

*Not - not to reply
for Kling*

5 November 1986

ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS
86-4187

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director
The Deputy Director

THROUGH: Dave Gries *DG*

DOA FILE AREP-LR

FROM:

[Redacted]

RECPT # _____

SUBJECT: Impact of '86 Election Results on Key Committees
and Issues

SENATE

The major impact of the Democrats' capture of the Senate will be felt in the numerical shift in the majority/minority ratios of the committees. This will probably result in one more Democrat and one less Republican member on each panel, giving the Democrats a one-vote edge. Following is a run-down of how our key committees stand in the aftermath of the election:

SSCI: All of the current members who were up for re-election won (Murkowski, Specter, Leahy and Hollings). The new Democratic majority will mean that Durenberger's vacancy won't be filled. The Democrats will have three spots to fill: one new seat together with those of Eagleton and (in June) Leahy. Since they are now slated to head other committees, Bentsen, Nunn and Hollings may opt to leave SSCI.

Appropriations (Defense Subcommittee): With the exception of Mark Andrews, all of the members who were up for re-election won (Garn, D'Amato, Rudman, Kasten, Inouye and Hollings). However, the new Chairman--Stennis--should be at least as supportive as Stevens. The Republicans won't get to fill the Andrews vacancy.

Armed Services: Three current Republican members--Goldwater, Denton and Broyhill--won't be back. The Republicans will be able to fill two of the spots. With Goldwater's departure, Thurmond will now be ranking minority member. Of course, we shouldn't be hurt with Nunn as Chairman; moreover, we have worked closely with Arnold Punaro, who will be the new staff director. The two Democratic members who were up for re-election won (Dixon and Glenn). The Democrats will have two new spots---their new seat as well as that vacated by Hart.

STAT

[REDACTED]

Leaks Legislation: With Kennedy as new Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, we will have a formidable obstacle in any effort to enact new leaks legislation next session.

HOUSE

The House, of course, remains lopsidedly Democratic. Even though the Republicans held their losses to a minimum, the Democrats will retain at least as solid a majority in the membership of the committees as they enjoyed in the 99th Congress (e.g., the Democrats currently hold 10 out of 16 seats on the HPSCI and 25 out of 42 on Foreign Affairs). On the other hand, the ideological balance in the House appears to have shifted slightly to the more conservative side. NBC has classified 237 members of the new House as "conservative", up from 218 in the 99th Congress.

STAT

[REDACTED]

Very few members of any of our key committees were defeated. All HPSCI incumbents won comfortably; George Brown was a relatively tight race, but appears to have prevailed. No current member of the HAC/Defense Subcommittee appears to have lost, either. One of the relatively few Republican incumbent casualties is Bill Hendon (North Carolina), who as you recall lobbied you recently on the MIA issue. George Wortley (R-NY) is in a very close contest, but he apparently has survived.

STAT

cc: EXDIR
DDA
DDI
DDO
DDS&T
Comptroller

Select Committee on Intelligence

Ratio: 87.

MAJORITY MEMBERS

David Durenberger, Minn.,
Chairman

William V. Roth, Jr., Del.

William S. Cohen, Maine

Orrin G. Hatch, Utah

(W) * Frank H. Murkowski, Alaska

(U) * Arlen Specter, Pa.

Chic Hecht, Nev.

Mitch McConnell, Ky.

(W) * Robert Dole, Kan., *ex officio*

MINORITY MEMBERS

* Patrick J. Leahy, Vt., (W)
Vice Chairman

Lloyd Bentsen, Tex.

Sam Nunn, Ga.

Thomas F. Eagleton, Mo.

* Ernest F. Hollings, S.C. (W)

David L. Boren, Okla.

Bill Bradley, N.J.

Robert C. Byrd, W.Va., *ex officio*

* Up for reelection

Senate Appropriations Committee

Subcommittee on Defense

Majority Members

Ted Stevens, Chairman (Alaska)

Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. (Conn.)

* Jake Garn (Utah) (W)

James A. McClure (Idaho)

* Mark Andrews (N.D.)

* Robert W. Kasten, Jr. (Wis)

* Alfonse M. D'Amato (N.Y.) (W)

* Warren B. Rudman (N.H.) (W)

Thad Cochran (Miss.)

Minority Members

John C. Stennis, Ranking (Miss.)

William Proxmire (Wis.)

* Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii) (W)

* Ernest F. Hollings (S.C.) (W)

Lawton Chiles (Fla.)

J. Bennett Johnston (La.)

Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.)

