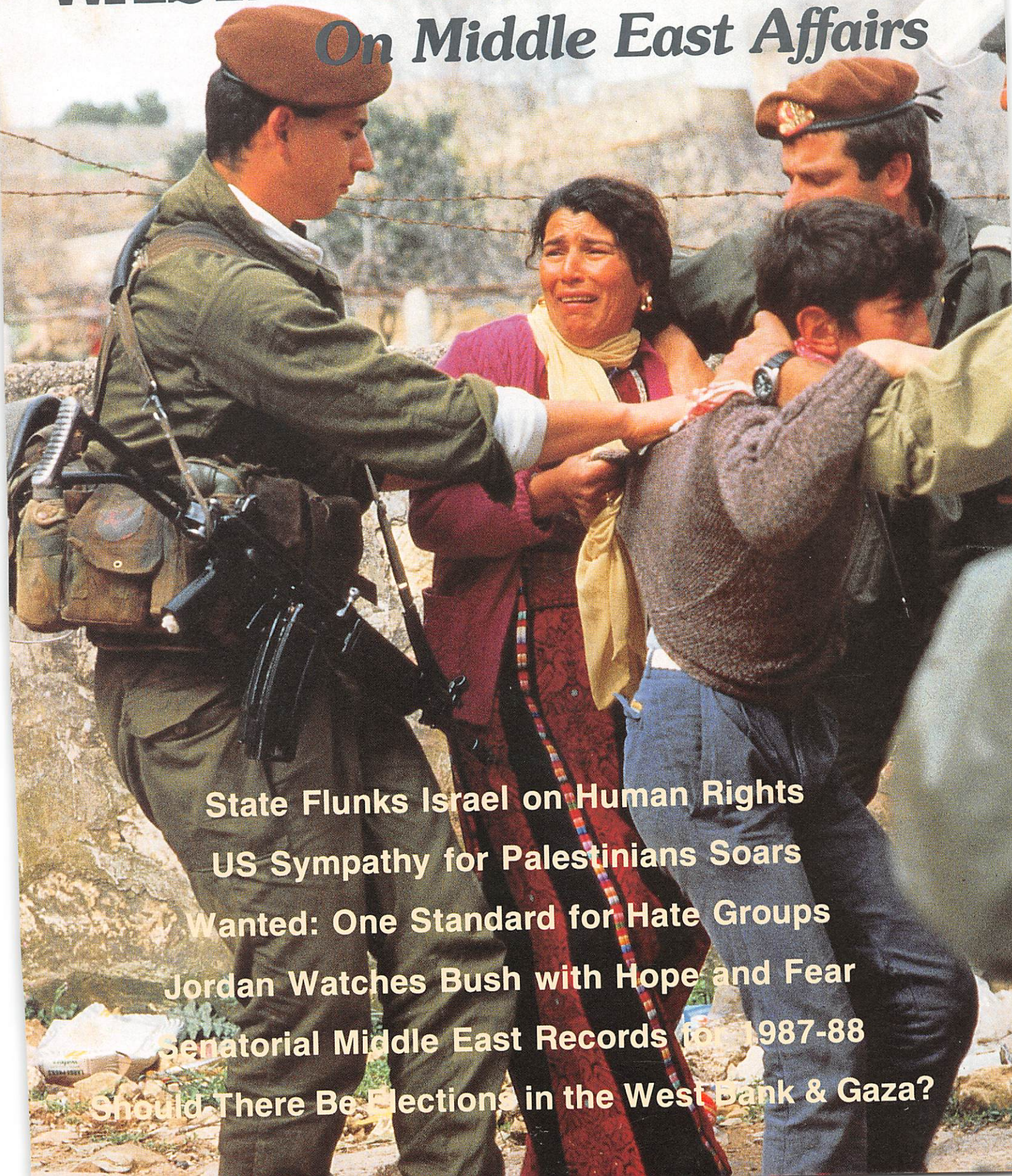


the **WASHINGTON REPORT** *On Middle East Affairs*



State Flunks Israel on Human Rights

US Sympathy for Palestinians Soars

Wanted: One Standard for Hate Groups

Jordan Watches Bush with Hope and Fear

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Cover photo: Palestinian woman tries to free a boy from arrest by Israeli soldiers in the West Bank town of Ramallah.

Tiktiner—SIPA Press

State Department Flunks Israel On Human Rights

By Richard H. Curtiss

"Figures compiled from press, Palestinian, and Israeli government sources indicate that 366 Palestinians were killed in 1988 as a result of the uprising, most of them by the IDF, some by Israeli settlers. Thirteen Palestinians were killed by other Palestinians for suspected collaboration with Israeli authorities. Over 20,000 Palestinians were wounded or injured by the IDF. . . Soldiers frequently used gunfire in situations that did not present mortal danger to troops, causing many avoidable deaths and injuries."—Department of State report on Israeli human rights practices for 1988.

The Department of State came down hard in February on Israeli human rights violations in 1988, devoting 21 pages of its annual 1500-page worldwide human rights report to Congress to a grim catalog of Israeli killings of Palestinians by bullets, beatings, tear gas, and denial of medical attention. Moreover, the official US government report made it clear that some human rights problems take place in Israel itself, "where Arab citizens of Israel, who constitute 17 percent of the population, do not share fully in the rights granted to, or the duties levied on, Jewish Israeli citizens."

As for the Israeli-occupied territories, the State Department reports: "Beginning in December 1987, the occupation entered a new phase, referred to as the intifadah, when civilian unrest became far more widespread and intensive than at any time heretofore. The active participants in these civil disturbances were primarily young men and women motivated by Palestinian nationalism and a desire to bring the occupation to an end."

Besides killing and wounding many of these "active participants," the report makes clear, the Israelis resorted to demolition of homes, curfews, beatings, bone breaking, torture, collective punishment, "and other practices including forcing prisoners to remain in one position for prolonged periods, hooding, sleep deprivation, and cold showers." These latter practices were used to elicit false confessions, which became the basis for convictions and lengthy prison sentences.

Most Palestinians arrested, however, were "administratively detained," without charges, for six months at a time. Some, released after six months, were immediately rearrested, and detained for another six months, still without charges.

"Since the uprising began in December 1987, the number of Palestinian prisoners has risen from about 4,700 to about 10,000," according to the report. "Seven military detention centers were added to two existing facilities, but there is serious overcrowding."

The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs

Published monthly since 1982 by the American Educational Trust (AET), a non-profit foundation incorporated in Washington, DC, by retired US Foreign Service officers to provide the American public with balanced and accurate information concerning US relations with Middle Eastern states. AET's Foreign Policy Committee is composed of former US ambassadors, government officials, and members of Congress, including Democratic Sen. J. William Fulbright and Republican Sen. Charles Percy, both former chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. AET directors and members of AET advisory committees receive no salaries or fees.

The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs does not take partisan domestic political positions. As a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli dispute, it endorses UN Security Council Resolution 242's land-for-peace formula, supported by five successive US presidents. In the Iran-Iraq war, it endorses the UN Security Council cease-fire resolution 598 of 1987. Abroad, it supports moderate Israeli, Iranian, and Arab leaders who endorse these resolutions, which it judges to be in the best interests of the United States and consistent with traditional American support for human rights, self-determination, and fair play.

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Senate Record: 100th Congress

By Allan C. Kellum

For eight consecutive years as editor of the *Mideast Observer*, I produced an annual congressional voting record. With the *Mideast Observer* now incorporated in the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, I am proud to present a ninth voting record.

What follows is a brief description of each of the four letters and seven votes relevant to the Middle East, along with a chart listing the voting records on these 11 issues of every senator in the 100th Congress. The number of each description below corresponds to the number in the voting record key in the chart. House votes will be covered in a forthcoming issue of the *Washington Report*.

1. Letter Critical of Shamir's No-Territorial-Compromise Position

In a March 3, 1988, letter, 30 senators who are mostly strong supporters of Israel expressly criticized Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's resistance to the land-for-peace formula of UN Security Council Resolution 242. The letter, initiated by Sens. Carl Levin (D-MI) and Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN), praised Shultz's "efforts to break the dangerous Middle East stalemate," and noted that "peace negotiations have little chance of success if the Israeli government's position rules out territorial compromise."

2. Letter Opposing Sale of US Arms to Saudi Arabia

In a Sept. 25, 1987, letter to President Reagan, 62 senators expressed their vigorous opposition to a proposed arms sale to Saudi Arabia. The letter, initiated by Sens. Alan Cranston (D-CA) and Bob Packwood (R-OR), stated, in part: "We do not believe it wise to reward Saudi behavior...with another sale of sophisticated arms. The Saudis have not made substantial efforts to achieve progress in the Middle East peace process, and they continue to fund terrorist organizations like the PLO." In addition to the 62 signatures actually on the letter, Sens. Rockefeller (D-WV) and Specter (R-PA) also associated themselves with it.

3. Letter Urging Denial of Visa for Yasser Arafat

When it was first reported that Yasser Arafat might request a US visa to address the UN General Assembly in New York, 51 senators on Sept. 26, 1988, signed a letter urging Secretary of State Shultz to deny the Palestine Liberation Organization chairman a visa.

4. Letter Praising Shultz for Denying Visa for Arafat

After Secretary Shultz denied Yasser Arafat a US visa and the UN General Assembly debate on Palestine was moved to Geneva, to enable the PLO chairman to speak, 60 current senators and eight newly elected senators addressed a second letter to Shultz on Nov. 29, 1987, expressing pleasure at learning "of your decision to deny PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's application for a visa to visit the United Nations in the United States."

5. Voted For Report on Gulf Reflagging Operation

In the wake of the attack on the USS Stark and the threat that the Iran-Iraq war might spill over to neighboring countries such as Kuwait, the administration made an agreement to use US warships to escort "reflagged" Kuwaiti tankers in the Persian Gulf. On May 21, 1987, while the administration was in the final stages of concluding this agreement with Kuwait, a wary Senate voted 91 yeas to 5 nays to require a report on security arrangements in the Persian Gulf prior to implementation of such an agreement. Sens. Byrd and Dole were the sponsors of the amendment which was attached to the supplemental appropriations bill (H.R. 1827).

6. Voted For Retaliatory Trade Embargo Against Hostile Countries

By a vote of 82-16, the Senate approved an amendment to an omnibus trade bill to impose a trade embargo against Iran, or any other Persian

Gulf country, if that country launched a purposeful military or terrorist attack on US vessels, facilities, or personnel. Sens. Byrd (D-WV) and Dole (KS-R), as Senate majority and minority leaders respectively, sponsored the amendment that was approved on July 15, 1987.

7. Voted For Tabling War Powers Act Enactment

As the Iran-Iraq hostilities heated up in the Persian Gulf, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger on Aug. 25, 1987, designated an area in that region of the world as an "imminent danger zone." Some lawmakers believed that this level of hostilities involving US forces should trigger the provisions of the War Powers Act. On Sept. 18, 1987, Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-OR) attached an amendment to the Department of Defense authorization bill (S. 1174) to trigger the War Powers Act. The Senate voted on whether to table (kill) the amendment, and by a vote of 50 yeas to 41 nays (the nays favored triggering the War Powers Act), the amendment was tabled.

8. Voted For Engaging Iranian Forces in Persian Gulf

On Sept. 24, 1987, days after the defeat of the Hatfield amendment described above, the Senate voted 91-4 in favor of a hard-line approach toward belligerent Iranian vessels. The amendment to the Department of Defense authorization bill, initially presented by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC), was modified during floor debate. It expressed the sense of the Senate that the US Navy is fully justified in sinking any Iranian vessel which threatens the safe passage of any American warship or any other vessel known to have US citizens on board.

9. Voted For Conditions for Soviet Middle East Participation

In a unanimous vote of 95-0, the Senate on Oct. 8, 1987, approved the Wilson amendment to the Foreign Relations Authorization Bill (H.R. 1777). The amendment expressed the sense of the Congress that the Soviet Union should not be considered a possible participant in a Mideast peace forum unless and until it has: (a) re-established diplomatic relations with Israel at the ambassadorial level; (b) reaffirmed UN Security Council resolutions 181, 242, and 338; and (c) substantially increased the numbers of Soviet Jews allowed to emigrate. In addition, the amendment stated that, even if the Soviets met these conditions, its participation would be subject to the approval and invitation of Israel, Egypt, and Jordan.

10. Voted For Condemnation of Iraqi Chemical Weapons Use

On June 24, 1988, by a unanimous vote of 91 yeas, the Senate approved S.R. 408, condemning Iraq's use of chemical weapons and urging President Reagan to continue diplomatic pressure to prevent their further use. The letter also urged the administration to step up efforts to establish an international ban on their use.

