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2025-0373-S

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OA/ID Number: 08374
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Folder Title:
Political Affairs (12/89 -) [2]

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3/19
Copies to Wray & Hagin

THE WHITE HOUSE

3/19/90

Dear Betsy -

Thank you for your note. I share your concern and your hope. The Connecticut GOP has both a challenge and an opportunity.

Your suggestion that Russ Reynolds' request get special attention will be heeded. — Details to follow!

Sincerely,
Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Betsy Heminway
14 Deer Lane
Greenwich, Connecticut 06830



March 15

Dear Andy,

What a wonderful job you all are doing. I hate to bother you, but we need some help here in Connecticut.

The Ct. State party, via Russ Reynolds, has put in a request for The President to do a reception at The White House for people that would come down to Washington just for this event. Russ would have a dinner somewhere afterwards and we could raise a lot of money.

-2-

I understand that on occasion The White House does do this sort of event with a quick "drop in" by The President. Our State party is in bad shape and really needs The money right now. If there is any way this could be done, it would be wonderful. We have got to elect a Republican Governor! It certainly will make things interesting having our old friend Weicker in The mix - Let's bury him once and for all.

Please give This some consideration.
Thanks so much.

All The best,
Betty Hornumway

File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

THROUGH: ANDREW H. CARD, JR. *ACJ*
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

FROM: JAMES R. WRAY *JRW*
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, Office of Political Affairs

SUBJECT: REPORT ON ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS

On March 28, Congressman Gingrich sent you a memorandum requesting direct assistance from the President and the Cabinet for key congressional races.

As you know, the Office of Political Affairs 1990 plan calls for a national kickoff of congressional campaigns beginning in March. Accordingly, my office has been working closely with the NRCC and our cabinet officers to schedule them into key districts between April 1 and May 31.

A total of 27 districts were selected by the NRCC for this kickoff campaign. These districts reflect; (1) Republican incumbents in trouble, (2) open seats, and (3) key challenger or opportunity districts. Selected Cabinet members, the Vice President and Mrs. Bush have all been asked to visit 2 to 3 districts. The attached sheet will outline the scope of these initial requests.

The kickoff will start on the morning of April 3 in Cincinnati, when the President meets briefly with Ken Blackwell, candidate for the Luken open seat in OHIO-1.

To date, most of the Cabinet officers have been cooperative and have agreed to visit these districts as presented. I believe that the weekly meeting that I conduct with the political directors of the RNC, NRSC and NRCC has kept our respective priorities in balance and have helped to avoid major conflicts. In addition, I hold monthly "after hours" sessions with the designated political representatives of all departments and agencies, attended also by representatives of the RNC, NRSC and NRCC in order to keep them fully briefed on the political priorities.

Should you have any questions or be in need of additional information, please let me know.

Thank you.

Rec'd 3/30-2000

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Honorable John Sununu
Chief of Staff for the President

FROM: The Honorable Newt Gingrich
Republican Whip

DATE: March 28, 1990

1. We have six to ten House Republican incumbents who need extra help and ten open seats (of 16 retiring Republican incumbents) that need help.

2. We need three visits by the President to help kick off the importance of House Republican campaigns. This has an emotional, symbolic and news media impact for beyond the three races. Doing this early strengthens us throughout the Summer.

3. We need two days this Spring (April and May) from each domestic cabinet officer dedicated to House races. Considering the work we do for them from subcommittee through floor action this is hardly an extraordinary request. Can you get us that commitment and who can coordinate the scheduling?

4. It might be useful to have a planning summit with the three party committees, the House and Senate leadership and you and the White House key staff to lay out priorities and try to avoid conflicts.

cc: The Honorable Bob Michel
The Honorable Guy Vander Jagt
Co-Chairman Ed Rollins
Mr. Andy Card
Mr. Ed Rogers
Mr. Jim Wray
Mr. Fred McClure
Mr. Nick Calio

