CITIZEN INTELLIGENCE ARCHIVE

CIA-HOUSE-005: The 22 Toss-Up House Races

House Series, Model No. 5 | Session 1 working document | October 8, 2026 | Money Test: AIPAC and pro-Israel PAC money

WHAT THIS IS: All 435 House seats are up on November 3, 2026. These 22 are the ones the Cook Political Report rates "Toss Up" (ratings dated Sept 25, 2026). For each race this file lists the two nominees and what I could find about AIPAC and other pro-Israel PAC money. It is the same Money Test used in the Senate files.

Read this first: how to read the labels

DOCUMENTED	I read a filing or record showing direct AIPAC PAC contributions. Only 2 nominees reach this level: **Miller-Meeks (IA-01)** and **Van Orden (WI-03)**. Both are 2022-2024 cycle records, and the framework treats direct AIPAC funding as a flag.
REPORTED	A news report or TrackAIPAC total. TrackAIPAC totals add up **all** pro-Israel PACs it tracks, and they are career totals, not just 2026. This is **not** the same as an AIPAC flag. It is the same unresolved framework question as North Carolina in the Senate files: does non-AIPAC pro-Israel PAC money count?
WATCH	A claim that is disputed, unconfirmed, or comes from a weak source.
NOT FOUND	I searched and found nothing. **This does not mean clean.** I could not reach the FEC database, OpenSecrets, or TrackAIPAC's per-candidate pages, so a lot of "not found" really means "not checked at filing level."

All dollar figures not marked DOCUMENTED come from secondary sources and need checking against FEC filings before anyone repeats them.

The 22 races at a glance

RACE	HELD BY	NOMINEES	MONEY SNAPSHOT
FL-14	D-held	Kathy Castor (D) vs. Mike Beltran (R)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
FL-22	D-held	Pia Dandiya (D) vs. Casey Askar (R)	**NONE FOUND**
FL-25	D-held	Jared Moskowitz (D) vs. Scott Singer (R)	**DISPUTED / WATCH**
OH-09	D-held	Marcy Kaptur (D) vs. Derek Merrin (R)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
TX-34	D-held	Vicente Gonzalez (D) vs. Eric Flores (R)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
WA-03	D-held	Marie Gluesenkamp Perez (D) vs. John Braun (R)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
AZ-06	R-held	Juan Ciscomani (R) vs. JoAnna Mendoza (D)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
CA-22	R-held	David Valadao (R) vs. Randy Villegas (D)	**DISPUTED / WATCH**
CO-08	R-held	Gabe Evans (R) vs. Manny Rutinel (D)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
IA-01	R-held	Mariannette Miller-Meeks (R) vs. Christina Bohannan (D)	**DIRECT AIPAC PAC $ DOCUMENTED**
IA-03	R-held	Zach Nunn (R) vs. Sarah Trone Garriott (D)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
MI-07	R-held	Tom Barrett (R) vs. Will Lawrence (D)	**DISPUTED / WATCH**
MI-10	R-held	Michael Bouchard (R) vs. Christina Hines (D)	**NONE FOUND**
NC-11	R-held	Jamie Ager (D) vs. Jennifer Balkcom (R)	**NONE FOUND**

NY-17	R-held	Mike Lawler (R) vs. Cait Conley (D)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
OH-07	R-held	Max Miller (R) vs. Brian Poindexter (D)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
PA-07	R-held	Ryan Mackenzie (R) vs. Bob Brooks (D)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
PA-08	R-held	Rob Bresnahan (R) vs. Paige Cognetti (D)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
PA-10	R-held	Scott Perry (R) vs. Janelle Stelson (D)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
TX-15	R-held	Monica De La Cruz (R) vs. Bobby Pulido (D)	**PRO-ISRAEL PAC $ REPORTED**
VA-02	R-held	Jen Kiggans (R) vs. Elaine Luria (D)	**DISPUTED / WATCH**
WI-03	R-held	Derrick Van Orden (R) vs. Rebecca Cooke (D)	**DIRECT AIPAC PAC $ DOCUMENTED**

ARCHITECT ANALYSIS (opinion): In the toss-up seats, the AIPAC story is mostly about incumbents. Most sitting members in these races have reported pro-Israel PAC money. Most challengers show nothing yet, and for many of them that is because no one has checked, not because the money is absent. The two clearest cases on the page are Republicans (Miller-Meeks and Van Orden). The biggest outside-spending fights I found are in the Democratic primaries (CA-22, MI-07), and in two of them the spending was reported to go against the more progressive candidate. A voter should ask each candidate where their money comes from, and ask for the filing, not the talking points.

