

EXPLORE

SEARCH

SUBSCRIBE TO OUR NEWSLETTER



Research ▾

Methodology

About

DATA REPORT AUGUST 7, 2026

Do AIPAC-Backed Members of Congress Vote Differently on Israel Aid?

Recorded votes, FEC filings and ethics disclosures on AIPAC funding and how Congress votes on Israel security assistance.

AIPAC

Congressional Voting

Campaign Finance

Israel Security Assistance

Public Opinion



It is often said that around nine in ten members of Congress supported by AIPAC vote for aid to Israel without conditions, and on the recorded votes the chamber

clears that bar: H.R. 5323, the Iron Dome Supplemental Appropriations Act, passed the House 420 to 9 with 2 present on 23 September 2021, which is 97.4% of the 431 members who recorded a position (House Roll Call 275, 117th Congress). That rate belongs to the roll call rather than to any subgroup inside it, because with 9 no votes any 100 members chosen from the chamber voted at least 91% yes. AIPAC's connected political action committee contributed \$3,037,900 to 347 House candidates and 20 Senate candidates in the 2023 to 2024 cycle, per OpenSecrets' tabulation of FEC filings released 6 February 2025. The one measure of the four recent votes where the House actually divided, 226 to 196, differed from a near-identical assistance bill by an IRS funding rescission attached to pay for it.

Key Findings

- AIPAC's connected PAC contributed \$3,037,900 to 367 federal candidates in the 2023 to 2024 cycle, 63.02% to Republicans and 36.62% to Democrats, per OpenSecrets' tabulation of FEC filings.
- The House passed Israel security assistance 420 to 9 in September 2021 and 366 to 58 in April 2024; the Senate agreed 79 to 18 in April 2024 (congress.gov recorded votes).
- The same assistance passed 226 to 196 in November 2023 when paired with an IRS rescission as its offset, a 140-vote swing on the House floor between the two packages.
- United Democracy Project, the AIPAC-affiliated super PAC, reported \$37,860,200 in 2024-cycle independent expenditures, including \$20,786,780 spent opposing Democrats, per OpenSecrets' tabulation of FEC filings.
- 46% of US adults said their sympathies lie more with the Israelis in February 2025, Gallup's lowest reading in 25 years of the trend.

How many members of Congress receive AIPAC money?

AIPAC's connected political action committee contributed \$3,037,900 to federal candidates in the 2023 to 2024 election cycle, reaching 347 House candidates and 20 Senate candidates, per OpenSecrets' tabulation of FEC filings released 6 February 2025. Recipients are

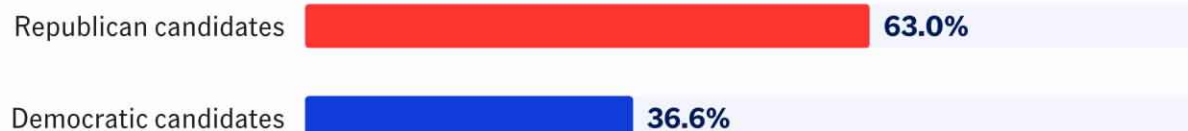
candidates, including non-incumbents, so the figure counts people on ballots rather than seats in the chamber.

The party split in that tabulation runs 63.02% to Republicans and 36.62% to Democrats. The largest single candidate total was \$20,000. Because the recipient list mixes incumbents, challengers and open-seat candidates across two chambers, it does not convert into a share of the 535 sitting members without an assumption the filings themselves do not supply.

Track AIPAC, an advocacy tracker of pro-Israel political spending, counts 80 current members of Congress, 15%, with AIPAC as their all-time top contributor on OpenSecrets data. That is the tracker's own count on its own criteria, drawn from a cumulative all-time measure rather than a single cycle, and it identifies where a member's largest lifetime contributor sits, not how that member votes.

AIPAC connected PAC contributions to federal candidates, by party

2023 TO 2024 CYCLE, SHARE OF \$3,037,900



Source: OpenSecrets tabulation of FEC filings, committee C00797670, data released 6 February 2025.