1990 CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN KICKOFF

<u>ADM OFFICIAL</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEM CANDIDATE</u>	<u>STATUS</u>
President	OH-1(d)	Ken Blackwell	Charles Luken	meeting 4/3 in Cincinnati
President	IN-2(d)	Mike Pence	Phil Sharp*	meeting 4/3 in Indianapolis
President	FL-2(r)	Bill Grant*	Pete Peterson	working on 4/20 Tallahassee
V.President	GA-4(d)	John Lindner	Ben Jones*	campaign stop 4/4
V.President	OH-7(r)	Dave Hobson	TBD-primary	campaign stop 4/4
V.President	TX-11(d)	4/10 runoff	Chet Edwards	TBD
Mrs. Bush	TX-5(d)	Jerry Rucker	John Bryant*	done 3/28
Mrs. Bush	AK-2(r)	Jim Keet	TBD-primary	Tommy Robinson open seat TBD
Bennett	NC-8(d)	Ted Blanton	Bill Hefner*	will do / date TBD
Bennett	MS-5(d)	Sheila Smith	Gene Taylor*	will do / date TBD
Bennett	MI-12(d)	Jim Dingeman	David Bonior*	will do / date TBD
Dole	IL-16(r)	John Hallock		will do / date TBD
Dole	IL-4(d)	Manny Hoffman	G. Sangmaster*	will do / date TBD
Kemp	WA-3(d)	Bob Williams	Jolene Unsoeld*	will do in May
Kemp	NY-1(d)	M. LoGrande	G. Hochbruekner*	will do / date TBD
Lujan	ID-1(r)	Skip Smyser	TBD-primary	TBD
Lujan	OR-5(r)	Denny Smith*	TBD-primary	TBD
Mosbacher	IL-11(d)	Walter Dudycz	Frank Annunzio*	TBD
Mosbacher	IN-4(d)	Dan Stephan	Jill Long*	TBD
Mosbacher	WV-2(d)	Oliver Luck	Harley Staggers*	TBD
Skinner	TX-9(d)	Maury Meyers	Jack Brooks*	TBD
Skinner	FL-4(r)	Craig James*	TBD-primary	TBD
Watkins	SC-3(d)	Ray Haskett	Butler Derrick*	TBD
Yeutter	LA-8(r)	C. Holloway*	TBD-primary	TBD
Yeutter	CA-14(r)	J. Doolittle	TBD-primary	TBD
Yeutter	TX-13(d)	D. Waterfield	Bill Sarpalius*	TBD
Reilly	MI-3(d)	Brad Haskins	Howard Wolpe*	TBD

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 23, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW H. CARD, JR.
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

THROUGH: JAMES R. WRAY ^{PAC}
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

FROM: BRUCE STEBBINS ^{BS}
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: REVISED SCENARIO AND MANIFEST FOR 2/28/90
PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO STATEN ISLAND, NEW YORK

We would like your approval on the following, which is a revised scenario and manifest proposal for the President's political visit to Staten Island, New York.

AIR FORCE ONE MANIFEST FROM ANDREWS AFB

After our initial invitation calls to the requested Members of Congress, we have found that only Congressman Bill Paxon will be making the trip aboard Air Force One. Senator D'Amato and Congressmen Ray McGrath and Bill Green all declined the invitation. The Congressman will be aboard with White House Political Affairs Director Jim Wray, RNC Chairman Lee Atwater, Rich Bond and Special Assistant to the President Bill Canary.

We have also received a request from former Congressman and Staten Island Borough President Guy Molinari. He would like to accompany the President from Andrews AFB to Staten Island. The Office of Political Affairs would like to request that Borough President Molinari accompany the President to Staten Island.

NEWARK AIRPORT GREETERS

The day before the President's arrival, New Jersey Assemblyman Robert Franks will be elected the new Chairman of the New Jersey Republican Party. Franks had challenged current Chairman Kathy Donovan for the position after party rules were changed to elect a new chairman every four years following the gubernatorial election.

STATEN ISLAND TRIP - 2/23/90
Page Two

A reconciliation was made and Kathy gave her support to Assemblyman Franks. He, in turn, appointed her Chairman of the state party's re-districting committee.

New Jersey Bush Chairman Joseph Sullivan has suggested that both individuals be invited out to greet the President. Bo would like to attend the arrival with Larry Bathgate. This arrival will be viewed as a sign of unity among the party. Assemblyman Dick Cayman should also join the greeting party for his consistent help in providing volunteers and help during Presidential visits to New Jersey. | 8/C

At Newark Airport, Susan Molinari will join up with the President. The Office of Political Affairs requests that Ms. Molinari fly with the President aboard Marine One to Staten Island. The other guests from Air Force One would be flown in on another helicopter. | - HOLD

STATEN ISLAND ARRIVAL

There are no greeters upon arrival.

Since the President will be continuing on his trip to California, only Jim Wray and Lee Atwater will be accompanying the President on his departure.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact Bruce Stebbins at X6510.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 1-16-90

TO: ~~McGinn~~

FROM: ANDY CARD *Andy*

I do not recommend
that the President
go to NY - Staten Island -
for Susan Molinari.
Obviously, she's a special
case and my thoughts should
be reviewed.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 11, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR JAY PARMER
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE
FOR SPECIAL PROJECTS

THROUGH: ANDREW H. CARD, JR. *And*
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: JAMES R. WRAY *JRW*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: Request for Official Presidential Staff Pins

I wish to request eight Presidential staff pins for use by the Special Assistants and Associate Directors in the Office of Political Affairs during the 1990 election year.

As you are aware, one of the duties of the Special Assistants and Associate Directors in the Political Office is to assist campaign and state party organizations during a Presidential visit. These staff members are the liaison between these organizations and the White House when the President campaigns or fundraises on their behalf. Several staff members have experienced difficulty during past Presidential political events because they were unable to be pinned properly. Without a permanent staff pin, these individuals were questioned by the Secret Service and had difficulty fulfilling their responsibilities during events. These pins are especially necessary when the President will be making multiple stops in one day.