James R. Sasser (Tenn.)

* Up for reelection

Committee on Foreign Relations

Ratio: 9/8.

MAJORITY MEMBERS

Richard G. Lugar, Ind.,
Chairman

(R) Jesse Helms, N.C.
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Md.
Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Kan.
Rudy Boschwitz, Minn.
Larry Pressler, S.D.
* Frank H. Murkowski, Alaska
Paul Trible, Va.
Daniel J. Evans, Wash.

MINORITY MEMBERS

Claiborne Pell, R.I.,
Ranking Minority Member

Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Del.
Paul S. Sarbanes, Md.
Edward Zorinsky, Neb.
* Alan Cranston, Calif.
* Christopher J. Dodd, Conn. (W)
Thomas F. Eagleton, Mo. (R)
John F. Kerry, Mass.

* Up for reelection

Committee on Armed Services

Ratio: 10/9.

MAJORITY MEMBERS

Barry Goldwater, Ariz.,
Chairman

Strom Thurmond, S.C.

John W. Warner, Va.

Gordon J. Humphrey, N.H.

William S. Cohen, Maine

(W) * Dan Quayle, Ind.
Pete Wilson, Calif.

* Jeremiah A. Denton, Ala.
Phil Gramm, Tex.

(L) * James T. Broyhill, N.C.

MINORITY MEMBERS

Sam Nunn, Ga.,

Ranking Minority Member

John C. Stennis, Miss.

Gary Hart, Colo.

J. James Exon, Neb.

Carl Levin, Mich.

Edward M. Kennedy, Mass.

Jeff Bingaman, N.M.

* Alan J. Dixon, Ill. (W)

* John Glenn, Ohio (W)

* Up for reelection

Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

Ratio: 10-6.

MAJORITY MEMBERS

Lee H. Hamilton, Ind.,
Chairman
Louis Stokes, Ohio
Dave McCurdy, Okla.
Anthony C. Beilenson, Calif.
Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wis.

Dan Daniel, Va.
Robert A. Roe, N.J.
George E. Brown, Jr., Calif.
Matthew F. McHugh, N.Y.
Bernard J. Dwyer, N.J.
Jim Wright, Tex., *ex officio*

MINORITY MEMBERS

Bob Stump, Ariz.,
Ranking Minority Member
Andy Ireland, Fla.
Henry J. Hyde, Ill.
Dick Cheney, Wyo.
Bob Livingston, La.
Bob McEwen, Ohio
Robert H. Michel, Ill., *ex officio*

House Appropriations Committee

Subcommittee on Defense

Majority Members

Bill Chappell, Jr., Chairman ((Fla.))

John Murtha (Pa.)

Norman D. Dicks (Wash.)

Charles Wilson (Tex.)

W. G. (Bill) Hefner (N.C.)

Les AuCoin (Ore.)

Martin Olav Sabo (Minn.)

Minority Members

Joseph M. McDade, Ranking (Pa.)

C. W. Bill Young (Fla.)

Clarence E. Miller (Ohio)

Bob Livingston (La.)

Committee on Foreign Affairs

Ratio: 25/17.

MAJORITY MEMBERS

Dante B. Fascell, Fla., *Chairman*
Lee H. Hamilton, Ind.
Gus Yatron, Pa.
Stephen J. Solarz, N.Y.
Don Bonker, Wash.
Gerry E. Studds, Mass.
Daniel A. Mica, Fla.
Michael D. Barnes, Md.
Howard Wolpe, Mich.
George W. Crockett, Jr., Mich.
Sam Gejdenson, Conn.
Mervyn M. Dymally, Calif.

Tom Lantos, Calif.
Peter H. Kostmayer, Pa.
Robert G. Torricelli, N.J.
Lawrence J. Smith, Fla.
Howard L. Berman, Calif.
Harry Reid, Nev.
Mel Levine, Calif.
Edward F. Feighan, Ohio
Ted Weiss, N.Y.
Gary L. Ackerman, N.Y.
Buddy MacKay, Fla.
Morris K. Udall, Ariz.
Robert Garcia, N.Y.

MINORITY MEMBERS

William S. Broomfield, Mich.,
Ranking Minority Member
Benjamin A. Gilman, N.Y.
Robert J. Lagomarsino, Calif.
Jim Leach, Iowa
Toby Roth, Wis.
Olympia J. Snowe, Maine
Henry J. Hyde, Ill.
Gerald B. Solomon, N.Y.
Doug Bereuter, Neb.
Mark D. Siljander, Mich.
Ed Zschau, Calif.
Robert K. Dornan, Calif.
Christopher H. Smith, N.J.
Connie Mack, Fla.
Michael DeWine, Ohio
Dan Burton, Ind.
John McCain, Ariz.

