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LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

August 1979

TO: Executive Committee, National Council and Key Contacts

FROM: Morrie Amitay, Executive Director
Ken Wollack, Legislative Director

The Congress is in recess from August 6 to September 5.

I. THE FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION BILLS

Both the Senate and House have completed action on their versions of the security and economic bills. A House-Senate conference committee has completed its action on the economic bill; the conference committee on the security bill has yet to reconcile differences in the House and Senate versions. However, since both bills contain identical amounts for Middle East countries, these figures were not subject to change:

\$1.785 billion in military and economic assistance to Israel
\$750 million in economic aid to Egypt
\$200 million in military and economic aid to Jordan
\$45 million in economic funds to Syria

The conference committee on the economic legislation, however, did accept a Senate provision introduced by Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) to provide \$25 million each for Egypt and Israel in loans for housing construction.

The conference committee also decided that beginning next year, the economic and security bills will be combined in one piece of legislation.

II. THE FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATIONS BILL

The House of Representatives has begun debate, but has yet to complete action on the companion Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act. The bill, as reported by the Appropriations Committee, appropriates the full amounts authorized for Middle East aid recipients. In addition, the legislation includes \$25 million for the resettlement of Soviet and Eastern European refugees in Israel. The \$45 million Economic Support Fund program for Syria can only be allocated should the President certify to Congress that Syria is helping the peace process "initiated at Camp David of which the Egyptian-Israeli treaty is the first step." The House is expected to complete action on the legislation in early September.

Several amendments may be introduced stipulating across-the-board cuts anywhere from two to six percent. However, these amendments will exempt Israel and Egypt from any reductions.

Once the House passes the appropriations bill, the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations will begin consideration of the legislation. Senator Charles McC Mathias (R-Md.), a member of the Subcommittee, has already announced that he intends to offer an amendment to the Senate bill providing the \$25 million program for the resettlement in Israel of refugees from the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.

III. SUPPLEMENTAL ASSISTANCE FOR EGYPT AND ISRAEL

The Congress has completed action and the President has signed into law the bills authorizing and appropriating the Administration's request of \$4.8 billion in supplemental assistance to Israel and Egypt to implement the peace treaty.

IV. THE EXPORT ADMINISTRATION ACT

The Senate on July 21 by a vote of 74-3 approved the Export Administration Act which extends the Arab anti-boycott provisions adopted by the Congress two years ago. The legislation also contains an exemption for Israel on the prohibition of Alaskan oil exports. Although the United States has agreed to supply any shortfall for a 15-year period, Israel has not asked for any American oil.

The House has begun consideration of the legislation and is expected to complete action in early September. The House bill contains identical language on the anti-boycott and Alaskan oil provisions.

V. ARMS SALES TO EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA AND ISRAEL

During the last week of July, the Administration formally notified Congress of the proposed sale of nearly \$1.8 billion in arms to Egypt and Israel. The Egyptians would receive 35 F-4E Phantom fighter-bombers worth \$594 million, and 12 batteries of Improved Hawk anti-aircraft missiles, 750 armored troop carriers, and mortar, cargo and command post vehicles, worth \$694.4 million. Among the equipment Israel is scheduled to receive are 800 armored personnel carriers, 200 M-60 tanks and 200 self-propelled howitzers, worth \$580 million. The Saudis will purchase \$1.23 billion worth of equipment, construction and training to modernize the Saudi National Guard. Included in the Saudi sale are armored personnel carriers, TOW anti-tank missiles, vulcan anti-aircraft guns and howitzers.

Congress has a 30-day period in which to veto any of these sales by the passage of a "resolution of disapproval" in both houses. However, since most of the review period falls within the August Congressional recess, no action will be taken by the Congress in opposition to these sales. In addition, there was little sentiment in the Congress to block these proposals.

VI. TANK SALES TO JORDAN

Late last month, the Administration informally notified Congress of the sale of 300 M-60A3 tanks, the most modern tank now in U.S. production and worth approximately \$300 million.

The M-60 tank is the mainstay of the United States' armored forces. With a combat range of 310 miles and a top speed of 30 miles per hour, the M-60A3 carries a 105mm main gun and 63 rounds of ammunition. It can be equipped with a laser range-finder and night vision equipment for round-the-clock fighting. It is equipped with a computer which automatically adjusts the targeting for cross-wind, vehicle imbalance, and gun tube wear. The M-60A3 also has an engine 20 percent more powerful than that on earlier models, an improved transmission for faster acceleration, and other improvements. In short, the M-60A3 is a formidable offensive weapon.

Advocates of the sale argue that there will be no increase in Jordan's tank forces because an equivalent number of older M-48 tanks will be retired. Aside from the inability to verify the M-48s retirement, acquisition of the M-60 will greatly enhance Jordan's forces, now believed to be totally mechanized. Since the 1973 war, Jordan has acquired from the United States 500 M-113 armored personnel carriers and large quantities of 155mm and 203mm self-propelled howitzers. Recent deliveries of American TOW and Dragon anti-tank missiles will enhance the survivability of Jordan's armored units.

Formal notification of the tank sale, which will trigger the 30-day Congressional review period, is expected after Congress reconvenes on Sept. 5. A number of members of Congress have indicated that they will introduce "resolutions of disapproval." These members argue that the sale rewards Jordan with a relatively large number of American tanks at a time when that country remains committed to a boycott of Egypt, denounces the Camp David peace process, and opposes negotiations with Israel over the future of the West Bank.

VII. MOST-FAVORED-NATION TREATMENT TO RUMANIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

On July 25, by a vote of 126-271, the House of Representatives rejected a proposal to deny an extension of most-favored-nation treatment (MFN) to Rumania. The Administration had recommended the extension of MFN and under the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik freedom-of-emigration amendment, the Congress had 60 days to disapprove the recommendation. Rep. Richard Schulze (R-Pa.) had introduced the resolution of disapproval. The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations supported the extension of MFN after receiving assurances on Jewish emigration from the Rumanian government.