It has been brought to my attention by Lew Merletti, Assistant Special Agent in Charge of the Secret Service, that the Service prefers for political White House Staff who will be directly participating in an event to wear a "hard pin". Lew has given his approval to this concept, asking only that you contact Sandy Miller (or in her absence Pam Fletcher) at 395-4112 to ensure that this happens. If any problems or questions arise, Lew would like to be contacted at the same number.

Political travel will increase significantly this year, and as a result, I would appreciate your assistance in this matter as soon as possible.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 11, 1990

OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS STAFF TO RECEIVE OFFICIAL
PRESIDENTIAL STAFF PINS:

White Staff pins
de DAVID M. CARNEY, Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Director, Office of Political Affairs, will be assisting on site during Presidential trips around the country for political reasons and will also be on site for Presidential political activities in the Washington, D.C. area.

de PAUL J. COLLINS, JR., Special Assistant to the President for Political Affairs, will be assisting on site during Presidential trips around the country for political reasons and will also be on site for Presidential political activities in the Washington, D.C. area.

de LESLIE GROMIS, Assistant Deputy Director of Political Affairs, will be assisting on site during Presidential trips around the country for political reasons and is required to be on site for all Presidential political activities in the Washington, D.C. area.

de BRUCE STEBBINS, Associate Director, covers the Northeast (15 states/territories) and is required to be on site for all Presidential visits to this area for political reasons during the 1990 election year.

de BERT COLEMAN, Associate Director, covers the West (16 states/territories) and is required to be on site for all Presidential visits to this area for political reasons during the 1990 election year.

de SALLY SALMON, Associate Director, covers the South (11 states) and is required to be on site for all Presidential visits to this area for political reasons during the 1990 election year.

de ANDY FOSTER, Associate Director, covers the Midwest and Great Lakes (14 states) and is required to be on site for all Presidential visits to this area for political reasons during the 1990 election year.

How
At hand
CATHY HUTCHINSON, Deputy Associate Director, is now, with the departure of Terry Carmack, working with Andy Foster covering the Midwest and Great Lakes and will be required to be on site when Andy can not for Presidential visits to this area for political reasons during the 1990 election year.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 9, 1990

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: JOSEPH W. HAGIN, II
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

THROUGH: ANDREW H. CARD *And*
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: JAMES R. WRAY *JRW*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

REQUEST: For the President to drop-by a briefing for Asian
Republicans.

BACKGROUND: The National Asian Republican Leadership will be
attending a two-day annual conference in
Washington, D.C. Approximately 180 individuals
will be attending the White House briefing. This
group was very supportive of the President during
the campaign.

PREVIOUS
PARTICIPATION: None

DATE AND
TIME: Friday, January 12, 1990
10:00 a.m.

LOCATION: Old Executive Office Building Room 450

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Lee Atwater, RNC Chairman

OUTLINE OF
EVENTS: President enters Briefing Room.
President begins remarks.
President concludes remarks and departs.

RECOMMENDED
BY: James R. Wray

PROJECT
OFFICER: Donna Barron

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 1-6

TO: Jim Wray

FROM: ANDY CARD *Andy*

As the President so
correctly points out,
Gov. Tommy Thompson
should be in the plan
for this year.

THE WHITE HOUSE

1-4-90

Bill -

I like the Hall suggestion
and will share it with
others. - Happy New Year.

Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Lee William McNutt, III
1509 33 N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Lee William McNutt, III
1509 33 NW
Washington DC 20007

AC HAS SEEN ^{1/4}

Happy New Year
Andy!

Date: December 31, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO: **Mr. Jim Wray**

CC: **Andy Card**
Fred McClure

From: Bill McNutt, III *fw*

Subject: Congressman Ralph Hall of Texas

There is a possibility Congressman Ralph Hall (TX-4) could be enticed into early retirement with the promise of a Federal judgeship.

Congressman Hall is a lawyer and has always stressed his desire to return to practice (aka the bench). He is 66 years old and has served in Congress for many years. With the change in the law concerning the conversion of campaign contributions to personal use, he might be susceptible to such an idea.

The question is: Is it easier for the GOP to win this seat in a special election or face an incumbent and / or challenger in a general election (either 1990 or 1992) . Of course, this is a question that can best be answered with input from both the Republican Party of Texas and the National Committee here in Washington.

