddafi and the persistent and widespread popular misapprehension that the Ayatollah Khomeini's Iranian fundamentalist followers were Arabs, opinions about individual Arab states and groups had changed a lot. The Palestinians now were perceived as underdogs, badly in need of some compassion. Egyptians were perceived as moderate, politically supportive, and potentially valuable military allies. Saudi Arabia was increasingly perceived as friendly, an important political ally, and an essential trading partner. If American images of other Arab states were still blurred, the general perception was that most of them were moving toward the moderate camp and away from the extremism personified in the American mind by Qaddafi and Syria's stubbornly uncompromising President Hafez al-Assad.

All this made members of Congress uneasy as they contemplated increasingly imperious demands by AIPAC, the Washington champion of Israel's self-destructive political and economic policies. Just quietly holding the line on aid for Israel looked increasingly difficult to some congressmen. Yet, while expecting them to do exactly that, AIPAC also called upon them periodically to sign letters supporting Israeli political policies totally contrary to those of the incumbent American administration. Congressmen also were expected to support, or wink at, a number of hidden or barely visible subsidies and special measures to provide further relief for Israel's deteriorating economy over and above the visible annual American grant of \$1.8 billion in military assistance and \$1.2 billion in economic assistance to Israel.

Reactions in Congress varied widely. Continued enthusiastic support was offered by many Jewish members, and legislators from states with particularly large Jewish communities, like Democratic Senators Patrick Moynihan of New York and Alan Cranston of California. Moynihan was among 16 senators with long records of unquestioning support for Israel who had signed, early in 1988, a letter enjoining Prime Minister Shamir not to reject a Reagan administration peace initiative. Their point was that, since there might never again be such a pro-Israel administration as that of President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz, it was an excellent time for Israel

to cooperate with that administration's 11th hour effort, undertaken at the urging of Egyptian President Mubarak, in support of the land-for-peace formula advanced in UN Security Resolution 242.

Those senators who signed the letter, however, were subject to fierce criticism by both the government of Israel and by AIPAC. They learned the hard way, and in an election year, that the label "friend of Israel" does not entitle its bearer to offer Israel unsolicited advice.

At the other end of the spectrum from the consistent supporters of Israel were several members of the Black Caucus. Many of their constituents shared the Reverend Jesse Jackson's support for Palestinian self-determination. Within the African-American community there also was seldom-articulated but widely felt resentment of Jewish economic and media influence. There also were visible scars from Black-Jewish rivalries within the civil rights movement of a generation earlier, and ongoing problems with affirmative action, and political control of major cities and their school systems.

Most members of Congress perched uncomfortably between these two poles. AIPAC demanded more of the knee-jerk, pro-Israel politics of decades past, while mainstream American church and human rights groups, backed up by both conservative and liberal voters, were increasingly questioning those policies.

As President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker III labored thanklessly in the Middle East vineyard, there was increasing confusion in the minds of many congressmen. It showed in the rhetorical gaps between their speeches to pro-Israel groups and their responses to increasingly pointed questions from their own constituents.

The ambivalence was personified in Republican Senator Bob Dole of Kansas. Although he is a man of many moods, so long as he was a 1988 Republican presidential hopeful he could be counted upon to support AIPAC initiatives. He had been a co-sponsor of 1988 legislation to close the PLO observer mission at the United Nations, which was passed by Congress but thrown out in federal court as a violation of U.S. treaty commitments to the United Nations.

In August, 1989, however, Dole alarmed AIPAC. Israeli commandos had seized a Shi'i leader in Southern Lebanon. In retaliation, the Shi'ite Hezbollah extremists claimed that they had killed one American hostage, Marine Colonel William R. Higgins, and threatened to kill more if the Shi'ite cleric, Sheikh Obeid, were not released.

"We cannot apologize for Israeli actions in this country, when it endangers the lives of Americans in some far-off country," Dole observed. "Perhaps a little responsibility on the part of the Israelis would be refreshing."

Chairman Lee Hamilton (D-IN) of the House Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the Middle East noted also that before taking the action that was bound to invite retaliation against Americans, Israel had neither consulted with nor warned the United States.

"If we are going to be in on the crash landing, we would like to be in on the takeoff

as well," Hamilton said. Members of Congress also showed some independence in including in the appropriations bill language urging Israel not to use school closings as a political weapon against the Palestinians.

It was George Bush and James Baker, however, who set the tone of increasing American impatience with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's refusal to contemplate land for peace, talk to the PLO, or discuss a final settlement with anyone at all. Even before taking the oath of office, President-elect Bush, through Ronald Reagan, had persuaded outgoing Secretary of State George Shultz to reverse himself and open a U.S. dialogue with the PLO, on the basis of Yasser Arafat's "magic words" accepting UN Security Council Resolution 242, recognizing Israel's right to exist, and renouncing terrorism.

These pledges put Arafat on a course toward a two-state solution from which there was no turning back. After assuming office, Bush resisted a determined Israeli effort, played out largely through Congress, to force the U.S. to break off its dialogue with the Palestinians.

Instead, Secretary of State Baker let it be known that Shamir would no longer be welcome at the White House unless he brought with him on his next visit to Washington some ideas for advancing the peace process. Shamir had already rejected Israeli Finance Minister Shimon Peres' idea for bilateral talks between Israel and each of its Arab adversaries under the aegis of an international conference called by the United Nations. So Shamir appropriated from Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin a plan for elections in the West Bank and Gaza to choose Palestinian interlocutors for negotiations with Israel about limited autonomy.

As presented in Washington, it was a hollow plan without details. Shamir was probably counting upon Yasser Arafat to reject it out of hand. Arafat didn't, however, and Shamir began to realize that Baker was determined to flesh out the plan with some details of his own.

Baker also accepted an invitation to speak on May 22 at the annual AIPAC convention, where a year earlier Shultz, his cheerleading predecessor, had led delegates in chanting "PLO, hell no!"

In his speech, Baker first called upon the Arab world to "take concrete steps toward accommodation with Israel." Then he stunned his audience by saying: "For Israel, now is the time to lay aside, once and for all, the unrealistic vision of a 'greater Israel.' Israeli interests in the West Bank and Gaza, security and otherwise, can be accommodated in a settlement based on Resolution 242. Foreswear annexation; stop settlement activity; allow schools to reopen; reach out to the Palestinians as neighbors who deserve political rights."

Although there were press reports of highly favorable private reaction in Congress to Baker's words, the public congressional response came in the form of a letter signed by 95 senators calling upon Baker to "strongly and publicly endorse" Shamir's election plan.

Instead, in the absence of details in the plan as submitted by Shamir, Baker drafted some of his own, including the necessity for Arabs in East Jerusalem (where much of the Palestinian leadership lives) to participate in the voting.

Sensing that Shamir was about to be trapped into elections he didn't really want, Ariel Sharon and other Israeli leaders on the far-right fringe of Likud called upon the prime minister to hold fast to conditions designed to elicit a Palestinian refusal. Baker made it clear, however, that Sharon's conditions were unacceptable to the U.S. as well. Labor Coalition ministers then threatened to bring down the Israeli government if Shamir accepted the conditions imposed by his own Likud party.

Shamir informed the U.S. that the conditions imposed by the right wing of his own party were inoperative. PLO Chairman Arafat wisely kept his own counsel as Israeli confrontations with the U.S. continued. Shamir refused two successive proposals by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to get around Shamir's unwillingness to negotiate with the PLO, which clearly was the only Palestinian body which could make good on any agreement reached.

Late 1989 maneuvering culminated in a flurry of messages between Israel and the U.S. Israel "accepted" five points by Baker clarifying Mubarak's 10 points clarifying Shamir's election plan. However, Shamir wanted some assurances on the side. Baker responded that the U.S. could make no assurances in conflict with its original clarifications. Baker then sent five clarifications to Egypt and the PLO, both of which cautiously agreed, while adding some assumptions of their own.

Increasingly Shamir, Baker, Mubarak and Arafat understood each other. Shamir didn't want to negotiate land for peace with anyone. The other three insisted that he must. Although Arafat did not like Shamir's election plan to choose non-PLO Palestinian negotiators, Mubarak counseled him that the PLO must not be the first to say no to Bush and Baker.

As the diplomatic minuet continued, and Israeli occupation authorities desperately sought to use the time gained to put down, once and for all, the Palestinian intifada, American public opinion was changing, even within Jewish circles. Most U.S. Jews now favored land-for-peace negotiations and virtually no American, except perhaps Henry Kissinger, continued to justify Israel's repressive tactics.

Even in Israel, the glacial unwillingness to acknowledge that Israel was unable to end the intifada short of means that its U.S. mentors would call genocide was melting. Many Israelis were resigned to the idea that Israel would be pulling out of the West Bank and Gaza, and showed little concern for Jewish "settlers" in the occupied territories, whom they blamed for creating many of the problems there. The Israeli public was more concerned with the security guarantees that would be put in place when Israeli forces withdrew, and also with continuation of Israeli access to an undivided Jerusalem.

While the administration devised ways to get Israel's attention, it was getting little help from Congress, where 68 senators signed a letter circulated by Senators Connie Mack (R-FL), Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) and Pete Wilson (R-CA) calling on Secretary

Baker to refuse to issue a visa to PLO Chairman Arafat if he decided to address the United Nations General Assembly in the fall of 1989.

That was 17 more than the senatorial signatories to a similar letter sent to Shultz the previous year. When Shultz had refused a visa to Arafat, however, the General Assembly then moved as a body to Geneva, to hear the PLO Chairman make his address.

The pro-Israel establishment in Washington chose to continue to work to produce such humiliating results, rather than heed the indications of private confusion and concern among members of Congress. AIPAC itself had barely emerged from a period of serious internal infighting. This was articulated as a debate over whether it should continue concentrating on lobbying Congress, or whether it should also devote major resources to working directly with the incumbent administration. The latter pattern had evolved during the Reagan administration when, in the words of former AIPAC staffer Richard Strauss, AIPAC had stopped pushing so persistently on the administration's door, because it discovered its door to the Reagan administration was already open.

Beneath the rhetoric about tactics, however, the issue was also ideological. Should American Jews continue their identification, since their arrival in large numbers in the United States, with the Democratic party, which was in firm control of the House and tenuous control of the Senate? Or, now that the great majority of American Jews enjoyed middle and upper middle class status, should AIPAC work equally closely with conservative Republicans who, after 1980, seemed in firm control of the executive branch?

Heads rolled as AIPAC "reorganized." Dine, a former aide to liberal Senators Ted Kennedy (D-MA), Frank Church (D-ID) and Edmund Muskie (D-ME), remained on top. So did AIPAC board chairman Robert Asher, who, pro-Israel records being equal, leans toward supporting Republican candidates. Legislative Director Douglas Bloomfield departed. Infighting continued as AIPAC's board of directors abolished the separate board of directors for its newsletter, the *Near East Report*.

While all this was happening, seven former U.S. government officials, at the suggestion of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, filed a suit with the Federal Election Commission charging AIPAC and 27 pro-Israel PACs with just the kind of illegal coordination documented in 1988 in the *Washington Post* and on CBS's "Sixty Minutes." That suit is described in the foreword to this book.

Underlying issues were not resolved within the organization nor within the Jewish community. Jews continued to provide about 70 percent of their votes to Democratic candidates on the national level, and probably even higher percentages on the local level. Jews and AFL-CIO unions, whose national leaders have been strongly pro-Israel, together remained the two major sources of campaign funding for Democratic candidates. Jewish individuals and PACs were generous and important sources for Republicans as well.

Taking all of this into account, however, AIPAC, at the beginning of the 1990 election cycle, seemed to resume business as usual. Before each election, AIPAC issues a closely held "little black book" to some 150 top members who include the officers of major pro-Israel PACs. The book provides data on all of the upcoming congressional races. The information is drawn largely from the public record and is presented objectively. However, as in other AIPAC, B'nai B'rith, and Jewish Community Council guides with such provocative titles as AIPAC's "The Campaign to Discredit Israel," the format tells the story. Recipients learn which races are of special interest to AIPAC, which are likely to be close, and which candidates AIPAC favors. The book even tells how much money each candidate has raised and how much he still needs to reach his funding goal.

Two pages devoted to each Senate race, and briefer descriptions of all of the House races, offer assessments of each incumbent's chances such as "should be safe," or "potential difficulties" or "toss up." The booklet also contains a checklist on votes of interest to AIPAC by incumbents going back to 1978 on foreign aid, arms sales to Arab states, the proposal to shut down the PLO mission to the UN and the proposal to move the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

To make sure that recipients get exactly the right signals, the AIPAC book only lists votes on arms sales to Arab countries it has opposed, and not on arms sales worked out by the administration and Congress in conjunction with AIPAC.

"You must know how to read it," one AIPAC member told reporter Larry Cohler of the *Washington Jewish Week*, speaking of the 1988 edition, "but it tells you who needs help. The information is mapped out so that anyone who is half-bright can figure it out."

The AIPAC booklet is very closely held, one "well informed source" quoted by Cohler explained. "It has a real mystique because it's only given to top officers and key political givers. They're very selective, and there were some bruised egos and hurt feelings. Not even all the officers have it."

Those who do, however, become "well-informed" sources for reporters like Cohler, writing for the local Jewish weekly newspapers which reach a high percentage of Jewish households in the United States. (These newspapers may be independently owned, or wholly or partly owned by one of the local Jewish community councils which are coordinated by the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.) These newspapers convey for general Jewish consumption AIPAC views both on local candidates and on which candidates in other parts of the nation may need outside help, or punishment.