In July, two hearings were held by Senator Adlai Stevenson (D-Ill.), Chairman of the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee on International Finance on his bill to severely modify the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Currently, the President can recommend the granting of MFN to the Soviet Union after which the Congress can disapprove the recommendation within 60 days; a review is then made on a yearly basis. The Stevenson bill would stipulate that the review period be extended from one to five years. Similar legislation has been introduced in the House by Rep. Les AuCoin (D-Ore.) and hearings were held by the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Subcommittee on International Trade, Investment and Monetary Policy. State Department officials testified that the Administration would not support a change in the law at this time, although it is expected that the Administration will shortly recommend the extension of MFN to the Soviet Union.

REMINDER - During the Congressional recess period, it is important to meet with your legislators while they are in their home states and districts to discuss current American policy in the Middle East. Of special importance is the pending tank sale to Jordan and recent Administration moves to involve the PLO directly in the Middle East negotiating process. Please keep us informed of your discussions.

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

YEAR END REPORT

December 1980

TO: Executive Committee, National Council and Key Contacts

FROM: Tom Dine, Executive Director
Doug Bloomfield, Legislative Director

In a period of change, AIPAC has engaged in a productive year on Capitol Hill. This UPDATE shares with our supporters details of what AIPAC has been doing and how we have fared.

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SUMMARY

Deliberation, drafting, debate and decision-making on foreign assistance legislation continued throughout the year. Congress completed action on the aid program just hours before adjournment. What emerged -- and the President signed into law -- was a \$2.2 billion economic and military assistance package for Israel. The total funding and the conditions by which the monies are to be spent were considerably better than those with which the Congress began in January 1980.

AIPAC lobbied with the following results:

-- \$1.4 billion for foreign military sales credits (\$200 million more than the administration requested; \$500 million of the total is to be forgiven);

-- \$785 million in economic assistance (the grant portion was increased from two thirds to 100%);

-- Economic assistance will be on a cash transfer basis rather than commodity transfer, thus saving Israel millions in red tape and paperwork;

-- Congress will have closer scrutiny over commercial arms sales (those outside government-to-government channels) to Arab states;

-- Tighter restrictions will be placed on the sale of weapons-related items -- such as engines for Iraqi warships -- to countries supporting terrorism;

-- An amendment which would have made coproduction of defense items by Israel prohibitively costly was defeated;

-- Attempts to punish Israel by slashing U.S. assistance were defeated;

-- Aid to Syria was explicitly prohibited;

-- A legislative roadblock which would have prohibited Israeli industry from bidding on U.S. defense contracts was removed;

-- Increased sales of sophisticated U.S. arms to Israel's adversaries were opposed -- most notably offensive equipment for Saudi Arabia's F-15s;

-- Congress was mobilized to protest anti-Israel votes by the United States in the United Nations;

-- The United States worked and voted against the adoption of blatantly anti-Israel positions at a U.N. conference on women's rights;

-- Members of Congress spoke out, voted and frequently affirmed support for U.S.-Israeli friendship.

AIPAC testified before four committees of Congress in support of economic and military assistance to Israel. It also monitored congressional hearings, and day after day supplied information and assistance to members of the House and Senate, to personal and committee staffs, to officials in the Executive Branch and to many others. Our objective was to help decision makers understand Israel-related issues, prepare for hearings and debates, and express support for close cooperation between the United States and Israel.

AIPAC was involved in the elections. Although we do not rate or endorse candidates, we do work to help them understand the centrality of Israel to U.S. policy in the Middle East. We submitted information to presidential candidates in the primaries and in the general election and to almost every House and Senate candidate. Thus, many new members of Congress will be familiar faces for AIPAC staff.

We studied and analyzed the impact of the Jewish vote in the presidential and congressional races.

In the final 1980 "action alert" we urge you, our lay leadership and key contacts throughout the United States to befriend new members of Congress and to work with our staff to establish close ties.

Finally, the strong support accorded to Israel on Capitol Hill, despite the well-financed campaign of those who always opposed its establishment, testifies anew to the basic friendship of the American people. Once again, as in the beginning, Congress has been Israel's faithful friend. Once again it has been shown that the majority of informed Americans are dedicated to Israel's peace and survival.

We must continue and intensify our efforts.

I. FOREIGN AID LEGISLATION

AIPAC's major task is to work for annual congressional approval of military and economic assistance for Israel. This is a two-step process -- authorization and appropriation. Each year difficulties have increased.

The Fiscal Year 1981 program began to take shape in late 1979 when Israel submitted its aid request. AIPAC lobbying began before the Administration presented its formal request to Congress. Public hearings started in the House in late January and action on the legislation was not completed until 5:00 a.m. on the last day of the 96th Congress, December 16.

Authorization

Congress approved nearly \$2.2 billion in military and economic assistance for Israel for Fiscal Year 1981. This is the largest regular assistance package ever provided Israel (larger, special aid bills were voted in the wake of the Yom Kippur War and the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty) and represents a sizable increase over the Administration request.

We had been warned repeatedly that 1980 would be a difficult year for foreign aid because the primary focus of the Congress would be to curb federal spending and balance the budget. Foreign aid is always unpopular, and congressional leadership expected trouble from members who did not want to vote for it in an election year.

That advice proved accurate with respect to the appropriation bill, but the authorization was eventually approved. That latter piece of legislation -- H.R. 6942, the International Development and Security Assistance Act of FY 1981 -- emerged from Congress not only a distinct improvement over the original Administration request but also an improvement over the separate House and Senate versions. AIPAC advocated these improvements as well as final passage.