Committee on Armed Services

Ratio: 27:19.*

MAJORITY MEMBERS

Les Aspin, Wis.,
Chairman
Melvin Price, Ill.
Charles E. Bennett, Fla.
Samuel S. Stratton, N.Y.
Bill Nichols, Ala.
Dan Daniel, Va.
G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery, Miss.
Ronald V. Dellums, Calif.
Patricia Schroeder, Colo.
Beverly B. Byron, Md.
Nicholas Mavroules, Mass.
Earl Hutto, Fla.
Ike Skelton, Mo.

Marvin Leath, Tex.
Dave McCurdy, Okla.
Thomas M. Foglietta, Pa.
Roy P. Dyson, Md.
Dennis M. Hertel, Mich.
Marilyn Lloyd, Tenn.
Norman Sisisky, Va.
Richard Ray, Ga.
John M. Spratt, Jr., S.C.
Frank McCloskey, Ind.
Solomon P. Ortiz, Tex.
George (Buddy) Darden, Ga.
Tommy F. Robinson, Ark.
Albert G. Bustamante, Tex.

MINORITY MEMBERS

William L. Dickinson, Ala.,
Ranking Minority Member
G. William Whitehurst, Va.
Floyd Spence, S.C.
Marjorie S. Holt, Md.
Robert E. Badham, Calif.
Bob Stump, Ariz.
Jim Courter, N.J.
Larry J. Hopkins, Ky.
Robert W. Davis, Mich.
Kenneth B. Kramer, Colo.
Duncan L. Hunter, Calif.
Thomas F. Hartnett, S.C.
David O'B. Martin, N.Y.
John R. Kasich, Ohio
William Carney, N.Y.
Lynn M. Martin, Ill.
Herbert H. Bateman, Va.
Mac Sweeney, Tex.
*Ben Blaz, Guam
**James V. Hansen, Utah

*Ratios do not include Resident Commissioner or Delegates.

**No subcommittee assignments at press time.

Excerpt from Senate debate on HR 5052

S 11542

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

August 13, 1986

demands that the Junta perform its promises of "a truly democratic government . . . with full guaranty of human rights" and trade union freedom and "an independent foreign policy of non-alignment". The United States does not "intervene" in the internal or external affairs of Nicaragua. Such demands are not a "form of interference or attempted threat against the personality of the state" of Nicaragua. They are legally well grounded efforts to induce Nicaragua to perform its international obligations.

Mr. President, we must continue to press the Government of Nicaragua to meet its obligations under the OAS resolution of 1979. It is the moral, political, legal, and juridical responsibility of the United States to see that the tenets of the resolution are realized. We cannot pretend that this responsibility does not exist and fail to bring freedom and democracy to Nicaragua and peace to Central America. I urge my colleagues to support this assistance package for the freedom fighters in Nicaragua.

Mr. NUNN, Mr. President, for the second time this year the Senate is called upon to vote on the Reagan administration's proposal to provide \$100 million in aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. After the extensive debate which took place in this Chamber last March one might rightly ask what is left to be said on this issue. However, the very fact that it took several months after the Senate vote for the House of Representatives to agree to consider the Contra aid proposal demonstrates the lack of consensus in the Congress and in the country on aid to the Contras.

There are many strong and passionate views on both sides of this issue. But in Central America neither side has a monopoly on truth and there are no easy answers. The real truth is that we neglected Central America for too long. We did not care enough or pay enough attention to the problems there. Now we and the people of Central America are paying a price for that past failure.

If the United States is to have any success now in confronting the crisis in Central America the American people must see that administration policy is truly one of fostering genuine democracy as well as economic and social growth in the region.

With regard to Nicaragua, we must acknowledge the truth about the Sandinista regime. The Sandinistas are Communist revolutionaries. They hijacked the Nicaraguan people's revolution and betrayed their sacrifice. The Nicaraguan people fought, sacrificed, and died for democracy—not to have a right wing dictatorship replaced by a Communist one.

In just 7 years of rule the Sandinistas have aided and abetted Communist revolutionaries in Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Ecuador, and probably Colombia.

If the Sandinistas consolidate a Communist rerevolutionary regime in Nicaragua, they will threaten the frag-

ile democracies that are taking root throughout Central America. And a Communist regime in Nicaragua, allied with the Soviet Union and Cuba, poses a potential threat to the security interests of the United States.