For example, Kimberly Lifton of the *Detroit Jewish News* reported in its Sept. 8, 1989 issue:

"Jewish political watchdogs are keeping close tabs on U.S. Senate races for three Democratic incumbents—among them Michigan Sen. Carl Levin—who are vulnerable in the 1990 election. Joining Levin are Paul Simon of Illinois and Tom Harkin of Iowa,

all long-term friends of Israel who serve on committees that deal with weapons sales, foreign aid and trade.”

Lifton’s article goes on to explain that “another Democratic friend of Israel who could be contested, but whose race has not been targeted as significant as the other three, is Rhode Island Sen. Claiborne Pell, chairman of the key Foreign Relations Committee who has been a consistent supporter of Israel since he was first elected in 1960.”

Lifton provides carefully worded basic advice to readers who may want to help but don’t know how: “Analysts warn that parties typically target any vulnerable incumbents—Republican or Democrat. Therefore, they caution, Jewish supporters must offer any assistance to any friend in trouble, no matter what party. As a general rule, political action committees offer financial support to any friendly incumbent.”

Lifton’s article goes on to analyze the pro-Israel records of possible opponents for AIPAC-favored candidates, both in the primaries and in the general elections. A potential Levin opponent, Rep. Bill Schuette, “has a fine Israel record.” Simon’s potential opponent, Rep. Lynn Martin, according to the writer, “has a good Israel record,” but “Washington Political Action Committee Treasurer Morrie Amitay calls Simon ‘a dependable friend respected for his intellect.’”

The message here is that although neither Schuette nor Martin are to be feared, incumbents Levin and Simon will get the pro-Israel PAC donations because they’ve earned such support. Even more explicit is the guidance offered to potential donors in the same *Detroit Jewish News* article concerning the Iowa race:

“Harkin’s Iowa GOP opponent, Rep. Tom Tauke, concerns Jewish analysts. Harkin, a good friend with a solid record, now is on two key subcommittee panels. Tauke has a mixed to poor record of support for Israel. Iowa never has re-elected a Democratic senator, although a recent poll shows Harkin slightly ahead of his opponent. Still, Amitay says, Harkin has a high statewide approval rating and a solid campaign team.”

The message here is send money early because it’s needed, and if there’s enough of it, perhaps Harkin can be saved. The article goes on to explain that Republican Senator Rudy Boschwitz, “who has a perfect voting record on Israel,” probably will not face a strong Democratic candidate in Minnesota. The message here is, there’s probably no need to send money unless the newspaper reports later that Boschwitz is in trouble.

Lifton quotes former AIPAC deputy political director Scott Gale as saying, “We are concerned about keeping friends in the Senate and in Congress.” She adds that Gale “expects the 1990 race to be similar to 1988, when the Jewish community overwhelmingly supported two friends in trouble, Ohio Senator Howard Metzenbaum and New Jersey Senator Frank Lautenberg.” The Lifton article concludes with a quote from Gale:

“I don’t think the community has a choice but to respond. If we stop being there,

we will stop being effective for Israel.”

Just in case some readers of the *Detroit Jewish News* article aren't even “half-bright,” it is illustrated with a photo of Michigan Senator Levin captioned “friend in trouble.”

This article, published 14 months before election day, 1990, illustrates why AIPAC's Tom Dine can boast that his organization produces, “early money, middle money and late money,” where and when it's needed. At AIPAC conventions members are enjoined: “If money talks, early money shouts.”

All this makes it clear that congressmen still are faced by a lobby superbly organized to deliver huge amounts of funding a full year in advance of elections to friendly candidates in trouble. To make sure that this is not forgotten, many individual Jewish donors make their donation to the candidate's campaign, but mail the check to a pro-Israel organization. There it is “bundled” with checks from like-minded donors and delivered to the candidate by an officer of the organization so that the candidate understands where his money is coming from and what he is expected to do in return.

Congressmen must assume that individual Jewish donors will be informed in advance as to exactly where each local and national candidate stands on Israel, and that on election day Jewish voters will be willing to cast their own votes on that issue alone.

It is therefore little wonder that so many members of Congress still seem out of touch with changing opinions on the Middle East among their own non-Jewish constituents, few of whom seem ready to become one-issue voters on Middle East policy. Regardless of what they are hearing from their own districts, few members of Congress feel able to ignore the demanding lobbyists of AIPAC, or to request answers about violations of U.S. laws both by the lobby and by its increasingly intransigent Israeli client.

Chart VIII. Total Pro-Israel PAC Donations to Incumbents: 1978 - 1988

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Alabama	S		Heflin, Howell T	D	50,850	1,000	1,000	42,850 *	5,000	0	1,000 *
	S&H		Shelby, Richard C	D	65,025	0	62,025 *	3,000	0	0	0
	H	01	Callahan, Sonny	R	31,750	19,750	10,000	2,000	0	0	0
	H	05	Flippo, Ronnie G	D	2,200	1,700	500	0	0	0	0
	H	06	Erdreich, Ben	D	56,400	2,750	4,250	43,150	6,250	0	0
	H	07	Harris, Claude	D	26,500	9,500	17,000	0	0	0	0
	S		Murkowski, Frank H	R	24,000	1,500	22,500 *	0	0	0	0
Alaska	S		Stevens, Ted	R	10,500	0	0	10,000 *	0	0	0
	H	00	Young, Donald E	R	300	300	0	0	0	0	500 *
	S		Bumpers, Dale	D	22,350	0	22,350 *	0	0	0	0
Arkansas	S		Pryor, David H	D	45,100	0	0	45,100 *	0	0	0
	H	01	Alexander, William V	D	1,000	500	250	0	250	0	0
	H	02	Robinson, Tommy F	D	29,750	8,500	21,000	250	0	0	0
	H	03	Hammerschmidt, John P	R	300	300	0	0	0	0	0
	H	04	Anthony, Beryl F Jr	D	6,500	6,500	0	0	0	0	0
	S		DeConcini, Dennis	D	80,750	46,750 *	2,000	0	32,000 *	0	0
	S		McCain, John	R	54,000	0	54,000	0	0	0	0
Arizona	H	01	Rhodes, John J III	R	5,250	250	5,000	0	0	0	0
	H	02	Udall, Morris K	D	4,750	1,000	500	0	0	0	0
	H	04	Kyl, Jon L	D	10,850	1,500	9,350	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Kolbe, James T	R	20,450	7,500	6,250	1,700	5,000	2,750	500 *
	S		Cranston, Alan	D	253,532	4,000	241,232 *	0	0	0	0
	S		Wilson, Pete	R	88,550	80,050 *	1,000	0	8,300 *	0	0
	H	01	Bosco, Douglas H	D	10,800	300	0	250	7,500 *	0	0
California	H	02	Herger, Wally	R	6,000	500	5,500	0	10,250	0	0
	H	03	Matsui, Robert T	D	3,550	2,500	650	200	0	0	0
	H	04	Fazio, Vic	D	13,100	5,950	5,900	750	200	0	0
	H	05	Pelosi, Nancy	D	16,000	16,000	0	0	500	0	0
	H	06	Boxer, Barbara	D	14,100	3,000	750	7,350	0	0	0
								3,000	3,000	0	0

KEY: * = Senate election year; Year = the amount of pro-Israel PAC money received by each candidate by year of Federal Election Commission filings. In some cases, the filing year is not the same as the election year; **Party:** D = Democrat, R = Republican, I-R = Independent Republican, DFL = Democratic Farmer Labor, L = Libertarian.

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Colorado Con't.	H	01	Schroeder, Patricia	D	11,250	5,500	250	250	5,250	0	0
	H	02	Skaggs, David E	D	42,850	30,000	12,850	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Campbell, Ben N	D	8,500	8,250	250	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Hefley, Joel M	R	10,000	5,000	5,000	0	0	0	0
	H	06	Schaefer, Dan	R	5,000	5,000	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Dodd, Christopher J	D	67,678	6,000	44,050 *	3,000	1,628	13,000 *	0
Connecticut	S&H		Lieberman, Joseph	D	18,300	17,800 *	0	0	0	500	0
	H	01	Kennelly, Barbara B	D	1,500	0	500	1,000	0	0	0
	H	02	Gejdenson, Sam	D	142,104	47,700	40,829	21,650	31,675	250	0
	H	03	Morrison, Bruce A	D	24,800	1,000	500	23,300	0	0	0
	H	04	Shays, Christopher	R	4,000	4,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Rowland, John G	R	9,050	7,800	250	1,000	0	0	0
Delaware	H	06	Johnson, Nancy L	R	10,250	0	0	5,250	5,000	0	0
	S		Biden, Joseph Jr	D	47,577	0	1,000	42,577 *	1,500	500	2,000 *
	S		Roth, William V Jr	R	25,000	13,500 *	0	0	11,500 *	0	0
	H	00	Carper, Thomas	D	5,000	2,250	500	2,250	0	0	0
	S		Graham, Bob	D	29,750	7,500	22,250 *	0	0	0	0
	S&H		Mack, Connie	R	38,422	34,622 *	1,550	1,250	1,000	0	0
Florida	H	01	Hutto, Earl	D	6,000	0	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,000	0
	H	02	Grant, Bill	D	11,000	5,000	6,000	0	0	0	0
	H	05	McCollum, Bill	R	11,900	5,000	1,000	1,000	2,400	2,500	0
	H	07	Gibbons, Sam M	D	29,500	2,000	14,000	9,500	2,000	2,000	0
	H	08	Young, C W Bill	R	1,000	0	1,000	0	0	0	0
	H	09	Bilirakis, Michael	R	11,306	0	2,056	6,500	2,750	0	0
	H	10	Ireland, Andy	R	5,000	0	1,000	1,000	1,000	2,000	0
	H	11	Nelson, Bill	D	6,850	350	1,500	1,500	1,500	2,000	0
	H	12	Lewis, Tom	R	7,500	0	1,000	1,000	5,500	0	0
	H	13	Goss, Porter J	R	6,750	6,750	0	0	0	0	0
	H	14	Johnson, Harry A II	D	13,350	13,350	0	0	0	0	0
	H	15	Shaw, E Clay Jr	R	16,250	0	1,000	4,500	8,750	2,000	0
	H	16	Smith, Lawrence J	D	136,968	34,100	56,300	44,818	2,750	0	0
	H	17	Lehman, William	D	10,800	3,300	3,250	1,750	1,250	1,250	0
	H	19	Fascell, Dante B	D	111,250	24,750	17,500	25,750	42,250	1,000	0

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Georgia	S&H		Fowler, W W Jr	D	118,350	6,000	101,100 *	8,500	2,250	0	500 *
	S		Nunn, Sam	D	8,500	0	0	8,000 *	0	0	500
	H	01	Thomas, R Lindsay	D	1,000	0	1,000	0	0	0	0
	H	02	Hatcher, Charles	D	2,000	0	1,000	0	1,000	0	0
	H	03	Ray, Richard B	D	1,000	0	0	0	1,000	0	0
	H	04	Jones, Ben L	D	10,250	10,250	0	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Lewis, John R	D	24,450	2,550	21,900	0	0	0	0
	H	06	Gingrich, Newton L	R	6,250	250	5,000	0	1,000	0	0
	H	07	Darden, Buddy	D	2,000	0	1,000	1,000	0	0	0
	H	08	Rowland, J. Roy	D	2,000	0	1,000	0	1,000	0	0
Guam	H	09	Jenkins, Edgar L	D	1,500	500	1,000	0	0	0	0
	H	10	Barnard, D Douglas Jr	D	1,761	0	1,000	0	761	0	0
Hawaii	H	00	Blaz, Ben	R	1,100	250	850	0	0	0	0
	S		Inouye, Daniel K	D	57,325	0	48,825 *	0	0	8,500 *	0
Idaho	S		Matsunaga, Spark M	D	19,000	7,000 *	1,000	0	11,000 *	0	0
	H	01	Saiki, Patricia	R	2,800	1,550	1,250	0	0	0	0
	S		McClure, James A	R	500	500	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Symms, Steve	R	5,000	0	5,000 *	0	0	0	0
	H	01	Craig, Larry E	R	250	250	0	0	0	0	0
	H	02	Stallings, Richard H	D	31,550	9,550	13,000	8,750	250	0	0
Illinois	S		Dixon, Alan J	D	42,000	0	36,450 *	500	2,050	3,000 *	0
	S&H		Simon, Paul	D	318,139	5,156	9,500	301,383 *	2,100	0	0
	H	03	Russo, Martin A	D	2,500	1,750	250	0	0	0	500
	H	04	Sangmeister, George E	D	2,000	2,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Lipinski, William O	D	250	250	0	0	0	0	0
	H	06	Hyde, Henry J	R	6,000	0	0	0	6,000	0	0
	H	07	Collins, Cardiss	D	55,900	3,500	30,750	21,250	400	0	0
	H	08	Rostenkowski, Dan	D	3,000	1,000	0	1,000	1,000	0	0
	H	09	Yates, Sidney	D	28,200	7,750	0	6,500	13,450	500	0
	H	10	Porter, John E	R	28,450	6,000	7,000	8,350	6,100	1,000	0
	H	11	Annunzio, Frank	D	5,250	5,000	0	250	0	0	0
	H	13	Fawell, Harris W	R	2,500	1,000	1,000	500	0	0	0