Below is a list of gains in this bill:

1. Foreign Military Sales (FMS). The Administration proposed \$1.2 billion, an increase of \$200 million over the previous year but linked directly with relocation costs for the Sinai/Negev air bases. AIPAC urged the House Foreign Affairs Committee to add another \$200 million in credits but with no provisos. It agreed.

2. Economic Support Funds (ESF). The Administration requested \$785 million -- two-thirds grant and one-third loan. AIPAC again urged the House Foreign Affairs Committee to make this aid 100% grant (on a one-time-only basis). This saves Israel \$260 million in principal and about \$187 million in interest.

3. Cash Transfer. The bill provides that ESF may be made available to Israel as a cash transfer without requiring Israel to document non-military expenditures within the United States and draw down ESF on a dollar-for-dollar basis as those expenditures are made. Eliminating documentation saves millions in paperwork and Israeli bureaucracy in the U.S.

(NOTE: None of the above items costs the U.S. taxpayer an additional dollar but they mean savings and additional aid for Israel worth approximately two-thirds of a billion dollars.)

4. FMS Guaranty Reserve. This technical amendment eliminates the 10% reserve to guarantee FMS credit loans. It means Congress does not need to obligate those reserve funds in the budget or appropriation process. The sums will still appear in authorization and appropriation acts but will not be reflected in obligation levels. That may ease some objections to increased FMS credits.

5. Commercial Arms Sales. The arms industry tried to remove the present \$35 million ceiling on commercial arms sales (above that level all sales must be government-to-government). The House had voted to raise it to \$75 million without restrictions. Senator Glenn led the effort in the Senate for total removal. AIPAC worked with Glenn, the industry, committee staff and others on a compromise. The outcome was a \$100-million ceiling plus extensive restrictions and congressional review and oversight. This will facilitate extensive monitoring of commercial military sales to Arab states.

6. Dual-use Items. An amendment by Jim Lloyd (D-CA) at the urging of the arms industry was adopted by the House. It would have removed sales of dual-use items on the government's Munitions List from congressional scrutiny. These include communications gear, electronics equipment, transport and training aircraft, trucks and helicopters. Control over such sales would have been transferred from State to Commerce, which is less politically sensitive and more sales oriented. Experience has shown that some items purchased for ostensible civilian purposes (bulldozer haulers and airliners) wind up being used by the military (tank and troop transports). A Senate amendment advocated by AIPAC replaced the Lloyd proposal with a study of the problem of dual use items.

7. Export of Depleted Uranium. Because Israel has not signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, it is not eligible to purchase depleted uranium 235. This is a heavy metal used for its armor piercing properties and has no radioactivity. Israel is not mentioned in the amendment but would be its prime beneficiary. The final bill, although prohibiting bulk purchases for manufacture by Israel's own munitions industry, does allow purchase of manufactured items containing the product.

8. Exports to Countries Supporting Terrorism. This amendment closes the loophole through which the Administration permitted the sale of engines for Iraqi frigates without congressional review. Now, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee must be notified in advance of the issuance of such export licenses.

9. Iraqi Frigates. The Senate adopted an amendment barring the sale of engines for Iraqi warships. There was no similar House language. The amendment was dropped in conference after the Administration agreed the engines would not be shipped as long as the Iran-Iraq war continues and nothing would be done prior to January 22, 1981, when the present export license (See Part III C) expires. (There also was an unwritten and unpublicized assurance that the Italians, who are building the frigates for the Iraqis, would impose restraints on the exchange of nuclear technology with the Iraqis. Many opponents of the frigate sale felt that this would be a greater achievement than stopping the engines.)

10. Non-recurring Research and Development Costs. The Administration requested, and the House adopted, an amendment eliminating the President's discretionary authority to waive repayment of non-recurring R&D costs by foreign nations (non-NATO) coproducing U.S. defense items. The effect would have been to make coproduction (of advanced aircraft or jet engines) prohibitively costly for Israel. AIPAC vigorously opposed this item, and the amendment was dropped in conference.

11. Syria. The House specifically prohibited aid to Syria; the Senate provided no funding for Syria but failed to bar it explicitly.

12. Jordan. Aid to Jordan was set at \$50 million with a congressional qualification that, in the President's judgment, Jordan should be "acting in good faith to achieve peace."

13. Mideast Peace. The House added a "sense of the Congress" amendment supporting the peace process and calling on all parties to the conflict to "accept Israel's unequivocal right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries." It also calls for strengthening Israeli-Egyptian "normalization" and reaffirms U.N. Resolution 242. AIPAC worked with the House committee. It was accepted by the Senate.

14. External Debt Burdens. This continues a previous amendment which calls for review of the external debt burdens of Israel and Egypt and a report to Congress on their ability to pay. The amendment was inserted to provide a basis for refinancing of Israel's foreign debt. The reason? Peace is extremely costly and the U.S. may have to improve the terms for future aid or current debts. Information in the 1980 report was helpful when AIPAC urged members of the House committee to support an increase in FY 81 aid.

15. Cutting Amendments. Efforts in both the House and Senate to cut aid to Israel as punishment for its settlements policy were beaten back. In the House, Rep. Pete McCloskey (R-CA) had intended to offer three amendments but he was dissuaded from introducing any, settling for an inconsequential colloquy. Senator Adlai Stevenson (D-IL) submitted an amendment to cut \$150 million; it was tabled by a vote of 85 to 7.

Appropriation

The 96th Congress was the first in recent memory to fail to enact a foreign aid appropriations bill. As a result the aid program was financed through all of FY 1980 by a continuing resolution, and it looks like FY 1981 will follow the same course. At virtually the last minute, this stop-gap measure was approved. The resolution expires June 5, 1981, and will have to be renewed. The fiscal year ends September 30.