Race by race

FL-14 D-held-seat | Redrawn map

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Kathy Castor	D	Incumbent
Mike Beltran	R	Challenger, won Aug 18 GOP primary

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Castor	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC lists $93,407 in career pro-Israel PAC giving, all groups combined, with AIPAC among them. A third-party PDF built from FEC data shows $10,025 from AIPAC in 2023-24.
Castor	**NOT FOUND**	No 2026-cycle AIPAC or UDP money, and no AIPAC or DMFI endorsement, found.
Beltran	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.

FL-22 D-held-seat | Open seat (Frankel retiring)

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Pia Dandiya	D	Won Aug 18 primary, 68.6% to 31.4%
Casey Askar	R	Won Aug 18 GOP primary

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Dandiya	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.
Askar	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.
Askar	**FEC FACT (not AIPAC)**	FEC page (Apr 1-Jul 29, 2026): $2,500,000 in loans from the candidate; $2,587,501.57 total receipts; $1,067,637.61 cash on hand.

Also: Cook's page showed both "Lean R" and "Toss Up" text for this race. Confirm the live rating.

FL-25 D-held-seat | Redrawn map

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Jared Moskowitz	D	Incumbent, won primary 63.5% to 36.5%
Scott Singer	R	Former Boca Raton mayor, won five-way GOP primary

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Moskowitz	**WATCH**	OpenSecrets data cited by a local paper shows about $953,900 "from AIPAC" through Aug 4, about a third of roughly $2.9M raised. Moskowitz says these are Jewish Americans giving through an organization. Local reporting describes AIPAC as a channel for about 260 individual donations in Q1, so this is likely mostly individual donors, not PAC checks. Needs FEC verification.
Moskowitz	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $833,288 in pro-Israel PAC giving. DMFI endorsed him (Dec 2025 slate).
Singer	**REPORTED**	The Republican Jewish Coalition endorsed him Sept 3, 2026. No dollar amounts. No AIPAC PAC or UDP money found. He raised $1.3M by April.

OH-09 D-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Marcy Kaptur	D	Incumbent, no primary challenger
Derek Merrin	R	Won May 5 GOP primary with 44.1%

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Kaptur	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $227,588 in pro-Israel PAC giving. AIPAC is not among the groups it lists. No AIPAC or DMFI endorsement found.
Merrin	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found. Club for Growth PAC endorsed him (no amount verified).

Also: Kaptur had $3.1M cash on hand at the end of Q1 2026.

TX-34 D-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Vicente Gonzalez	D	Incumbent
Eric Flores	R	Trump-endorsed, won Mar 3 GOP primary

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Gonzalez	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $397,389 in pro-Israel PAC giving. A third-party PDF built from FEC data shows $41,951 from AIPAC in 2023-24. DMFI endorsed him (Dec 2025).
Flores	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.

Also: Also on the ballot: Eddie Espinoza (G) and Chris Royal (L).

WA-03 D-held-seat | Top-two primary Aug 4

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Marie Gluesenkamp Perez	D	Incumbent, about 36.6% (unofficial)
John Braun	R	State Senate Minority Leader, about 39.6% (unofficial)

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Perez	**REPORTED**	Ballotpedia states AIPAC endorsed her. DMFI endorsed her (Dec 2025). An opinion piece (Oct 2025) cites $285,128 in "AIPAC-related support" as of Aug 2025; that is unverified.
Braun	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.

AZ-06 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Juan Ciscomani	R	Incumbent
JoAnna Mendoza	D	Won July 21 primary unopposed

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Ciscomani	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $1,224,703 from AIPAC, AMP, GCSC, LAFAS, RJC, SUNPAC and USI. All direct or earmarked.
Mendoza	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.

CA-22 R-held-seat | Top-two primary June 2

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
David Valadao	R	Incumbent, about 40% (about 90% counted)
Randy Villegas	D	School board member and professor, about 32% to Bains 27%

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Valadao	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $271,108 from AIPAC, AMP, PIA, RJC and USI.
Villegas	**WATCH**	Jewish Insider reported Democratic Majority for Israel spent about $500,000 on TV ads opposing him in the primary and backing Jasmeet Bains. CalMatters reported outside groups spent more than $2.2M against him in the final month. That total is combined and includes DMFI, centrist-caucus super PACs and the Congressional Leadership Fund.
Villegas	**NOT FOUND**	No direct pro-Israel PAC contributions or AIPAC/UDP spending found.

CO-08 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Gabe Evans	R	Incumbent. His primary result was not confirmed
Manny Rutinel	D	Won June 30 primary by about 26 points

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Evans	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $724,445: $56,292 direct and $668,153 independent expenditures, from AIPAC and RJC. Year and spender of the $668K not determined.
Rutinel	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.