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Illinois Con't.	H	14	Hastert, J Dennis	R	10,850	5,850	5,000	0	0	0	0
	H	15	Madigan, Edward R	R	500	500	0	0	0	0	0
	H	16	Martin, Lynn M	R	7,850	600	5,250	1,000	1,000	0	0
	H	17	Evans, Lane	D	26,335	3,750	14,785	7,600	200	0	0
	H	18	Michel, Robert H	R	32,250	9,250	5,250	9,250	8,500	0	0
	H	19	Bruce, Terry	D	7,550	6,050	500	1,000	0	0	0
	H	20	Durbin, Richard J	D	146,633	11,800	5,700	24,808	104,325	0	0
	H	21	Costello, Jerry F	D	6,000	6,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	22	Poshard, Glendal W	D	7,250	7,250	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Lugar, Richard G	R	12,500	7,500 *	0	0	5,000 *	0	0
Indiana	H	01	Visclosky, Peter J	D	1,500	500	0	1,000	0	0	0
	H	02	Sharp, Philip R	D	19,700	8,900	4,300	1,000	5,500	0	0
	H	04	Long, Jill	D	500	0	500	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Jontz, James	D	40,900	23,150	17,750	0	0	0	0
	H	06	Burton, Danny L	R	21,800	12,550	9,250	0	0	0	0
	H	07	Myers, John T	R	5,000	0	5,000	0	0	0	0
	H	08	McCloskey, Francis X	D	15,750	4,250	5,500	6,000	0	0	0
	H	09	Hamilton, Lee	D	43,950	14,250	15,050	14,350	300	0	0
	S		Grassley, Charles E	R	17,600	0	16,600 *	0	0	1,000 *	0
	S&H		Harkin, Thomas	D	114,430	2,000	1,100	109,830 *	1,500	0	0
Iowa	H	01	Leach, James A	R	130	0	0	130	0	0	0
	H	02	Tauke, Thomas J	R	250	250	0	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Nagle, David R	D	22,850	18,350	4,500	0	0	0	0
	H	04	Smith, Neal E	D	1,000	1,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Lightfoot, James R	R	8,350	750	100	7,500	0	0	0
	H	06	Grandy, Frederick L	R	17,850	11,750	6,100	0	0	0	0
	S		Dole, Robert	R	21,000	0	9,500 *	3,000	0	8,500 *	0
	S		Kassebaum, Nancy L	R	4,000	0	0	4,000 *	0	0	0
	H	03	Meyers, Jan	R	9,500	3,000	500	6,000	0	0	0
	H	04	Glickman, Daniel	D	30,800	17,650	12,700	250	200	0	0
Kentucky	H	05	Whittaker, Bob	R	300	300	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Ford, Wendell H	D	17,000	0	16,000 *	0	0	1,000 *	0

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Kentucky, Con't.	S		McConnell, Mitch	R	30,600	2,000	11,000	17,600 *	0	0	0
	H	01	Hubbard, Carroll Jr	D	400	400	0	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Mazzoli, Romano L	D	1,600	600	0	1,000	0	0	0
	H	04	Bunning, Jim	R	13,350	5,850	7,500	0	0	0	0
	H	07	Perkins, Carl C	D	500	500	0	0	0	0	0
Louisiana	S&H		Breaux, John B	D	59,142	1,292	54,850 *	2,000	1,000	0	0
	S		Johnston, J Bennett	D	8,500	1,000	0	7,500 *	0	0	0
	H	01	Livingston, Robert L	R	10,750	2,000	0	7,750	1,000	0	0
	H	02	Boggs, Lindy	D	21,750	3,000	2,750	15,000	1,000	0	0
	H	03	Tauzin, Billy	D	5,587	2,587	0	2,000	1,000	0	0
Maine	H	04	McCrery, James Otis III	R	5,000	5,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Huckaby, Jerry	D	7,800	2,300	3,500	2,000	0	0	0
	H	06	Baker, Richard H	R	16,350	8,100	8,250	0	0	0	0
	H	07	Hayes, James (Jimmy)	D	15,100	5,750	9,350	0	0	0	0
	H	08	Holloway, Clyde C	R	20,850	15,850	5,000	0	0	0	0
Maryland	S		Cohen, William	R	43,450	0	500	42,950 *	0	0	0
	S		Mitchell, George	D	143,900	63,000 *	2,500	1,000	77,400 *	0	0
	H	01	Brennan, Joseph E	D	10,350	5,350	5,000	0	0	0	0
	H	02	Snowe, Olympia J	R	11,750	500	5,250	5,500	500	0	0
	S&H		Mikulski, Barbara	D	35,440	1,000	31,940 *	500	2,000	0	0
Massachusetts	S		Sarbanes, Paul	D	89,000	39,500 *	0	1,000	48,500 *	0	0
	H	01	Dyson, Roy	D	15,150	9,150	5,500	500	0	0	0
	H	02	Bentley, Helen D	R	17,300	10,600	5,500	1,200	0	0	0
	H	03	Cardin, Benjamin L	D	17,500	7,500	10,000	0	0	0	0
	H	04	McMillen, C Thomas	D	20,560	8,800	11,260	500	0	0	0
	H	05	Hoyer, Steny	D	7,450	4,350	1,350	1,500	250	0	0
	H	06	Byron, Beverly B	D	500	500	0	0	0	0	0
	H	07	Mfume, Kweisi	D	10,350	5,350	5,000	0	0	0	0
	H	08	Morella, Constance	R	8,450	8,450	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Kennedy, Edward M	D	43,420	30,000 *	1,000	2,000	10,420 *	0	0
	S		Kerry, John F	D	1,000	1,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	01	Conte, Silvio	R	16,500	5,000	5,050	5,250	200	1,000	0

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Massachusetts Con't.	H	02	Neal, Richard E	D	11,750	11,750	0	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Early, Joseph D	D	500	250	250	0	0	0	0
	H	04	Frank, Barney	D	19,933	3,750	750	3,517	11,916	0	0
	H	05	Atkins, Chester G	D	984	484	0	500	0	0	0
	H	06	Mavroules, Nicholas	D	14,650	1,000	5,850	2,050	5,250	0	500
	H	07	Markey, Edward J	D	5,250	0	1,000	4,250	0	0	0
	H	08	Kennedy, Joseph P II	D	12,100	6,100	6,000	0	0	0	0
	H	09	Moakley, John J	D	1,000	500	0	250	250	0	0
	H	10	Studds, Gerry E	D	6,600	0	0	6,600	0	0	0
	S		Levin, Carl	D	179,038	2,500	500	175,038 *	0	0	1,000 *
Michigan	S		Riegle, Donald	D	87,250	55,250 *	2,000	0	29,000	1,000 *	0
	H	02	Pursell, Carl	R	8,300	8,300	0	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Wolpe, Howard	D	120,900	42,100	38,800	17,850	10,150	11,000	1,000
	H	05	Henry, Paul B	R	2,450	1,250	0	1,200	0	0	0
	H	06	Carr, Bob	D	56,250	14,000	32,000	4,250	6,000	0	0
	H	08	Traxler, Bob	D	300	300	0	0	0	0	0
	H	09	Vander Jagt, Guy	R	16,600	5,700	5,300	5,300	300	0	0
	H	10	Schuetz, William D	R	28,900	12,400	7,600	8,900	0	0	0
	H	11	Davis, Robert W	R	1,050	1,050	0	0	0	0	0
	H	12	Bonior, David E	D	1,000	1,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	14	Hertel, Dennis	D	6,500	3,000	2,500	0	0	1,000	0
	H	15	Ford, William	D	6,200	3,250	2,700	0	250	0	0
	H	16	Dingell, John D	D	4,500	2,000	2,000	500	0	0	0
	H	17	Levin, Sander	D	2,250	0	750	250	1250	0	0
	H	18	Broomfield, William S	R	16,000	5,500	5,500	5,000	0	0	0
Minnesota	S		Boschwitz, Rudolph	I-R	133,275	5,000	0	125,775 *	0	1,500	1,000 *
	S		Durenberger, Dave	I-R	226,500	167,000 *	2,750	750	56,000 *	0	0
	H	02	Weber, Vin	I-R	79,400	38,200	41,200	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Frenzel, Bill	I-R	1,000	500	0	0	500	0	0
	H	04	Vento, Bruce F	DFL	250	0	0	250	0	0	0
	H	05	Sabo, Martin O	DFL	450	0	0	450	0	0	0
	H	06	Sikorski, Gerry	DFL	53,200	22,850	6,500	22,850	1,000	0	0
	S&H	08	Oberstar, James L	DFL	8,850	500	500	7,850	0	0	0

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Mississippi	S		Cochran, Thad	R	7,500	0	1,000	6,500 *	0	0	0
	S&H		Lott, Trent	R	29,500	17,000 *	6,000	6,500	0	0	0
	H	02	Espy, Mike	D	61,000	46,500	14,500	0	0	0	0
Missouri	H	04	Parker, Mike	D	9,050	9,050	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Bond, Christopher S	R	20,160	4,000	16,160 *	0	0	0	0
	S		Danforth, John C	R	60,786	39,336 *	500	1,000	19,950 *	0	0
	H	01	Clay, William L	D	6,500	1,000	0	500	5,000	0	0
	H	02	Buechner, John W (Jack)	R	19,750	19,750	0	0	0	0	0
Montana	H	03	Gephardt, Richard A	D	20,130	7,000	7,000	6,130	0	0	0
	H	04	Skelton, Ike	D	28,200	2,250	2,750	3,000	20,200	0	0
	H	05	Wheat, Alan	D	43,700	9,100	7,250	18,600	8,750	0	0
	H	06	Coleman, E Thomas	R	250	0	0	250	0	0	0
	H	07	Hancock, Meldon D (Mel)	R	500	500	0	0	0	0	0
	H	09	Volkmer, Harold	D	4,000	1,500	2,500	0	0	0	0
	S		Baucus, Max	D	55,250	2,000	0	51,050 *	1,200	0	1,000 *
Nebraska	S		Burns, Conrad	R	28,800	28,800 *	0	0	0	0	0
	H	01	Williams, Pat	D	10,100	6,250	350	0	2,500	0	1,000
	S		Exon, J James	D	8,750	0	0	7,750 *	0	0	1,000 *
	S		Kerrey, John Robert	D	97,500	97,500 *	0	0	0	0	0
Nevada	H	01	Bereuter, Douglas K	R	250	0	0	0	250	0	0
	H	02	Hoagland, Peter	D	12,500	12,500	0	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Smith, Virginia D	R	350	350	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Bryan, Richard H	D	89,850	89,850	0	0	0	0	0
New Hampshire	S		Reid, Harry M	D	208,540	500	185,890 *	21,900	250	0	0
	H	01	Bilbray, James H	D	30,500	24,750	5,750	0	0	0	0
	S		Humphrey, Gordon J	R	5,000	0	0	5,000 *	0	0	0
New Jersey	H	01	Smith, Robert C	R	6,000	0	0	6,000	0	0	0
	H	02	Douglas, Charles (Chuck)	R	7,250	7,250	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Bradley, Bill	D	47,200	2,200	2,500	40,000 *	2,000	0	500 *
	S		Lautenberg, Frank	D	272,750	253,500 *	7,000	1,750	10,500 *	0	0
	H	01	Florio, James J	D	18,300	17,350	250	700	0	0	0
	H	03	Pallone, Frank Jr	D	10,800	10,800	0	0	0	0	0

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
New Jersey, Con't.	H	04	Smith, Christopher	R	22,500	11,500	5,500	5,500	0	0	0
	H	05	Roukema, Marge	R	300	300	0	0	0	0	0
	H	06	Dwyer, Bernard J	D	850	600	0	250	0	0	0
	H	07	Rinaldo, Matthew	R	6,100	5,600	250	250	0	0	0
	H	08	Roe, Robert A	D	500	0	0	500	0	0	0
	H	09	Torricelli, Robert	D	53,750	11,000	13,500	29,250	0	0	0
	H	10	Payne, Donald M	D	13,750	13,750	0	0	0	0	0
	H	11	Gallo, Dean	R	11,000	5,750	5,250	0	0	0	0
	H	12	Courter, James A (Jim)	R	10,600	5,600	5,000	0	0	0	0
	H	13	Saxton, H James	R	1,250	250	0	1,000	0	0	0
	H	14	Guarini, Frank	D	2,750	750	250	1,750	0	0	0
	S		Bingaman, Jeff	D	188,175	139,100 *	5,000	7,500	36,575 *	0	0
	S		Domenici, Pete V	R	18,350	0	250	18,000 *	0	0	100 *
New Mexico	H	01	Schiff, Steven H	R	15,800	15,800	0	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Richardson, William B	D	39,600	7,250	16,750	10,100	5,500	0	0
	S		D'Amato, Alfonso M	R	26,705	0	25,705 *	1,000	0	0	0
	S		Moynihan, Daniel P	D	53,000	35,500 *	6,000	0	11,000 *	0	500
	H	01	Hochbrueckner, George	D	42,667	26,800	12,500	3,367	0	0	0
	H	02	Downey, Thomas J	D	35,208	9,000	7,000	12,208	5,000	2,000	0
	H	03	Mrazek, Robert J	D	60,257	14,100	15,669	30,488	0	0	0
	H	04	Lent, Norman F	R	2,000	750	500	500	250	0	0
	H	05	McGrath, Raymond J	R	2,500	1,250	500	500	250	0	0
	H	06	Flake, Floyd H	D	10,500	5,500	5,000	0	0	0	0
	H	07	Ackerman, Gary L	D	8,000	5,750	750	1,500	0	0	0
	H	08	Scheuer, James H	D	1,200	1,000	0	0	200	0	0
	H	09	Manton, Thomas J	D	11,250	5,250	5,000	1,000	0	0	0
	H	10	Schumer, Charles E	D	1,635	500	250	635	250	0	0
New York	H	11	Towns, Edolphus	D	15,750	5,750	5,000	5,000	0	0	0
	H	12	Owens, Major R	D	21,250	10,000	6,000	5,250	0	0	0
	H	13	Solarz, Stephen J	D	4,350	750	1,750	350	1,500	0	0
	H	14	Molinari, Guy V	R	680	500	180	0	0	0	0
	H	15	Green, Sedgwick (Bill)	R	22,200	6,000	2,500	12,750	250	0	0