If we do nothing now, this problem will not go away. Some opponents of this legislation say that if Nicaragua becomes a Soviet base, they will support the use of American military force to protect our national security. In the meantime, they believe we should rely only on diplomacy. But diplomacy not backed up with military pressure will not produce results.

But a key question is what results we seek. What is the administration's objective? Do they seek a military overthrow of the Sandinistas or do they seek to use military pressure to bring about negotiations? Unfortunately, Mr. President, I believe many Americans are not clear what the administration's goals are. As everyone knows, the purpose, as enunciated by the administration has changed repeatedly in recent years. I believe the purpose should be to support a negotiated resolution which brings democracy to Nicaragua and which brings peace and prosperity to the region.

Some of my colleagues warn that a vote for military aid to the Nicaraguan resistance forces will lead to another Vietnam. I would remind my colleagues that many made the same prediction 3 years ago when this body voted on the question of military aid to El Salvador. Contrary to their dire predictions, today we can count El Salvador as having a reasonable chance of success. The civil war is being won by the Salvadoran Armed Forces, the guerrillas are in retreat, democracy, though still fragile, continues to progress. All of El Salvador's problems have not been solved, but they are now firmly on the right road.

There is a lesson to be learned from our success in El Salvador that applies to Nicaragua. The United States will only defeat communism in Central America if we ally ourselves with human rights and authentic democratic forces—not a discredited, antidemocratic right wing. The Nicaraguan and American people must be convinced that the Contras are a truly and authentic national liberation movement—honest, respectful of human rights and capable of providing a democratic alternative to the Sandinista regime. To me, the most important part of this legislation is the requirement that all aid be channeled through civilian democratic leaders and that no aid may go to any forces which tolerate the abuse of human rights. I wrote the President last March, and I quote, "Our policy must indicate clearly not only what the United States opposes—a Marxist-Leninist regime in Nicaragua—but also what we support, democracy and human rights." The President replied and I quote, "I agree that we need to do more to ensure that the Nicaraguan

democratic resistance is, indeed, a representative movement, responsive to civilian leadership which is, in turn, committed to the ideals of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, and a better life for the Nicaraguan people." He also said, and I quote, "I am committed to ensuring that no aid be provided to those groups that retain in their ranks individuals who engage in human rights violations, drug smuggling, or misuse of resistance funds."

I commend the President for his position, his leadership in these areas is absolutely essential to the success of the Contra program. I will insist that these commitments are carried out because this policy will never receive support, either in Nicaragua or in the United States—unless America is perceived to be clearly on the side of authentic, democratic forces whose purpose is to save the Nicaraguan revolution—not return their country to a discredited past.

Mr. DOLE, Mr. President, there will be two back-to-back votes of 10 minutes each. The first vote will occur on titles II and III, and then on final passage of the bill.

There will be no more votes after the second vote this evening.

The Senate will probably be on the South Africa bill, I will say, by 9:30 a.m. tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, shall title II and title III of the bill pass.

On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 53, nays 47, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 229 Leg.]

YEAS—53

Armstrong	Gramm	McConnell
Bentsen	Grassley (W)	Murkowski (W)
Boren	Hatch	Nickles (W)
Boehwitt	Hawkins (L)	Nunn
Bradley	Hecht	Presler
Broyhill (L)	Heflin	Quayle (W)
Chiles	Heinz	Roth
Cochran	Helms	Rudman (W)
Cohen	Hollings (W)	Simpson
D'Amato (W)	Humphreys	Stennis
Danforth	Johnston	Stevens
Denton	Kassebaum	Symms (L)
Dixon	Kasten	Thurmond
Dole	Laxalt	Trible
Domenici	Long	Wallop
Evans	Lugar	Warner
Garn	Mattingly (L)	Wilson
Goldwater (W)	McClure	

NAYS—47

Abdnor (L)	Glenn (W)	Mitchell
Andrews (L)	Gore	Moynihan
Baucus	Gorton (L)	Packwood (L)
Biden	Harkin	Pell
Bingaman	Hart (L)	Proxmire
Bumpers (W)	Hatfield	Pryor
Burdick	Inouye (W)	Riegle
Byrd	Kennedy	Rockefeller
Chafee	Kerry	Sarbanes
Cranston (W)	Lautenberg	Sasser
DeConcini	Leahy (W)	Simon
Dodd (L)	Levin	Specter (W)
Durenberger	Mathias (L)	Stafford
Eagleton (L)	Matsunaga	Weicker
Exon	Melcher	Zorinsky
Ford (L)	Metzenbaum	

So, title II and title III of H.R. 5052 were passed.