A continuing resolution is a legislative device that permits the government to fund authorized programs at the previous year's levels in lieu of final passage of an appropriations bill. The FY 1981 continuing resolution includes foreign aid as well as three other appropriations bills. The Congress amended the resolution to reflect the higher levels of aid authorized for Israel earlier in the year. As a result, this legislative device does not mean a disadvantage for Israel, although it may harm foreign aid in general.

The FY 1981 foreign aid appropriations bill was put off until after the election because House members did not want to vote on it during the campaign. The House leadership agreed to make the bill the first order of business in the lame duck session but pulled it from the calendar after learning that the appropriations bill could not pass the Senate.

It is doubtful that either the Congress or the Reagan Administration will try to pass the appropriations bill for the remainder of the fiscal year; so in all probability the continuing resolution will be extended until September 30. By that time, Congress will have to have passed the foreign aid appropriation for FY 1982.

Budget

AIPAC worked to prevent harmful cuts in the foreign aid "functions" of the First Budget Resolution by the House and Senate budget committees and on the floor.

Although the budget process does not go into specific line items, such as aid to Israel, key members of both budget committees indicated that none of the cuts in the International Relations "function" affected Israel.

The Holt amendment in the House and the (Harry) Byrd amendment in the Senate, both of which would have crippled foreign aid, were soundly defeated. Opponents of the two amendments pointed to the damage these would have done to U.S. assistance for Israel. AIPAC worked with members of both houses and particularly the budget committees to defeat them.

General

AIPAC cooperated in 1980 with our friends on the authorization and appropriations subcommittees and committees in both houses, House and Senate leaders and with many members and their staffs. In addition, we worked with Administration officials from the White House, State, AID, Defense and Treasury as well as with many outside government.

Throughout 1980, AIPAC monitored congressional hearings on many issues; testified before four separate committees and subcommittees in support of increased foreign assistance for Israel, and worked with members and staffs on drafting legislation, position papers, public statements and other initiatives. AIPAC also monitored the positions of all members of Congress on the Middle East and Soviet Jewry, including voting records, speeches, press releases, interviews with the news media and other press coverage, statements in Congress, and communications with constituents and AIPAC members. AIPAC kept the Near East Report informed on the progress of legislation and congressional opinions pertaining to U.S.-Israel relations.

Testimony urging military and economic assistance for Israel was presented by AIPAC on behalf of itself and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, February 25; Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, March 25; Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 24; and House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, May 15.

II. OTHER LEGISLATION

AIPAC regularly monitors nine congressional committees and their subcommittees. These include the Foreign Affairs, Armed Services, Appropriations, and Budget committees of the House and the Foreign Relations, Armed Services, Appropriations, Budget, and Energy and Natural Resources committees of the Senate.

The legislative staff attended hundreds of hours of congressional hearings and proceedings on issues other than aid. Subjects of these sessions included the sale of M60A3 tanks to Jordan and engines to power Iraqi naval frigates; the U.S. vote in favor of U.N. Security Council resolution condemning Israel for designating Jerusalem as its capital; progress on the autonomy negotiations; U.S. security in the Persian Gulf; most-favored-nation trading status for Romania and Hungary; review of the Jackson-Vanik amendment; filling the U.S.

strategic petroleum reserve; the geopolitics of oil; the B-52 Companion Trainer Aircraft Program (see separate report), and cargo preference legislation (see separate report).

B-52 Companion Trainer Aircraft

AIPAC was alerted by Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI), the government-owned manufacturer, when a U.S. Department of Defense program that impacts on Israel's defense industry ran into trouble in Congress.

The program is the B-52 Companion Trainer Aircraft (CTA), which utilizes small, corporate-type aircraft equipped with B-52 instrumentation for Strategic Air Command training missions. It is expected to save the U.S. government more than \$100 million annually in fuel costs alone and reduce operation and maintenance costs for the aging B-52 fleet.

Under a 1979 U.S.-Israel Memorandum of Agreement, Israeli firms are permitted to bid on defense programs such as the CTA. IAI wants the Air Force to buy its Westwind jets for the project. This could be the biggest American export project -- \$300 million over 10 years -- in the history of the Israeli firm.

CTA was funded by the House of Representatives and moving along in the Senate until a last-minute amendment was inserted which would have had the effect of disqualifying Israeli firms from participating in or even bidding on the program.

AIPAC discussed the problem with leaders of the House and Senate appropriations committees. A compromise will permit Israel to participate fairly and equally in the CTA competition.

Cargo Preference Legislation

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee included in its Omnibus Maritime legislation a little noticed "cargo preference" provision which would have forced Israel to set up a costly bureaucracy to ensure that more cargos destined for Israel were carried on U.S. flag vessels. This provision would also have delayed Israel's economic aid payments.

AIPAC brought the problem to the attention of individuals in the Carter Administration and to the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The Administration eventually opposed the "cargo preference" provision. More important, the threat that the House Foreign Affairs Committee would claim jurisdiction over this part of the legislation led the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee to drop the controversial provision.

III. ARMS SALES

The last year of the Carter Administration produced a flurry of proposals for weapon sales to the Arab world. AIPAC helped assure a thorough congressional review of each of these sales. In several instances congressional opposition prevented or modified the sales.

Missiles for Saudi Arabia

Early in 1980, the Administration proposed to sell 6,000 missiles and "smart" bombs to Saudi Arabia. AIPAC assisted members of Congress in congressional hearings. They probed into the true nature of Saudi defense needs and whether to weaken U.S. leverage over Saudi Arabia by allowing her to stockpile excessive ordnance while the Saudis opposed efforts to fill the U.S. strategic petroleum reserve. Congress later ordered the Administration to begin filling our strategic oil stockpile.

Tanks for Jordan

Congressional scrutiny was more severe in the case of the sale of M60A3 tanks to Jordan. Talk of such a sale surfaced in 1979 before Jordan bought 275 Chieftan tanks from Britain. Well before the 1980 U.S. sale was announced, AIPAC memoranda detailed the arguments against "rewarding" King Hussein for opposing the Camp David process. Jordan had requested 200 of the first line tanks and the Administration was ready to go along, but vocal congressional opposition cut the sale to 100. However, another 100 may be offered in the future.