11. Voted For Proposed Foreign Aid Package to Israel

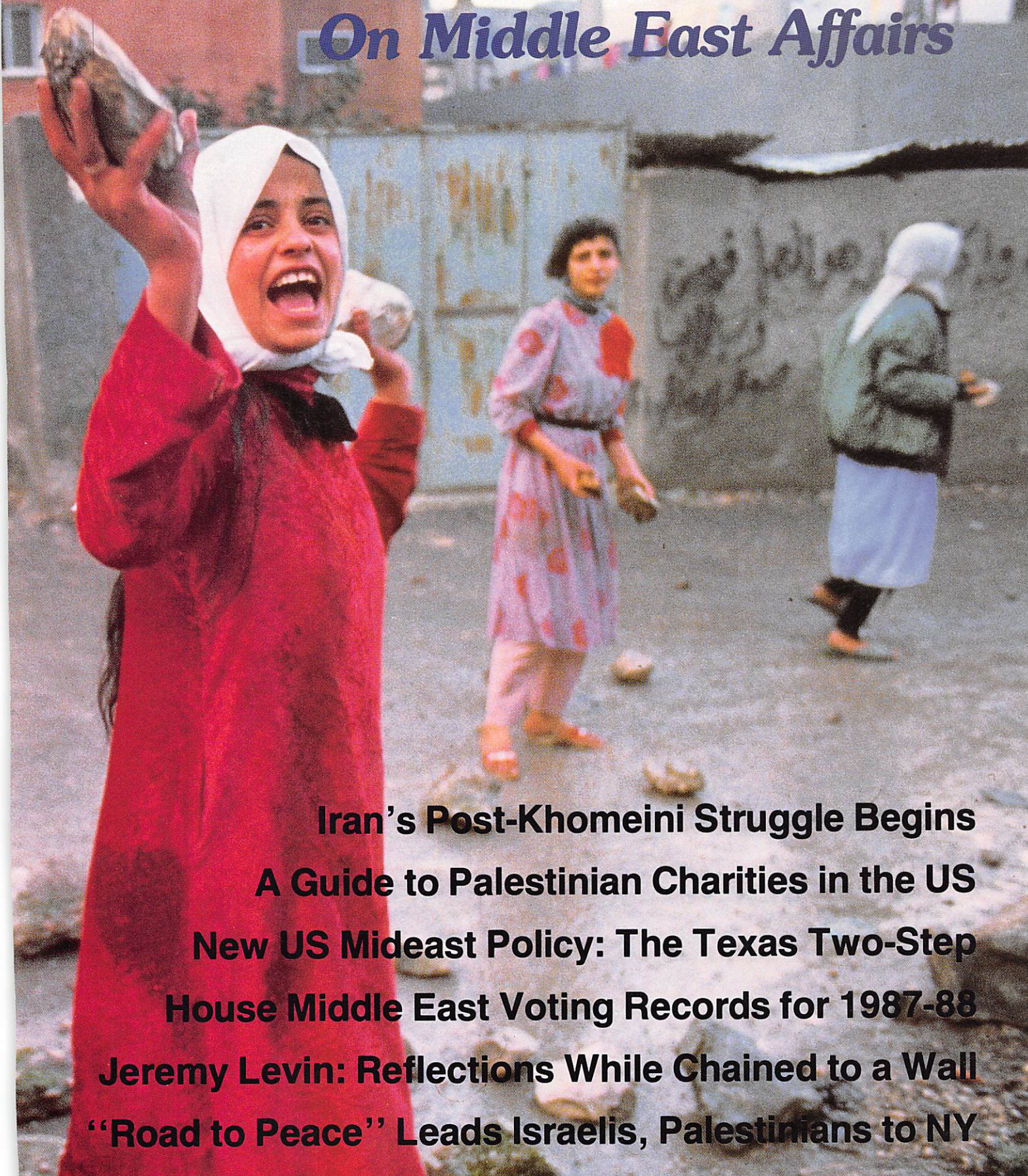
On July 7, 1988, the Senate approved passage of the foreign operations appropriations legislation (H.R. 4637) by a vote of 76 yeas to 15 nays. Israel, slated for \$1.8 billion in military aid and \$1.2 billion in economic aid, is the bill's largest single beneficiary, followed by Egypt. In addition to the direct aid there are also a number of special provisions that benefit Israel. For example, Israel, unlike any other nation, can spend up to \$400 million of its US aid monies on its own defense industry and \$150 million for US research and development services for Israeli weapons production.

Litmus Test

Readers searching for a "litmus test" may find it in three of these actions. The letters opposing arms sales to Saudi Arabia (Column 2) and opposing a visa for Yasser Arafat (Columns 3 and 4) were all proposed and circulated to senators by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). It is fair to assume that those who signed any of these three letters did so in accordance with the wishes of AIPAC, Israel's US lobby.

Allan C. Kellum, founder and for eight years editor of the *Mideast Observer*, consults and writes on congressional and international development affairs in the national capital area.

the
WASHINGTON REPORT
On Middle East Affairs



Iran's Post-Khomeini Struggle Begins

A Guide to Palestinian Charities in the US

New US Mideast Policy: The Texas Two-Step

House Middle East Voting Records for 1987-88

Jeremy Levin: Reflections While Chained to a Wall

"Road to Peace" Leads Israelis, Palestinians to NY

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Cover photo: Palestinian girls armed with stones confront Israeli soldiers in the Balata refugee camp on March 10, 1988. *Alfred/SIPA Press*

Special Report

New York Peace Dialogue: "With Enemies Like You, Who Needs Friends?"

By Mary Barrett

Some 600 people, nearly a third of them journalists, listened to Palestine Liberation Organization officials, Israeli parliamentarians, and others who would not have appeared on the same platform a year ago, discuss a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli crisis at Columbia University March 11-13.

Cosponsored by the Palestinian newspaper, *Al Fajr*, and the Israeli monthly magazine, *New Outlook*, the New York meeting was the last of four similar events in recent months in Paris, the Hague, and at Oxford University. Entitled "The Road to Peace," the New York conference was sponsored also by two US groups, Friends of Peace Now and the American Council for Palestine Affairs.

The Israelis who participated did so in violation of Israeli law which forbids contacts with members of the PLO, thus making clear their commitment to bringing about change in official Israeli policy. They represent the most vocal elements of the 54 percent of the Israeli public who, according to a recent poll, believe their government should negotiate with the PLO under some conditions. (Since the conferences, or perhaps because of them, that number has climbed to 66 percent of Israelis.) Many of the Israeli conference participants have changed their positions dramatically in recent years, while others have maintained all along that the security of Israel is dependent upon the existence of a secure Palestinian state in the occupied territories.

Palestinian participants, however, were in a more powerful position since the meeting was sanctioned by the PLO and attended by PLO officials able to present a consistent position developed and approved in the context of the November 1988 Palestine National Council (PNC) meeting in Algeria, which proclaimed Palestinian statehood, and Yasser Arafat's December speech in Geneva accepting Israel's right to exist and renouncing terrorism. In addition to about a dozen representatives from the occupied territories, there were some 15 diaspora Palestinians and several Arab Americans among the participants. While Israeli refusal of travel documents reduced the number of participants from the occupied territories, US stalling on visas for three of the PLO officials threatened cancellation of the conference until last minute negotiations by conference organizers cleared the matter through the State Department.

In opening remarks, New York attorney Peter Weiss noted the presence of four past and four current Knesset members and six members of the PNC. The purpose of the conference, he said, was "to talk, to clarify, to describe areas of agreement, as well as to delineate... areas of disagreement."

Setting a tone of parity between the parties, Yehoshafat Harkabi, former head of intelligence in the Israeli Defense Forces, spoke candidly of the need for a Palestinian state and his frustration with the unrealistic position of his

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House Record for 100th Congress

By Allan C. Kellum

The Senate voting record for selected Middle East-related issues for the 100th Congress appeared in the March issue of *Washington Report*. In this issue, the House votes are presented for all 435 congressional districts.

In general, these decisions divide into three categories: efforts to restrict US arms sales to Arab countries, votes on foreign aid, and miscellaneous policy issues. Among the miscellaneous policy issues was a 394-0 vote in favor of overturning the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism.

As always it is difficult to devise a "litmus test" to rate a representative's views on the Arab-Israeli dispute. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) insists that congressmen who expect its support vote for foreign aid, but other factors affect foreign aid votes as well. A "pure" test of consistent support for Israel might be votes and signatures limiting arms sales to Arab countries (Yes on 2, 5, and 9), overturning the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism (Yes on 4), and against cutting foreign aid by 20 percent across the board (No on 6). A "yes" vote on 2, 4, 5, and 9 and a "no" on 6 might get a perfect pro-Israel rating from AIPAC. A contrary vote or even an abstention on any of these five votes would probably invite retaliation from pro-Israeli donors.

Only 15 percent (29) of those who ended 1988 as US representatives did not return to the House, and four of those—Dan Coats (R-IN), Jim Jeffords (R-VT), Trent Lott (R-MS), and Connie Mack (R-FL)—moved up to the Senate, where the turnover was just 11 percent.

Thus, the cast of players has changed little, and the votes that they cast are unlikely to change unless citizens who expect changes become more active.

What follows is a brief description of the legislative actions on Middle East issues for all House members of the 100th Congress. The number of each description below corresponds to the number in the voting record key in the chart.

1. Voted For Report of Gulf Reflagging Operation

By a vote of 302 yeas to 105 nays, the House voted to require within seven days a report from the Defense Department on security arrangements in the Persian Gulf. The vote occurred June 2, 1987, as the administration readied its plan to step up the US security role in the gulf by providing naval escorts for "reflagged" Kuwaiti tankers.

2. Cosponsored Resolution Opposing Sale of US Arms to Saudi Arabia

On June 3, 1987, Larry Smith (D-FL) introduced a joint resolution opposing the Reagan administration's proposed upgrading of Maverick air-to-surface missiles for Saudi Arabia. Subsequently, nearly half of the House (216 representatives) signed on as co-sponsors of Smith's bill (H.J. Res. 302).

3. Voted For Import Ban Against Iran

By a vote of 407 yeas to five nays, the House on Oct. 6, 1987, approved a bill (H.R. 3391) to prohibit the US importation of all Iranian products. The bill cited Iran's hostile military actions, its terrorism, and the fact that the US was continuing to purchase crude oil at an average cost of "more than one-half a billion dollars annually" from Iran.

4. Voted For Overturning UN "Zionism Equals Racism" Resolution

By a vote of 394-0 the House, on Nov. 9, 1987, passed a joint resolution (S.J. Res. 205) expressing the sense of the Congress that UN General Assembly Resolution 3379, which equates Zionism with racism, should be overturned.

5. Voted For Restricting US Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia

On Nov. 18, 1987, the House voted 322 yeas to 93 nays on an amendment by Dante Fascell (D-FL) to the foreign aid authorization bill (H.R. 3100), to place conditions on sales of F-15 fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia and to restrict the sale of Stinger surface-to-air missiles.

6. Voted For Cut in US Foreign Aid

Rep. James Traficant (D-OH) proposed a cut in the foreign aid authorization bill of 20 percent from all Economic Support Fund (ESF) monies. Due to the protected status and large volume of ESF funds earmarked for Israel and Egypt, the top two recipients of US foreign aid, this amendment would have had a devastating effect on US aid to non-Mideast nations. In fact, the disproportionality of US Mideast aid was prominently featured in the debate that preceded the Nov. 18, 1987, vote on the Traficant amendment, which was defeated 366-57.

7. Voted For Foreign Aid Authorization

On Dec. 10, 1987, the House passed the foreign aid authorization bill for fiscal year 1988 (H.R. 3100) by a vote of 286 yeas to 122 nays. The bill, among other provisions, authorized for Israel an annual amount of \$3 billion—\$1.8 billion in military aid and \$1.2 billion in economic aid—for fiscal years 1988 and 1989.

8. Voted For Foreign Aid Appropriations

On May 25, 1988, the House voted 328 yeas to 90 nays in favor of the foreign aid appropriations bill for fiscal year 1989. Of the more than \$14 billion in the bill for US foreign policy objectives worldwide, more than \$3 billion was allotted to Israel.

9. Cosponsored Resolution Opposing Sale of US Arms to Kuwait

On July 12, 1988, Larry Smith (D-FL) introduced a joint resolution to prohibit the administration's proposed sale of a number of military items to Kuwait. Subsequently, 168 other representatives joined Smith in opposing the sale proposal. The administration's proposal consisted of F-18 aircraft, cluster bombs, and four types of missiles—Mavericks, Harpoons, Sparrows, and Sidewinders.

10. Voted For Sanctions Against Iraq

On Sept. 27, 1988, the House voted 388 yeas to 16 nays in favor of imposing sanctions against Iraq for that country's alleged use of chemical weapons against its Kurdish citizens.

Key: Y = Voted yea or cosponsored legislation; N = Voted nay; - = Position not indicated at time of action; B = Vote occurred before representative's term began; X = Vote occurred after representative's term expired; F = Paired for; A = Paired against; * = Not returning to House in 1989.

How Can I Help?

The question above is the one most frequently directed to the publishers of the *Washington Report*. Let us tell you the ways...