The two channels are distinct in law and in size. Direct contributions from a multicandidate committee are capped at \$5,000 per candidate per election under 52 U.S.C. 30116, which is why the per-candidate totals in this tabulation are small relative to the sums reported in the independent-expenditure filings covered below.

How does Congress vote on Israel measures?

H.R. 5323, the Iron Dome Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2022, passed the House 420 to 9 with 2 present on 23 September 2021, a \$1 billion standalone measure (House Roll Call 275, 117th Congress).

The three other recent recorded votes in which Israel security assistance was the measure or its principal component ran 226 to 196, 366 to 58 and 79 to 18.

Measure and date	Recorded vote	Record
H.R. 5323, Iron Dome, 23 September 2021	420 to 9 , 2 present	House Roll Call 275, 117th Congress
H.R. 6126, Israel assistance with IRS rescission offset, 2 November 2023	226 to 196 , near party lines	House Roll Call 577, 118th Congress
H.R. 8034, Israel assistance without the offset, 20 April 2024	366 to 58 (Republicans 193 to 21, Democrats 173 to 37)	House Roll Call 152, 118th Congress
H.R. 815, national security supplemental carrying Israel, Ukraine and Indo-Pacific assistance, 23 April 2024	79 to 18	Senate Record Vote 154, 118th Congress

Source: congress.gov recorded votes, primary and official record.

Two of those votes fall within six months of each other and cover essentially the same Israel assistance. The November 2023 version carried a rescission of IRS funding as its offset and passed 226 to 196; the April 2024 version, without the offset, passed 366 to 58. The difference between them is 140 votes on the House floor, and the variable between the two packages was the fiscal offset rather than the assistance itself.

This four-vote set is the closest thing to a series the record allows. Assistance is ordinarily carried inside the annual State, Foreign Operations appropriations act, where a member's vote covers a package spanning many countries and accounts, so a roll call on that bill is not a recorded position on one line within it.

Do AIPAC-backed members vote differently from the rest?

On these measures, members backed by the organization voted yes at near-unanimous rates, and so did the rest of the chamber. With 9 no votes out of 431 members recording a position on House Roll Call 275, **any subgroup of 100 members voted at least 91% yes, and any subgroup of 300 at least 97%**, funded or not.

On a vote of that shape, a 90% rate describes the chamber.

The circulating claim is that roughly nine in ten members supported by the organization vote for assistance without conditions. The arithmetic above is the reason the claim holds and the reason it does not separate anything: the rate is bounded from below by the margin itself, so it would hold for members grouped by state, by committee, by seniority, or by any other criterion applied to the same roll call.

The vote that would distinguish a funded subgroup is the one where the chamber divided. H.R. 6126 passed 226 to 196 on 2 November 2023 near party lines, and 196 recorded no votes leave room for a subgroup rate to differ from the whole. No published source states the 90% rate with a denominator, a vote set and a method, and none computes the funded subgroup's rate on that particular roll call.

What the filings and the roll calls each record is also different in kind. FEC filings record who gave what to whom and when. Recorded votes record how each member voted on a specific question on a specific date. Joining the two into a rate requires a stated rule for which members count as supported, which votes count as unconditioned aid, and which cycle's contributions apply, and that rule is what a published methodology would supply.

Who sets the level of US aid to Israel?

The 2016 Memorandum of Understanding sets \$38 billion over FY2019 to FY2028, comprising \$33 billion in Foreign Military Financing and \$5 billion in missile defense appropriations, requested as \$3.3 billion and \$500 million a year, per the Congressional Research Service in report RL33222.

The framework was signed at Washington on 14 September 2016 by the two governments, not legislated by Congress.

The text of the MOU states that the funding levels it describes “are subject to the appropriation and availability of funds,” so the agreement sets a level and a schedule rather than obligating money. An accompanying letter from the Israeli side records a commitment

not to seek Foreign Military Financing above the agreed levels for the duration of the framework, and to return any additional 2017 or 2018 funds granted outside it.