These things don't always work out as planned. (We all remember the Chapman-Hargett race in the early 1983 in East Texas.) Nonetheless, I thought the idea was worth mentioning to the White House. My phone number is 523- 8305 if I can be of further service on this.

file

MARKET OPINION REPORTS

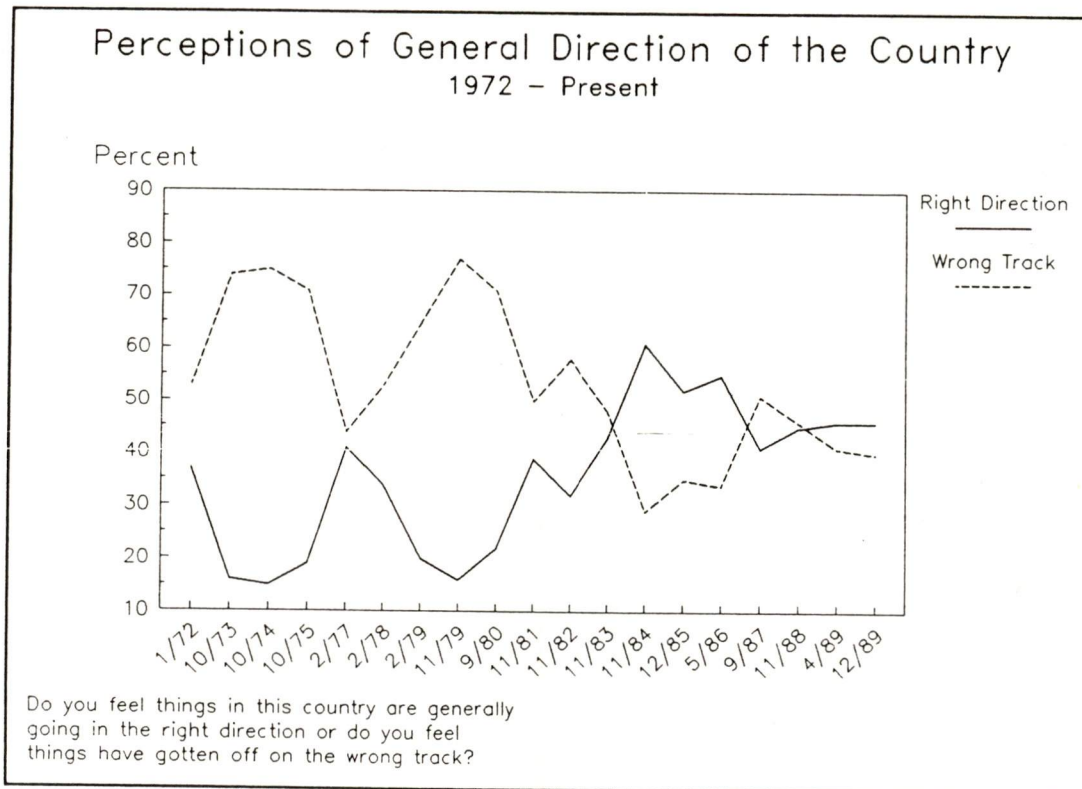
A monthly look at national attitudes
on political and public policy issues