If you are a member of a church, civic, ethnic, peace, or other group of 15 or more, how about putting together a group subscription at \$5 per year for each address? Perhaps not all members of the group have the time to read the *Washington Report*. Then just send us the names and addresses of those who do. Pass the hat among the recipients, or pay for the group subscription personally.

If you have the wherewithall, how about giving us the names and addresses of 12 opinion molders (clergy, members of congress or state legislatures, journalists, educators) or libraries or both, and send a check to us for \$60 to cover a one year subscription donated in your name to each of these recipients. The most important readers we have are media personnel and members of Congress and their staffs. The most useful (to us) recipients are public and school libraries, since they introduce us to potential subscribers (and donors of gift subscriptions).

If your library already subscribes, how about donating books from the AET library donation program as described on the last page of the AET book catalog?

That's how you can help, this month.

Pacific Perspectives

Japan Launches Major Study Of Arab Society: Urbanism in Islam

By Alice and Yasumasa Kuroda

Japanese concern with Islam prior to 1945 was motivated more by national interest than scholarly interest. For the same reason, interest in Islam and the Middle East surged tremendously during the first energy crisis in 1973. Following that event, several institutes designed to study the Middle East were established by Japanese government agencies and business organizations.

Last year, however, mobilizing 128 scholars from these institutes and universities throughout Japan, Yuzo Itagaki of the University of Tokyo launched a large-scale cooperative study of the Arabs under the title "Urbanism in Islam." The study is supported with some \$4.4 million from the Ministry of Education's "Scientific Research on Priority Areas" program. Although it is supported by the government of Japan, the cooperative study appears to have no direct linkage to Japanese government policy toward the Middle East. The study treats Islam as a religion developed in an urban setting, thereby linking the study of Arabs to the study of urbanization.

In fact, 60 percent of the scholars in the study are from fields outside of the Middle East. They appear to be motivated by a desire to replace stereotypes of the Arabs with more realistic images, and also to learn from the Arabs about their urbanization process. The study group publishes a newsletter called *Madiniya* (Urbanity in Arabic) edited by Akira Goto of the University of Tokyo.

Challenging Western Assumptions About Urbanism

The study challenges the traditional paradigm of cities based on the Western model. It focuses on Islamic cities and Mesopotamia, the site of the world's first (Sumerian) cities. It represents a departure from viewing urbanization as if it were conterminous with Westernization, and a new paradigm for the study of Arabs by non-Arabs.

The study is divided into four major groups: 1) 13 research teams on different but related subjects, 2) three data collection and retrieval groups, 3) a group that evaluates and assists projects of groups for the two previous categories, and 4) a coordinating body that manages all these groups of scholars. Data entries are in English, Japanese, Arabic, and other languages. Some of the scholars have already traveled to the Middle East to do their field work.

The study does not exclude non-Japanese participation in the project. The group invited Anouar Abdel-Malek from Egypt and Nurcholish Madjid from Indonesia to spend several weeks in Japan. Tsugitaka Sato of the University of Tokyo is preparing for the first international conference on urbanism in Islam to be held in Tokyo on Oct. 23-28, 1989.

Sato, upon his return from field work in Cairo, Tunis, Algiers, Rome, Athens, and Damascus, commented on the inclusive nature of the Islamic world. Unlike residents of Japanese cities, urban dwellers in Islamic cities form extremely heterogeneous societies including Arabs, Turks, Iranians, Kurds, Armenians, Greeks, and others. In spite of diverse ethnicity and religiosity, these cities seem to maintain order and safety. Sato contrasts this inclusive and tolerant nature of Islamic cities to Japanese exclusiveness. Perhaps this is an area in which the Japanese can learn from the Arab history of diversity, creativity, and tolerance. Furthermore, his colleague Itagaki claims that the history of Arabs is the history of coexistence among different religious groups who placed utmost value on safety and fairness to all. Islam, as an integral component of the People of the Book, developed contractual business relations among different religious communities in order to make the region safe and fair to all. Itagaki warns Japanese against viewing the Arabs through the Western perspective and urges that Orientalism free itself of the Occident.

Alice Kuroda is president of Minerva Research Inc. of Honolulu and a former member of the University of Hawaii faculty. Yasumasa Kuroda is a professor of political science at the University of Hawaii and teaches courses on the Middle East and Japan.

State	Dis't. Representative	Voting Record Key									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	9 Brooks (D)	Y	-	Y	Y	-	N	N	N	-	Y
	5 Bryant (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
	23 Bustamante (D)	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	1 Chapman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	16 Coleman (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	19 Combest (R)	N	-	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	-	N
	15 de la Garza (D)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	-	Y
	22 DeLay (R)	N	-	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	-	N
	8 Fields (R)	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	N	-	Y	
	24 Frost (D)	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	20 Gonzalez (D)	N	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	4 Hall (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
	11 Leath (D)	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	-	-
	18 Leland (D)	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	27 Ortiz (D)	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	10 Pickle (D)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	21 Smith (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	F	Y	Y	Y
	17 Stenholm (D)	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	-	Y
	14* Sweeney (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	-	Y	-	Y
	2 Wilson (D)	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	12 Wright (D)	House Speaker doesn't vote.									
Utah	1 Hansen (R)	N	-	Y	-	N	N	N	A	-	Y
	3 Nielson (R)	N	-	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	-	N
	2 Owens (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
Vermont	1* Jeffords (R)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
Virginia	1 Bateman (R)	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	3 Bliley (R)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	9 Boucher (D)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	5 Daniel (D)	N	-	-	Y	N	N	N	X	X	X
	6 Olin (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	-	Y
	8 Parris (R)	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	-	Y
	5 Payne (D)	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	Y
	2 Pickett (D)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	4 Sisisky (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	7 Slaughter (R)	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	-	Y
	10 Wolf (R)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
Washington	3* Bonker (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	-
	8 Chandler (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	6 Dicks (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	5 Foley (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	7 Lowry (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	1 Miller (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	4 Morrison (R)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	2 Swift (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
West Virginia	1 Mollohan (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	-	Y
	4 Rahall (D)	N	-	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	-	Y
	2 Staggers (D)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	-	Y
	3 Wise (D)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
Wisconsin	1 Aspin (D)	-	-	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	3 Gunderson (R)	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	2 Kastenmeier (D)	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	Y
	4 Kleczka (D)	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	5 Moody (D)	Y	Y	-	-	Y	N	-	-	Y	Y
	7 Obey (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y
	6 Petri (R)	N	-	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	-	Y
	8 Roth (R)	N	-	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	-	N
	9 Sensenbrenner (R)	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	-	N
Wyoming	1 Cheney (R)	N	-	Y	Y	-	N	N	Y	-	Y



the
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On Middle East Affairs

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**Radicals Revive
in Iraq and Israel**

**Bush, Baker and the
Rush Toward Armageddon**

**The New Algeria:
Voters Chart Uncertain Course**

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the **WASHINGTON REPORT** *on Middle East Affairs*

JULY/AUGUST 1990

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Front cover: Algerian boy pictured at Friday prayer during mass demonstrations April 20. The demonstrations were organized by the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS) prior to the sweeping Islamic fundamentalist victories in June 12 municipal and departmental elections. SIPA/Facelly Correction: The June 1990 cover photo from Kashmir was miscredited. The photo was taken by Douglas Curran of AFP.

Senate Voting Record for 1989

By Allan C. Kellum

This is the tenth Mideast voting record that I have produced, the second for the *Washington Report*, after doing eight consecutive voting record issues for the *Mideast Observer* before it was incorporated into this publication.

What follows is a brief description of each of three lists of sponsors of legislation, six roll call votes, and two lists of signatories of letters relevant to the Middle East, along with a chart listing the voting records on these 11 issues of every senator in the first session of the 101st Congress. The number of each description below corresponds to the number in the voting record key in the chart on the following page.

1) Sponsors of Bill Requiring State Department Report on PLO

Including Senator Connie Mack III as the primary sponsor, 31 senators signed as sponsors of a bill (S. 763) requiring a State Department report on the extent of compliance by the PLO with its commitments to cease terrorist activities and to recognize Israel's right to exist. During 1989, there was not a separate vote on this bill.

2) Sponsors of Bill Opposing Full UN Membership for PLO

Including Senators Kasten and Leahy as the primary sponsors, 25 senators signed as sponsors of a bill (S. 875) prohibiting US contributions to the United Nations if full membership as a state is granted to any organization (this really means the PLO) that does not have the internationally recognized attributes of statehood. During 1989, this bill did not move forward for a separate floor vote.

3) Sponsors of Helms' Measure Restricting US-PLO Talks

On July 14, 1989, North Carolina Republican Senator Jesse Helms introduced an amendment to restrict US-PLO talks. Eventually, 25 senators, counting Helms, sponsored the amendment to the State Department Authorization Bill. The original Helms wording stated that none of the funds could be used "for the conduct of negotiations with any representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization such as Abu Ayad unless and until the President certifies to Congress that he has determined the representative did not directly participate in, or conspire in, or was an accessory to the planning or execution of a terrorist activity which resulted in the death, injury or kidnapping of an

American citizen." Note that the next two votes are votes on revisions of this amendment. Grassley's slight revision was defeated and Mitchell's more extensive modification passed unanimously except for Helms' dissenting vote.

4) Voted to Kill (Table) Measure Restricting US-PLO Talks

By a vote of 75 yeas to 23 nays, the Senate on July 20, 1989 killed Iowa Republican Senator Grassley's minor rewording of Helms' amendment restricting US-PLO talks (see above). Grassley's rewording was a technical change of a couple of words that did not alter the key section of Helms' amendment (see quoted section above). This vote and the next should be viewed as a pair. Senators voting "yea" were clearing the way for the milder restrictions of the following compromise amendment, but the senators voting "nay" favored the stricter set of provisions of this Grassley-Helms amendment.

5) Voted for Compromise Amendment on US-PLO Talks

By a vote of 97 yeas to 1 nay (Senator Helms being the sole dissenter), the Senate on July 20, 1989 adopted an amendment that modified the Helms amendment to allow the administration to meet with any representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization unless the president "knows and advises Congress" that a given PLO representative has been directly involved in the death, injury or kidnapping of an American citizen. The compromise amendment was introduced by Senate Majority Leader Mitchell, a Democrat from Maine, after lengthy negotiation between the Senate leadership and the White House.

6) Voted for Passage of the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill

On September 26, 1989, by a vote of 89 yeas to 11 nays, the Senate approved passage of the foreign aid bill providing appropriation of funds totaling about \$14 billion for fiscal year 1990. Of the total, Israel was to receive about \$3 billion, the largest amount of any country, and Egypt the second most.

7) Voted to Oppose the UN as Site for Mideast Peace Talks

On July 20, 1989, by a vote of 90 yeas to 8 nays, the Senate adopted California Senator Wilson's amendment to the bill author-

Editor's Note: Tales the 1989 Records Tell

Readers searching for a "litmus test" to identify the most enthusiastic followers during 1989 of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) agenda might find it in yes votes in columns 1,2,3,7,10 and 11. A yes vote on 6 (foreign aid) would be expected in order to receive an AIPAC endorsement, but some senators support foreign aid for other reasons. Motives for votes on 4,5,8 and 9 are, as Allen Kellum's text indicates, mixed. These "irrelevant" columns, along with column 6, are therefore shaded in the tables.

Among senators up for re-election this year, Carl Levin (D-MI) has collected the most money (\$147,300) from pro-Israel PACs and has 4 yesses in the six un-shaded columns. Runners-up are Paul Simon (D-IL) with \$132,651 and 3 yesses; Tom Harkin (D-IA) with \$125,550 and 3 yesses; Howell Heflin (D-AL) with \$84,850 and three yesses; and Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN) with \$77,650 and 5 yesses on the 1,2,3,7,10,11 test.

The senators with a perfect record of six yesses on the 1989 PLO-bashing measures (1,2,3,11) and measures supporting Israeli Likud attempts to defer meaningful peace negotiations (7 and 10) include DeConcini (D-AZ), Coats (R-IN), Grassley (R-IA), Lautenberg (D-NJ), D'Amato (R-NY), Pressler (R-SD), Gramm (D-TX), and Kasten (R-WI).

By contrast, Senators Hatfield (R-OR) and Byrd (D-WV) had no yesses on the "litmus" issues. Senators Bumpers (D-AR), Dodd (D-CT), Kennedy (D-MA) and Pell (D-RI) had only one yes each. Majority leader George Mitchell of Maine had two yesses and Minority leader Robert Dole of Kansas had three yesses.