Against that framework, the Congressional Research Service reports that Israel is the largest cumulative recipient of US foreign assistance since the Second World War, at **\$174 billion** in bilateral assistance and missile defense funding in current dollars. For FY2024, CRS reports that Congress appropriated \$8.7 billion in combined Foreign Military Financing and missile defense funding, above the MOU's annual request level, and in FY2022 an additional \$1 billion in missile defense funding.

That structure matters for what a floor vote decides. The annual number originates in an executive-to-executive framework and arrives at Congress as an appropriation against a pre-set schedule. A member voting on a supplemental is voting on a package assembled elsewhere, including, in the November 2023 case, on how the package was paid for.

What does AIPAC spend for and against candidates?

United Democracy Project, the AIPAC-affiliated super PAC, reported **\$37,860,200** in independent expenditures in the 2023 to 2024 cycle, per OpenSecrets' tabulation of FEC filings for committee C00799031. Independent expenditures are, by the statutory definition that permits them, uncoordinated with any campaign: money spent about a race rather than given to a candidate.

United Democracy Project independent expenditures, 2024 cycle

BY DIRECTION, AS FILED WITH THE FEC



Source: OpenSecrets tabulation of FEC independent-expenditure filings, committee C00799031.

More than \$14.6 million of that total was spent in a single House race, New York's 16th District, in 2024. Alongside the super PAC channel sits the connected PAC covered above, capped at \$5,000 per candidate per election, so the two vehicles differ by roughly four orders of magnitude in what a single race can absorb.

AIPAC's own published policy materials describe the organization working with Congress to pass \$3.3 billion in security assistance to Israel "with no added conditions," which is the organization's own account of its legislative aim. On the spending side, the concentration of expenditures against Democratic candidates is the filed record behind the claim that opposition carries an electoral penalty. Filings record direction, amount, date and race. They do not record effect, and no filing states why a given member voted as they did.

Has the contribution-sponsorship link been studied?

One peer-reviewed study measures the association directly. Küçük (2025), in the Turkish Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, finds that members of Congress who sponsor pro-Israel bills receive more campaign contributions, and that members facing stronger electoral competition attract more targeted donations, in an analysis of donation patterns after the 2023 Israel-Hamas war.

Two limits of that design bear on the question. The outcome measured is **bill sponsorship**, not roll-call voting. Sponsorship is a voluntary individual act with a different base rate from voting on a question already scheduled for the floor, and a finding about one does not transfer to the other.

The second limit is direction. The design is correlational and cannot separate contributions that follow an existing position from contributions that shape one. Küçük reports an association between sponsorship and money, and the study makes no causal claim about individual votes.

That is the state of the peer-reviewed evidence on this specific link. The competing readings of the same correlation, that money selects members already aligned and that money moves

members toward alignment, both remain consistent with what has been measured.

How does AIPAC fund congressional travel to Israel?

The American Israel Education Foundation, AIPAC's 501(c)(3) charitable affiliate, funded more than **\$4.2 million** in congressional travel to Israel since 7 October 2023, averaging over \$26,600 per member, per the Guardian's June 2026 analysis of House ethics filings. The Guardian's tabulation covers at least 15 delegations.

House members on AIEF-sponsored trips to Israel since 7 October 2023

AT LEAST 15 DELEGATIONS, FROM HOUSE ETHICS FILINGS



Source: The Guardian, 2 June 2026, analysis of congressional ethics filings.

The organizational structure is what makes the travel possible at that length. Under the 2007 congressional travel rules, a lobbying organization may generally sponsor only single-day travel, while a 501(c)(3) may sponsor longer trips, which is the distinction between AIPAC and the education foundation that runs the delegations.

Each trip leaves a two-part paper trail: a pre-travel approval held by the House Committee on Ethics and a post-travel disclosure filed with the Clerk of the House. Those filings are the primary records underlying the Guardian's totals, and they record sponsor, dates, destination and cost.

AIEF states that its missions are educational. The filings record that the travel occurred, who sponsored it and what it cost.

Where does American public opinion sit, and has it moved?

46% of US adults said their sympathies in the Middle East situation lie more with the Israelis in February 2025, the lowest reading in 25 years of Gallup's trend, with 33% naming the Palestinians, the highest by two points (n=1,004, 3 to 16 February 2025, margin of sampling error ± 4 percentage points).