Conducted by:
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH



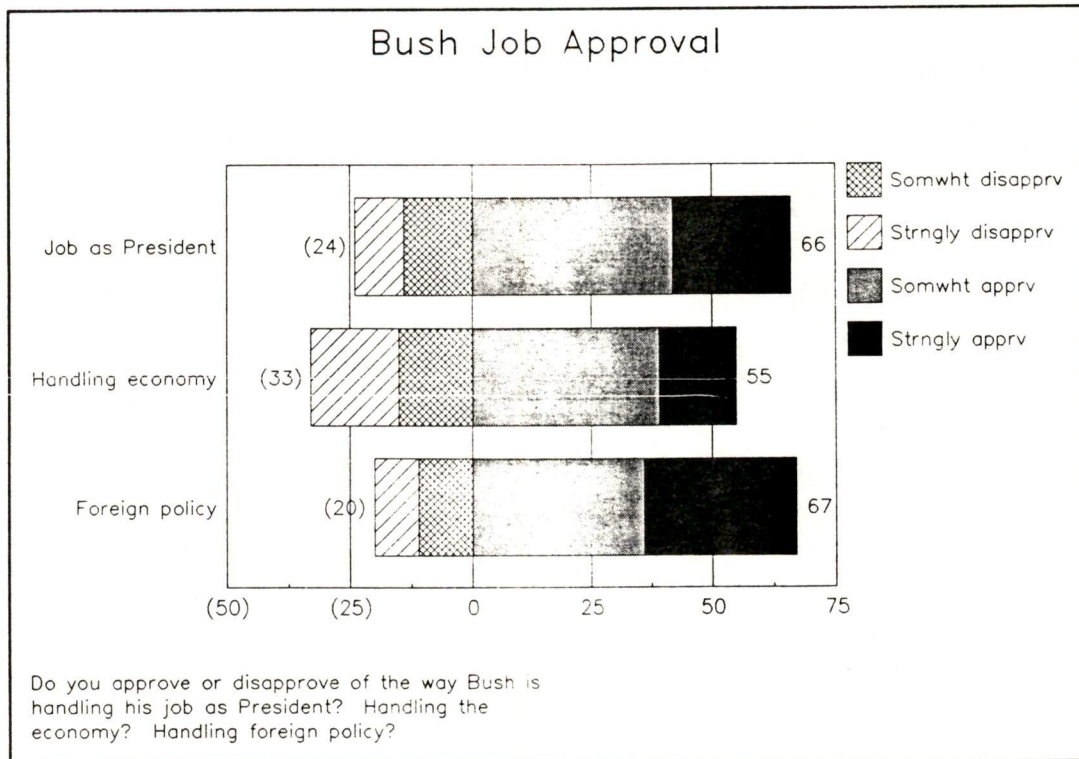
December, 1989

PERCEPTIONS OF THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY



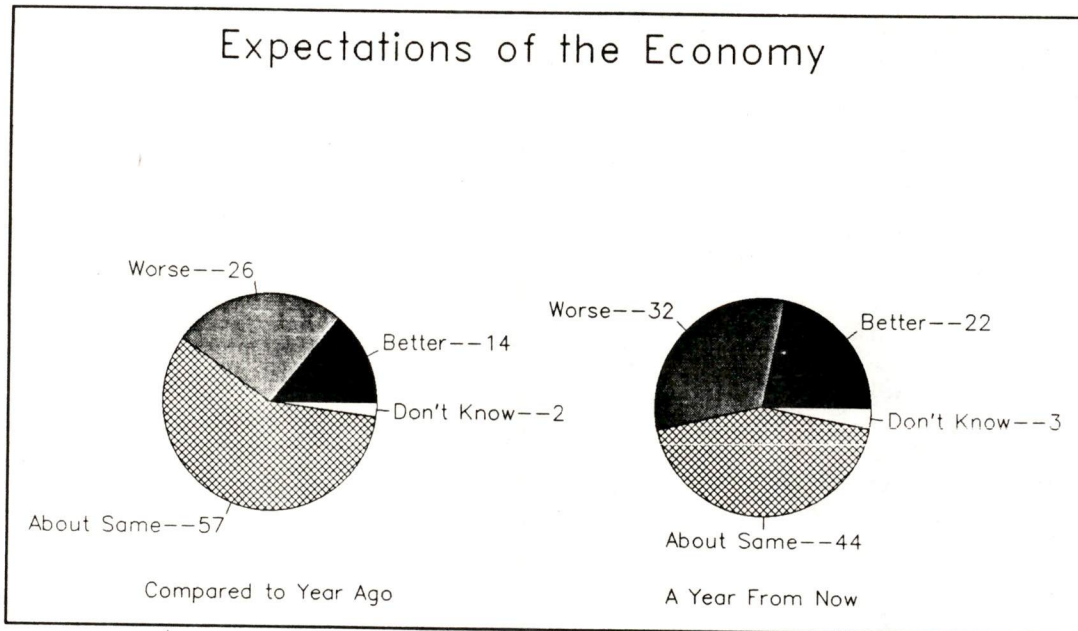
- Figures throughout most of the year have been reasonably stable. Currently, 45% believe things are "going in the right direction". Forty percent (40%) believe things are "off on the wrong track".
- Sixty-one percent (61%) of Republicans believe things are going in the right direction; only 33% of Democrats feel that way.
- Generally speaking, younger people are more optimistic than older people.
- Women are more pessimistic than men.
- It appears that the Bush Administration has maintained a relatively optimistic public attitude. While these figures are not as good as those received by Ronald Reagan at this point in his first term, they are better than those received during the last 18 months of Reagan's administration.

BUSH JOB APPROVAL



- The President's job approval continues to be high: 24% "strongly approve", 42% "somewhat approve", 14% "somewhat disapprove", and 10% "strongly disapprove".
- Those most critical of Bush's performance include "strong Democrats" and those who consider themselves "very liberal", but even these groups are closely divided ("strong Democrats" = 45% approve, 44% disapprove; "very liberal" = 48% approve, 48% disapprove). Among blacks, 48% approve while 35% disapprove.
- President Bush's job approval appears to be driven by the fact that 67% approve of his handling of foreign policy. Note that this survey was conducted while the President attended the summit in Malta. Still, while there are foreign policy "exceptions" (e.g. El Salvador), the President gets considerably higher marks for handling foreign policy than he does for handling the economy.

EXPECTATIONS OF THE ECONOMY



- Most voters have a mixed-to-negative view of the economy. Fifty-seven percent (57%) feel the national economy has *stayed the same*, 26% feel it has gotten worse, while only 14% feel it has gotten better.
- Those in the northeast and Mid-Atlantic states, Democrats, union members and minorities are most likely to feel the economy has declined.
- Expectations about the coming year are mixed-to-negative as well. Forty-four percent (44%) feel the economy *stayed about the same*, while 32% feel it has gotten worse. Only 22% feel things will get better.
- A comparison to identical questions asked in 1986 suggests that public attitudes reflect the general slow-down of the economy.