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
New York, Con't.	H	16	Rangel, Charles B	D	12,000	1,000	5,500	5,500	0	0	0
	H	17	Weiss, Ted	D	1,800	300	250	1,000	250	0	0
	H	18	Garcia, Robert	D	16,750	6,000	5,000	5,750	0	0	0
	H	19	Engel, Eliot	D	5,750	5,750	0	0	0	0	0
	H	20	Lowey, Nita M	D	7,500	7,500	0	0	0	0	0
	H	21	Fish, Hamilton Jr	R	4,100	1,500	1,350	1,000	250	0	0
	H	22	Gilman, Benjamin	R	22,400	7,000	2,750	6,150	6,500	0	0
	H	23	McNulty, Michael R	D	5,000	5,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	25	Boehlert, Sherwood L	R	500	0	250	250	0	0	0
	H	27	Walsh, James T	R	5,300	5,300	0	0	0	0	0
	H	28	McHugh, Matthew	D	58,250	10,550	12,000	18,500	13,200	4,000	0
North Carolina	H	30	Slaughter, Louise	D	27,750	21,500	6,250	0	0	0	0
	H	31	Paxon, L William	R	6,550	6,550	0	0	0	0	0
	H	33	Nowak, Henry J	D	1,050	0	300	500	250	0	0
	H	34	Houghton, Amory Jr	R	5,000	0	5,000	0	0	0	0
	S		Helms, Jesse	R	1,500	0	1,500	0	0	0	0
	S		Sanford, J Terry	D	87,925	3,000	84,925 *	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Lancaster, H Martin	D	9,750	250	9,500	0	0	0	0
	H	04	Price, David	D	28,400	24,000	4,400	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Neal, Stephen L	D	16,250	0	6,000	4,750	5,500	0	0
	H	06	Coble, James H (Howard)	R	20,800	11,850	7,750	1,200	0	0	0
	H	07	Rose, Charles G III	D	12,800	6,000	6,800	0	0	0	0
North Dakota	H	08	Hefner, Bill	D	1,100	850	0	0	250	0	0
	H	09	McMillan, J Alex	R	17,450	5,250	6,000	6,200	0	0	0
	H	10	Ballenger, Cass	R	18,500	9,250	9,250	0	0	0	0
	H	11	Clarke, James M	D	28,400	25,050	1,000	2,350	0	0	0
	S		Burdick, Quentin	D	120,578	75,550 *	0	0	45,025 *	0	0
Ohio	S		Conrad, Kent	D	47,700	15,000	32,700 *	0	0	0	0
	H	00	Dorgan, Byron	D	32,600	10,750	7,500	8,600	3,250	2,500	0
	S		Glenn, John	D	17,500	0	16,500 *	0	0	1,000	0
	S		Metzenbaum, Howard	D	324,460	287,285 *	2,000	0	35,175 *	0	0
	H	01	Luken, Thomas	D	27,750	14,250	750	7,000	250	5,000	500

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Pennsylvania, Con't.	H	06	Yatron, Gus	D	17,100	7,500	7,500	1,850	250	0	0
	H	07	Weldon, Curt	R	11,500	5,000	6,500	0	0	0	0
	H	08	Kostmayer, Peter	D	112,900	45,050	36,500	26,450	2,900	2,000	0
	H	10	McDade, Joseph	R	10,300	5,300	5,000	0	0	0	0
	H	11	Kanjorski, Paul E	D	13,100	5,750	4,750	2,600	0	0	0
	H	12	Murtha, John P	D	2,750	250	1,250	500	750	0	0
Puerto Rico	H	13	Coughlin, Lawrence	R	27,650	7,850	13,850	5,750	200	0	0
	H	15	Ritter, Donald L	R	4,500	4,000	0	0	500	0	0
	H	18	Walgren, Doug	D	20,000	250	13,750	5,000	1,000	0	0
	S		Fuster, Jaime B	D	250	250	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Pell, Claiborne	D	29,850	0	0	25,350 *	0	0	4,500 *
	H	02	Schneider, Claudine	R	24,550	6,050	6,000	7,250	5,250	0	0
South Carolina	S		Hollings, Ernest F	D	17,250	1,000	14,500 *	750	0	1,000	0
	H	01	Ravenel, Arthur Jr	R	2,550	2,350	200	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Derrick, Butler C	D	16,000	16,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	04	Patterson, Elizabeth (Liz)	D	10,950	10,500	450	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Spratt, John M Jr	D	3,150	2,900	0	0	250	0	0
	H	06	Tallon, Robin	D	13,850	8,000	0	5,000	850	0	0
South Dakota	S&H		Daschle, Thomas A	D	286,630	2,500	264,130 *	11,500	8,500	0	0
	S		Pressler, Larry	R	19,800	3,500	1,000	14,800 *	500	0	0
Tennessee	S&H	01	Johnson, Timothy	D	27,700	11,250	16,450	0	0	0	0
	S		Gore, Albert Jr	D	81,890	3,500	1,000	77,390 *	0	0	0
	S		Sasser, James B (Jim)	D	145,250	85,500 *	500	500	58,750 *	0	0
	H	01	Quillen, James H	R	5,750	500	250	5,000	0	0	0
	H	03	Lloyd, Marilyn	D	500	500	0	0	0	0	0
	H	04	Cooper, James H S	D	10,750	5,000	0	5,750	0	0	0
Texas	H	05	Clement, Bob	D	5,750	5,750	0	0	0	0	0
	H	06	Gordon, Bart	D	23,400	7,150	7,750	8,500	0	0	0
	H	07	Sundquist, Donald K	R	12,000	6,500	2,000	1,500	2,000	0	0
	H	08	Tanner, John S	D	750	750	0	0	0	0	0
	H	09	Ford, Harold	D	5,000	1,500	1,250	1,750	500	0	0
	S		Bentsen, Lloyd	D	49,200	40,700 *	0	1,000	7,500 *	0	0
	S		Gramm, William P (Phil)	R	1,000	0	0	1,000 *	0	0	0

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Texas, Con't.	H	01	Chapman, Jim	D	6,600	1,100	5,500	0	0	0	0
	H	02	Wilson, Charles	D	36,350	5,500	6,750	24,100	0	0	0
	H	03	Bartlett, Steve	R	250	0	0	250	0	0	0
	H	04	Hall, Ralph M	D	2,600	1,100	1,500	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Bryant, John W	D	26,150	7,600	17,000	1,000	550	0	0
	H	06	Barton, Joe	R	2,000	0	2,000	0	0	0	0
	H	08	Fields, Jack M Jr	R	500	500	0	0	0	0	0
	H	09	Brooks, Jack	D	2,250	1,000	250	0	1,000	0	0
	H	10	Pickle, James J	D	3,500	1,000	2,000	500	0	0	0
	H	11	Leath, James M (Marvin)	D	5,250	5,250	0	0	0	0	0
	H	13	Sarpalius, William (Bill)	D	9,450	9,450	0	0	0	0	0
	H	14	Laughlin, Gregory H	D	4,000	4,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	16	Coleman, Ronald	D	31,300	1,750	12,500	12,050	5,000	0	0
	H	17	Stenholm, Charles	D	750	250	500	0	0	0	0
	H	19	Combest, Larry	R	3,800	0	2,800	1,000	0	0	0
	H	21	Smith, Lamar	R	13,000	6,000	7,000	0	0	0	0
	H	22	DeLay, Tom	R	5,600	0	5,600	0	0	0	0
Utah	H	23	Bustamante, Albert G	D	27,450	6,050	5,750	15,650	0	0	0
	H	24	Frost, Martin	D	34,150	5,250	1,600	8,250	18,550	0	500
	H	25	Andrews, Michael A	D	5,500	0	0	500	5,000	0	0
	H	26	Arney, Richard K	R	250	0	250	0	0	0	0
	H	27	Ortiz, Solomon P	D	750	250	0	500	0	0	0
	S		Hatch, Orrin G	R	1,000	1,000*	0	0	0	0	0
	H	02	Owens, Wayne	D	68,150	45,050	23,100	0	0	0	0
Vermont	S		Jeffords, James	R	17,800	17,750*	50	0	0	0	0
	S		Leahy, Patrick J	D	106,200	0	88,700*	0	0	17,500	0
	H	00	Smith, Peter P	D	13,150	13,150	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	S		Robb, Charles	D	35,000	35,000*	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Warner, John V	R	5,500	0	0	5,500*	0	0	0
	H	01	Bateman, Herbert H	R	6,250	0	6,000	250	0	0	0
	H	02	Pickett, Owen B	D	5,000	5,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Bliley, Thomas J Jr	R	6,000	0	6,000	0	0	0	0

State	Office	Dis't.	Candidate	Party	Total	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Virginia, Con't.	H	04	Sisisky, Norman	D	22,500	1,800	1,500	9,750	9,450	0	0
	H	07	Slaughter, D French	R	750	0	750	0	0	0	0
	H	09	Boucher, Frederick C	D	15,300	6,600	250	8,450	0	0	0
	H	10	Wolf, Frank	R	22,750	6,500	11,250	5,000	0	0	0
Washington	S		Adams, Brock	D	42,750	9,000	33,750 *	0	0	0	0
	S		Gorton, Slade	R	52,250	21,750 *	30,000 *	0	500	0	0
	H	01	Miller, John	R	96,128	71,378	12,000	12,750	0	0	0
	H	02	Swift, Allan B	D	1,000	1,000	0	0	0	0	0
	H	03	Unsoeld, Jolene	D	8,550	8,550	0	0	0	0	0
	H	04	Morrison, Sidney W	R	300	300	0	0	0	0	0
	H	05	Foley, Thomas S	D	23,750	6,000	5,250	6,250	5,500	250	500
	H	06	Dicks, Norman	D	9,500	7,100	500	1,000	400	500	0
West Virginia	H	07	McDermott, James A	D	9,300	9,300	0	0	0	0	0
	H	08	Chandler, Rod	R	3,300	300	0	3,000	0	0	0
	S		Byrd, Robert C	D	67,500	12,000 *	0	0	55,500 *	0	0
	S		Rockefeller, Jay	D	43,500	0	0	43,500 *	0	0	0
Wisconsin	H	01	Mollohan, Alan	D	6,500	0	500	5,250	750	0	0
	H	02	Stagers, Harley O Jr	D	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0	0
	H	04	Rahall, Nick J II	D	250	250	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Kasten, Robert W Jr	R	131,300	0	128,300 *	500	0	2,500	0
	H	01	Aspin, Les	D	31,350	11,850	8,500	10,250	250	0	500
	H	02	Kastenmeier, Robert W	D	500	500	0	0	0	0	0
	H	04	Klecza, Gerald D	D	10,300	0	5,000	5,300	0	0	0
	H	05	Moody, Jim	D	34,600	28,600	6,000	0	0	0	0
Wyoming	H	07	Obey, David R	D	62,100	30,250	26,750	5,100	0	0	0
	H	08	Roth, Toby	R	300	300	0	0	0	0	0
	S		Simpson, Alan K	R	10,500	0	0	10,000 *	0	0	500 *
	S		Wallop, Malcolm	R	16,733	11,733 *	0	0	5,000 *	0	0

Chapter 9

Still Unique: What Should Be Done About Israel's American Lobby?

"We operate today under significantly new campaign finance laws. Wealthy pro-Israel individuals can no longer dominate contributions to major campaigns. The big pro-Israel giving must come from pro-Israel political action committees, or PACs. Such PACs have indeed sprung up. They tend to reflect the state of American Jews' general politics—no longer quite liberal, not comfortable being conservative, huddling around the consensual issue of Israel. Most of the new PACs will support conservatives and liberals alike."

Suzanne Garment, *Wall Street Journal*, May 16, 1986

"The man behind the rise of AIPAC is the seemingly mild-mannered Thomas Dine, who has been the lobby's executive director since October 1980. Dine's first order of business, in early 1981, was to try to bring about the congressional defeat of the Reagan administration's plan to sell advanced surveillance airplanes to Saudi Arabia. AIPAC lost the battle but won the war. Since then Dine has increased the lobby's membership by 500 percent (to 55,000), tripled the size of its Washington staff, and opened branch offices in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Austin. The lobby's current budget is over \$6 million. Most significantly, more than 100 Israel-oriented political action committees have sprung up around the country, many of them run by individuals who have close connections to AIPAC."

Eric Alterman, *Regardie's*, March 1988

"In the 1970s, Republicans championed the establishment of political action committees, which give contributions on behalf of businesses, trade associations and other interests. The Republicans saw the PACs as a way of offsetting donations by labor unions to Democrats. But in recent years more and more PAC money has been going to Democrats. That has led some Republicans to call for the elimination of PACs altogether, although that has raised some constitutional concerns about limits on free speech and association."