Share of US adults sympathizing more with the Israelis

GALLUP FORCED-CHOICE TREND, FEBRUARY READINGS



Source: Gallup World Affairs survey trend, 2010 and 2025 readings; 2025 n=1,004, ± 4 points.

The high point of the trend was 63% in February 2010 (n=1,025, ± 4 points), then the highest since 1991. In February 2023 Democrats sympathized more with the Palestinians (49%) than the Israelis (38%) for the first time in the series, and by 2025 Republicans stood at 75% with the Israelis and Democrats at 59% with the Palestinians. On a separate question, 55% of US adults in 2025 favored establishing an independent Palestinian state, in line with readings since 2020.

Two limits attach to the series. It is a forced choice between two named parties, so it measures relative sympathy and not any view about assistance levels or conditions on assistance. Gallup's own 2018 methodology article documents that the question's placement within a survey changes the shares it produces, which is a caveat the organization applies to comparisons across its own readings.

What has been measured about the money-buys-loyalty explanation?

About 62% of the antisemitic tweets mentioning Jews in an expert-annotated corpus of 4,016 fit the [IHRA definition's](#) paragraph on mendacious or stereotypical allegations about Jewish collective power, the single largest category the annotators coded, per Jikeli and colleagues (2022) in Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory.

The same construct appears in attitude research. Hadar and colleagues (2026), in *American Psychologist*, report that perceived Jewish power, defined as perceived control over valued resources, is associated with antisemitism across six national samples in the United States, Mexico, Australia, the United Kingdom, Germany and Poland, through two routes: registering as a threat to ingroup dominance among people who support social hierarchy, and as a threat to egalitarian ideals among people who oppose it. The finding is correlational, as the authors state.

Those measurements bear on the form an explanation takes rather than on any particular person who offers one. A claim about a filed contribution is checkable against a filing: the FEC record states the committee, the amount, the recipient and the date, and the ethics disclosures state the sponsor and the cost. A claim about [collective power exercised by a group](#) is a different kind of statement, and it is the object those coding schemes were built to count.

The distinction is available in the record itself. Every figure in the sections above traces to a filing, a roll call, a treaty text, a government report or a named survey, each of which can be checked line by line against the original.

Methodology

This report draws on four source types, each labelled where it is used. Primary and official records supply the recorded votes (congress.gov roll calls for the 117th and 118th Congresses), the 2016 Memorandum of Understanding text published by the US Department of State, and the Congressional Research Service reference report RL33222, whose totals move by edition. Campaign-finance figures come from OpenSecrets' tabulation of FEC filings for committees C00797670 and C00799031, based on FEC data released 6 February 2025; the underlying filings are the primary record and the tabulation is the aggregator's. Travel figures come from the Guardian's June 2026 analysis of House ethics filings, an outlet's own

tabulation of official disclosures. Survey figures come from Gallup's World Affairs trend, with sample sizes and margins of error carried into the prose.

Peer-reviewed research is cited for three claims: Küçük (2025) on the contribution-sponsorship association, which measures bill sponsorship rather than roll-call votes and is correlational; Jikeli and colleagues (2022) on the distribution of antisemitism categories within a keyword-drawn annotated corpus, whose shares are of samples within those queries rather than of a platform; and Hadar and colleagues (2026), abstract-sourced and correlational.

Two limits govern the central question. First, no published source states a vote share for AIPAC-supported members with a denominator, a defined vote set and a stated method, so the report gives the recorded votes, the funded population as filed, and the arithmetic bounds that follow from each margin. Second, contribution filings record direction, amount, recipient and date; they do not record effect, and no source in this report establishes a causal relationship between funding and any vote.

Conclusion

Does the money explain the vote? On the four recorded votes where Israel security assistance was the measure or its principal component, the yes rate runs from 86.3% to 97.4% of those voting in three cases, and with 9 no votes on the 2021 Iron Dome bill the arithmetic itself guarantees that any group of 100 members cleared 91%. A rate that high is a fact about the roll call before it is a fact about anyone inside it.