[Roll No. 199]

AYES—221

Archer	Gradison	Parris
Arnes	Gregg	Pashayan
Aspin	Gunderson	Pepper
Badham	Hall, Ralph	Petri
Barnard	Hammerschmidt	Porter
Bartlett	Hansen	Pursell
Barton	Hartnett	Quillen
Bateman	Hatcher	Ray
Bennett	Hendon	Regula
Bentley	Henry	Rinaldo
Bereuter	Hiler	Ritter
Bevil	Hillis	Roberts
Biaggi	Holt	Robinson
Bihakis	Hopkins	Roemer
Bibley	Hubbard	Rogers
Boulter	Huckaby	Roth
Breaux	Hunter	Roukema
Broomfield	Hutto	Rowland (CT)
Brown (CO)	Hyde	Rowland (GA)
Broyhill	Ireland	Rudd
Burton (IN)	Jenkins	Saxton
Bustamante	Johnson	Schaefer
Byron	Jones (OK)	Schuetz
Callahan	Kasich	Schulze
Campbell	Kemp	Sensenbrenner
Carney	Kindness	Shaw
Chandler	Kolbe	Shelby
Chappell	Kramer	Shumway
Chappie	Lagomarsino	Shuster
Cheney	Latta	Siljander
Clinger	Leath (TX)	Sisisky
Coats	Lent	Skeen
Cobey	Lewis (CA)	Skelton
Coble	Lewis (FL)	Slaughter
Coleman (MO)	Lipinski	Smith (FL)
Combest	Livingston	Smith (NE)
Coughlin	Lloyd	Smith (NJ)
Courter	Loeffler	Smith, Denny
Craig	Lott	(OR)
Crane	Lowery (CA)	Smith, Robert
Daniel	Lujan	(NH)
Dannemeyer	Lungren	Smith, Robert
Darden	Mack	(OR)
Daub	Madigan	Snoe
Davis	Mariennee	Snyder
DeLay	Martin (IL)	Solomon
DeWine	Martin (NY)	Spence
Dickinson	McCain	Stangeland
DioGuardi	McCandless	Stenholm
Dorman (CA)	McCollum	Strang
Dowdy	McDade	Stratton
Dreier	McEwen	Stump
Duncan	McGrath	Sundquist
Dyson	McKernan	Sweeney
Eckert (NY)	McMillan	Swindall
Edwards (OK)	Meyers	Tallon
Emerson	Mica	Tauzin
English	Michel	Taylor
Erdreich	Miller (OH)	Thomas (CA)
Evans (IA)	Miller (WA)	Thomas (GA)
Fascell	Mollinari	Vander Jagt
Fawell	Monson	Vucanovich
Fiedler	Montgomery	Walker
Fields	Moore	Watkins
Fish	Moorhead	Weber
Flippo	Morrison (WA)	Whitehurst
Franklin	Murtha	Whittaker
Frenzel	Myers	Wilson
Fuqua	Nelson	Wolf
Gallo	Nichols	Wortley
Gekas	Nielson	Wylie
Gibbons	O'Brien	Young (AK)
Gilman	Ortiz	Young (FL)
Gingrich	Oxley	Zechau
Goodling	Packard	

NOES—209

Ackerman	Bonior (MI)	Conyers
Akaka	Bonker	Cooper
Alexander	Borski	Coyne
Anderson	Bosco	Crockett
Andrews	Boucher	Daschle
Annunzio	Boxer	de la Garza
Anthony	Brooks	Dellums
Applegate	Brown (CA)	Derrick
Atkins	Bruce	Dicks
AuCoin	Bryant	Dingell
Barnes	Burton (CA)	Dixon
Bates	Carper	Donnelly
Bedell	Carr	Dorgan (ND)
Boilenson	Chapman	Downey
Berman	Clay	Durbin
Boehert	Coelho	Dwyer
Boggs	Coleman (TX)	Dymally
Boland	Collins	Early
Boner (TN)	Conte	Eckart (OH)