Richard L. Berke, *The New York Times*, June 5, 1989

Suggestions that in coordinating contributions of pro-Israel PACs, and in some of their other activities on behalf of Israel, present and former officers of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee like Michael Golan have violated both the letter and

the spirit of the law are generally ignored by the media and met with extreme hostility by leaders of major Jewish organizations. "Whistle blowers" who make such charges can count on several things.

They will find their names on blacklists issued by AIPAC, B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League and other Jewish organizations.

When they speak before live audiences or appear on radio or television talk shows, they will be confronted by hostile questioners, often reading excerpts from these blacklists, in an effort to discredit the speaker with the audience. They will also be conspicuously "monitored" by Jewish students and adults, generally sitting in the front row and taking notes of key points in their presentations.

These notes will go back to the blacklisting organizations. Excerpts from them, taken out of context, may appear in subsequent blacklists. Each edition becomes both further removed from reality, and more condemnatory. The speaker, no matter how impressive his credentials and how carefully documented and low-key his criticisms of Israeli policies, may soon find either that he is ignored or that the mainstream media describe and handle him as "controversial." The national Jewish press may take this two steps further by calling him "anti-Semitic" or even a "Holocaust revisionist."

All this can take place without the speaker ever discussing anything but current Israeli domestic and foreign affairs, or Israeli influence in U.S. domestic politics. If this recalls the days of "McCarthyism," when criticism of U.S. domestic or foreign policies might be equated with support for the Soviet Union, the purpose is the same. It is to inhibit the speaker and instill fear in others tempted to follow his example.

Whistle blowers can count on receiving hate mail and harassing, and sometimes threatening, telephone calls. They will receive not-so-subtle hints from Jewish "friends" or screaming anonymous telephone harassers that they are inviting retaliation upon themselves or their employers by clients, advertisers, customers, donors or even federal regulators.

Their whistle blowing charges will generally be ignored by the mainstream media, although similar charges of violations and evasions of the law leveled against any other prominent special interest lobby would invite headlines, interviews, and follow-up by investigative reporters.

When there are responses to whistle blowing revelations about the pro-Israel lobby, they generally impugn the credibility, motives and personal background of the whistle blower. Seldom, if ever, do the responses address the charges themselves.

There is, however, an essential difference between the way charges by "McCarthyists" of the 1950s and "Israelists" of the 1980s were received. Almost from the beginning, the mainstream U.S. media cast doubt upon exaggerated and libelous charges leveled by Senator Joseph McCarthy and his supporters. Pioneer CBS broadcaster Edward R. Murrow, for example, whose name became synonymous with integrity in telecasting, never allowed himself to be taken in, and gave prominence to statements by the victims and their defenders.

The exact opposite has been the case with critics of Israel and the charges leveled against them. Their substantive criticisms of Israeli policies and motives are ignored, but ad hominem attacks against the whistle blowers are presented at face value in otherwise respectable American media. American readers and viewers are reduced to the level of Soviet readers of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* and viewers of Moscow television in the Stalin era, seeking to grasp the truth by reading between the lines.

There are occasions, however, when the substance of the charges cannot be evaded. At a 1989 seminar at Rosemont College, a Catholic institution near Philadelphia, Theodore Mann, former president of the Council of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, stepped up to the podium to rebut charges leveled at the seminar by the author of this book and other speakers.

"There is nothing wrong with PACs," he declared firmly. "They are part of the American system. They are the American way."

He seemed truly nonplussed when some 400 persons in the audience, largely made up of Catholic priests, nuns and lay teaching assistants, with a sprinkling of Protestant clergy and of students from Rosemont and nearby colleges, responded with a collective gasp of disapproval. As Mann left the podium, members of the audience shifted uneasily in their seats.

How could one of the most highly regarded leaders ever to hold mainstream American Jewry's most prestigious position, president of the Council of Presidents, have so misjudged his audience, or have drifted so far from informed mainstream American opinion?

Mann was followed to the podium by a young faculty member from a nearby university who sought to answer that question. Explaining that he had never publicly articulated his concerns about the Israeli-Palestinian problem before being asked to serve as a neutral "discussant" at Rosemont's two-day seminar on the subject, he said he was stunned and horrified by what he had learned there.

To describe his prior inhibitions about discussing the Middle East, he offered, diffidently, the phrase, "WASP intimidation." He defined this as the fear by non-Jews that they will be called "anti-Semitic" just for asking questions that seem to reveal skepticism about Israeli motives or doubts about Israeli veracity. As he returned to his seat, he was overwhelmed with a sustained round of applause.

American Jewish critics of Israeli actions are familiar with another equally intimidating phrase, "self-hating Jew." Both appellations are applied almost reflexively by apologists for Israel to silence critics of Israeli policies without addressing their criticisms.

This has been such an effective defense against public discussion that few American Jewish supporters of Israel have any notion of the deep skepticism with which informed and educated Americans now regard not only the current government of Israel, but also the support mechanism it has built up in the United States.

Few Americans would agree that there is "nothing wrong with PACs" created to

pay a member of Congress to vote, not in accordance with his own best instincts or the expressed wishes of his constituents, but rather in accordance with the wishes of the special interest the PAC represents. In the case of pro-Israel PACs, most members of Congress accept the contribution not so much because they agree with the contributors or because their campaigns need the money, but because they fear that if they decline, it will be used to fund a challenger. PAC donations of all kinds become a powerful tool not just for maintaining the status quo, but also for maintaining the most accessible and corruptible politicians in office.

Nor would many people describe as “the American way” the creation of an armada of deceptively named PACs to evade legal limitations on campaign donations and thereby persuade Congress to hand over direction of foreign policy in an area of the world vital to the United States to a tiny special interest group representing, at most, less than three percent of the electorate.

Nationwide polls, and recent campaign tactics by candidates for office in areas with heavy Jewish populations, seem to suggest that non-Jewish Americans increasingly perceive their Jewish fellow citizens as members of a single-issue voting bloc which, at best, divides its loyalties between an increasingly exploitative Israel, and an increasingly exploited United States.

Throughout 1988 and 1989, Jewish applicants for sensitive government positions, and to some extent Jewish officials already in such positions, reported that they sensed a much more careful scrutiny of their past associations by U.S. security officials in charge of issuing, and renewing, security clearances. Those who have close ties to Israel or Israelis report that such clearances now take longer to be completed than in the past.

It is customary to dismiss this within the Jewish community as inevitable fallout from the conviction of Naval counterintelligence specialist Jonathan Jay Pollard of paid espionage on behalf of Israel. In fact, however, the more strident lobbyists for Israel must also accept a major share of the blame for whatever changes have taken place in American public perceptions of the loyalties of America’s Jews.

Some of these lobbyists make no apologies for supporting any member of Congress who supports Israel, no matter how bigoted his politics, or how questionable his civic or personal morals. The inevitable public perception is that such ardent supporters of Israel have no real interest in making the United States a better place for all of its citizens, but only in making Israel a more secure and prosperous place for Jews.

It is the author’s view that such heedlessness on the part of a tiny but highly organized and increasingly visible minority of American Jewry is rapidly poisoning the well of Christian-Jewish relations in a land where, at least since World War II, those relations had reached unprecedented levels of harmony.

This, admittedly, is a grave charge against those who still lobby unreservedly for an increasingly intransigent Israel, or who break American laws on Israel’s behalf. It is dismissed by those accused of unbridled and unprincipled advocacy of their cause

with a flip response that, in Washington, "everyone does it." In fact, however, virtually no one else does it.

When others do, and get caught, the American media is quick to report the story. With the exception of the Pollard case, however, sensational charges of earlier security breaches or suspiciously close ties with Israel by such high-ranking Reagan administration officials as former Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary Stephen Bryan and former State Department, White House and Pentagon security consultant Michael Ledeen have been virtually ignored.

Throughout history, Americans of various heritages have been swift to recognize when actions of the mother country bring it into conflict with the United States. Regretfully, but clearly, they have demonstrated where their loyalties lie when American principles are contradicted by those of another land, no matter what land. In this century alone, German Americans, Italian Americans, Japanese Americans, and Russian Americans have made that choice, in every case clearly and without reservations.

Most American Jews still cling to the hope that Israel can be brought back from the brink to which the Likud has taken it. Members of the pro-Israel community, however, must make it clear for Israel's sake as well as their own that, if it pursues its present path toward unending war with the entire Islamic world, and an eventual suicidal Masada, they will not lobby their fellow Americans to follow Israel over the cliff.

In the meantime, pro-Israel PACs are a major element in what informed Americans now recognize as an intolerable threat to the integrity of the Congress, and to the consent of the governed which must underlie and buttress any successful democracy.

Congress is wrestling, again, with the problem of campaign reform. Congressmen and their critics generally agree that a congressional pay raise should accompany any total ban on retention of honoraria.

More vexing is the question of PACs. To ban certain categories, such as corporate PACs, would only enhance the power of those remaining, among them the so-called "ideological" category, into which pro-Israel PACs have inserted themselves. If any categories of PACs are banned, therefore, it appears best that all categories be banned. Individuals, however, would be free to contribute to candidates, within whatever limits are imposed by law.

A promising approach to the problem is to provide federal matching funds for congressional candidates along the same lines applied to presidential candidates. Equally promising, and complementary to that suggestion, would be the application of ceilings to campaign expenditures. Congressional candidates would still have to raise funds as a part of their duties, but they would not need the enormous amounts and the enormous investment of time now required just to match the funds amassed by rival candidates.

It appears that no reform can be devised to eliminate abuses such as those committed by AIPAC supporter Michael Goland in his expenditure of more than a million dollars

in television attack commercials against Senator Charles Percy in 1984. By pleading that such commercials were paid for with his own personal funds, and that neither their messages nor their placement were coordinated with the Paul Simon campaign, Goland effectively slipped through the safety nets provided under current electoral law.

Nor, it appears, would the protection to the public provided by any rule to outlaw such enormous outlays of personal funds outweigh the dangers to First Amendment rights to express personal opinions provided to every American.

While Congress wrestles with yet another attempt to "clean up the system," it appears that the best defense is an informed American public. It is incumbent upon the press to apply the same rules to reporting lobbying activities by Israel and its American supporters as are applied to other foreign powers and other special interests.

Then it is incumbent upon voters to set their own standards. In doing so, most voters would agree, at a minimum, upon three principles:

1. A candidate should not accept funds from any PAC that conceals its purpose from his constituents.
2. A candidate should not accept more money than the law permits from a single donor, or from a single special interest. That should apply equally when that special interest has disguised itself with a misleading multiplicity of names and corporate identities, as is the case with PACs set up and managed by members of AIPAC's board of directors.
3. A candidate should not accept contributions from a PAC whose purpose is to lobby for a foreign country, particularly when the country is seeking favors at American taxpayer expense.

Those are only three reasons for declining contributions from pro-Israel PACs. These PACs are also unique in that they are virtually unopposed; their efforts result in the export of American jobs and technology; the policies they support result in the deaths of Americans overseas; and they greatly increase the danger of a major war involving the United States.

This book is intended to help voters concerned about the abuses it documents to bring them to an end. When members of Congress decide that the benefits of accepting contributions from pro-Israel PACs are more than offset by the resulting loss of confidence from their own constituents, they will stop accepting those contributions.

When they no longer accept AIPAC-directed contributions, they will no longer feel bound to follow AIPAC policy recommendations. When that happens, the people of the United States will regain control of their own Middle East policy. For better or for worse, in the Middle East as in other parts of the world, American foreign policy will, at last, be truly American.

Chart IX. Total Pro-Israel PAC Donations by Election Cycles 1976-1988

Year	PACs	Funds Collected	Funds to Congressional Candidates	No. of Recipient Candidates	Independent Expenditures	Total Campaign Expenditures
1976	1	\$ 99,510	\$ 2,450	5		\$ 2,450
1978	3	255,418	43,475	47		43,475
1980	10	657,668	414,400	113		414,400
1982	40	3,900,818	2,027,200	290	142,716	2,169,916
1984	81	6,954,438	3,772,994	362	116,548	3,889,542
1986	94	8,154,211	4,609,984	420	58,995	4,668,979
1988	78	10,805,762	5,432,055	479	400,420	5,832,475
Totals	124	\$30,827,825	\$16,302,558	878	\$718,679	\$17,018,787

Pro-Israel PAC Receipts and Direct Contributions to Candidates for Federal Office 1978-1988

This chart lists 114 pro-Israel PACs active during the 1978-1988 election cycles. Contributions to presidential campaigns are incorporated in total expenditure figures. The chart does not include 10 pro-Israel PACs which received money from donors but did not make direct contributions to federal candidates. Receipts and expenditures are based on FEC records which have been rounded to the nearest \$100.