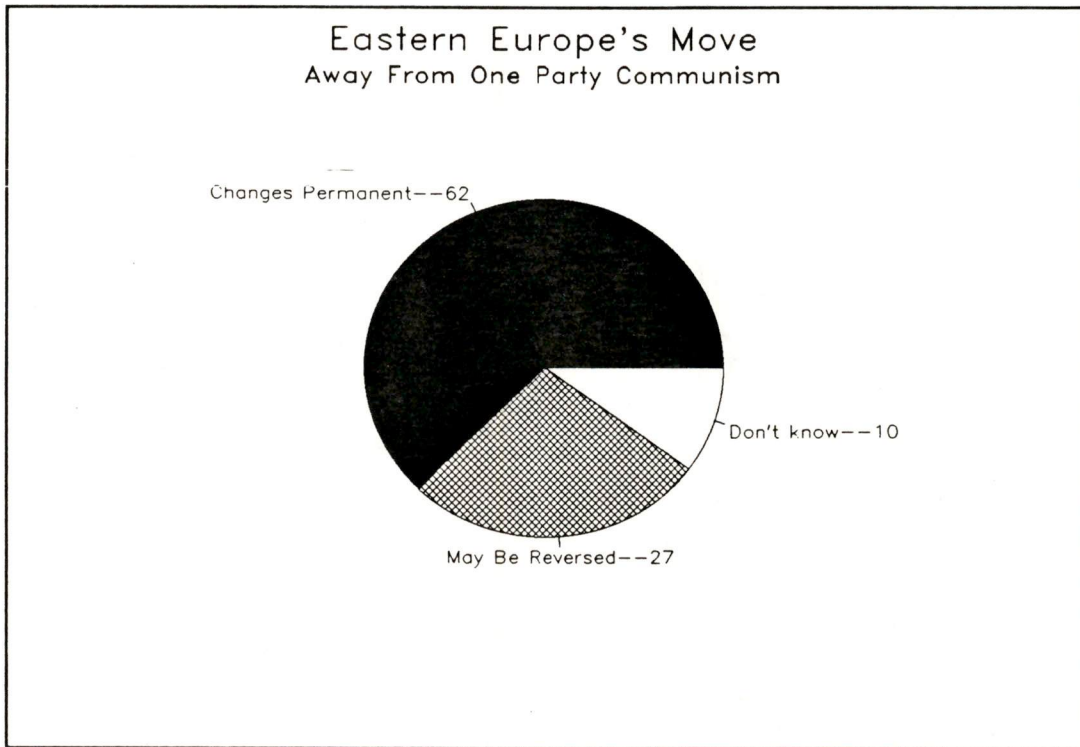
	Compared to a year ago, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?		Thinking about a year from now, do you expect the national economy will be better, worse, or about the same?	
	All % May 86	All % Dec 89	All % May 86	All % Dec 89
Better	40	14	33	22
Worse	21	26	22	32
Stayed about the same	37	57	40	44
Don't Know	2	2	2	3

- General pessimism about the immediate future of the economy has increased 10 percentage points compared to 3 years ago.