At the hearings, Administration witnesses were grilled on the reasoning behind the sale and the nature of further commitments to Jordan. AIPAC pointed to "immoderate" statements by Jordanian government officials. Eventually, 14 members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee introduced a Resolution of Disapproval on this sale of 100 and warned that any future sale of M60A3s would meet more determined opposition.

Engines for Iraq

Officially the State Department brands Iraq as a sponsor of terrorism and the two countries do not maintain diplomatic relations. However, in 1980 Iraq emerged as a potential purchaser of U.S. military equipment. Early in the year the Commerce Department approved the sale of engines for Iraqi naval vessels being built in Italy. The sale decision was reviewed in February after Representatives Fenwick and Bingham protested that the Administration had failed to consult Congress, in violation of the Export Administration Act. Senator Richard Stone (D-FL) successfully offered

an amendment to the FY 80 foreign aid authorization bill banning the sale of the frigate engines. In the conference committee, the Stone amendment was dropped in exchange for an agreement that the Administration would not sell the equipment as long as hostilities between Iran and Iraq continue and that the export licenses would not be renewed when they expired in January. Meanwhile, the Administration revised license granting procedures to prevent future sales of this nature without full congressional scrutiny.

Iraq also sought to purchase Boeing 727 and 747 jetliners from the United States this past year. The request was denied by the Commerce Department after AIPAC and members of Congress cited the parallels between Iraq and Libya. Libya had been sold similar equipment earlier and had converted it to military use.

Offensive Enhancement for F-15s

The most controversial proposal of the year was the Saudi request for Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft, jet tankers for aerial refueling, fuel pods, advanced air-to-air missiles and bomb racks for her yet-to-be-delivered aircraft.

In midyear there were reports that Saudi Arabia was requesting, and the Administration was giving serious consideration to, upgrading the offensive capability of the F-15. AIPAC reviewed the explicit promises made by the Carter Administration in 1978 not to supply such equipment. Senate opponents of this sale wrote to the President urging him to stand by his earlier commitments. Sixty-eight Senators signed the letter, and others issued separate critical statements. Release of the letter halted the momentum for this sale within the Administration. Saudi officials bitterly blamed AIPAC.

By early fall Saudi pressure resumed and reports of a post-election approval of the sale surfaced. AIPAC renewed its opposition. To convince the President that such a sale could not pass congressional review, a House letter (similar to the earlier Senate effort) was sponsored by Rep. Chris Dodd (D-CT). It was signed by 175 representatives.

In the weeks preceding the November elections AIPAC urged the presidential candidates to reject the sale of offensive equipment to Saudi Arabia in order to reassure the Jewish community. A week and a half before the election, President Carter ruled out a sale of bomb racks to Saudi Arabia and, in doing so, appeared to ban the sale of fuel pods, air-to-air missiles and jet tankers as well. Also, one week before the election Governor Reagan stated that "a Reagan Administration will not continue to ship massive quantities of sophisticated armaments to so-called 'moderate' Arab states who, in fact, might directly threaten Israel's existence once they are in possession of such arms."

IV. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

In 1980 AIPAC closely watched developments within the U.N. and other international organizations as they affected U.S.-Israel relations.

Copenhagen Women's Conference

During preparatory meetings for the July U.N. Mid-Decade Conference on Women, which was held in Copenhagen, it became clear that the forum would be exploited by the Palestinians and their Third World and Eastern Bloc sympathizers against Israel. AIPAC urged congressional action. Both houses of Congress approved a resolution calling upon the President to oppose the inclusion of a patently anti-Israel item on the Conference agenda.

An AIPAC representative went to Copenhagen to join an international caucus of Jewish women participants and to encourage American and other efforts to oppose politicization of the conference. AIPAC worked with the U.S. delegation as well as with non-governmental organizations in order to alert their members to the previous history of anti-Semitism at the 1975 Mexico City Women's Conference where the infamous slogan equating Zionism with racism was coined. AIPAC's efforts contributed to the decision of the United States to veto the final Plan of Action of the Conference because it included funding for PLO-sponsored activities.

U.N. Assault on Israel

When the U.N. Security Council adopted a resolution on Saturday, March 1, censuring Israel for settlements in "occupied territory, including Jerusalem" and the U.S. voted in favor, AIPAC had an informational memorandum in each congressional office on the following Monday. AIPAC supported the call for congressional hearings on the U.S. vote and its position on Israel.

On August 20, when U.S. Secretary of State Muskie went to the U.N. to vote on the Security Council resolution condemning Israel for the Knesset vote formalizing united Jerusalem as its capital, AIPAC supported a Senate effort to urge Muskie to veto the resolution; regrettably the U.S. abstained.

PLO and Financial Institutions

When the PLO and some of its supporters pressed the International Monetary Fund and World Bank to grant the terrorist organization official observer status at their September meeting, AIPAC supported congressional action to counter the Arab pressure. Legislation warned of a reduction of U.S. funding for the international lending institutions if the PLO were granted observer status. An amendment offered by Representative Benjamin Gilman (R-NY) was added to bills and accepted by the Senate, putting Congress on record in opposition to any IMF or World Bank capitulation to radical Arab pressure.

V. ELECTION 80

AIPAC resources were available to all candidates in the national election. We remained nonpartisan and did not rate or endorse candidates, but did provide advice, information and data on the voting records of incumbents.

The Presidency

From the beginning of the presidential campaign, AIPAC was in contact with all presidential candidates and their campaign staffs. AIPAC assisted candidates in identifying potential supporters. Information and draft position papers were provided to the campaigns, and AIPAC recommended personnel to assist candidates in their approach to the Jewish community.