Also: Democratic primary money (reported by KUNC): about $3M from Latino-focused groups helping Rutinel; $980K from a PAC funded by Chris Larsen for him; about $1.3M from an EMILY's List-tied group against him.

IA-01 R-held-seat | 2024 rematch (decided by fewer than 800 votes)

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Mariannette Miller-Meeks	R	Incumbent, won June 2 primary
Christina Bohannan	D	Won June 2 primary

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Miller-Meeks	**DOCUMENTED**	ProPublica itemizer shows 17 direct contributions from the AIPAC PAC totaling $35,534: 12 in 2022 ($22,224) and 5 in 2024 ($13,310). The latest was $5,000 on Oct 14, 2024. The page may omit recent weeks.
Miller-Meeks	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $251,697 from all pro-Israel PACs it tracks.
Bohannan	**FEC FACT (not AIPAC)**	DMFI PAC gave $1,000 on Sept 24, 2024. This is the only listed contribution, and it is the 2024 cycle.
Bohannan	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or UDP money found.

IA-03 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Zach Nunn	R	Incumbent. His primary result was not confirmed
Sarah Trone Garriott	D	State senator, Democratic nominee

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Nunn	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $148,525 from AIPAC, RJC, TPOH and USI. The filing page failed to load, so there is no documented figure.
Trone Garriott	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.

Also: J Street PAC runs a joint donation page for Bohannan and Trone Garriott. It describes no endorsement.

MI-07 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Tom Barrett	R	Incumbent
Will Lawrence	D	Won Aug 4 primary over Bridget Brink and Matt Maasdam

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Barrett	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $31,136 in pro-Israel PAC giving (AIPAC and RJC). No outside spending found.
Lawrence	**NOT FOUND**	No pro-Israel PAC support found. He has called for ending U.S. military aid to Israel (per JTA).
Lawrence	**WATCH**	Spending against him in the primary: Crush MAGA PAC ran a $532,000 ad campaign (Prospect, as of July 11). Its affiliate, Save Democracy PAC, received $100,000 from UDP on May 20 (Prospect, citing an FEC record I did not open). UDP's spokesperson denied involvement in the ads. A separate report, sourced to two anonymous people and no filing, says a DMFI-linked group opened an ad buy "beginning with $899,000." Treat that last item as weak.

Also: American Action Network (aligned with House Republican leadership) is running $1.3M of ads across MI-07 and MI-08, split not disclosed.

MI-10 R-held-seat | Open seat (James leaving)

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Michael Bouchard	R	Trump-endorsed, won Aug 4 primary with 72%
Christina Hines	D	Won Aug 4 primary with 47%

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Both	**NOT FOUND**	No direct contributions, outside spending or AIPAC endorsement found for either. I did not open the FEC pages, so this is not a clean bill.

Also: The DCCC Red to Blue program is backing Hines. No amount given.

NC-11 R-held-seat | Open seat (Edwards withdrew)

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Jamie Ager	D	Farmer, won March 3 primary
Jennifer Balkcom	R	State representative, picked by the party committee Aug 10, not by a primary

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Ager	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.
Balkcom	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found. She is a state-level candidate, so federal filings may not exist yet.
Edwards	**NOTE**	Not a nominee. Chuck Edwards withdrew after a House Ethics report recommended censure. TrackAIPAC lists $87,166 in AIPAC-group giving to him, shown for context only.

Also: Ager had almost $2.2M cash on hand entering July.

NY-17 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Mike Lawler	R	Incumbent
Cait Conley	D	Won June 23 primary over four others

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Lawler	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $1,181,950 in pro-Israel PAC giving (AIPAC, AMP, MDACC, NORPAC, RJC, USI), no per-group split. A blog reports "more than $1 million" from AIPAC, with no date or filing. Treat that as weak.
Conley	**REPORTED**	Jewish Insider lists Democratic Majority for Israel among national groups backing her. No amount.
Conley	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or UDP money found.

Also: In the primary, a group described as "tenuously linked to GOP operatives" announced at least $1.5M against Conley. A pro-veterans PAC announced $1M to boost her.

OH-07 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Max Miller	R	Incumbent
Brian Poindexter	D	Brook Park councilman, won May 5 primary with about 37%

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Miller	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $366,455 in pro-Israel PAC giving (AIPAC, AMP, COPAC, NORPAC, RJC, USI).
Poindexter	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.

Also: House Majority PAC has announced more than $7M in Cleveland-market ads. Miller says he will lend his campaign $1M. Blue Dog Action Fund spent nearly $200,000 for Poindexter in the primary.