A complete House of Representatives voting record for 1989 is scheduled for a subsequent issue of the *Washington Report*.

izing funds for the State Department. The amendment opposes United Nations sponsorship of a Middle East peace conference due to the UN "Zionism Equals Racism" resolution of Nov. 10, 1975. According to Wilson's amendment, that 1975 UN resolution "makes the United Nations or any of its constituent bodies an inappropriate forum for the sponsorship of any international conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Continued on page 64

Senate Voting Record for 1989

State	Senator	Voting Record Key										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Alabama	Heflin, Howell (D)	—	—	—	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Shelby, Richard C. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Alaska	Murkowski, Frank (R)	—	—	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Stevens, Ted (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Arizona	DeConcini, Dennis (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	McCain, John (R)	Y	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Arkansas	Bumpers, Dale (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	—	Y	—
	Pryor, David (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
California	Cranston, Alan (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—
	Wilson, Pete (R)	Y	—	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Colorado	Armstrong, William (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	N	—	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Wirth, Timothy (D)	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—
Connecticut	Dodd, Christopher (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	—
	Lieberman, Joseph I. (D)	Y	—	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Delaware	Biden, Joseph R. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Roth, William V., Jr. (R)	—	Y	—	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Florida	Mack, Connie (R)	Y	—	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Graham, Bob (D)	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Georgia	Nunn, Sam (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—
	Fowler, Wyche, Jr. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—
Hawaii	Inouye, Daniel K. (D)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	Y
	Matsunaga, Spark M. (D) □	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	Y	—	Y	—
Idaho	McClure, James A. (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	—
	Symms, Steve (R)	—	—	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Illinois	Dixon, Alan J. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Simon, Paul (D)	—	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	—
Indiana	Lugar, Richard G. (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—
	Coats, Dan (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Iowa	Grassley, Charles E. (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Harkin, Tom (D)	—	—	—	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kansas	Dole, Robert (R)	Y	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—
	Kassebaum, Nancy (R)	—	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—
Kentucky	Ford, Wendell H. (D)	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	McConnell, Mitch (R)	—	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Louisiana	Johnston, J. Bennett (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Breaux, John B. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Maine	Mitchell, George J. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—
	Cohen, William S. (R)	Y	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Maryland	Sarbanes, Paul S. (D)	—	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Mikulski, Barbara A. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
Massachusetts	Kennedy, Edward M. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	—
	Kerry, John F. (D)	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Michigan	Levin, Carl (D)	Y	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Riegle, Donald W., Jr. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	Y
Minnesota	Boschwitz, Rudy (R)	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Durenberger, Dave (R)	Y	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mississippi	Lott, Trent (R)	Y	—	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Cochran, Thad (R)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Missouri	Danforth, John C. (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—
	Bond, Christopher (R)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Montana	Baucus, Max (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Burns, Conrad (R)	—	—	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nebraska	Exon, J. James (D)	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Kerrey, J. Robert (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—

State	Senator	Voting Record Key											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Nevada	Bryan, Richard H. (D)	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Reid, Harry (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
New Hampshire	Humphrey, Gordon J. (R)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Rudman, Warren B. (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
New Jersey	Bradley, Bill (D)	—	—	—	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Lautenberg, Frank R. (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
New Mexico	Bingaman, Jeff (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	Domenici, Pete (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
New York	Moynihan, Daniel P. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	D'Amato, Alfonse M. (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
North Carolina	Helms, Jesse (R)	Y	—	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Sanford, Terry (D)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—
North Dakota	Burdick, Quentin N. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Conrad, Kent (D)	Y	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ohio	Glenn, John (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—
	Metzenbaum, Howard (D)	Y	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Oklahoma	Boren, David L. (D)	Y	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Nickles, Don (R)	—	—	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Oregon	Hatfield, Mark O. (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—
	Packwood, Bob (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pennsylvania	Heinz, John (R)	—	—	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Specter, Arlen (R)	—	Y	—	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rhode Island	Pell, Claiborne (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	—	—
	Chafee, John H. (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
South Carolina	Hollings, Ernest F. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	Thurmond, Strom (R)	Y	—	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—
South Dakota	Pressler, Larry (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Daschle, Thomas A. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tennessee	Sasser, Jim (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Gore, Albert, Jr. (D)	Y	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Texas	Bentsen, Lloyd (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Gramm, Phil (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Utah	Garn, Jake (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—
	Hatch, Orrin G. (R)	—	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vermont	Leahy, Patrick J. (D)	—	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	—	—
	Jeffords, James M. (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—
Virginia	Robb, Charles S. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Warner, John (R)	Y	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Washington	Gorton, Slade (R)	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Adams, Brock (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—
West Virginia	Byrd, Robert C. (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	—	—	—
	Rockefeller, John (D)	—	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wisconsin	Kohl, Herb (D)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Kasten, Robert W., Jr. (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wyoming	Simpson, Alan K. (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—
	Wallop, Malcolm (R)	—	—	—	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—

KEY: "Y" =voted yea or signed letter or sponsored bill; "N" =voted nay; "—" =position not indicated at time of action; "□" = deceased.

New Additions to the AET Book Club!

Sitt Marie Rose, by Etel Adnan. Post-Apollo Press, 1978. 105 pp. List: \$7.95; AET: \$5.95 for one, \$7.95 for two.

A classic of war literature, this novel depicts the abduction and execution of a woman during the Lebanese civil war.

A Woman of Nazareth, by Hala Deeb Jabbour. Olive Branch Press, 1989. 272 pp. List: \$9.95; AET: \$7.95 for one, \$9.95 for two.

This classic tale of love and tragedy in Beirut depicts the struggle of Palestinian women who dare to confront their traditional role.

A Taste Of Lebanon: Cooking Today the Lebanese Way, by Mary Salloum. Interlink, 1988. 182 pp. List: \$17.95; AET: \$12.95 for one, \$17.95 for two.

A beautifully illustrated cookbook with more than 200 recipes by a restaurant owner.

Wild Thorns, by Sahar Khalifeh. Olive Branch Press, 1989. 207 pp. List: \$9.95; AET: \$7.95 for one, \$9.95 for two.

A young Palestinian on a mission to the occupied territories is shocked to discover that his peers have adjusted to life under military rule.

the

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WASHINGTON REPORT

On Middle East Affairs



**A Million Foreign Refugees
Flee the Gulf in One Month**

**Impact of the Gulf Crisis on: Kuwaitis ■ Saudi Arabia
Israel ■ Jordan ■ Palestinians ■ the West**

House Middle East Voting Record

Democracy and Pakistan

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the **WASHINGTON REPORT** *on Middle East Affairs*

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Front cover: Children on their way home to Egypt from Kuwait arrive at Ruwashed in Jordan.

SIPA/Jana Schneider

House Voting Record for 1989

By Allan C. Kellum

This is the Mideast voting record of all the members of the US House of Representatives for 1989. The Senate votes were covered in the July/August 1990 issue of the *Washington Report*. What follows is a brief description of each of six votes, four lists of sponsors of legislation, and three letters relevant to the Middle East, along with a chart listing the voting records on these 13 issues of every US representative in the first session of the 101st Congress. The number of each description below corresponds to the number in the following record chart.

- 1. Voted for State Department Funding Bill.** By a vote of 338 yeas to 87 nays, the House on April 12, 1989, voted for final passage of the State Department funding bill which contained a number of Mideast-related provisions, including: a requirement for twice-yearly reports to Congress on statements and activities of the PLO; earmarking of \$25 million annually in refugee assistance for Israeli settlers; and building a radio transmission facility in Israel aimed at the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.
- 2. Voted to Stop Funding UN if Full Membership Granted to PLO.** By a vote of 396 yeas to 6 nays, with 11 representatives avoiding the issue by voting "Present," the House agreed on May 16, 1989 to a bill prohibiting US contributions to the UN or any of its affiliated organizations if full membership as a state is granted to "any organization or group that does not have the internationally recognized attributes of statehood." Although this bill did not refer to the PLO by name, the PLO was its target.
- 3. Voted for Fascell's Amendment and Against 5 Percent Foreign Aid Cut.** On June 29, 1989, by a vote of 406 yeas to 12 nays, with 14 not voting, the House adopted an amendment by Congressman Fascell which substituted for and effectively killed Congressman Traficant's amendment to cut foreign aid for all nations, including Israel, by 5 percent.
- 4. Voted for the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill.** On June 29, 1989, by a vote of 314 yeas to 101 nays, with 17 not voting, the House passed the foreign aid authorization bill with its considerable Middle East content, including \$3 billion for Israel.
- 5. Voted for the Foreign Aid Funding Bill.** On July 21, 1989, by a vote of 329 yeas to 69 nays, with 33 not voting, the House

agreed to the passage of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill that provided final House approval of the foreign aid funds worldwide, including \$3 billion for Israel.

6. Voted for Statement about Lebanese Peace. On Sept. 19, 1989, by a unanimous vote of 413 yeas, with 17 not voting, the House adopted a resolution to express the sense of the House concerning the situation in Lebanon. Specifically, the bill (H. Res. 128) expressed the view that "the Government of Syria should be condemned for the violence it has perpetrated against the Lebanese state and people" and that Syria should withdraw from Lebanon.

7. Sponsored Bill Urging Vatican to Recognize Israel. Forty representatives signed as sponsors of a bill (H. Con. Res. 108) expressing the sense of the Congress that the Vatican should recognize and establish diplomatic relations with Israel. Congressman Feighan introduced the bill on May 4, 1989.

8. Sponsored Bill Urging Israel to Reopen West Bank Schools. Twenty-nine representatives signed as sponsors of H. Con. Res. 124, a bill expressing the sense of Congress that "Israel should take immediate steps to reopen schools in the West Bank." Congressman Nielson of Utah introduced the bill on May 16, 1989.

9. Sponsored Bill Restricting US-PLO Talks. On July 25, 1989, Congressman Feighan introduced a bill (H.R. 3005) to prohibit negotiations with any representative of the PLO who has directly participated in an act of terrorism against a US citizen. Including Congressman Feighan, 44 representatives signed as sponsors of the bill in 1989.

10. Sponsored Bill to Bring Sheikh Obeid to US for Trial. On Aug. 2, 1989, Congressman Ackerman introduced a bill (H. Con. Res. 183) calling for the extradition of Lebanese Sheikh Abdul Obeid from Israel to stand trial in the US for the kidnapping and murder of US Marine Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins. Israel had earlier seized Sheikh Obeid in a raid in Lebanon. Including Congressman Ackerman, 41 representatives signed as sponsors of the bill.

Allan C. Kellum, founder and for eight years editor of the Middle East Observer, consults and writes on federal and international development issues in the national capital area.

Editor's Note: A Scorecard for 1989 House Players

Readers seeking to assess the effects of Israel's lobby on the votes of individual members of the House of Representatives in 1989 will be looking in the following tables for the kind of yes or no votes that reveal positions clearly. Congressmembers, however, avoid just such choices on controversial issues insofar as possible. Foreign aid is not widely popular and, in addition, in 1989 Israel was losing public opinion support. On the other hand, Congressmembers know that the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) still uses political action committees to reward Housemembers who vote AIPAC's way (for foreign aid to Israel and against any kinds of ties with Arab countries) and to fund challengers to members who don't.

As a result, many of the issues of interest to the pro-Israel community are framed in such a way that representatives might have other reasons for supporting them than just adherence to AIPAC recommendations. The most accurate "litmus" test of 1989 votes by House members, therefore, is to skip past an issue-by-issue analysis and examine the member's aggregate record on 10 Middle East-related issues.

From the viewpoint of a supporter of the current Likudist government of Israel, a "perfect" pro-Israel record would be a yes vote on all of these 10 issues except number 8, the bill sponsored by Representative Howard Nielson (R-UT) urging Israel to reopen West Bank schools. To rate your representative, total all of the yes votes except on number 8. If there is a "no" vote in column 8, add that to your total. The higher the final number, the higher the representative will rate with the Israel lobby.

For example, Maryland Representative Ben Cardin, who voted with the pro-Israel lobby six times and sponsored three pro-Israel-lobby-endorsed bills, would get a 9. But because he did not sponsor the Neilson amendment, his score is upped to a perfect 10.

The correlation between a high score on this voting scale and a high donation total from pro-Israel political action committees is found on page 31.

State	Dist.	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Alabama	1	Callahan	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Dickinson	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	3	Browder	D	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Bevill	D	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Flippo	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Erdreich	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	Harris	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Alaska	1	Young	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Arizona	1	Rhodes	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Udall	D	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Stump	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Kyl	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Kolbe	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Arkansas	1	Alexander	D	Y	P	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Robinson	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	—
	3	Hammerschmidt	R	F	—	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Anthony	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
California	1	Bosco	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Herger	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Matsui	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Fazio	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
	5	Pelosi	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y
	6	Boxer	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	7	Miller	D	Y	P	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Dellums	D	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	9	Stark	D	Y	P	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	Edwards	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	11	Lantos	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	—	Y	Y
	12	Campbell	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	13	Mineta	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	14	Shumway	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	15	Coelho	D	Y	Y	O	O	O	O	—	—	O	O
	16	Panetta	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	17	Pashayan	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	18	Lehman	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	19	Lagomarsino	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y
	20	Thomas	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	21	Gallegly	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	22	Moorhead	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	23	Beilenson	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	24	Waxman	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
	25	Roybal	D	Y	—	Y	—	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	26	Berman	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
	27	Levine	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
	28	Dixon	D	Y	—	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	29	Hawkins	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	30	Martinez	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	31	Dymally	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	32	Anderson	D	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	33	Dreier	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—

KEY: Y=Voted yea or signed letter or sponsored bill; N=Voted nay; —=Position not indicated at time of action; F=Paired for; A=Paired against; P=Avoided vote by voting "Present"; O=Not in Congress at time of Action; S=Speaker of House at time, and Speaker usually does not vote.