After the conventions, AIPAC maintained liaison with the Anderson, Carter and Reagan campaigns, their foreign policy advisors and their programs in the Jewish community.

AIPAC urged candidates to address Jewish audiences on issues of concern such as foreign aid, arms sales, the PLO and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

The Conventions

AIPAC testified before the platform committees of both major parties and attended the nominating conventions. We urged both parties to take strong positions against Soviet influence in the Middle East, against recognition of the PLO and establishment of a Palestinian state, and in favor of strengthening the U.S.-Israel relationship. The final platforms contained strong, pro-Israel planks.

AIPAC hosted receptions for Jewish delegates, members of Congress and the local Jewish community at both conventions. AIPAC also monitored pro-Arab propaganda efforts by the National Association of Arab Americans in Detroit and New York.

Jewish Vote

Exit polls on November 4 conducted by the national networks and actual precinct returns gathered by AIPAC indicate that Ronald Reagan battled Jimmy Carter to a virtual draw among Jewish voters. As the graph on page 13 illustrates, this represents a radical shift in traditional Jewish allegiance to the national Democratic ticket.

The network exit polls on election day gave Carter a small plurality. However, the Carter lead was within the margin of error. For example, the final CBS/New York Times survey (with a Jewish sample of approximately 640) gave Carter 45%, Reagan 39% and Anderson 14%. ABC indicated even a closer race, with Reagan

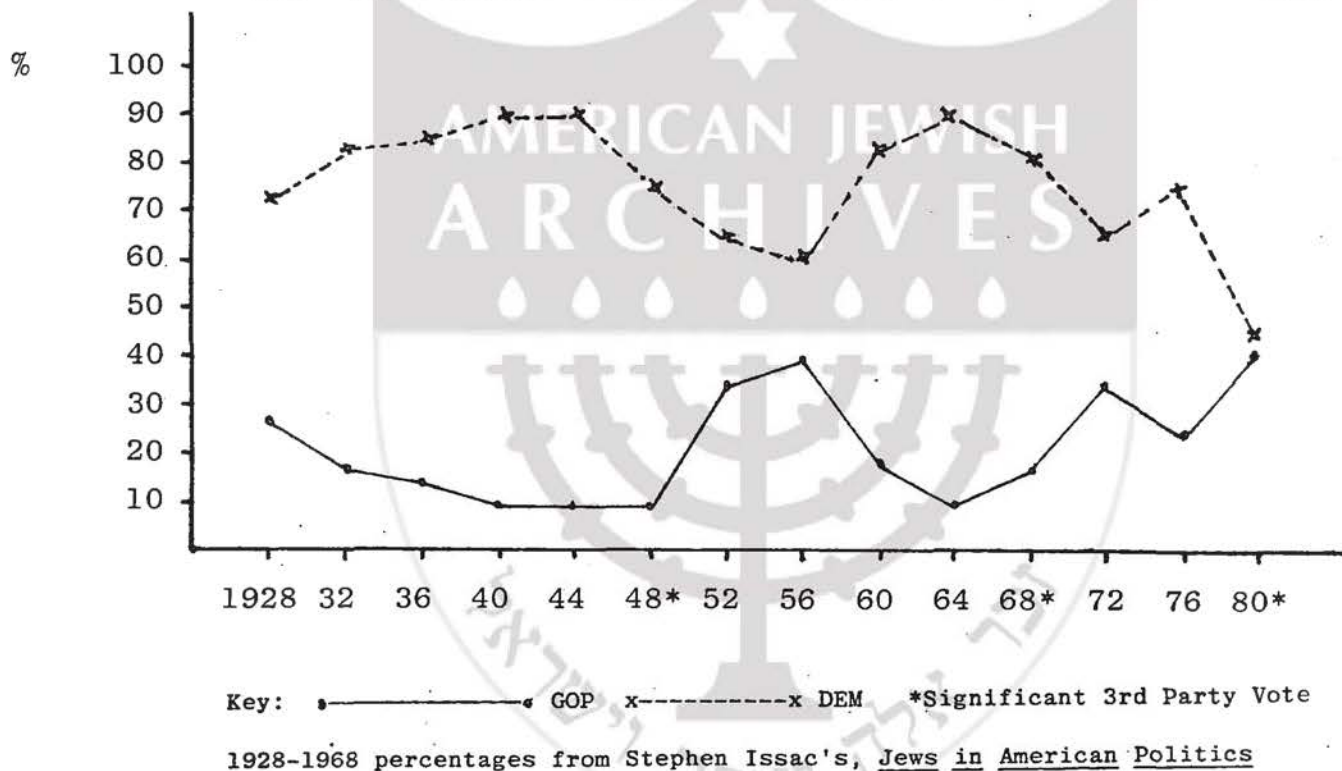
carrying a plurality of New York State's Jewish vote.

The network numbers were confirmed by AIPAC's precinct returns showing that Reagan made strong inroads among traditionally Democratic voters in the New York City metropolitan area -- where Reagan appears to have won a plurality of Jewish votes.

Analysis of AIPAC sample precinct and survey data provide evidence that Jewish defections from the Democratic ticket were greater than those among any other voting bloc. Furthermore, voting patterns point to concern over Carter's handling of Middle East matters and approval of Reagan's pro-Israel posture as the prime factor motivating Jewish voters.

Reagan ran best among more affluent Jews and within the Orthodox community.

Estimated Percentage of Jewish Vote for Major Party Presidential Nominees



The Congress

Incumbent House and Senate candidates and their challengers alike have long recognized the importance of the American Jewish community in the political process.

During this past year more than 150 congressional candidates from 41 states visited AIPAC and utilized its resources. They were briefed on foreign aid to Israel, arms sales to Arab countries, the U.N., the PLO, Soviet activities in the Middle East and techniques for communicating with the American Jewish community.