PAC/State	1988		1986		1984		1982		1980		1978	
	Total Receipts	Total Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib
Congressional Action Committee of Texas (TX)	177,000	155,900	46,500	45,700	100	700	83,300	69,000	0	0	0	0
Multi-Issue PAC (IL)	358,000	155,900	227,200	107,000	120,000	42,400	0	0	0	0	0	0
Louisianans for American Security PAC (LA)	193,200	149,900	44,300	33,800	48,900	48,300	40,300	12,000	0	0	0	0
Womens Pro-Israel National PAC (DC)	231,000	142,800	190,900	134,300	40,100	8,500	0	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia Citizens for Good Government (GA)	154,300	141,300	17,500	20,500	67,700	59,800	17,400	9,000	0	0	0	0
Berman for Congress (CA)	1,335,900	129,200	528,300	71,700	277,700	24,800	220,600	25,700	0	0	0	0
Congressman Waxman Campaign (CA)	802,800	119,500	345,000	59,500	146,700	25,000	174,000	13,600	0	0	0	0
Committee for 18 (CO)	199,800	119,300	40,600	23,500	57,300	38,800	55,500	30,000	0	0	18,500	0
Chicagofans for a Better Congress (IL)	119,400	118,200	31,600	32,000	38,500	37,000	14,500	15,000	0	0	0	0
San Diego Community PAC (CA)	107,300	98,600	29,700	32,100	41,200	30,500	36,400	35,000	19,500	9,000	0	0
Heartland PAC (DC)	131,300	96,200	87,000	61,300	37,400	29,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tx PAC (TX)	202,500	94,200	76,000	23,600	78,800	40,450	47,400	30,500	0	0	0	0
To Protect Our Heritage (IL)	154,700	94,100	15,900	10,400	40,300	21,800	57,800	35,500	4,700	0	0	0
Preston, Thorgirmonson, Ellis and Holman (DC)	96,400	87,000	96,400	87,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St. Louis PAC (MO)	87,200	80,600	11,000	12,000	36,500	32,300	39,700	36,400	0	0	0	0
Sacramento Area Good Government Association (CA)	75,000	73,000	27,200	29,500	22,200	19,000	25,600	24,500	0	0	0	0
Religion and Tolerance Committee (DC)	84,900	69,200	84,900	69,200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adler Group, Inc. PAC (FL)	70,300	68,200	15,800	14,900	45,500	46,300	9,000	7,000	0	0	0	0
R R D and B Good Government Committee (DC)	82,700	66,600	59,000	48,200	23,700	18,400	0	0	0	0	0	0
Baypac (FL)	82,400	65,700	10,400	10,300	15,800	14,500	42,900	30,900	0	0	0	0
Maryland Association for Concerned Citizens PAC (MD)	115,700	63,500	91,800	60,500	23,900	3,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Campaign for America (NJ)	78,200	61,500	41,500	35,000	36,700	26,500	0	0	0	0	0	0
Five Towns PAC (NY)	120,100	59,800	54,300	23,300	50,600	26,400	15,200	13,100	0	0	0	0
Cap PAC (DC)	124,000	56,400	57,100	20,300	38,500	20,200	28,400	16,000	0	0	0	0
East Midwood PAC (NY)	68,600	55,800	24,300	24,000	24,200	22,000	20,100	9,800	0	0	0	0
Balpac (IL)	115,900	53,400	0	0	7,000	5,000	53,000	30,600	24,200	11,800	31,700	16,000
Connecticut Good Government PAC (CT)	71,800	52,800	16,500	14,500	27,100	22,000	18,600	6,800	9,600	9,500	0	0
City PAC (IL)	61,100	44,300	38,000	32,300	20,000	10,100	3,100	2,000	0	0	0	0
Gold Coast PAC (FL)	60,300	44,300	6,300	2,500	34,000	29,800	20,000	12,000	0	0	0	0

PAC/State	1988		1986		1984		1982		1980		1978	
	Total Receipts	Total Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib
Women For: (CA)	804,000	41,200	173,300	13,800	141,200	5,900	145,300	11,500	145,300	3,200	94,400	6,700
Elections Committee of the County of Orange (CA)	139,500	40,200	93,800	27,600	44,500	13,500	1,200	1,100	0	0	0	0
South Bay Citizens for Good Government (CA)	49,900	39,700	2,900	0	22,400	19,000	19,600	20,700	5,000	0	0	0
Icepac (NY)	55,100	39,200	8,300	20,300	31,100	18,800	15,700	8,000	0	0	0	0
Thirteenth CD Committee (VA)	69,100	36,700	0	0	500	3,300	68,600	33,400	0	0	0	0
Topac (IL)	51,300	36,600	0	0	1,800	0	49,500	36,500	0	0	0	0
Long Island PAC (NY)	150,900	35,800	55,800	13,500	51,600	22,300	43,500	0	0	0	0	0
Government Action Committee (TX)	37,100	35,800	0	0	0	0	11,900	12,000	25,200	23,800	0	0
Kings County PAC (NY)	41,500	32,800	900	1,000	23,100	24,800	17,500	5,500	0	0	0	0
Chillpac (NM)	40,900	31,800	17,800	14,800	23,100	17,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bay Area Citizens PAC (CA)	51,200	30,700	1,100	0	13,100	8,500	25,300	15,500	11,700	6,700	0	0
Ocean State PAC (RI)	32,600	30,300	32,600	30,300	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tennesseans for Better Government (TN)	23,400	26,700	3,400	7,800	13,800	18,900	6,200	0	0	0	0	0
Americans for a Better Congress (IL)	32,600	25,400	200	0	4,400	3,500	11,800	11,900	16,200	10,000	0	0
South Carolinians for Representative Government (SC)	27,100	24,200	21,100	21,000	300	800	3,600	1,300	2,100	1,100	0	0
Silver State PAC (NV)	20,500	19,000	20,500	19,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
For Integrity in Government (TX)	20,800	17,800	4,300	0	7,500	7,500	9,000	10,300	0	0	0	0
Badger PAC (WI)	34,200	17,100	9,100	0	25,100	17,100	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Florida Caucus (FL)	24,700	16,800	9,200	7,000	15,500	9,800	0	0	0	0	0	0
Suffolk PAC (NY)	67,200	16,300	46,300	7,000	20,900	5,300	0	0	0	0	0	0
Young Americans PAC (CA)	53,200	14,500	0	0	53,200	14,500	0	0	0	0	0	0
Seattle PAC (WA)	17,400	13,500	10,700	10,000	6,300	3,500	400	0	0	0	0	0
Fund for Freedom (DC)	104,200	13,350	28,700	4,250	75,500	9,700	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chaipac (MO)	16,600	11,800	16,600	12,500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Walters Construction Management Political Committee (CO)	88,500	11,700	0	0	43,900	700	44,600	11,000	0	0	0	0
Garden PAC (NJ)	14,800	11,100	1,000	500	1,000	1,300	12,800	9,300	0	0	0	0
Northern New Jersey PAC (NJ)	13,200	10,600	0	4,600	13,200	6,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Americans for Better Citizenship (NY)	19,300	10,500	0	0	100	3,500	3,000	4,500	16,200	2,500	0	0
AG PAC (IO)	11,900	10,500	0	0	2,200	2,000	9,700	8,600	0	0	0	0
South Texas Area PAC (TX)	10,000	10,100	0	0	0	3,400	10,000	6,800	0	0	0	0
Northeast Penn PAC (MD)	12,300	9,500	200	0	700	0	11,400	9,500	0	0	0	0

PAC/State	Total Receipts	Total Contrib	1988		1986		1984		1982		1980		1978	
			Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib	Receipts	Contrib
Heritage PAC (MA)	13,700	9,500	100	0	5,900	4,000	7,700	5,500	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chipac/An Illinois not for Profit Organization (IL)	11,000	9,000	0	0	0	0	11,000	9,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mississippians for Responsive Government (MS)	72,600	8,300	5,300	3,400	2,100	1,700	59,200	1,700	6,000	1,500	0	0	0	0
Capital of Texas Committee (TX)	8,600	7,800	0	0	100	0	8,500	7,800	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lower Westchester PAC (NY)	9,300	6,750	0	0	2,200	300	7,100	6,500	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freedom Now (CA)	5,700	5,100	0	0	5,700	5,100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southwest Political Action Caucus (NM)	8,200	5,100	400	0	3,700	2,800	4,100	2,300	0	0	0	0	0	0
Barbary Coast (CA)	47,400	5,000	47,400	6,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stat Pac (NY)	6,500	4,700	2,100	2,300	4,400	2,400	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania PAC (PA)	5,500	4,600	0	300	5,500	4,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jewish Republican PAC (DC)	4,900	4,000	900	500	4,000	3,500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia Congressional Committee (VA)	6,500	3,100	300	3,100	6,200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wilamette PAC (OR)	3,400	3,100	0	0	3,300	3,100	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
South-Brook PAC (NY)	5,600	3,050	0	0	200	300	5,400	2,800	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mobilization PAC (NY)	3,800	2,350	0	0	0	150	3,800	2,200	0	0	0	0	0	0
Charles River PAC (MA)	3,500	2,200	0	0	0	0	3,500	2,200	0	0	0	0	0	0
Q PAC (NY)	4,000	2,200	0	0	0	0	4,000	2,200	0	0	0	0	0	0
Boston PAC (MA)	2,100	2,000	0	0	0	0	2,100	2,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Shore PAC (NY)	21,800	2,000	1,000	1,000	2,800	0	18,000	2,000	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aimpac (IL)	2,700	1,800	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,700	1,800	0	0	0	0
Friends of Democracy PAC (NY)	5,400	1,800	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,400	1,800	0	0	0	0
Greater New York PAC (NY)	1,900	1,600	0	0	0	400	1,900	1,200	0	0	0	0	0	0
Citizens PAC (CA)	2,100	1,500	0	0	2,100	1,400	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Boro PAC (NY)	5,000	1,200	0	0	200	0	4,800	1,200	0	0	0	0	0	0
Student Activism Network (CA)	2,300	1,000	0	0	2,300	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shore PAC (S-PAC) (NY)	2,800	600	0	0	0	0	2,800	600	0	0	0	0	0	0
Public Policy Professional Youth PAC (NY)	1,200	500	0	0	1,200	500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Metro PAC (TX)	1,700	500	100	0	1,600	500	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southpac (SC)	3,700	400	500	0	1,500	400	1,700	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Propac (DC)	800	200	0	0	100	0	700	200	0	0	0	0	0	0
University Student PAC (NY)	200	100	0	0	0	0	200	100	0	0	0	0	0	0

Index

- Abdullah, King of Jordan, 19-20
 Abdnor, Sen. James, *xii*, 75-7, 99
 Abourezk, Sen. James G., *v*, 15, 124-5
 Addabbo, Rep. Joseph P., 60
 Adelman, Lynn, 60
 Adelstein, Stanford M., 76-7
Advise and Dissent, 15, 124-5
 AFL-CIO, 141
 African-Americans, 58, 124; Black Caucus, 138, Black-Jewish Rivalries, 138
 Akins, James, *xi*
 Al-Assad, President Hafez, 29-30, 41, 137
 Al Bireh Society, 126
 Algeria, 20
 Alterman, Eric, 37, 123, 136, 159
 Altman, Richard, 136
 American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, (ADC) *xi*, 123-5, 127
 American Christian Right, 81
 American Council of Presidents of National Arab-American Organizations, 128
 American Educational Trust, *xiii*
 American Embassy, Israel, 57
 American Indian rights, 124
 American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), *v-vii*, *xi-xiv*, 23-4, 27-8, 30-2, 37-42, 54-61, 75-82, 97-104, 123-5, 128, 136-8, 141-4, 159-60, 163-4
 American Jewish Community, *vi*, *xi*, 18, 20, 27, 40, 54, 76-7, 81, 98, 123-4, 136, 140-3, 159, 162-3; U.S. Jewish organizations, 78, 136
 American Jewish Weekly, 100
 American Labor Party, 18
 American Lebanese League, 126
 American Medical Association, *v*, 81, 103
 American University of Beirut, 126
 American University of Beirut Alumni Society, 126
 American University in Cairo, 126
 Amitay, Morris, 27-8, 143
 Anderson, John, 32
 Anti-Defamation League, 27, 38, 124, 142, 160
 Anti-Semitism, 27, 56, 160-1
 Aqaba, 22
 Arab-American Institute, 123, 125
 Arab-American Leadership PAC, 128
 Arab-American "Lobby," 123, 128, 130
 Arab-Americans, *vi*, 104, 128
 Arab boycott of Israel, 38
 Arab Gulf States, 38
 Arab-Israeli wars: 1948: 22, 57; 1967: 22-3, 40, 57; 1973: American air lift, 23
 Arab League, 125
 Arab Oil Embargo, 125
 Arafat, Yasser, 123, 139-41
 Asher, Robert, 141
 Aspin, Rep. Les, 60
 AWACS, 37-8, 54, 56-7, 100-1, 159
 Babcock, Charles, 99
 Badger PAC, 82
 Baker, James III, 138-41
 Balfour Declaration (1917), 17
 Ball, George, *xi*, 40, 97, 140
 Barnes, Mark, 80
 Baucus, Sen. Max, 59
 Begin, Menachem, 31-2, 39
 Beilenson, Anthony C., 15
 Ben Gurion, David, 19-20, 22
 Bentley, Rep. Helen Delich, 59
 Bentsen, Sen. Lloyd, 103
 Berke, Richard L., 80, 159
 Bernstein, Carl, 30-1
 Berkowitz, Jeffrey L., 82
 Biden, Sen. Joseph R., Jr., 99
 Bilbray, Rep. James, 103
 Bingaman, Sen. Jeff, 103
 Black Caucus, 138
 Bloomfield, Douglas, 141
 B'nai B'rith, 22, 27, 38, 124, 142, 160
 Boron, Carole, 136
 Boschwitz, Sen. Rudy, 59, 79, 143
 British Mandate for Palestine, 18-9, 57
 Brown, George E., 15
 Bryan, Gov. Richard, 101-2
 Bryan, Stephen, 163
 Bumpers, Gov. Dale, 21
 Burdick, Sen. Quentin N., 103
 Burma, 17
 Bush, President George, 22, 103, 137-9
 Business Roundtable, 38
 Campaign finance reform, 24
 Camp David, 32
 Carter, President Jimmy, 31-2, 38-9; Carter Administration, 99
 CBS, 99-100, 141, 160
 Chafee, Sen. John, *xii*, 100-1
 Chappell, Rep. William, 103
 Christian Arabs, 17, 126; Christian Arab-Americans, 123
 Christian right, 81
 Church, Sen. Frank, 141
 Clarke, Rep. James McClure, 103
 Clifford, Clark, 18-9
 Cochran, Sen. Thad, 54
 Cohen, Dan, 79
 Cohler, Larry, 142
 Collins, Rep. Cardiss, 60
Commentary, 39
 Common Cause, *v*
 Congress, *vi*, *xiii*, 21, 23, 27-8, 30, 32, 37-9, 76, 78, 97-9, 124-5, 127, 129, 137, 139-44, 162-4
 Congressional Action of Texas, 78
Congressional Record, 16
 Corcoran, Tom, 58
 Council of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, 76, 161
 Cranston, Sen. Alan, 76, 78-80, 137