What the record does establish is specific and checkable. AIPAC's connected PAC put \$3,037,900 into 367 candidacies in the 2023 to 2024 cycle under a \$5,000 per-election cap, while the affiliated super PAC filed \$37,860,200 in independent expenditures, \$20,786,780 of it against Democratic candidates and more than \$14.6 million in one House district. The education foundation funded more than \$4.2 million in congressional travel across at least 15 delegations since October 2023, disclosed trip by trip. The \$38 billion schedule those votes fund was set by two executives in September 2016, subject to annual appropriation. And when the House genuinely split, 226 to 196, the question on the floor was an IRS rescission

attached as an offset, a 140-vote difference from the same assistance passed without it five months later.

The one peer-reviewed study of the link measures bill sponsorship, finds an association, and states it cannot say which way the arrow runs. Public sympathy, meanwhile, sat at its lowest Gallup reading in 25 years in February 2025, so the gap the question senses between the chamber and the country is real in the survey series even where the causal account is not established.

Which leaves a harder thing to sit with. An outcome this lopsided invites a compact story, and compact stories about political outcomes tend to resolve into organised money and group loyalty. In the corpora those two framings are separable: one is a filing with a date on it, the other is the category Jikeli and colleagues found in about 62% of the antisemitic content they coded. When a public explanation slides from the first to the second, what carries it across, and who notices the crossing?

Frequently Asked Questions

How much can AIPAC's PAC give to a single candidate?

Direct contributions from a multicandidate committee are capped at \$5,000 per candidate per election under 52 U.S.C. 30116, so primary and general elections are separate limits. The largest single candidate total in OpenSecrets' tabulation of AIPAC PAC contributions for the 2023 to 2024 cycle was \$20,000.

Why does a super PAC spend so much more than a connected PAC?

Independent expenditures carry no dollar limit because, by the statutory definition that permits them, they are uncoordinated with any campaign. That is why United Democracy Project's filed \$37,860,200 in the 2024 cycle exceeds AIPAC's connected PAC total by more than tenfold, per OpenSecrets' tabulation of FEC filings.

Which votes on Israel aid are actually recorded separately?

Four recent votes had Israel assistance as the measure or its principal component: House Roll Calls 275 (2021), 577 (2023) and 152 (2024), and Senate Record Vote 154 (2024). Assistance is otherwise carried inside the annual State, Foreign Operations appropriations act, where the roll call covers many countries at once.

Does the 2016 Memorandum of Understanding obligate the money?

No. Its own text states that the funding levels “are subject to the appropriation and availability of funds,” so Congress appropriates against the schedule each year. The Congressional Research Service reports that FY2024’s appropriated \$8.7 billion exceeded the framework’s annual request level.

Who reviews congressional travel funded by outside organizations?

Under the 2007 travel rules, trips require pre-travel approval from the House Committee on Ethics and a post-travel disclosure filed with the Clerk of the House. Those filings are the records the Guardian tabulated in June 2026 to reach more than \$4.2 million since 7 October 2023.

Has American public opinion on Israel changed by party?

Yes. Gallup recorded Democrats sympathizing more with the Palestinians (49%) than the Israelis (38%) for the first time in February 2023, and by February 2025 Republicans stood at 75% with the Israelis and Democrats at 59% with the Palestinians.

What would it take to test whether funding changes votes?

A test requires a vote where the chamber divides, since a 420 to 9 margin bounds every subgroup above 91% by arithmetic alone. H.R. 6126, which passed 226 to 196 in November 2023, is the only one of the four with that property, and no published analysis reports a funded-subgroup rate for it.

Sources

- American Israel Public Affairs Committee, n.d. Policy materials on security assistance to Israel. aipac.org. Organization’s own published statement.