Transitions during 1989: AL (3): Browder was sworn in April 18 following the death of Nichols on Dec. 13, 1988; CA (15): Condit was sworn in Sept. 20, following the resignation of Coelho on June 15; FL (18): Ros-Lehtinen was sworn in Sept. 6, following the death of Pepper on May 30; MS (5): Taylor was sworn in Oct. 24, following the death of Smith on Aug. 13; TX (12): Geren was sworn in Sept. 20, following the resignation of Wright on June 30; WA (5): Foley replaced Wright as Speaker of the House on June 6; WY (1): Thomas was sworn in on May 2, following the resignation of Cheney, who became Secretary of Defense on March 17.

State	Dist.	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Colorado	34	Torres	D	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y
	35	Lewis	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	36	Brown	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	37	McCandless	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	38	Dornan	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y
	39	Dannemeyer	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	—	Y	—	Y
	40	Cox	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	41	Lowery	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	—
	42	Rohrabacher	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	43	Packard	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	44	Bates	D	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	45	Hunter	R	—	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	1	Schroeder	D	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Skaggs	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	Connecticut	3	Campbell	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
4		Brown	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
5		Hefley	R	N	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
6		Schaefer	R	N	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	Y	—
1		Kennelly	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
2		Gejdenson	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Delaware	3	Morrison	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y
	4	Shays	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Rowland	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Johnson	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	1	Carper	D	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	Florida	1	Hutto	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
2		Grant	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
3		Bennett	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
4		James	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
5		McCollum	R	N	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
6		Stearns	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
7		Gibbons	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	—	—	—	—
8		Young	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
9		Bilirakis	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
10		Ireland	R	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
11		Nelson	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
12		Lewis	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
13		Goss	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
14		Johnston	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
15		Shaw	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
16		Smith	D	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
17		Lehman	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
18		Pepper	D	—	—	O	O	O	O	—	—	O	O
18		Ros-Lehtinen	R	O	O	O	O	O	O	Y	O	O	O
19	Fascell	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
Georgia	1	Thomas	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Hatcher	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Ray	D	Y	Y	—	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Jones	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Lewis	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Gingrich	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	Darden	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Rowland	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	Jenkins	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	Barnard	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—

State	Dist.	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hawaii	1	Saiki	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Akaka	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Idaho	1	Craig	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	Y
	2	Stallings	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Illinois	1	Hayes	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	2	Savage	D	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	3	Russo	D	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Sangmeister	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Lipinski	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Hyde	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	Collins	D	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Rostenkowski	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	Yates	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	Porter	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	11	Annunzio	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	12	Crane	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	13	Fawell	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	14	Hastert	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	15	Madigan	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	16	Martin	R	N	—	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	17	Evans	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	18	Michel	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	19	Bruce	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	20	Durbin	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	21	Costello	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	22	Poshard	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Indiana	1	Visclosky	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Sharp	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Hiler	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Long	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Jontz	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	6	Burton	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y
	7	Myers	R	Y	Y	Y	N	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	McCloskey	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	Hamilton	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	Jacobs	D	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	—	Y	—	—
Iowa	1	Leach	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Tauke	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Nagle	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Smith	D	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Lightfoot	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Grandy	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y
Kansas	1	Roberts	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Slattery	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Meyers	R	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Glickman	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Whittaker	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
Kentucky	1	Hubbard	D	N	—	Y	N	N	Y	—	Y	—	—
	2	Natcher	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Mazzoli	D	Y	N	Y	N	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Bunning	R	N	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Rogers	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Hopkins	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	Perkins	D	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	1	Livingston	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Boggs	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—

State	Dist.	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Maine	3	Tauzin	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	McCrery	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Huckaby	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Baker	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	Hayes	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Holloway	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	1	Brennan	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Snowe	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Maryland	1	Dyson	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y
	2	Bentley	R	N	Y	—	—	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Cardin	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	Y
	4	McMillen	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Hoyer	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Byron	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	Mfume	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Morella	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts	1	Conte	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Neal	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Early	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Frank	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
	5	Atkins	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
	6	Mavroules	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	Markey	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y
	8	Kennedy	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	Moakley	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	Studds	D	Y	P	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
Michigan	11	Donnelly	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	1	Conyers	D	Y	—	Y	N	—	Y	—	Y	—	—
	2	Pursell	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Wolpe	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—
	4	Upton	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Henry	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Carr	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	7	Kildee	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Traxler	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	Vander Jagt	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	Schuette	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	11	Davis	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	12	Bonior	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—
	13	Crockett	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	14	Hertel	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	15	Ford	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	16	Dingell	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
17	Levin	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	
18	Broomfield	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—	
Minnesota	1	Penny	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Weber	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	3	Frenzel	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Vento	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Sabo	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Sikorski	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
	7	Stangeland	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Oberstar	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	1	Whitten	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Espy	D	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Montgomery	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	Y

State	Dist.	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Missouri	4	Parker	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	
	5	Smith	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	O	—	—	—	—	
	1	Clay	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
	2	Buechner	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—	
	3	Gephardt	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
	4	Skelton	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	
	5	Wheat	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	
	6	Coleman	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
Montana	7	Hancock	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—	
	8	Emerson	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
	9	Volkmer	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
	1	Williams	D	Y	Y	Y	—	N	Y	—	—	—	—	
Nebraska	2	Marlenee	R	N	Y	Y	—	N	Y	—	—	—	—	
	1	Bereuter	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
Nevada	2	Hoagland	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
	3	Smith	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—	
New Hampshire	1	Bilbray	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—	
	2	Vucanovich	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
New Jersey	1	Smith	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—	
	2	Douglas	R	N	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	Y	Y	
	1	Florio	D	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	2	Hughes	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
	3	Pallone	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—	
	4	Smith	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—	
	5	Roukema	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
	6	Dwyer	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—	
	7	Rinaldo	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
	8	Roe	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	—	
New Mexico	9	Torricelli	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	
	10	Payne	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—	
	11	Gallo	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	
	12	Courter	R	Y	—	—	—	—	—	Y	—	Y	—	
	13	Saxton	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	
	14	Guarini	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	Y	
	1	Schiff	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
	2	Skeen	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
	3	Richardson	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	
	New York	1	Hochbrueckner	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
		2	Downey	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y
		3	Mrazek	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	Y	—
		4	Lent	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	Y
		5	McGrath	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y
6		Flake	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	
7		Ackerman	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	
8		Scheuer	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	
9		Manton	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	
10		Schumer	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—	
11		Towns	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	
12		Owens	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	
13		Solarz	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	
14		Molinari	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	
15		Green	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	Y	
16		Rangel	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
17		Weiss	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	
18		Garcia	D	Y	—	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—	
19		Engel	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	Y	

State	Dist.	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	20	Lowey	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	21	Fish	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	22	Gilman	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	Y
	23	McNulty	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	Y
	24	Solomon	R	A	Y	N	N	N	Y	—	Y	—	Y
	25	Boehlert	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	26	Martin	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	27	Walsh	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	28	McHugh	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	29	Horton	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	30	Slaughter	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	31	Paxon	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	32	LaFalce	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	33	Nowak	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	34	Houghton	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
North Carolina	1	Jones	D	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Valentine	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Lancaster	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Price	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Neal	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Coble	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	7	Rose	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Hefner	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	McMillan	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	Ballenger	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	11	Clarke	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
North Dakota	1	Dorgan	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Ohio	1	Luken	D	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Gradison	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Hall	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Oxley	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Gillmor	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	McEwen	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	DeWine	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Lukens	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	Kaptur	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	Miller	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	11	Eckart	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	12	Kasich	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	13	Pease	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	14	Sawyer	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	15	Wylie	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	—
	16	Regula	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	17	Traficant	D	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	18	Applegate	D	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	—	Y	—	—
	19	Feighan	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
	20	Oakar	D	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	21	Stokes	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Oklahoma	1	Inhofe	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Synar	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Watkins	D	N	—	Y	N	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	McCurdy	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Edwards	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	English	D	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—

State	Dist.	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Oregon	1	AuCoin	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Smith, R.	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Wyden	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	4	DeFazio	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	5	Smith, D.	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	1	Foglietta	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	2	Gray	D	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Borski	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	4	Kolter	D	Y	P	Y	N	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	5	Schulze	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Yatron	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	Weldon	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	—
	8	Kostmayer	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	9	Shuster	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	McDade	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	11	Kanjorski	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	12	Murtha	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	13	Coughlin	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	14	Coyne	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	15	Ritter	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	16	Walker	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	Y
	17	Gekas	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	18	Walgren	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	19	Goodling	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	20	Gaydos	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	21	Ridge	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	22	Murphy	D	N	P	N	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
23	Clinger	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	
Rhode Island	1	Machtley	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—
	2	Schneider	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
South Carolina	1	Ravenal	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	Y	—
	2	Spence	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Derrick	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Patterson	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Spratt	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	6	Tallon	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
South Dakota	1	Johnson	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	1	Quillen	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Duncan	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Lloyd	D	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Cooper	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Clement	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Gordon	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	Sundquist	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Tanner	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	Ford	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Texas	1	Chapman	D	Y	Y	—	—	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Wilson	D	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	3	Bartlett	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Hall	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	—	—	—	—	—
	5	Bryant	D	Y	Y	—	—	Y	—	—	—	—	—
	6	Barton	R	N	Y	Y	N	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	Archer	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Fields	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	Brooks	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	Pickle	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—

State	Dist.	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	11	Leath	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	Y
	12	Wright	D	S	S	—	—	O	O	S	S	O	O
	13	Sarpalius	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	14	Laughlin	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	15	de la Garza	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	16	Coleman	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	17	Stenholm	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	18	Leland	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O	—	Y	—	—
	19	Combest	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	20	Gonzalez	D	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	21	Smith	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—	—	—
	22	DeLay	R	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	23	Bustamante	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—
	24	Frost	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	25	Andrews	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	26	Arney	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	27	Ortiz	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Utah	1	Hansen	R	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	Y	—	—
	2	Owens	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—
	3	Nielson	R	N	P	Y	N	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
Vermont	1	Smith	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia	1	Bateman	R	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Pickett	D	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Bliley	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Sisisky	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Payne	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Olin	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	—
	7	Slaughter	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Parris	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	Boucher	D	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	10	Wolf	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
Washington	1	Miller	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y
	2	Swift	D	Y	Y	—	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Unsoeld	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Morrison	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	Y	—	—
	5	Foley	D	Y	Y	S	S	S	S	—	—	S	S
	6	Dicks	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	7	McDermott	D	Y	—	—	—	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Chandler	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
West Virginia	1	Mollohan	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Staggers	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	Y
	3	Wise	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—	—
	4	Rahall	D	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	—	Y	—	—
Wisconsin	1	Aspin	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	2	Kastenmeier	D	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	3	Gunderson	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	4	Kleczka	D	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	5	Moody	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	6	Petri	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	Y	—	—
	7	Obey	D	Y	Y	—	N	Y	Y	—	—	—	—
	8	Roth	R	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
	9	Sensenbrenner	R	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	—	—	—	—
Wyoming	1	Cheney	R	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
	1	Thomas	R	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	—	—	—	—

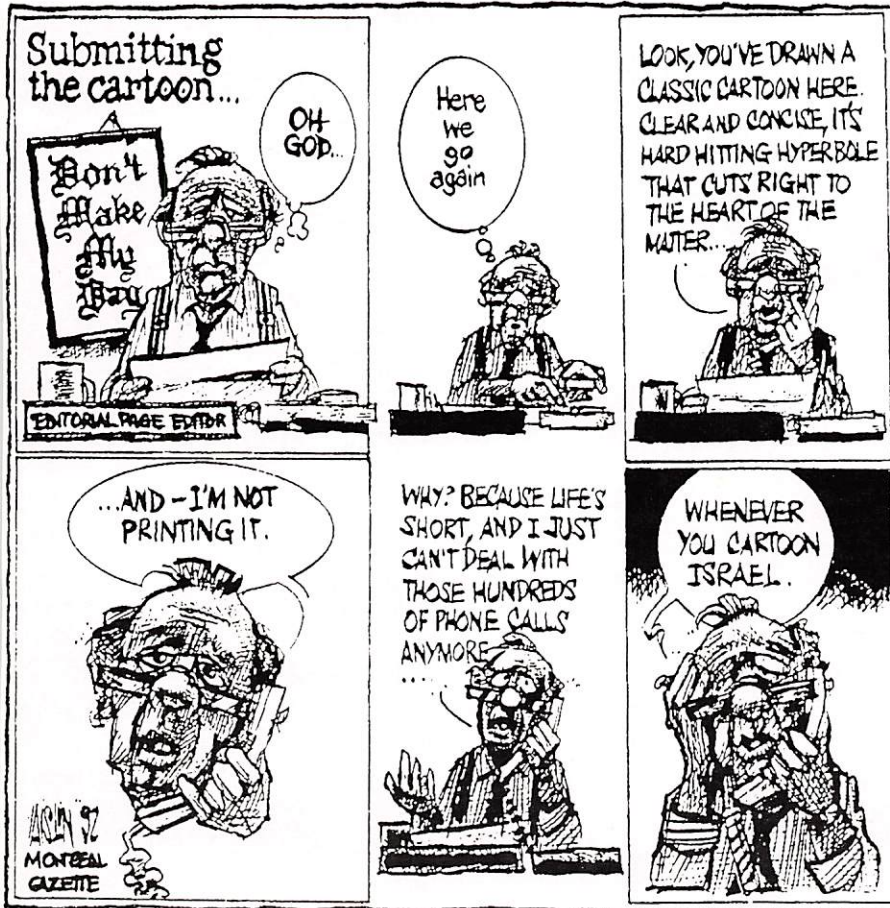
the WASHINGTON REPORT

On Middle East Affairs

April/May 1992

Interpreting the Middle East for North Americans □ Interpreting North America for the Middle East

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Front Cover: A dispute over the demand by predominantly Armenian Nagorno Karabakh to withdraw from Azerbaijan and join Armenia has set off a cycle of indiscriminate shelling and massacre in which more than 2,000 Muslim Azeris and Christian Armenians have been killed. Pictured is a survivor of one of the attacks. Jon Jones/Syigma

House Voting Record for 1990-91

By Allan C. Kellum

This voting record includes some of the key Mideast-related decisions—votes, resolutions and letters—made by all current U.S. representatives over the past two years.