V

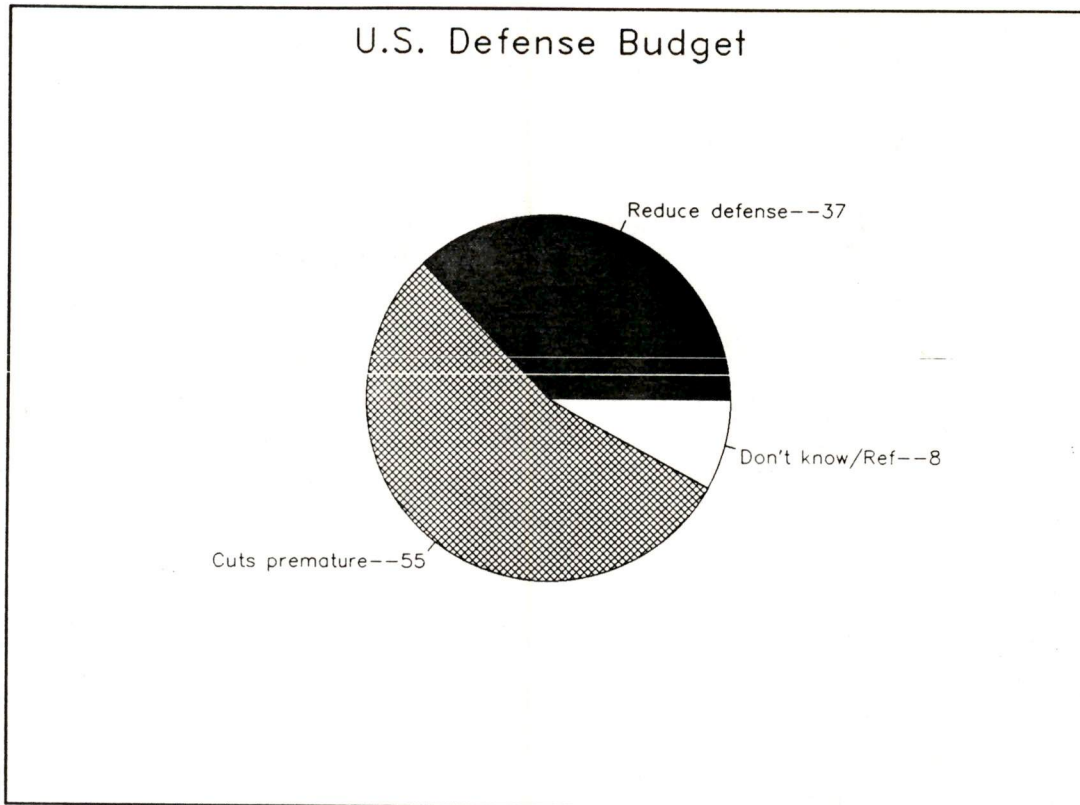
EASTERN EUROPE

- Q. *As you are aware, many Eastern European countries are currently moving away from one-party Communist systems to more open, democratic systems. From what you have heard or read, do you believe these changes will be permanent or do you believe these changes may be temporary and may be reversed?*



- Most Americans (62%) believe the political changes in many Eastern European governments will be permanent. Twenty-seven percent (27%) believe these changes could be reversed.

Q. *In view of the situation in Eastern Europe, do you feel that now would be an appropriate time to cut the U.S. defense budget to encourage the peace process, or do you feel that defense spending cuts now would be premature because of uncertainties in Eastern Europe?*



- While the American public is optimistic about political changes in Eastern Europe, they are also quite conservative when it comes to the U.S. budget implications of changes in Eastern Europe. Specifically, a majority of the public feels that defense spending cuts now are premature.
- Remarkably, where men and women usually respond differently to questions having to do with defense, they agreed.
- Most likely to want to see defense spending cut are liberals, democrats and people over the age of 65, the generations that fought World War II.

DRUGS

Targeting Users Not a High Priority

Q. Now, thinking about the problem of illegal drugs in the United States, which one of the following two statements comes closest to your opinion on the most effective way of dealing with that problem? (ROTATE CODES 1 - 2)

53% To be really effective, more efforts should be focused on stopping those who import and sell illegal drugs in the United States.

28% To be really effective, more efforts should be focused on stopping the people that buy and use illegal drugs.

15% Both (Volunteered)

- Only 43% of the voters feel user-targeting is needed to be effective in fighting the war on drugs.
- Younger people in particular feel the real priority is the pusher. Older people are more likely to target users.

Now let me read you some proposals that have been made to stop people who buy and use illegal drugs. For each, please tell me whether you would support or oppose that proposal?

	Favor	Oppose
...short mandatory jail sentences for someone caught using illegal drugs for the first time	59	36
...roadblocks which would allow police to pull people over at random, without any prior suspicion of possessing illegal drugs	35	62
...prosecution and mandatory sentencing of anyone caught and convicted of having any illegal substance in any amount	61	32

- Tougher penalties for users are supported, although roadblocks are opposed:

Results are based on interviews completed with 650 adults on the evenings of December 20 and 21, 1989.

PRESIDENT BUSH: JOB PERFORMANCE

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

1989 Trend	Dec.	Nov.	Sept.	Aug.	July	June	May	April
Collapsed Responses								
Approve	79	66%	71%	67%	64%	65%	64%	70%
Disapprove	14	23	17	20	21	23	19	19
Strongly approve	38	21%	28%	24%	24%	22%	25%	27%
Just approve	42	45	43	43	41	44	39	43
Just disapprove	8	14	10	12	13	14	12	11
Strongly disapprove	6	10	8	8	8	9	8	8
Don't know/NA	6	10	12	14	15	12	13	11

Subgroups	Approve	Disapprove
Republicans		
Democrats		
18-29		
30-44		
45-64		
65+		
Whites		
Blacks		
Men		
Women		

NATIONAL DIRECTION

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

1989 Trend

	Dec.	Nov.	Sept.	Aug.	July	June	May	April
Right direction	47	40%	40%	39%	39%	38%	41%	46%
Wrong track	42	53	50	49	52	54	53	41
Don't know/NA	9	7	10	12	9	9	7	13

Subgroups

	Right Direction	Wrong Track
Republicans		
Democrats		
18-29		
30-44		
45-64		
65+		
Whites		
Blacks		
Men		
Women		

APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT'S PANAMA DECISION

Do you approve or disapprove of President Bush's decision to use U.S. military force in Panama to remove General Noriega from power? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Approve	79%
Disapprove	16

Strongly approve	62%
Just approve	17
Just disapprove	6
Strongly disapprove	10

Don't know/NA	10
---------------	----

Subgroups	Approve	Disapprove
Republicans		
Democrats		
18-29		
30-49		
50+		
Men		
Women		

CONTINUED TROOP DEPLOYMENT

Do you think the additional U.S. troops that were sent to Panama should be withdrawn within a week or so, or do you think they should stay until we are sure the new government is control, even though it may be several months?