Edgar	Levin (MI)	Roybal
Edwards (CA)	Levine (CA)	Russo
Evans (IL)	Lightfoot	Sabo
Fazio	Long	Savage
Frighan	Lovly (WA)	Scheuer
Fiorio	Luken	Schneider
Foglietta	Lundine	Schroeder
Foley	MacKay	Schumer
Ford (MI)	Manton	Seiberling
Ford (TN)	Markey	Sharp
Fowler	Martinez	Sikorski
Frank	Matsui	Slattery
Frost	Mavroules	Smith (IA)
Garcia	Masoli	Solarz
Gejdenson	McCloskey	Spratt
Gephardt	McCurdy	St Germain
Glickman	McHugh	Staggers
Gonzalez	McKinney	Stallings
Gordon	Mikulski	Stark
Gray (IL)	Miller (CA)	Stokes
Gray (PA)	Mineta	Studds
Green	Mitchell	Swift
Rudd	Moakley	Synar
Hall (OH)	Mollohan	Tauke
Hamilton	Moody	Torres
Hayes	Morrison (CT)	Torricelli
Hefner	Mrazek	Towns
Heftel	Murphy	Trafficant
Hertel	Natcher	Traxler
Horton	Neal	Udall
Howard	Nowak	Valentine
Hoyer	Oaker	Vento
Hughes	Oberstar	Visclosky
Jacobs	Obey	Volkmer
Jeffords	Olin	Walgren
Jones (NC)	Owens	Waxman
Jones (TN)	Panetta	Weaver
Kanjorski	Pease	Weiss
Kaptur	Penny	Wheat
Kastenmeier	Perkins	Whitley
Kennelly	Pickle	Whitten
Kildee	Price	Williams
Kiecicka	Rahall	Wirth
Kolter	Rangel	Wise
Kostmayer	Reid	Wolpe
LaPalce	Richardson	Wright
Lantos	Ridge	Wyden
Leach (IA)	Rodino	Yates
Lehman (CA)	Roe	Yatron
Lehman (FL)	Rose	Young (MO)
Leland	Rostenkowski	

NOT VOTING—3

Gaydos Grotberg Hawkins

□ 2015

So the amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

□ 2030

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HAMILTON

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HAMILTON: Strike out title II (as added to the bill pursuant to House Resolution 481) and insert in lieu thereof the following:

TITLE II

UNITED STATES POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Sec. 201. (a) The primary objectives of United States policy in Central America should be—

- (1) to preserve the security of the United States;
- (2) to prevent the Soviet Union and its allies from seeking to destabilize the region or to develop or deploy an offensive military capability which directly threatens the United States;
- (3) to achieve peace and reconciliation;
- (4) to promote stability and economic development;
- (5) to promote the observance of human rights and the strengthening of democratic processes; and

(6) to live at peace with Nicaragua so long as Nicaragua lives at peace with its neighbors.

(b) United States strategy for achieving the objectives stated in subsection (a) should include—

- (1) an emphasis on seeking a negotiated, regional settlement;
- (2) respect for the independence and territorial integrity of all nations;
- (3) a clear commitment, through appropriate types and levels of military and economic assistance, to assist the nations of Central America in building and sustaining viable, democratic societies capable of withstanding aggression and subversion and of providing their people with an opportunity for better lives; and

(4) consistent diplomatic support on behalf of the observance of human rights by groups and governments, and support for democratic institutions throughout the region, in recognition of the fact that subversion feeds on repression.

(c) In furtherance of the objectives stated in subsection (a), United States policy with respect to Nicaragua should include the following:

- (1) A commitment to preserve the security of the United States by preventing the Soviet Union and its allies from developing or deploying an offensive military capability in Central America that directly threatens the United States.
- (2) A commitment to protect the security and territorial integrity of any nation of Central America in conformance with the Charter of the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, which provide for collective action.

(3) Pursuit of a regional settlement through all diplomatic avenues, including—

- (A) effective support for the Contadora process, which is addressing the questions of peace and security (including mechanisms for verification and enforcement) and internal reconciliation and political pluralism;
- (B) giving priority to obtaining a ceasefire in Nicaragua;
- (C) renewing bilateral talks with Nicaragua; and

(D) encouraging direct talks among the parties to the conflict in Nicaragua.