What follows is a brief description of each House decision, along with a chart listing the voting records of each member on these 14 issues. The number of each description below corresponds to the number in the voting record key in the chart on the following page.

1. Vote to Cut Foreign Aid, Including \$400 Million in Israeli Housing Guarantees

On April 3, 1990, this vote failed by a vote of 38 yeas to 379 nays. This vote on an amendment by Rep. Rahall (D-WV) was to cut all foreign aid portions of the FY 1990 Supplemental Appropriations/Foreign Aid Bill (H.R. 4404). That portion of the bill included \$400 million in housing loan guarantees for Israel. Later, the House rejected two Rep. Traficant (D-OH) amendments—one for a 5 percent reduction (64-354) and one a 3 percent cut-back (72-346). A Rep. Savage (D-IL) amendment to cut resettlement funds for refugees to Israel lost (2-418).

2. Vote for Passage of Aid Including \$400 Million in Israeli Loan Guarantees

This vote was for passage of the FY 1990 Supplemental Appropriations/Foreign Aid Bill (H.R. 4404) which included \$400 million in Israeli housing loan guarantees. On April 3, 1990, this measure passed by a vote of 362 yeas to 59 nays.

3. Vote Declaring Sense That Jerusalem Is Israel's Undivided Capital

This vote was for passage of a sense of Congress resolution (H. Con. Res. 290) which declared that Jerusalem is and should remain Israel's undivided capital and that all people and religions should have free and open access to it. On April 24, 1990, this measure passed by a vote of 378 yeas to 34 nays.

4. Vote Opposing Linkage of Iraqi and Israeli Occupations

This vote was for adoption of a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 382) expressing the sense of Congress that resolution of the crisis created by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait should not be linked with other Mideast conflicts (that is, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict). On Oct. 23, 1990, this measure passed by a vote of 406 yeas to 5 nays, with 1 present.

5. Vote Giving View that Congress Must Consent Before U.S. Offensive

This was the first vote of three that culminated in the authorization of the use of U.S. military force against Iraq. This vote was for the adoption of a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 32) stating the sense of Congress that, according to the U.S. Constitution, the president must gain approval of Congress before initiating offensive military action against Iraq. On Jan. 12, 1991, this measure passed by a vote of 302 yeas to 131 nays.

6. Vote Expressing View that International Sanctions Are Best Used in Iraq

This vote was on a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 33) which advocated international sanctions and diplomatic pressure as the best means of pressuring Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. It also states that the president must gain the approval of Congress before launching offensive military action. On Jan. 12, 1991, this measure failed by a vote of 183 yeas to 250 nays.

7. Vote Authorizing Use of U.S. Force Against Iraq

This was for passage of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 77) that authorized the use of U.S. military force against Iraq in order to force its withdrawal from Kuwait. On Jan. 12, 1991, this measure passed by a vote of 250 yeas to 183 nays.

8. Resolution for U.S. to Pressure Arab Recognition of Israel

This concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 88) was not brought to a vote. The resolution states that the U.S. should use all means to urge Arab countries to recognize Israel, to end the economic boycott of Israel, and to end the state of belligerency with Israel. Congresswomen Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) and Lowey (D-NY) were the prime sponsors of this resolution. On March 5, 1991, this resolution was introduced and garnered at least 117 sponsors and co-sponsors.

9. Vote to Eliminate \$650 Million in Israeli Aid to Offset Gulf War Cost

This amendment to the FY 1991 Supplemental Appropriations for Israeli Aid (H.R. 1281) was sponsored by Congressman Valentine of North Carolina. It was to eliminate the \$650 million in aid that was earmarked for Israel. These funds were to offset costs to Israel that were associated with the war to force Iraq out of Kuwait. On March 7, 1991, this measure failed by a vote of 24 yeas to 397 nays.

10. Letter to Pres. Bush Urging Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to Recognize Israel

This letter to President George Bush asked the president to put official recognition of Israel by the member nations of the Arab League at the very top of his Middle East peace agenda. The letter, initiated by New York Congressman Schumer and Minnesota Congressman Weber, referred to the Arab states' continued official state of war with Israel as the "major stumbling block preventing true peace." This letter, dated March 13, 1991, was signed by 243 representatives.

11. Vote for Passage of FY 1992 Foreign Operations Appropriations

This vote was for final passage of the FY 1992 Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill (H.R. 2621) which provided more than \$15 billion in foreign economic and military aid. Since Israel is the largest and Egypt the second largest recipient of foreign aid funds, this is a "Mideast vote," although those who supported it may have done so for a variety of reasons. On June 19, 1991, this bill passed by a vote of 301 yeas to 102 nays.

12. Vote to Link Aid to Israel With Israeli Settlement Freeze

This is an amendment by Rep. Bryant of Texas to block \$82.5 million in funds for Israel in the FY 1992-93 Foreign Aid Authorization Bill (H.R. 2508) unless the president certifies that Israel is no longer funding new and expanded settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. On June 19, 1991, this measure failed by a vote of 44 yeas to 378 nays.

13. Vote to Prohibit Aid to Jordan Unless Jordan Meets Several Conditions

This vote was the final vote in a series of four on amendments to place conditions on U.S. aid to Jordan in the FY 1992-93 Foreign Aid Authorization Bill (H.R. 2508). This amendment by Indiana Congressman Burton prohibits aid to Jordan unless the president certifies that Jordanian aid is in the national interest unless Jordan recognizes Israel's right to exist, and unless Jordan joins in negotiations with Israel. On June 19, 1991, this measure passed by a vote of 410 yeas to 4 nays.

14. Vote Commending the Middle East Peace Conference Participants

This vote passed unanimously. It is a vote on a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 226) presented by Congressman Owens of Utah to commend all of the Middle East peace conference participants. On Nov. 21, 1991, this resolution passed unanimously, 426 yeas with no nays.

Allan C. Kellum, founder and for eight years editor of the Mideast Observer, which is now incorporated into this publication, consults and writes on federal and international development issues in the national capital area.

Editor's Note: Tales the 1990-1991 House Voting Records Tell

The 1990 and 1991 House voting records compiled by Allan C. Kellum and presented on these pages provide more than enough material for a "litmus test" to identify the most enthusiastic House followers of recommendations by Israel's Washington lobby, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC).

Of the 14 Mideast-related House votes, resolutions and letters recorded here, 8 deal directly and largely with AIPAC concerns. Members would have cast their votes or made their decisions to sign largely based upon the action's effect on Israel. Six others were irrelevant, ambiguous, or members would have had a variety of reasons for taking their positions. Some were not related to U.S.-Israeli relations, including those dealing with the use of force against Iraq (5, 6 and 7), the vote to pass the 1992 foreign operations appropriations (11), the vote concerning aid to Jordan (13) and the vote commending all participants in the Middle East peace conference (14). The white columns record these six irrelevant actions.

Of the relevant actions, those where AIPAC would have recommended "no" votes if asked (1, 9 and 12) are recorded in grey and those where AIPAC would have recommended "yes" votes or actions (2, 3, 4, 8 and 10) if asked are recorded in blue.

The editors have totaled the number of pro-AIPAC votes on the relevant issues and provided a hypothetical pro-AIPAC rating in the final column. A perfect pro-AIPAC rating would be an 8. Scores of 5 and above would ensure that AIPAC would not direct pro-Israel PACs to fund a rival. By contrast, scores of 1, as compiled by Representatives Stump (R-AZ), Miller (R-OH), Bryant (D-TX) and Petri (R-WI), or 2, as compiled by Representatives Dickenson (D-AL), Savage (D-IL), Pease (D-OH), Traficant (D-OH), Oakar (D-OH) and Rahall (D-WV) ensure problems from pro-Israel PACs supporting rivals for those representatives.

Where the rating is skewed by the representative's not having been in Congress at the time of some of the votes, an asterisk (*) beside the numerical rating indicates that it is meaningless. In such cases, readers should judge the representative's record by examining the individual actions recorded.

The extent of pro-AIPAC voting is not a partisan affair. Of the 156 House members with a pro-AIPAC rating of 7 or 8, 99 are Democrats and 57 are Republicans. Sixty-two of them are from only three states: California (29), Florida (11) and New York (22). Of the 10 members (listed above) who have gone with AIPAC least, 7 are Democrats and 3 are Republicans. Although they represent 7 different states, four of them are from Ohio.

A complete Senate voting record for 1990 and 1991, with similar numerical ratings, was presented in the March issue of the *Washington Report*. New subscribers may obtain it by requesting that their subscriptions be made retroactive to March. For subscribers only, a separate set of the Senate charts may be obtained by sending a stamped (for 52 cents) self-addressed 8-1/2 by 10-inch envelope (the size of this page) to the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. Separate sets of these House records also are available, on the same terms, for subscribers.

Totals of pro-Israel PAC contributions to all candidates for Congress in the 1992 election cycle to date (along with incumbents' career totals) will be published in the June 1992 issue. It should make interesting reading in conjunction with the charts of congressional voting records.

—RHC

House Voting Record on Middle East Issues 1990-1991

State	District	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Rating
Alabama	1	Callahan	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	2	Dickinson	R	N	N	P	-	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	2
	3	Browder	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	4	Bevill	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	5	Cramer	D	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
	6	Erdreich	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	7	Harris	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
Alaska	1	Young	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
Arizona	1	Rhodes	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	2	Pastor	D	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	Y	-
	3	Stump	R	F	A	-	Y	N	N	Y	-	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	1
	4	Kyl	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	5	Kolbe	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
Arkansas	1	Alexander	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	-	-	6
	2	Thornton	D	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*
	3	Hammerschmidt	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	-	N	Y	Y	6
	4	Anthony	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	8
California	1	Riggs	R	O	O	O	O	N	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1*
	2	Heger	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6
	3	Matsui	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	4	Fazio	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8

KEY: Y = Voted yea or signed letter or sponsored bill; N = Voted nay; - = Position not indicated at time of action; F = Paired For; A = Paired Against; P = Voted "Present"; O = Not in Congress at the time of the vote.