The candidates were provided with AIPAC memoranda and other information on these subjects, including a subscription to Near East Report. They were also given the names of AIPAC leaders in their constituencies.

VI. LEGISLATIVE INFORMATION SERVICES

AIPAC is a primary source of timely information for both the Congress and the general public. Members of Congress are briefed before trips to the Mideast. AIPAC memoranda are used by members of the House and Senate to substantiate arguments calling for support for Israel. These memoranda are often inserted in the Congressional Record.

Speaker Series

AIPAC sponsors luncheons for congressional staff members to meet and hear experts give firsthand accounts of the political situation in the Mideast, the progress of the Egypt-Israel peace negotiations and the background to the Arab-Israel conflict.

AIPAC staff members have addressed hundreds of meetings throughout the United States in the past year. Groups as diverse as the Young Leadership Cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal, the Pioneer Women, Hadassah, Zionist Organization of America, the Council of Jewish Federations and many others have sponsored major speeches by AIPAC representatives. An AIPAC briefing is a regular feature of the Council of Jewish Federations' Missions to Washington program. More than 50 such groups, including nearly 1,500 people, began their day in Washington at AIPAC.

AIPAC is constantly broadening its extensive network of more than 1,600 key contacts across the country. In the past year and a half, representatives of AIPAC have visited states like Idaho, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, Montana, New Mexico, Colorado, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama where a growing and increasingly receptive Jewish population indicates a fertile field for intensified organization.

AIPAC staff aided medium and small Jewish communities such as Dayton, Birmingham, Denver, Albuquerque, Savannah and Charleston in assuming a more active role in the political process.

Legislative Update & Action Requests

The legislative office sends reports to lay leadership, key contacts and selected members giving the detailed status of legislation involving U.S.-Israel relations. The purpose of the UPDATE is to provide information not generally available. A new feature this year was the "casualty report," a listing of members of Congress who announced their retirement, were running for other office or for some other reason were not expected to return for the next term. In addition, it listed the third of the Senate facing reelection (all 435 House seats are up every two years).

(The first name to go on that list for 1981-82 is Representative Henry S. Reuss (D-WI), who announced in November that the 97th Congress will be his last.)

From time to time throughout the year, AIPAC has written or called lay leadership and members for help. This grass roots lobbying has been to support legislation on the floor, solicit signatures for communications to the President, and enlist co-sponsors for bills and resolutions and diverse initiatives.

The response has been encouraging. The effectiveness of the professional staff in Washington is related to the efforts, interest, support and cooperation of key contacts throughout the country.

The final "action request" of 1980 is to become acquainted with members of the 97th Congress.



AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

ACTION TO BE TAKEN

NOW IS THE TIME FOR YOU TO GET TO KNOW YOUR NEW SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES AND RENEW YOUR ACQUAINTANCE WITH RETURNING MEMBERS. ASK FOR AN APPOINTMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN THE NEW YEAR TO DISCUSS U.S.-ISRAEL RELATIONS AND TO DETERMINE HOW YOU, YOUR SENATOR AND REPRESENTATIVE, AND AIPAC CAN WORK TOGETHER IN THE 97TH CONGRESS.

AIPAC HAS ALREADY SENT PERSONAL LETTERS OF CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE 97TH CONGRESS AND A COPY OF MYTHS AND FACTS TO EVERY FRESHMAN. WE IN WASHINGTON WILL ALSO BE VISITING THE FRESHMEN EARLY IN THE SESSION. WE ALREADY HAVE MET WITH MANY DURING THEIR CAMPAIGN OR SINCE THE ELECTIONS.

VII. THE 97TH CONGRESS

The new Congress convenes January 5, 1981. The electoral votes are formally counted the next day. The House then plans to recess until January 19, the day before inauguration. The Senate, however, will remain in town to hold confirmation hearings on President-elect Reagan's nominees.

Final committee assignments will be made in January as both Houses get organized -- a process that is expected to last well into February.

Congress will put in some three-day weeks at the beginning because there will not be enough work. In the early part of the year, the focus of activity will be the committees. Hearings will probably begin in the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the foreign assistance authorization bill in early February.

Senate Republicans have made most of their committee assignments, a task that should be completed in January by the Democrats, who will be in the minority for the first time in a quarter century.

There will be fewer changes in the House but there will be some shifting of committee assignments in January.

Senate

The Senate will have 53 Republicans, 46 Democrats and one Independent. Howard Baker (R-TN) will be the majority leader, and Robert Byrd (D-WV) will swap jobs with him and become minority leader.

Senator Charles Percy (R-IL) will be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI) will be the ranking minority member. Four new Republicans will be joining the committee -- Charles Mathias (MD), Nancy Kassebaum (KS), Rudy Boschwitz (MN) and Larry Pressler (SD). New Democrats on the committee will be Alan Cranston (CA) and Christopher Dodd (CT). Boschwitz will chair the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. Republicans on the panel will be Percy, Baker and Pressler; Democrats will be Paul Sarbanes (MD), John Glenn (OH) and Cranston.

The Appropriations Committee will be chaired by Mark Hatfield (OR) and the ranking Democrat will be William Proxmire (WI). There will be seven new Republicans on the committee -- Mark Andrews (ND), James Abdnor (SD), Robert Kasten (WI), Alphonse D'Amato (NY), Mack Mattingly (GA), Warren Rudman (NH) and Arlen Specter (PA).

Kasten will chair the important Foreign Operations Subcommittee, which will also include Republicans Specter, Rudman, D'Amato and Hatfield. The ranking Democrat on the subcommittee will be the former chairman, Daniel Inouye (HI). Other Democrats have not been chosen.

Boschwitz, Specter and Rudman are Jewish.

House of Representatives

Democrats retained control of the House but with diminished margins. There will be 243 Democrats and 192 Republicans, down sharply from the two-to-one edge of what was once called a veto-proof Congress.