- Danforth, Sen. John, 103
 D'Amours, Norman, 59
 Daschle, Sen. Thomas A., 77-8
 Dawkins, Gen. Pete, 101
 Dayan, Moshe, 22
 DeConcini, Dennis, 103
 Defense Dept., vi, 98-9, 163; Armed Services & Intelligence Committee, 38
 Deir Yassin, 31
 Delaware Valley PAC, vi
 Democratic Party, Democrats, 18, 30, 32, 41-2, 77, 81, 103-4, 124, 126, 136, 141-3, 159
 Denton, Sen. Jeremiah, 75
 Desert Caucus PAC, vi
Detroit Jewish News, 136, 142-4
 Dine, Thomas, xii, 37, 42, 54, 56, 58, 60, 75, 97, 99-100, 141, 144, 159
 Dole, Sen. Robert, 103, 138
 Dowdy, Sen. Charles, 102
 Downey, Rep. Thomas J., 60
 Durbin, Rep. Richard J., 42, 55, 60
 Durenberger, Sen. David, 102

 Edgar, Rep. Robert, 60
 Egypt, 19-23, 31-2, 38, 125, 127, 140; Aswan Dam, 21; Nasser 20-1; Sinai, 20, 125; Suez Canal, 20-9; Suez War, 20-1
 Eilat, 22
 Eisenhower, President Dwight D., 20-1
 Erdreich, Ben, 59-60
 Evans, Gov. John, 77-9

 F-16's, 56
 Familian, Gary, 15
 Fascell, Rep. Dante B., 103
 Federal Bureau of Investigation, 80
 Federal Election Commission, xi-iv, 54, 58, 61, 75-6, 78, 80, 101, 141
 Fulbright, Sen. J. William, 15, 21-2, 41, 125

 Gale, Scott, 143-4
 Garment, Suzanne, 40, 159
 Gejdenson, Rep. Sam, 60, 78, 103
 Gemayel, Bashir, 42
 General Counsel's Office, xii
 Geneva Conventions, 128
 Gentile, Robert, 37
 Gephardt, Rep. Richard A., 103
 Germany, 16-7
 Golan Heights, 22, 125
 Goland, Michael, 58-9, 79-80, 82, 159-60, 163-4
 Golder, Robert, 55-7
 Goldman, Guido, 21
 Goldman, Nahum, 21
 Gore, Sen. Albert Jr., 59, 103
 Gramm, Sen. Phil, 79; Gramm-Rudman cuts, 99
 Great Britain, 16-20
 Greece, 17
 Green, Rep. Sedgwick (Bill), 60

 Habib, Philip, 42
 Haganah, 19
 Haig, Gen. Alexander, 41, 103

 Hall, Vivian, 15
 Hamilton, Rep. Lee H., 60, 138-9
 Hanks, Adm. Robert, xi
 Harkin, Sen. Thomas, 59, 142-3
 Hecht, Sen. Chic, 101-2
 Helms, Sen. Jesse, 54, 56-60, 75-6, 100
 Higgins, Col. William R., 138
 Hochbrueckner, Rep. George J., 103
 House Armed Services Committee, 59
 Heflin, Sen. Howell T., 59
 Hitler, Adolf, 16
 Hudson Valley PAC, vi, xi
 Humphrey, Sen. Gordon J., 54
 Humphrey, Vice President Hubert H., 21
 Humphrey, Hubert H. III (Skip), 102
 Hungary, 20
 Hunt, Gov. James, 56

 ICEPAC, 77
 Indonesia, 17-8
 Inouye, Sen. Daniel K., 78, 97-8
 Intifada, 137, 140
 Iran, 32, 38, 98, 128, 137; Ayatollah Khomeini, 32, 98, 137
 Iran-Contra Affair, 98, 102, 136
 Iraq, 19, 126
 Islamic Centers, 127; Islamic Propagation Centre International USA, 128
 Islamic Society of North America, 128
 Israel, vi, 31-2, 38-42, 54-61, 75-78, 81, 97-101, 125, 128-39, 144, 159-61; Holocaust, 16, 160; "Israelists," 160; Judaism, vi; Labor Coalition, 31, 76, 140; Likud Bloc, 39, 76, 129, 137, 140, 163; Masada, 163; Settlers, 140; Settlements, 19, 39, 129, 140; U.S.-Israel Free Trade Agreement, 76; Wailing Wall, 57
Isvestia, 161

 Jabara, Abdeen, 125
 Jackson, Brooks, 54
 Jackson, Rev. Jesse, 126, 138
 Japan, 17
 Jerusalem, 18-20, 22, 31, 57, 140
 Jewish Community Council, 142
 Jewish Peace Lobby, 129
 Joint Action Committee for Public Affairs PAC, vi
 Jepsen, Sen. Roger, 54-6, 59
 Johnson, President Lyndon B., 22
 Jordan, 19, 22, 38, 57, 76, 101, 127

 Karnes, David, 102
 Kastan, Sen. Robert W., Jr., 78
 Katz, Howard, 60
 Kemp, Jack, 103
 Kenan, Isaiah L., 125
 Kennedy, Sen. Edward M., 32, 141
 Kenya, 28
 Kerrey, John R., 102
 Khomeini, Ayatollah, 32, 98
 King David Hotel, 31
 Kissinger, Henry, 23, 30-1, 140
 Korea, 17, 39
 Kostmayer, Rep. Peter H., 60, 103

- Kuttner, Robert, 75, 81, 136
Kuwait, 28-9
- Labor Coalition (Israel), 31, 76, 140
Lautenberg, Sen. Frank R., 101, 143
Lebanon, 19, 41-2, 123; American polls, 1982, 42; Beirut, 29, 41, 124, 126; Civil War, 123, 126; B. Gemayel, 42; Maronites, 41-2; Sabra and Shatilla, 42
Ledeen, Michael, 163
Levin, Sen. Carl, 59, 142-4
Levine, Rep. Mel, 78, 99, 103
Libertarian Party, 79
Libya, 77, 128
Licht, Lt. Gov. Richard, *xii*, 100
Lieberman, Sen. Joseph, 101, 140-1
Lifton, Kimberly, 136, 142-4
Likud Bloc, 39, 76, 129, 137, 140, 163
Linker, Donald, 82
Long, Rep. Clarence, 59-60
Lott, Rep. Trent, 102
- McCarthy, Sen. Joseph, 160; "McCarthyism," 160
McCarthy, Lt. Gov. Leo, 102
McCloskey, Rep. Paul (Pete), *xii*, 27, 30, 32, 39-42, 78-9, 99, 102
McKinley, Breck, 79-80
MacFarlane, Robert, 98
Mack, Rep. Connie, 103, 140-1
MacKay, Buddy, 103
Malaysia, 18
Mann, Theodore, 161
Maronite Catholics, 41-2, 123, 126
Marshall, Gen. George, 19
Martin, Rep. Lynn M., 143
Masada, 163
Mecca, 17
Meir, Golda, 22
Metzenbaum, Sen. Howard M., 101, 143
Mica, Rep. Daniel A., 60
Middle East (magazine), 37
Middle East Subcommittee of House Foreign Affairs Committee, 78
Miller, Rabbi Israel, 97
Miller, Rep. John, 103
Mitchell, Sen. George, 103
Moore, Bond, 78
Morocco, 18, 127
Morrison, Rep. Bruce A., 60
Moynihan, Sen. Daniel P., 137
Mrazek, Rep. Robert J., 60
Mubarak, President Hosni, 138, 140
Multi-Issue PAC, 136
Morrow, Edward R., 160
Muskie, Sen. Edmund, 141
Muslim Americans, *vi*, 104, 123, 127-8, 130; Muslim American Lobbies, 123; Muslims for a Better America, 128; Islamic Centers, 127; Muslim Arabs, 126 Muslim PAC, 128-9; Muslims, 18
National Action Committee PAC (NACPAC), 82
National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), 123-4, 127; NAAAPAC, 128
Nasser, President Gamal, 20-1
National Association of Federal Employees*PAC, *v*
National Association of Realtors PAC, *v*, 80-1, 103
National Association of Retired Federal Employees PAC, 103
National Education Association PAC, *v*, 103
National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, 142
National PAC (NATPAC), *vi*, *xi*, 82, 136
National Rifle Association, 81
Near East Report, 141
Newhouse News Service, 37
New Republic, 39, 75, 81, 136
Niles, David, 19
Nir, Avraham, 98
Nixon, President Richard M., 22-3, 30-1, 39; Nixon administration, 22-3; Watergate, 30-1, 39
- Obey, Rep. David, 103
Owens, Rep. Wayne, 103
- Palestine, 16-20, 32, 37, 57-8; Palestinians, 42, 58, 137-9; Palestinian causes, 37, 123; schools, 100-1, 139; Gaza, 20, 128; West Bank, 20, 57, 100, 126, 128-9; PLO, 41-2, 123, 125, 138-40; PLO Mission in U.S., 138; Self-determination, 123, 129, 139; Christians, 57; Muslims, 57; Jerusalem, 18-9, 140; East Jerusalem, 22, 140; Two-State Solution, 124-6, 139; human rights, 125, 128 Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 125
Parker, Orin, *xi*
Pear, Robert, 80
Peli, Rabbi Pinchas H., 15
Pell, Sen. Claiborne, 143
Percy, Sen. Charles, *xii*, 54-60, 79-80, 164
Peres, Shimon, 139
Political Action Committees (the creation), 24
Pollard, Jonathan Jay, 98-9, 136, 162-3
Pravda, 161
- Qaddafi, Col. Muammer, 77, 137
Queen Esther, 136
- Rainbow Coalition, 126
Ramallah Society, 126
Reagan, President Ronald, 32, 38, 40-2, 76, 98, 101, 137-9; Reagan administration, 32, 40, 57, 76, 99, 101, 137, 141, 159, 163; Iran-Contra Affair, 98; Iran-Contra hearings, 102
Regardie's, 37, 123, 159
Reid, Sen. Harry, 60, 78
Republicans, 28, 30, 37-9, 41-2, 54, 57, 75, 77, 81, 100, 103-4, 124, 126, 141, 143, 159
Riegler, Sen. Donald W. Jr., 103
Roeder, Edward, *xiv*, 54-6, 60; *Pro-Israel PACs*, 54; *PACs Americana*, 54
Rogers, William, 23; Rogers' Plan, 23
Roosevelt, President Franklin D., 16
Rosemont College, 161
- Sadat, President Anwar, 23, 29, 31-2
San Franciscans for Good Government PAC, 82
Sarbanes, Sen. Paul S., 103
Sasser, Sen. James (Jim), 103
Saudi Arabia, 29, 54, 56-7, 76, 127, 137