State	District	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Rating
	5	Pelosi	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	6	Boxer	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	7	Miller	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	8	Dellums	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	5
	9	Stark	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	10	Edwards	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	11	Lantos	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	12	Campbell	R	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	6
	13	Mineta	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	14	Doolittle	R	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*
	15	Condit	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	8
	16	Panetta	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	17	Dooley	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	3*
	18	Lehman	D	N	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	19	Lagomarsino	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6
	20	Thomas	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	21	Gallegly	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	22	Moorhead	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	6
	23	Beilenson	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	-	N	Y	Y	7
	24	Waxman	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	8
	25	Roybal	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	26	Berman	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	27	Levine	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-	Y	-	-	-	Y	6
	28	Dixon	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	29	Waters	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2*
	30	Martinez	D	N	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	6
	31	Dymally	D	N	Y	N	N	-	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	2
	32	Anderson	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	33	Dreier	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	34	Torres	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	35	Lewis	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	36	Brown	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	7
	37	McCandless	R	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	38	Dornan	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	39	Dannemeyer	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	40	Cox	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	41	Lowery	R	N	Y	-	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	42	Rohrabacher	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6
	43	Packard	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	44	Cunningham	R	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
	45	Hunter	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	-	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
Colorado	1	Schroeder	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	2	Skaggs	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	3	Campbell	D	-	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	4
	4	Allard	D	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*
	5	Hefley	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	6	Schaefer	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
Connecticut	1	Kennelly	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	2	Gejdenson	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	3	DeLauro	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
	4	Shays	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	5	Franks	R	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	-	2*
	6	Johnson	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
Delaware	1	Carper	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	5
Florida	1	Hutto	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	2	Peterson	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*

State	District	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Rating
	3	Bennett	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	6
	4	James	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	5	McCollum	R	N	Y	Y	-	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	6	Stearns	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	8
	7	Gibbons	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	8	Young	R	N	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	9	Bilirakis	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	10	Ireland	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	11	Bacchus	D	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
	12	Lewis	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	13	Goss	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	8
	14	Johnston	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	15	Shaw	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	16	Smith	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	17	Lehman	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	-	8
	18	Ros-Lehtinen	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	19	Fascell	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
Georgia	1	Thomas	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	-	N	Y	Y	6
	2	Hatcher	D	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	-	6
	3	Ray	D	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	4
	4	Jones	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	5	Lewis	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	6	Gingrich	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	7	Darden	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	8	Rowland	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	9	Jenkins	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6
Hawaii	10	Barnard	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	6
	1	Abercrombie	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4*
	2	Mink	D	O	O	O	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
Idaho	1	LaRocco	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	3*
	2	Stallings	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
Illinois	1	Hayes	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4
	2	Savage	D	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	-	N	Y	N	Y	2
	3	Russo	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	4
	4	Sangmeister	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	-	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	5	Lipinski	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6
	6	Hyde	R	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	6
	7	Collins	D	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	8	Rostenkowski	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	9	Yates	D	N	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	F	N	Y	Y	7
	10	Porter	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	11	Annunzio	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	12	Crane	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	13	Fawell	R	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	-	-	Y	Y	5
	14	Hastert	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	15	Ewing	R	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	Y	-
	16	Cox	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	3*
	17	Evans	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	18	Michel	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	-	Y	6
	19	Bruce	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	20	Durbin	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	21	Costello	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	22	Poshard	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	4
Indiana	1	Visclosky	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	2	Sharp	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	3	Roemer	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	2*

State	District	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Rating	
Iowa	4	Long	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	4	
	5	Jontz	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	4	
	6	Burton	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8	
	7	Myers	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6	
	8	McCloskey	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6	
	9	Hamilton	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5	
	10	Jacobs	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5	
	1	Leach	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
	2	Nussle	R	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	3*	
	3	Nagle	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
Kansas	4	Smith	D	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
	5	Lightfoot	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8	
	6	Grandy	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
	1	Roberts	R	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	6	
	2	Slattery	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	8	
	3	Meyers	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
Kentucky	4	Glickman	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8	
	5	Nichols	R	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*	
	1	Hubbard	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	5	
	2	Natcher	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
	3	Mazzoli	D	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	5	
	4	Bunning	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7	
	5	Rogers	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6	
Louisiana	6	Hopkins	R	Y	Y	-	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	-	-	-	Y	3	
	7	Perkins	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	Y	-	N	N	Y	Y	4	
	1	Livingston	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
	2	Jefferson	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*	
	3	Tauzin	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	7	
	4	McCrery	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
	5	Huckaby	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	-	N	Y	Y	6	
Maine	6	Baker	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
	7	Hayes	D	-	A	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	4	
	8	Holloway	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
	1	Andrews	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	3*	
	2	Snowe	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
	Maryland	1	Gilcrest	R	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	3*
		2	Bentley	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
		3	Cardin	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
4		McMillen	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
5		Hoyer	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
6		Byron	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
7		Mfume	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	7	
8		Morella	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
Massachusetts		1	Olver	D	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	Y	1*
		2	Neal	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	3	Early	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6	
	4	Frank	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8	
	5	Atkins	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8	
	6	Mavroules	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	7	
	7	Markey	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
	8	Kennedy	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
	9	Moakley	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
	10	Studds	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5	
	11	Donnelly	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	-	-	N	N	Y	Y	5	
Michigan	1	Conyers	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3	
	2	Pursell	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6	

State	District	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Rating
	3	Wolpe	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	4	Upton	R	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	5	Henry	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	-	4
	6	Carr	D	N	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	7
	7	Kildee	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	8	Traxler	D	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	9	Vander Jagt	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	10	Camp	R	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	3*
	11	Davis	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	12	Bonior	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	4
	13	Collins	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	3*
	14	Hertel	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	15	Ford	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	4
	16	Dingell	D	N	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	3
	17	Levin	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
Minnesota	18	Broomfield	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	1	Penny	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6
	2	Weber	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	3	Ramstad	R	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
	4	Vento	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6
	5	Sabo	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	6	Sikorski	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	7	Peterson	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*
Mississippi	8	Oberstar	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	-	-	-	Y	6
	1	Whitten	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	2	Espy	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	3	Montgomery	D	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	6
	4	Parker	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6
Missouri	5	Taylor	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	3
	1	Clay	D	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	4
	2	Horn	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
	3	Gephardt	D	N	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	4	Skelton	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	5	Wheat	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	6	Coleman	R	N	Y	P	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	7	Hancock	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	5
	8	Emerson	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
Montana	9	Volkmer	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6
	1	Williams	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	6
Nebraska	2	Marlenee	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6
	1	Bereuter	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	2	Hoagland	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
Nevada	3	Barrett	R	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	2*
	1	Bilbray	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	2	Vucanovich	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	7
New Hampshire	1	Zeliff	R	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	3*
	2	Swett	D	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
New Jersey	1	Andrews	D	O	O	O	O	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
	2	Hughes	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	6
	3	Pallone	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	4	Smith	R	N	Y	-	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	6
	5	Roukema	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	6	Dwyer	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	7	Rinaldo	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	8	Roe	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	9	Torricelli	D	-	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	N	-	-	-	Y	Y	4

State	District	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Rating
	10	Payne	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	11	Gallo	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	12	Zimmer	R	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
	13	Saxton	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	14	Guarini	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
New Mexico	1	Schiff	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	2	Skeen	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	3	Richardson	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
New York	1	Hochbrueckner	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	2	Downey	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	3	Mrazek	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	-	8
	4	Lent	R	N	Y	Y	-	N	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	5	McGrath	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	6	Flake	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	7	Ackerman	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	8	Scheuer	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	9	Manton	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	10	Schumer	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	11	Towns	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	-	-	6
	12	Owens	D	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	13	Solarz	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	14	Molinari	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	15	Green	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	16	Rangel	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	17	Weiss	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	18	Serrano	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	F	-	-	Y	5
	19	Engel	D	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	20	Lowey	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	21	Fish	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	22	Gilman	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	23	McNulty	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	24	Solomon	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	5
	25	Boehlert	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	26	Martin	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	-	N	Y	Y	6
	27	Walsh	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	28	McHugh	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
29	Horton	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8	
30	Slaughter	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
31	Paxon	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8	
32	LaFalce	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
33	Nowak	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
34	Houghton	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
North Carolina	1	Jones	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	-	Y	5
	2	Valentine	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	5
	3	Lancaster	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	4	Price	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	5	Neal	D	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	6	Coble	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	7	Rose	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	8	Hefner	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	9	McMillan	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6
	10	Ballenger	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	7
North Dakota	11	Taylor	R	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*
	1	Dorgan	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
Ohio	1	Luken	D	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	4*
	2	Gradison	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7

State	District	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Rating
	3	Hall	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	8
	4	Oxley	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	5	Gillmor	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	6	McEwen	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	-	Y	7
	7	Hobson	R	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*
	8	Boehner	R	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*
	9	Kaptur	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	10	Miller	R	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	-	-	-	N	Y	Y	Y	1
	11	Eckart	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	12	Kasich	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	13	Pease	D	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	2
	14	Sawyer	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	15	Wylie	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	7
	16	Regula	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	17	Traficant	D	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	2
	18	Applegate	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	4
	19	Feighan	D	-	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	20	Oakar	D	N	Y	N	P	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	2
	21	Stokes	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
Oklahoma	1	Inhofe	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	2	Synar	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	3	Brewster	D	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*
	4	McCurdy	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	5	Edwards	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
Oregon	6	English	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6
	1	AuCoin	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	2	Smith	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	-	Y	6
	3	Wyden	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	4	DeFazio	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	6
Pennsylvania	5	Kopetski	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*
	1	Foglietta	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	2	Blackwell	D	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	Y	-
	3	Borski	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	4	Kolter	D	N	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	N	-	-	-	-	N	Y	Y	4
	5	Schulze	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	6	Yatron	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	7	Weldon	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	8	Kostmayer	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	9	Shuster	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6
	10	McDade	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	11	Kanjorski	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	12	Murtha	D	N	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	13	Coughlin	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	14	Coyne	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	15	Ritter	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	16	Walker	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	5
	17	Gekas	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	18	Santorum	R	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
	19	Goodling	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	-	-	-	N	Y	Y	5
	20	Gaydos	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	21	Ridge	R	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	22	Murphy	D	Y	N	P	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	3
	23	Clinger	R	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
Rhode Island	1	Machtley	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	2	Reed	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	3*
South Carolina	1	Ravenal	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7

State	District	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Rating
South Dakota	2	Spence	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	A	-	-	Y	5
	3	Derrick	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	4	Patterson	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	5	Spratt	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	6	Tallon	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	1	Johnson	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	1	Quillen	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	6
	2	Duncan	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	4
	3	Lloyd	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	-	-	-	Y	5
	4	Cooper	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
5	Clement	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
6	Gordon	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6	
7	Sundquist	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7	
8	Tanner	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5	
9	Ford	D	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	-	N	Y	Y	3	
Texas	1	Chapman	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	2	Wilson	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	-	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	3	Johnson	R	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	N	N	Y	Y	1*
	4	Hall	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	5	Bryant	D	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	N	-	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	2
	6	Barton	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	7	Archer	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	5
	8	Fields	R	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	4
	9	Brooks	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	10	Pickle	D	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	11	Edwards	D	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	4*
	12	Geren	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	13	Sarpalius	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	14	Laughlin	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	15	De la Garza	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	16	Coleman	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	17	Stenholm	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	18	Washington	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	2*
	19	Combest	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	Y	-	N	N	Y	Y	4
	20	Gonzalez	D	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	-	N	-	N	N	P	Y	4
	21	Smith	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	22	DeLay	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	Y	Y	A	N	Y	Y	5
	23	Bustamante	D	-	F	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	24	Frost	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	25	Andrews	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	26	Armey	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	6
	27	Ortiz	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
Utah	1	Hansen	R	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	3
	2	Owens	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	8
	3	Orton	D	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	3*
Vermont	1	Sanders	I	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2*
	1	Bateman	R	N	Y	P	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	P	Y	Y	5
Virginia	2	Pickett	D	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	3	Bliley	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	4	Sisisky	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	5	Payne	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	6	Olin	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	7	Allen	R	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	Y	-
	8	Moran	D	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2*
	9	Boucher	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	5
	10	Wolf	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7

State	District	Representative	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Rating
Washington	1	Miller	R	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	2	Swift	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	-	N	Y	Y	6
	3	Unsoeld	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	4	Morrison	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
	5	Foley	D	N	Y						(speaker usually doesn't vote)							2*
	6	Dicks	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	7	McDermott	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	8	Chandler	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	6
West Virginia	1	Mollohan	D	Y	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	N	N	Y	Y	4
	2	Staggers	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7
	3	Wise	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8
	4	Rahall	D	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	Y	P	Y	2
Wisconsin	1	Aspin	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	2	Klug	R	O	O	O	O	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2*
	3	Gunderson	R	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	4	Kleczka	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	5	Moody	D	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	7
	6	Petri	R	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	-	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	1
	7	Obey	D	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5
	8	Roth	R	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	-	N	Y	Y	Y	2
	9	Sensenbrenner	R	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	-	N	N	Y	Y	4
Wyoming	1	Thomas	R	N	Y	-	Y	N	N	Y	-	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	5