The trend toward a younger Congress is evident in the House where the average age will be 48.3 years, three full years below the 93rd Congress. Freshman John LeBoutillier (R-NY) is the youngest member at 27; Claude Pepper (D-FL) the oldest at 80. Not only is the House younger but also less experienced. The average length of service is slightly under eight years, and 267 of the 435 members have been elected since 1974.

Few major changes are expected on the House Foreign Affairs and Appropriations committees. Subcommittee assignments will be made in January. Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN) is expected to return as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. Rep. Clarence Long (D-MD) will be seeking another term as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations.

Before making final assignments to both subcommittees, the House will have to decide on the new ratios between Republicans and Democrats. It is now five to three on Foreign Affairs, and Republicans probably will pick up one more seat. Democrats, however, are fighting to retain their seven-to-three advantage on Appropriations.

Democrats again named Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill (MA) and Jim Wright (TX) to be Speaker and Majority Leader, respectively. They chose Tom Foley (WA) as the new majority whip replacing defeated John Brademas (IN); Bill Alexander (AR) as chief deputy whip, and Gillis Long (LA) as chairman of the Democratic Caucus.

Republicans elected Bob Michel (IL) to succeed John Rhodes (AZ) as minority leader and Trent Lott (MS) to be minority whip. Other leadership positions went to Jack Kemp (NY), chairman of the Republican Conference; Richard Cheney (WY), chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, and Ed Madigan (IL), chairman of the Republican Research Committee.

sent. Gold

Date: May 18, 1988
To: Distribution Below
From: Lolly Bram
Re: AIPAC POLICY CONFERENCE

AIPAC held its 29th policy conference, May 15-17, commemorating "The Forty-Year Partnership Shaping the Future Agenda." Attendance was at maximum capacity, reaching about 1200 registered participants. Three messages were consistent throughout the conference: 1) recommitment to Israel's security and the U.S.-Israel relationship; 2) lobbying members on foreign aid; 3) opposition to a Palestinian state, a theme emphasized by Vice President Bush (receiving applause each time it was mentioned). There was some grumbling about the conservative nature of AIPAC, and one reporter told me that he is preparing an article on the "Bush-AIPAC" connection. However, some AIPAC staff concede that if a Democratic administration had been in office the last 8 years and accomplished as much as Reagan-Bush, they would have received the same laudatory attention.

The banquet was attended by 2,000 people, including scores of members of Congress. The speakers included Senators Mitch McConnell (R-KY) and Bennet Johnston (D-LA), and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres.

Following is a brief report on the few sessions which I attended.

The '88 Campaign: The Race for the House and Senate

Members of the House are unfairly and often irresponsibly discounted as not being as important as Senators, and other public figures. This session stressed the importance of the House: 1) They are always campaigning and asking for input on issues; 2) They very often become Senators (especially from smaller states where there is little or no Jewish population) and, therefore, need to be cultivated early on key issues; 3) They are an important market from which key appointed positions are chosen.

Doug Baily, Executive Publisher, "Presidential Campaign Hot-Line," stated that although the Reagan Administration is over in everyone's mind there is no future agenda articulated by either party's campaign. There is no new mandate for change that will impact on the congressional campaigns.

Community Relations Council Professionals Briefing

Every AIPAC conference provides an opportunity for Jewish organization professionals to meet with AIPAC staff and exchange information or have a dialogue on issues of process or substance.

The meeting was chaired by Ester Kurz, deputy legislative director, who is in charge of political mobilization. There was an unimpressive attendance, which totalled only 20-25 people. There were no Washington representatives present, with the exception of the Chicago Federation's Washington representative. Discussion was low-key. I stated the importance of reaching out to the non-Jewish community.

Lenny Davis, AIPAC's Jerusalem office director, gave an update from Israel. In his view, he anticipates the '88 election to be like 1981: aggressive and even violent. He says that both parties are raising funds in the U.S. For these reasons, we should prepare ourselves for another public relations problem. The campaign, he says, will not deal with the issue of the uprising because everyone is in agreement that it must be put down. The uprising has, however, effected many aspects of society. Construction has greatly decreased and at great cost, and tourism is down 30%. He told a story of a businessman from Jordan who said the perception in the Arab world is that Israel is weak and may go under. Why? For three reasons: 1) media coverage; 2) Congressional criticism; 3) Israel is not shooting demonstrators dead in the street, which to an Arab, he says, means that a country is weak.

The Challenges of Preparing for the Next Administration

Richard Williamson, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, got a laugh when he said that the State Department is not anti-conservative or anti-liberal, it is just anti-change. Regarding the PLO office, he asserted that the PLO Charter is in conflict with the UN Charter and that our next administration will have to address it. He discussed the successes of the Reagan administration and took the liberty of giving a pro-Bush campaign speech. He ended by saying that Dukakis is such a good governor, he should stay there.

Today on the Hill

Representative Larry Smith (D-FL) gave a pre-lobbying pep rally that was very well received by the audience. He stressed that the groups should urge their members to vote for the foreign aid appropriations bill (considered on the floor next week), sign all letters relating to Soviet Jewry and individual refusenik cases, and stress the common goals of Israel and the U.S. with a positive attitude. Members want to be reassured.

Rep. Smith said that many pro-Israel advocates feel as if they are walking on eggshells and that the nervous attitude on the hill is a very significant problem. But, to most people, he added, it is not a major issue. He says they are waiting out the

storm. Jewish community support is the cornerstone for foreign aid. He commended the pro-Israel community. Without the \$3/4 billion raised in donations for Israel by the community, it is unlikely, he said, that the Congress would give as much as they do.

cc: Shula Bahat
Charney Bromberg
Bert Gold
George Gruen
David Harris
Gary Rubin
Marc Tanenbaum
Mort Yarmon