- Gallup, 2010 to 2025. Middle East sympathies trend, World Affairs survey. news.gallup.com/poll/1639, with the February 2010 and February 2025 releases and the 2018 methodology article on survey context effects. Named survey organization.
- Guardian, The, 2 June 2026. Aipac affiliate has funded lavish trips to Israel for dozens of Congress members since 7 October. theguardian.com/us-news/2026/jun/02/aipac-aief-congress-israel-travel. Press analysis of primary ethics filings.
- Hadar, Halevy, Cohen, Apfelbaum, Chan, 2026. The Perils of Perceived Power: The Dual-Threat Model of Antisemitism. *American Psychologist*. DOI 10.1037/amp0001693. Peer-reviewed, abstract-sourced.
- Jikeli, Axelrod, Fischer, Forouzesh, Jeong, Miehl, Soemer, 2022. Differences Between Antisemitic and Non-Antisemitic English Language Tweets. *Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory*. DOI 10.1007/s10588-022-09363-2. Peer-reviewed.
- Küçük, Ömer Naim, 2025. Funding in the Shadow of Conflict: AIPAC's Financial Influence on US Congress Post-2023 Israel-Hamas War. *Turkish Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 12(1), pp. 1 to 20. DOI 10.26513/tocd.1574363. Peer-reviewed.
- OpenSecrets, 2025. American Israel Public Affairs Committee PAC, candidate recipients, 2024 cycle. FEC committee C00797670. opensecrets.org. Campaign-finance aggregator tabulating FEC filings.
- OpenSecrets, 2025. United Democracy Project, outside spending detail, 2024 cycle. FEC committee C00799031. opensecrets.org. Campaign-finance aggregator tabulating FEC filings.
- Track AIPAC, n.d. Hall of Shame, congressional contributor tracker. trackaipac.com/shame. Advocacy tracker, own count on OpenSecrets data.
- US Congress, 2021 to 2024. Recorded votes: House Roll Call 275 (117th Congress, 23 September 2021), House Roll Calls 577 (2023) and 152 (2024) of the 118th, Senate Record Vote 154 (118th Congress, 23 April 2024). congress.gov. Primary and official record.
- US Congressional Research Service, ongoing. U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel: Overview and Developments, report RL33222. congress.gov. Primary and official record.
- US Department of State, 2016. Memorandum of Understanding Between the United States and Israel on Security Assistance, signed 14 September 2016. 2009-

2017.state.gov/documents/organization/265160.pdf. Primary and official record.

RELATED RESEARCH

DISCOURSE JUNE 26, 2026

We Measured the Same Antisemitic Conspiracy in Search and in the Feed Where It Lives. What Does Each One Say?

A study of the conspiracy-of-power trope in two places: the top of search debunks it, while the conspiracy community where it lives affirms it about six times as often.

EXPLAINER JUNE 26, 2026

What Is Antisemitism? Reading the Language It Hides In

Antisemitism is mostly written in code, not slurs. This guide decodes the coded lexicon, shows how it evades detection, and tracks its measured rise.

DISCOURSE JUNE 25, 2026

Is Anti-Zionism Antisemitism? What the Evidence Measures

Research does not settle whether anti-Zionism is antisemitism; it measures the link. A mediation model explains over 55% of anti-Israel attitudes.



The Hanover Institute for Public Policy studies the inputs fueling antisemitism in the United States and publishes what the evidence shows. Its work is content analysis, computational social science, and other data-driven research, and its reports take no policy positions.

SUBSCRIBE TO OUR NEWSLETTER

SUBSCRIBE

RESEARCH

[Research](#)

[Methodology](#)

INSTITUTE

[About](#)

[Mission & Standards](#)

[Contact](#)

TOPICS

[Online & Social Media](#)

[Narratives & Tropes](#)

[Media & Representation](#)

[Israel & Anti-Zionism](#)

[AI & Technology](#)

[Incidents & Trends](#)

[Drivers & Effects](#)

FORMATS

Data Report

Explainer

Narrative Analysis

Method

Trend Analysis

Comparison

Discourse

This material is distributed by Piro, Inc. on behalf of Havas Media Germany GmbH on behalf of the Israel Government Advertising Agency (LaPam). Additional information is available at the Department of Justice, Washington, DC.

© 2026 The Hanover Institute for Public Policy

[Terms of Use](#)

[Privacy Policy](#)