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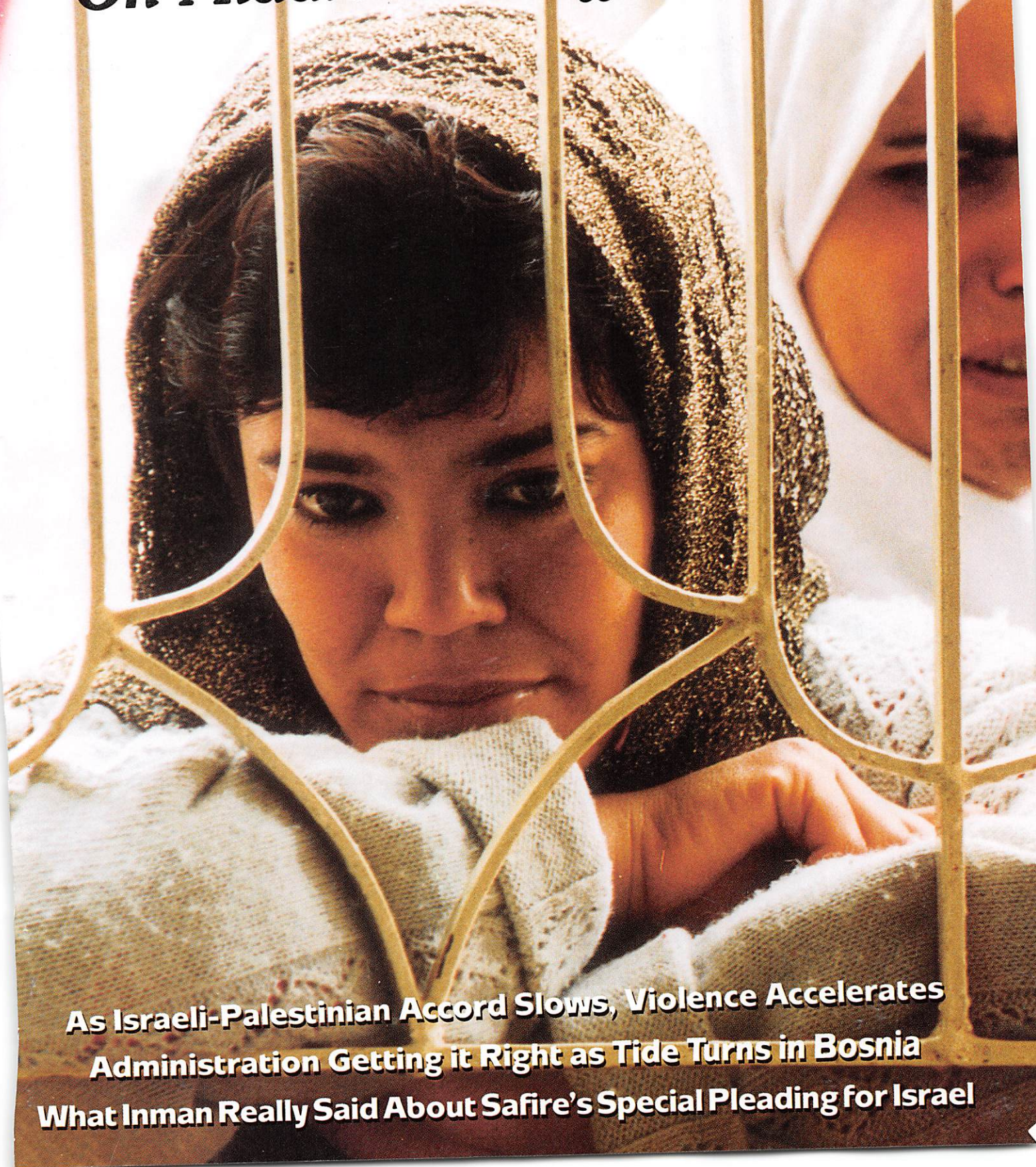
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WASHINGTON REPORT

On Middle East Affairs



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On Middle East Affairs

February/March 1994

Interpreting the Middle East for North Americans □ Interpreting North America for the Middle East

THE U.S. AND THE PLO-ISRAEL ACCORD



Israelis demonstrating against the peace accord. See story on page 6.
Ruben Bittermann/Photofile

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Senate Voting Record for 1993

By Allan C. Kellum

This voting record contains the Senate's key Mideast-related decisions—votes, resolutions and letters—made by all current senators during 1993.

First, a brief description of each Senate decision follows. Then, there is a chart listing the voting records of each senator on these six issues. Numbers on the vote descriptions below match with the corresponding number in the voting record key in the chart that follows.

1. Letter Urges Clinton Administration To Veto U.N. Resolution Condemning Israel.

As the United Nations considered resolutions condemning Israel's deportation of some 400 Palestinians, 72 senators signed a letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher that urged the Clinton administration to "veto any resolution that unjustifiably condemns Israel." Republican Senator Connie Mack of Florida was the prime sponsor of the letter. On Jan. 29, 1993, Senator Mack sent this letter to Secretary of State Christopher.

2. Letter to President Clinton Asking to Press Britain for Anti-Boycott Laws.

In a letter to President Bill Clinton, 26 senators urged him, in subsequent meetings with British Prime Minister John Major, to advocate that Britain adopt legislation similar to the U.S. laws opposing the Arab boycott of Israel. Republican

Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah and Democratic Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut were the primary sponsors of the letter, which also urged Clinton to seek Major's assistance in ending Israel's exclusion from regional groups at the United Nations. The letter was dated Feb. 22, 1993.

3. Letter to President Clinton Supporting Aid to Israel.

Prior to Senate consideration of the foreign aid bills, 78 senators wrote to President Clinton to express support for maintaining current levels of funding to Israel. Specifically, the senators stated that "Now, more than ever, Israel needs our unambiguous support. We look forward to working with you to ensure that current levels of aid to Israel will be provided." Senators Lautenberg (D-NJ), McConnell (R-KY), Biden (D-DE) and Brown (R-CO) were the prime sponsors of this letter dated July 15, 1993.

4. Vote Opposing \$1 Billion Cut in Military Loan Guarantees Affecting Israel and Others.

This vote was on Democratic Senator Sam Nunn's motion to table [kill] Senator Bingaman's amendment which would have cut one billion dollars worth of military loan programs affecting Israel as well as Japan, Australia, the Republic of Korea and NATO countries. Opposition to the funding cut prevailed and the loan guarantees remained in the Department of Defense Authorization Bill (S.1298). The vote on Sept. 14, 1993, was 63 yeas opposing the cut versus 37 nays favoring it.

5. Vote for Passage of the FY 1994 Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill.

This vote was for passage of the FY 1994 Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill. Of the \$12.5 billion worldwide total, the bill provided \$3 billion in direct economic and military aid for Israel as well as other types of funding for Israel. Egypt was the bill's second largest aid recipient with \$2.1 billion. Aid to Palestinians was \$25 million. Passage was on Sept. 23, 1993, by a vote of 88 yeas to 10 nays.

6. Letter to Arab League Opposing Continuation of Arab Boycott of Israel.

This letter, initiated by Senators Lautenberg (D-NJ) and Grassley (R-IA) and signed by 75 other senators, was ad-

ressed to the secretary-general of the Arab League. It expressed the 77 senators' "profound disappointment in the Arab League's decision to continue the Arab boycott of Israel." It urges the Arab League to reconsider the decision and "to stand behind the peace process and the Israel-PLO agreement by ending the Arab boycott of Israel." The letter was dated Nov. 4, 1993.

Allan C. Kellum was founder and for eight years editor of the Mideast Observer, a newsletter which is now incorporated into this publication. Under the name of Kel-Wes Innovations, he has developed computer software for use by associations and grassroots lobbyists. The software readily tracks and displays voting records on any issue. This voting record was prepared using some of the Kel-Wes Innovations software.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

What the Senate 1993 Voting Records Reveal

The 1993 Senate voting record presented here has been stripped of all bills, letters and resolutions not related to strong support for Israel. Issues on which senators might have had mixed motives, such as the Department of Defense authorization bill or a letter advocating exit visas for Syrian Jews, have been excluded. The foreign aid bill is included because, of the \$12.5 billion worldwide total, some \$4 billion consists of various categories of aid to Israel and another \$2.1 billion is aid to Egypt conditioned upon keeping the peace with Israel. A "Y" indicates either signing a letter or voting for a resolution which was proposed by or strongly supported by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), Israel's principal Washington lobby. "N" indicates a vote against such a resolution. A dash indicates non-participation in a letter or absence during a vote. A 100 percent pro-AIPAC rating in the final column of the chart would be based upon a "Y" in all six columns. A zero percent rating would result from an "N" or dash in all six columns. Complete House of Representatives voting records for 1993 and tables showing how much every Senate and House member has taken from pro-Israel PACs from 1977 through 1993 will be presented in the next two issues of the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*.

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Senate Voting Record for 1993

State	Senator	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	Absent or Abstained	Negative Votes	Yes Votes	% Pro- AIPAC
Alabama	Heflin	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	Shelby	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	2	0	4	67
Alaska	Murkowski	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	0	1	5	83
	Stevens	R	-	-	Y	Y	Y	-	3	0	3	50
Arizona	DeConcini	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	0	1	5	83
	McCain	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
Arkansas	Bumpers	D	-	-	-	N	Y	Y	2	1	2	33
	Pryor	D	-	-	-	N	Y	-	4	1	1	17
California	Feinstein	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	Boxer	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	0	1	5	83
Colorado	Brown	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
	Campbell	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
Connecticut	Dodd	D	-	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	0	4	67
	Lieberman	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
Delaware	Biden	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
	Roth	R	-	-	Y	Y	N	-	3	1	2	33
Florida	Mack	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
	Graham	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
Georgia	Nunn	D	-	-	-	Y	Y	-	4	0	2	33
	Coverdell	R	-	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	2	0	4	67
Hawaii	Inouye	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	Akaka	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
Idaho	Craig	R	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	1	1	4	67
	Kempthorne	R	Y	-	-	Y	N	Y	2	1	3	50
Illinois	Moseley-Braun	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
	Simon	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	0	1	5	83
Indiana	Lugar	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	Coats	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	2	0	4	67
Iowa	Grassley	R	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	0	1	5	83
	Harkin	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
Kansas	Dole	R	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	3	0	3	50
	Kassebaum	R	Y	-	-	N	Y	Y	2	1	3	50
Kentucky	Ford	D	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	McConnell	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
Louisiana	Johnston	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	Breaux	D	Y	-	Y	Y	-	Y	2	0	4	67
Maine	Mitchell	D	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	3	0	3	50
	Cohen	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
Maryland	Sarbanes	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
	Mikulski	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
Massachusetts	Kennedy	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
	Kerry	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
Michigan	Levin	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	0	1	5	83
	Riegle	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
Minnesota	Wellstone	D	-	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2	1	3	50
	Durenberger	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
Mississippi	Lott	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	Cochran	R	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
Missouri	Danforth	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	2	0	4	67
	Bond	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83

State	Senator	Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	Absent or Abstained	Negative Votes	Yes Votes	% Pro- AIPAC
Montana	Baucus	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	Burns	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
Nebraska	Exon	D	-	-	Y	N	Y	-	3	1	2	33
	Kerrey	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	2	0	4	67
Nevada	Bryan	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-	1	1	4	67
	Reid	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	-	2	1	3	50
New Hampshire	Smith	R	Y	-	-	Y	N	-	3	1	2	33
	Gregg	R	Y	-	-	Y	Y	-	3	0	3	50
New Jersey	Bradley	D	-	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2	1	3	50
	Lautenberg	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
New Mexico	Bingaman	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
	Domenici	R	-	-	-	Y	Y	-	4	0	2	33
New York	Moynihan	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	0	1	5	83
	D'Amato	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
North Carolina	Helms	R	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y	1	1	4	67
	Faircloth	R	-	-	-	Y	N	-	4	1	1	17
North Dakota	Dorgan	D	-	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2	1	3	50
	Conrad	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
Ohio	Glenn	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
	Metzenbaum	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
Oklahoma	Boren	D	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	3	0	3	50
	Nickles	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	2	0	4	67
Oregon	Hatfield	R	-	-	-	N	Y	-	4	1	1	17
	Packwood	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
Pennsylvania	Wofford	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	0	1	5	83
	Specter	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
Rhode Island	Pell	D	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	Chafee	R	-	-	-	Y	Y	-	4	0	2	33
South Carolina	Hollings	D	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	1	1	4	67
	Thurmond	R	-	-	-	Y	Y	-	4	0	2	33
South Dakota	Pressler	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
	Daschle	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
Tennessee	Sasser	D	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	0	1	5	83
	Mathews	D	Y	-	-	N	Y	-	3	1	2	33
Texas	Hutchison	R	O	O	Y	Y	Y	-	1		3	75
	Gramm	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
Utah	Bennett	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	-	2	0	4	67
	Hatch	R	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
Vermont	Leahy	D	-	-	-	N	Y	Y	3	1	2	33
	Jeffords	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
Virginia	Robb	D	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	Warner	R	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	3	0	3	50
Washington	Gorton	R	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	1	0	5	83
	Murray	D	Y	-	Y	N	Y	Y	1	1	4	67
West Virginia	Byrd	D	-	-	-	N	N	-	4	2	0	0
	Rockefeller	D	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	0	0	6	100
Wisconsin	Kohl	D	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	0	2	4	67
	Feingold	D	-	-	Y	N	Y	Y	2	1	3	50
Wyoming	Simpson	R	-	-	-	Y	-	Y	4	0	2	33
	Wallop	R	-	-	-	Y	N	Y	3	1	2	33

KEY: Y = Voted yea or signed letter; N = Voted nay; - = Position not indicated at time of action; O = Not in office.