PA-07 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Ryan Mackenzie	R	Incumbent
Bob Brooks	D	Firefighter, won May 19 primary with about 42%

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Mackenzie	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $74,280 in pro-Israel PAC giving.
Brooks	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.

PA-08 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Rob Bresnahan	R	Incumbent
Paige Cognetti	D	Scranton mayor, unopposed May 19

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Bresnahan	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $83,266 in pro-Israel PAC giving. Jewish Insider (Jan 2026) reported AIPAC endorses him.
Cognetti	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found. In January, DMFI's political arm had made no endorsement.

PA-10 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Scott Perry	R	Incumbent, unopposed in primary
Janelle Stelson	D	Won May 19 primary

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Perry	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $128,972. In May 2024, AIPAC reportedly stopped taking donations for him and 14 other Republicans over their vote against Israel aid, after giving his campaign $12,751 in the prior four months. His 2026 AIPAC status was not found.
Stelson	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $19,650, listed as "Endorsed by DMFI in 2024." No 2026 endorsement or spending found.

TX-15 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Monica De La Cruz	R	Incumbent, unopposed in primary
Bobby Pulido	D	Won March 3 primary with about 67%

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
De La Cruz	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $137,890 in pro-Israel PAC giving.
Pulido	**NOT FOUND**	No AIPAC or pro-Israel PAC money found.

Also: BDA PAC (Blue Dog-linked) directed over $997,000 toward Pulido's primary. The Latino Victory Fund also spent for him, no amount given.

VA-02 R-held-seat

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Jen Kiggans	R	Incumbent
Elaine Luria	D	Former U.S. Representative, won Aug 4 primary

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Kiggans	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $110,700 in pro-Israel PAC giving.
Luria	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $1,087,672 (AIPAC, PIA, NORPAC, JAC, TPOH and more). She served in Congress 2019-2023, so this likely includes earlier cycles.
Luria	**WATCH**	A Jewish Insider headline (Sept 2026) says DMFI launched a $1 million ad campaign supporting her. I could not load the article, so the amount and date are unconfirmed.

Also: A Giffords PAC press release (Sept 2026) announces "nearly $1M" to elect Luria. Headline only.

WI-03 R-held-seat | 2024 rematch

NOMINEE	PARTY	STATUS
Derrick Van Orden	R	Incumbent
Rebecca Cooke	D	Won Aug 11 primary, 60.4% to 39.4%

WHO	LABEL	FINDING
Van Orden	**DOCUMENTED**	ProPublica itemizer: the AIPAC PAC gave his campaign 16 line items in the 2024 cycle, netting $20,312 (Mar 21 to Oct 25, 2024, including one $5,000 contribution later reversed). No 2026 itemization retrieved.
Van Orden	**WATCH**	Cooke says he is "the only AIPAC-endorsed candidate in the race." That is her claim, not a documented endorsement.
Cooke	**REPORTED**	TrackAIPAC career total $110,295 (DMFI, J Street). She says she has never taken AIPAC money. TrackAIPAC lists no AIPAC for her.

Also: Disbursements through July 22: Cooke $6.78M, Van Orden $3.37M.

What I could not check

- The FEC database and OpenSecrets were not reachable, so almost nothing here is verified at filing level.
- TrackAIPAC's per-candidate pages did not load. The totals come from its directory pages and are career totals across all pro-Israel PACs.
- Sludge's per-member AIPAC table, which would give 2026-only figures, did not load.
- UDP's general-election spending was not checked. The sources I read covered primaries through about June 30 and named none of these 22 races for UDP spending, but that is not proof of zero.
- Cook's live ratings can change. The list is from Sept 25, and the FL-22 page showed mixed rating text.
- Primary results for Evans (CO-08) and Nunn (IA-03) were not confirmed from a primary record.

STATUS: SESSION 1 WORKING DOCUMENT. Open items: pull AIPAC PAC (C00797670) and UDP (C00799031) records at fec.gov for all 44 nominees; confirm 2026-cycle direct contributions for incumbents; open the Jewish Insider DMFI/Luria article; open the UDP May 20 transfer to Save Democracy PAC; check DMFI Action and RJC independent expenditures.
Sources: Cook Political Report (Sept 25, 2026); TrackAIPAC; ProPublica Itemizer; FEC; Ballotpedia; Jewish Insider; CalMatters; The American Prospect; KUNC; Florida Phoenix; local and state press as cited by race.

"*I don't tell you how to vote. I give you the X-ray. You decide.*"
— Uma | PixelMagic / MindTraveler | People Over Party