(4) The provision of incentives to Nicaragua if the Government of Nicaragua agrees to a ceasefire with its opponents, removes foreign military advisors, agrees not to provide material support for insurgencies and agrees to appropriate monitoring procedures under Contadora auspices to verify such agreement, respects human rights and the independence of the media, and makes progress toward national reconciliation and a pluralistic democratic system. Incentives should be structured to enable the United States to respond to positive steps by Nicaragua. These incentives could include—

- (A) the suspension of United States military exercises in the region;
- (B) the termination of the national emergency with respect to Nicaragua which the President declared in Executive order 12513 on May 1, 1985, and termination of the United States embargo against Nicaragua instituted pursuant to that Executive order;
- (C) the resumption of normal trade, including the resumption of nondiscriminatory trade treatment (MFN status), the restoration of benefits under the Generalized System of Preferences, and the restoration of Nicaragua's sugar quota;
- (D) the provision of bilateral and multilateral assistance of Nicaragua and the provision of technical assistance, help in agriculture and health, and volunteer services; and



1986 Senate Scorecard

	Year Elected	% 1980	\$ ↑ Raised (millions)	Leaning* Favored Toss-up	% Nov. 4	Net Gain + Loss -		Year Elected	% 1980	\$ ↑ Raised (millions)	Leaning* Favored Toss-up	% Nov. 4	Net Gain + Loss -
Alabama Jeremiah Denton (R) Richard C. Shelby (D)	'80 -	50% -	3.5 1.8	Leans R				Maryland Linda Chavez (R) Barbara Mikulski (D)	- -	- -			
Alaska Glenn Olds (D) Frank H. Murkowski (R)	- '80	- 54%		Favor R				*Missouri Christopher S. Bond (R) Harriett Woods (D)	- -	- -	3.9 3.4	Toss-up	
Arizona John S. McCain III (R) Richard Kimball (D)	- -	- -	2.1 .37	Favor R				*Nevada James D. Santini (R) Henry M. Reid (D)	- -	- -	1.9 1.7	Leans D	
Arkansas Asa Hutchinson (R) Dale Bumpers (D)	- '74	- 59%		Favor D				New Hampshire Warren Rudman (R) Endicott Peabody (D)	'80 -	52% -		Safe R	
*California Edwin V.W. Zschau (R) Alan Cranston (D)	- '68	- 57%	8.6 8.2	Leans D				New York Mark Green (D) Alfonse M. D'Amato (R)	- '80	- 45%		Favor R	
*Colorado Ken Kramer (R) Timothy E. Wirth (D)	- -	- -	2.8 2.6	Toss-up				*North Carolina James T. Broyhill (R) Terry Sanford (D)	- -	- -	3.5 2.3	Toss-up	
Connecticut Roger Eddy (R) Christopher J. Dodd (D)	- '80	- 56%		Safe D				*North Dakota Mark Andrews (R) Kent Conrad (D)	'80 -	70% -	1.4 .5	Toss-up	
*Florida Paula Hawkins (R) Bob Graham (D)	'80 -	52% -	5.3 5.1	Leans D				Ohio Thomas Kindness (R) John Glenn (D)	- '74	- 69%		Safe D	
*Georgia Mack Mattingly (R) Wyche Fowler (D)	'80 -	51% -	3.3 2.0	Leans R				*Oklahoma Don Nickles (R) James R. Jones (D)	'80 -	53% -	2.5 2.1	Leans R	
Hawaii Frank Hutchinson (R) Daniel K. Inouye (D)	- '62	- 78%		Safe D				Oregon Bob Packwood (R) Rick Bauman (D)	'68 -	52% -		Safe R	
*Idaho Steve Symms (R) John V. Evans (D)	'80 -	50% -	2.8 1.6	Toss-up				*Pennsylvania Arlen Specter (R) Bob Edgar (D)	'80 -	50% -	4.5 3.1	Leans R	
Illinois Judy Koehler (R) Alan J. Dixon (D)	- '80	- 56%		Favor D				South Carolina Henry McMaster (R) Ernest F. Hollings (D)	- '66	- 70%		Safe D	
Indiana Dan Quayle (R) Jill Long (D)	'80 -	54% -		Safe R				*South Dakota James Abdnor (R) Thomas A. Daschle (D)	'80 -	58% -	3.0 2.5	Toss-up	
Iowa Charles E. Grassley (R) John P. Roehrick (D)	'80 -	53% -		Safe R				Utah Jake Garn (R) Craig Oliver (D)	'74 -	74% -		Safe R	
Kansas Robert Dole (R) Guy McDonald (D)	'68 -	64% -		Safe R				*Vermont Richard A. Snelling (R) Patrick J. Leahy (D)	- '74	- 50%	2.0 1.5	Favor D	
Kentucky Jackson Andrews (R) Wendell H. Ford (D)	- '74	- 65%		Safe D				*Washington Slade Gorton (R) Brock Adams (D)	'80 -	54% -	2.5 1.1	Toss-up	
*Louisiana W. Henson Moore (R) John B. Breaux (D)	- -	- -	5.0 2.2	Toss-up				*Wisconsin Robert W. Kasten Jr. (R) Ed Garvey (D)	'80 -	50% -	2.7 1.0	Favor R	