- Schroyer, Elizabeth, 77-8, 99
 Schuette, Rep. Bill, 143
 Segal, Dr. Jerome, 129
 "Self-hating Jew," 161
 Senators' letters: 1975, 23 (protesting Ford's reassessment of Israel's policy, 73 signers); 1988, 101 (to Shamir urging agreement to "land-for-peace" 1988, 30 signers); 1988, 101 (letter urging Shultz not to put pressure on Shamir, 6 signers); 1988, 137 (letter to Shamir not to reject Reagan administration peace initiative, 16 signers); 1989, 139-40 (for Baker to endorse Shamir's election plan, 95 signers); 1989, 140-1 (against granting Arafat a visa, 68 signers)
 Shamir, Prime Minister Yitzhak, 101, 137, 139-40
 Sharon, Ariel, 23, 41, 140
 Sheikh Obeid, 138
 Sherif Hussein, 17
 Shi'ite Hezbollah, 138
 Shultz, George, 97-8, 137-9, 141
 Simon, Howard, 30
 Simon, Sen. Paul, 55-6, 58, 103, 142-3, 164
 Sinai, 20, 125
 "Sixty Minutes," xii, 78, 97, 99, 141
 Smith, Hedrick, xi
 Smith, Rep. Lawrence J. (Larry), 60-1, 78, 103
 South Africa, 124
 St. Louisans for Better Government PAC, xi
 Stevenson, Sen. Adlai III, 37
 Strauss, Richard, 141
 Sudan, 127
 Suez Canal, 20, 22, 29; Suez War, 21
 Symms, Sen. Steven D., 75-7
 Syria, 19, 22-3, 125, 128, 137
 Tauke, Rep. Thomas J., 143
 Teamsters Union, v, 10, 103
 Tel Aviv University, 21-2
The Los Angeles Times, 80, 136
The New York Times, 21, 80-1, 159
 "The Campaign to Discredit Israel," 142
The Washington Post, 30-1, 78, 99, 125, 141
The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, xii, xiv, 55, 98, 100
 Thompson, Gov. James, 37
 Tiran, Staits of, 22
 Torah, 15
 Torricelli, Rep. Robert G., 60
 Truman, President Harry S, 17-9
 Tuchin, Michael, 79
 Tunisia, 127
 Tunney, Sen. John V., 15
 TxPAC, 55
 United Jewish Appeal, xii, 100
 United Nations, 18-9, 22-3, 31, 57, 138-9, 141; Ceasefire, 23; Geneva (Arafat), 141; Resolution 242, 23, 138-9; PLO Observer Mission, 138
 U.S.-Arab Chambers of Commerce, 126
 U.S. Department of Commerce, vi, 38
 U.S. Department of Defense, vi, 98-9, 163; Armed Services and Intelligence Committee, 38
 U.S. Department of State, vi, 29-30, 57, 98, 124, 163
 U.S. Elections, vi, xii, xiv, 1948: 18; 1973: 30; 1974: 31; 1976: 31; 1978: 16, 30; 1980: 27-8, 30, 32, 37, 41; 1982: 32, 37-41, 55, 102; 1984: 54-6, 59-60, 75-6, 99, 126, 128-9; 1986: 75-8, 80-1, 99, 129-30; 1988: iii, 77-8, 97-9, 102-3, 126, 128, 130, 138, 143; 1990: 136-7, 142-4
 U.S. Embassy Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, 57
 U.S. Navy, 28, 39, 98; USS Liberty, 40
 U.S. Senate, 56-7, 124-5, 142; Senate Intelligence Committee, 101-2
 USSR, Soviet Union, 17, 19, 22-3, 29, 160
 Vallens, Michael, 80
 Vietnam, 17, 39-40
 Voinovich, Mayor George, 101
Wall Street Journal, xiv, 37, 40, 54, 75, 77, 82, 159
 Wallace, Vice President, Henry, 18
 Wallace, Mike, 97, 99-100
Washington Jewish Week, 15, 27
 Washington PAC, vi, 143
 "WASP intimidation," 161
 Watergate, 30-1
 Weber, Rep. Vin, 103
 Weicker, Sen. Lowell P., Jr., 101
 Weinberger, Sec. Caspar, 76
 Wertheimer, Fred, v
 White House, 124
 Wilson, Sen. Pete, 39-40, 102, 140-1
 Winter, William, 59
 Wolpe, Rep. Howard, 103
 Wood, Murray, 79
 Woodward, Robert, 30-1
 World War I, 17; World War II, 16, 162
 Wyden, Rep. Ron, 60
 Yemen, North, 29; South Yemen, 29-30; PDRY, 29
 Young Americans PAC (YAPAC), 80
 Zionism, vi, 17-8, 21, 54; Zionist agencies, 17; Israel, vi, 22, 32, 40, 54
 Zogby, James, 125-6
 Zschau, Rep. Edwin, 78-9
 Zuckerman, Edward, 55

AIPAC Operational Memorandum Calling Upon PACs to Donate to Named Candidates

September 30, 1986

MEMORANDUM:

TO: KK
from: ES
RE: SEE ME

1. ICEPAC has done nothing in the CO, LA, & MO race. They have given \$500 to Evans & Daschle - 6/30/86 they had 11,048. Try for 1,000 to Bond, Moore, Evans, Daschle, & Reid. *Try to get 1,000 more. We can get it. We have file. Call ASAP. We can get it. We can get it. We can get it.*

2. ACT PAC did not get involved in LA. Gave 90 to Daschle & 1,000 to Evans as of 6/30/86. *Call 9/3/86 34,000 for 24,000 for*

3. YAP has done nothing for Evans & Daschle - *WHT? 9/3/86 34,000 for 24,000 for*
4. GEORGIA has not gotten involved in NV & MO and given 1,000 to Evans and 1,000 to Daschle. Try 1,000 *to Bond, Moore, Evans, Daschle. That's all. That's all. That's all.*

5. Congressional Action of Texas \$8,162 has done nothing for Evans & Daschle NV & MO. Try \$500 for *Bond, Moore, Evans & Daschle - 34,000 for 24,000 for*

6. GOLD COAST has done nothing in NV or MO - Can you try \$500 *Bond, Moore, Evans & Daschle - 34,000 for 24,000 for*

7. Southern Florida Caucus - Try \$500 *Bond, Moore, Evans & Daschle - 34,000 for 24,000 for*

8. Five Towns - Try \$500 *Bond, Moore, Evans & Daschle - 34,000 for 24,000 for*

9. Kings PAC Try Moore *Call Patrice & or Tomer*

Above, the "smoking gun" memorandum from AIPAC's then assistant director of political affairs Elizabeth Schrayder dated Sept. 30, 1986. It instructs another AIPAC employee to call nine specific deceptively named political action committees and suggest donations to named candidates for Congress in the November 1986 general elections (see pages 77-78). The penciled notes are the receiving employee's record of calls made in compliance with the instructions. The AIPAC memorandum was reproduced in the *Washington Post* by investigative reporter Charles Babcock and discussed on "Sixty Minutes" by CBS reporter Mike Wallace. AIPAC did not deny its authenticity, but minimized its importance. Schrayder was subsequently promoted to AIPAC director of political affairs.

People Behind *Stealth PACs*

The Publisher

Ambassador Andrew I. Killgore, president of the American Educational Trust, which published *Stealth PACs*, served 32 years in the U.S. foreign service. From 1977 to 1980 he was U.S. Ambassador to Qatar. His other foreign service assignments included the United Kingdom, Lebanon, Jerusalem, Jordan, Iraq, Bangladesh, Iran, Bahrain and New Zealand. A graduate of the University of Alabama Law School, he was a naval officer in the South Pacific during World War II and a staff officer of the U.S. Displaced Persons Commission in Germany. Since retiring from the foreign service he has written and lectured on the history of the Arab-Israeli dispute and on the Persian Gulf for publications and audiences throughout the world.

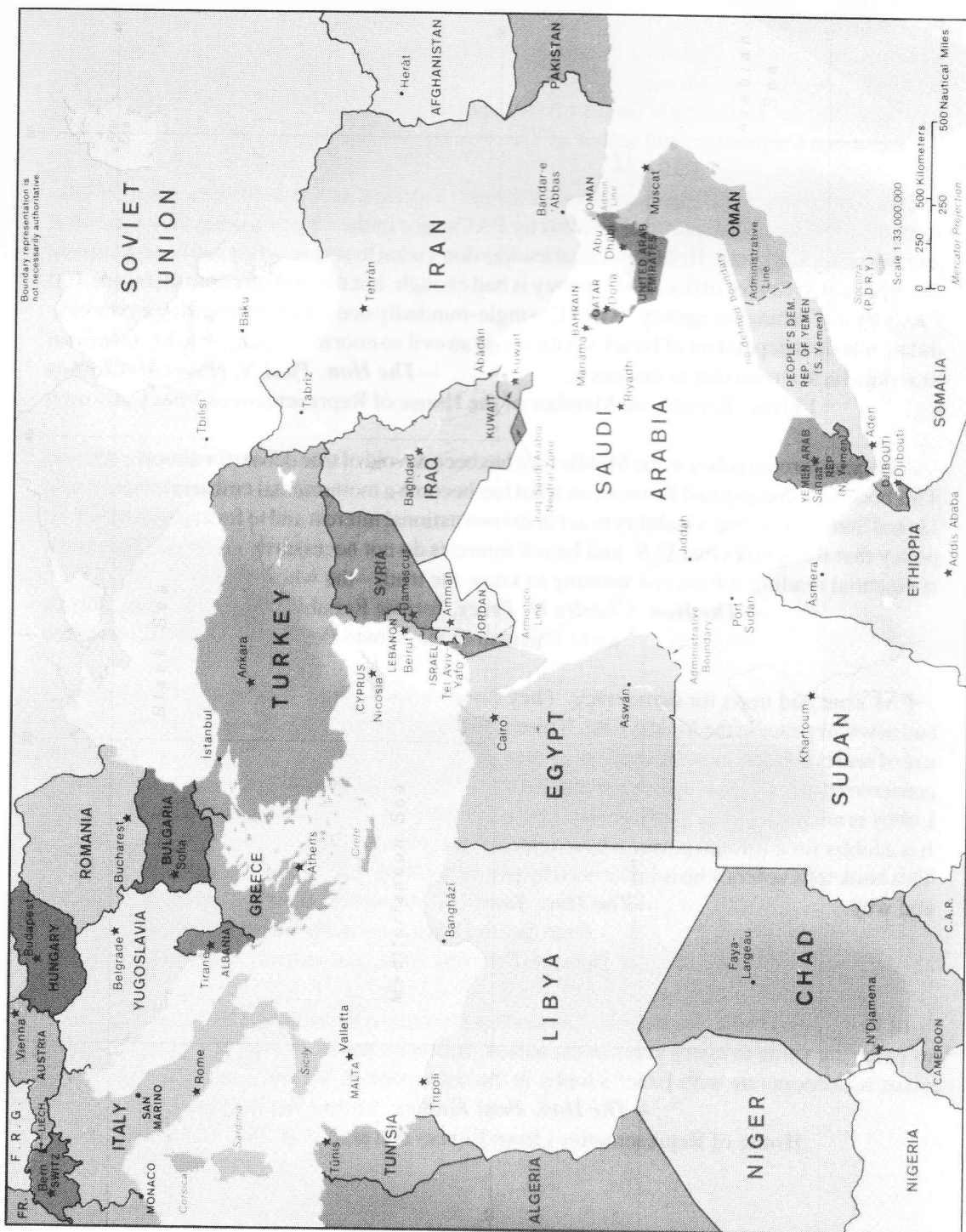
The Author

Richard H. Curtiss, editor of the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* and author of *Stealth PACs*, served 30 years in the U.S. foreign service. He was chief inspector of the U.S. Information Agency at the time of his retirement from the foreign service in 1980. His other foreign service assignments included Indonesia, Germany, Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Greece, where he headed the Arabic service of the Voice of America. In Washington DC he was U.S.I.A. deputy area director for the Near East and North Africa from 1976 to 1979. A journalism graduate of the University of Southern California, he served in the army during World War II and was a U.S. military government correspondent in Germany. Since retiring from the foreign service, he has written and directed two educational films on the Arab states of the Gulf and written and lectured on the U.S. political system and Middle East policy. His book, *A Changing Image: American Perceptions of the Arab-Israeli Dispute*, published in 1982 and reissued in 1986, is in use as a textbook in university departments of political science and of Middle East studies throughout the United States. It has been commended for its balance and perceptiveness by former presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter.

About the Investigative Reporter

Parker L. Payson has a degree from the University of the South and is a graduate of the National Journalism Center in Washington, DC. Before undertaking an assignment from the American Educational Trust to document and verify with Federal Election Commission records all information filed by pro-Israel political action committees and all candidates for congress over the past 14 years who have accepted their donations, he had written for *Consumer's Research*, the *Times of the Americas*, the *Jordan Times*, and Kenya's *Daily Nation*. He presently is an associate editor of the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*.

Middle East



What Former Members of Congress Say About *Stealth PACs* . . .

Criticism or even-handed comment about Israel's severe and often brutal treatment of the Palestinians is muted by Israel's practice of dismissing all criticism, no matter how appropriate, as being anti-Semitic. This is an important book, explaining why the U.S. has so little support among the United Nations.

—**The Hon. J. William Fulbright**

former Democratic Senator from Arkansas and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and author of *The Arrogance of Power* and *The Price of Dissent*

This may be the most important book of the past 10 years. It succinctly describes the corruption of the American political process by PACs, just in the 15 years since they were first authorized by Congress. Honest political leaders don't want to stay in office and honest citizens are reluctant to run for office. PAC money is bad enough, but the central control of some 100 PACs by a Washington agency, AIPAC, single-mindedly dedicated to defeating every candidate who is independent of Israel's policies, is an evil so enormous that even the American news media are reluctant to discuss it.

—**The Hon. Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey**

Former Republican Member of the House of Representatives from California

American foreign policy in the Middle East has been devoid of true debate for almost a decade. This book fills that gap and focusses on what has become a monumental embarrassment to the United States: America's inability to act in its own national interest and to formulate a balanced policy that recognizes that U.S. and Israeli interests do not necessarily coincide. This book is essential reading for anyone wanting to know the truth—the whole truth.

—**The Hon. Charles H. Percy**, former Republican Senator from Illinois and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

PACs are bad news for democracy. They disenfranchise the voters. The Israeli Lobby is bad news for peace in the Middle East. It disenfranchises America. The Lobby's unprecedented use of secret PAC money succeeds in its manipulation of American politicians who are more concerned with their own selfish interests than they are with America's best interests. The Israeli Lobby is not the same as the Highway Lobby, or the PTA, or the League of Women Voters. It is a lobby for a foreign power whose interests are in most cases the opposite of America's. This book tells voters who is influenced by pro-Israeli PAC money, how much they've taken, and why.

—**The Hon. James G. Abourezk**, former Democratic Senator from South Dakota, co-author with Hyman Bookbinder of *Through Different Eyes*, and author of *Advise and Dissent*

In writing this book, Richard H. Curtiss has rendered a great public service. It is a guide of enduring value to every voter in the nation. It lists by name, district and price the politicians who cooperate with Israel's lobby in the corruption of Middle East policy-making.

—**The Hon. Paul Findley**, former Republican Member of the House of Representatives from Illinois and author of *They Dare to Speak Out*