*HOT RACES!
**as of Oct. 23
† As of Oct. 1



1986 Senate Scorecard

	Year Elected	% 1980	\$↑ Raised (millions)	Leaning— Favored Toss-up	% Nov. 4	Net Gain + Loss -
Alabama Jeremiah Denton (R) Richard C. Shelby (D)	'80 —	50% —	3.5 1.8	Leans R		
Alaska Glenn Olds (D) Frank H. Murkowski (R)	— '80	— 54%		Favor R		
Arizona John S. McCain III (R) Richard Kimball (D)	— —	— —	2.1 .37	Favor R		
Arkansas Asa Hutchinson (R) Dale Bumpers (D)	— '74	— 59%		Favor D		
California Edwin V.W. Zschau (R) Alan Cranston (D)	— '68	— 57%	8.6 8.2	Leans D		
Colorado Ken Kramer (R) Timothy E. Wirth (D)	— —	— —	2.8 2.6	Toss-up		
Connecticut Roger Eddy (R) Christopher J. Dodd (D)	— '80	— 56%		Safe D		
Florida Paula Hawkins (R) Bob Graham (D)	— '80	— 52%	5.3 5.1	Leans D		
Georgia Mack Mattingly (R) Wyche Fowler (D)	— '80	— 51%	3.3 2.0	Leans R		
Iowa Frank Hutchinson (R) Daniel K. Inouye (D)	— '62	— 78%		Safe D		
Idaho Steve Symms (R) John V. Evans (D)	— '80	— 50%	2.8 1.6	Toss-up		
Illinois Judy Koehler (R) Alan J. Dixon (D)	— '80	— 56%		Favor D		
Indiana Dan Quayle (R) Jill Long (D)	— '80	— 54%		Safe R		
Iowa Charles E. Grassley (R) John P. Roehrick (D)	— '80	— 53%		Safe R		
Kansas Robert Dole (R) Guy McDonald (D)	— '68	— 64%		Safe R		
Kentucky Jackson Andrews (R) Wendell H. Ford (D)	— '74	— 65%		Safe D		
Louisiana W. Henson Moore (R) John B. Breaux (D)	— —	— —	5.0 2.2	Toss-up		
Maryland Linda Chavez (R) Barbara Mikulski (D)	— —	— —		Favor D		
*Missouri Christopher S. Bond (R) Harriett Woods (D)	— —	— —	3.9 3.4	Toss-up		
*Nevada James D. Santini (R) Henry M. Reid (D)	— —	— —	1.9 1.7	Leans D		
New Hampshire Warren Rudman (R) Endicott Peabody (D)	— '80	— 52%		Safe R		
New York Mark Green (D) Alfonse M. D'Amato (R)	— '80	— 45%		Favor R		
*North Carolina James T. Broyhill (R) Terry Sanford (D)	— —	— —	3.5 2.3	Toss-up		
*North Dakota Mark Andrews (R) Kent Conrad (D)	— '80	— 70%	1.4 .5	Toss-up		
Ohio Thomas Kindness (R) John Glenn (D)	— '74	— 69%		Safe D		
*Oklahoma Don Nickles (R) James R. Jones (D)	— '80	— 53%	2.5 2.1	Leans R		
Oregon Bob Packwood (R) Rick Bauman (D)	— '68	— 52%		Safe R		
*Pennsylvania Arlen Specter (R) Bob Edgar (D)	— '80	— 50%	4.5 3.1	Leans R		
South Carolina Henry McMaster (R) Ernest F. Hollings (D)	— '66	— 70%		Safe D		
*South Dakota James Abdnor (R) Thomas A. Daschle (D)	— '80	— 58%	3.0 2.5	Toss-up		
Utah Jake Garn (R) Craig Oliver (D)	— '74	— 74%		Safe R		
*Vermont Richard A. Snelling (R) Patrick J. Leahy (D)	— '74	— 50%	2.0 1.5	Favor D		
*Washington Slade Gorton (R) Brock Adams (D)	— '80	— 54%	2.5 1.1	Toss-up		
*Wisconsin Robert W. Kasten Jr. (R) Ed Garvey (D)	— '80	— 50%	2.7 1.0	Favor R		

NOT RACES!
as of Oct. 23
as of Oct. 1