Withdraw in week or so	14%
Remain as necessary	77
Don't know/NA	9

Subgroups	Approve	Disapprove
Republicans		
Democrats		
18-29		
30-49		
50+		
Men		
Women		

JUDGING SUCCESS OF PANAMA ACTION

Some people say that the American military action in Panama will be a failure if the United States fails to capture Manuel Noriega and bring him to the U.S. to stand trial on drug trafficking charges.

Other people say that even if Manuel Noriega is not captured, American military action will be a success because a democratic government has been restored in Panama.

Which statement comes closest to your own opinion?

Failure without Noriega	39%
Still Success	54
Don't know/NA	7

Subgroups	Failure	Success
Republicans		
Democrats		
18-29		
30-49		
50+		
Men		
Women		

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Date: 11-1

FOR: *Jim Whay*

AC HAS SEEN ✓

FROM: ANDY CARD

Action

Your Comment *ASAP*

Let's Talk

FYI

11/3 Andy —

*Absolutely not. Nicholas
does not want this to
happen (Boren mtg).*

JOBW

Oklahoma State Senate

STATE CAPITOL

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA 73105



DISTRICT 35
TULSA COUNTY
918-743-3573
405-524-0126

DON RUBOTTOM
SENATOR

COMMITTEES
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
GENERAL GOVERNMENT
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS AND
AGENCY OVERSIGHT
JUDICIARY
TOURISM AND RECREATION

October 19, 1989

Mr. Lee Atwater, Chairman
Republican National Committee
310 First Street S. E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

OCT 24 1989

Resp: Speaker
fpi: Atwater
✓ fpi: Pol.

Dear Lee,

It has come to my attention that Senator Boren has been negotiating with the White House to arrange a visit by the President to Tulsa during mid-April. This could be a very embarrassing situation because we are planning a State Republican Convention for April 20-21, in Tulsa, attempting to show off our candidates for Governor in this County which contains one-third swing voters and which went two thirds for the President last year.

If the President could address our convention on the same trip, I do not believe he would do any damage attending Senator Boren's function. It might even identify Boren with Republicans more than the President with the 1990 Democratic ticket headed by the Senator. And, if the occasion could be a stage for the Senator announcing a change in parties the entire event could be a coup.

On the other hand, the President's visiting Tulsa, strengthening Senator Boren's credibility during an election year in which he heads an otherwise weak Democratic ticket, and in the same week, showing up our convention, could mortally wound, both our First District Congressional race, and our efforts to offer a ticket of real options for this conservative state.

I am confident that you will take appropriate steps to see that any visit by the President does not impair our opportunities. Thank you for your assistance.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Don Rubottom".

Don Rubottom

11-14-89
C-TRAK to NSC

THE WHITE HOUSE

11-13-89

Chuck-

It was good to see you when the President campaigned in New Jersey. Thank you for your follow-up note and the letter to the President regarding your two-hour interview with the Editor in Chief of *Questia*. I'll make sure it gets into the right hands.

Keep in touch. Sincerely, Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Hon. Chuck Hardwick
203 Elm Street
Westfield, NJ 07090

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1989

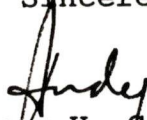
Dear Governor DiPrete:

Many thanks for your very kind letter. It was my pleasure to be of assistance to you.

Please know that I will share your complimentary comments with those White House staff who helped to make the President's trip to Rhode Island a success! It's always nice to hear appreciative words.

Best wishes to you and your family for a happy holiday season! I look forward to continuing to work with you in 1990.

Sincerely,



Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

The Honorable Edward D. DiPrete
Governor of Rhode Island
555 Wilbur Avenue
Cranston, Rhode Island 02921



AC HAS SEEN ✓

Governor's Residence

November 30, 1989

Mr. Andrew Card
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Andy:

I just wanted to take the opportunity to thank you for all your help in making the President's recent visit to Rhode Island such a success. It was a historic event for the state -- made all the more so because it was brought off flawlessly.

You should be very proud of your staff, which exhibited the highest level of professionalism throughout. I hope you will convey my deepest appreciation to all of them.

The President's visit captivated an entire state. For one evening, all eyes were on President Bush as live television coverage by all three local network affiliates brought him into the living rooms of families throughout Rhode Island. His personal warmth, strength, and leadership abilities were on display for all to see. It's fair to say that in a single evening, he managed to win the hearts of all Rhode Islanders.

For all your assistance in helping to make this evening possible, I thank you once again. It's always a pleasure to work with you, and I offer my very best wishes for much continued success.

Sincerely,

Edward D. DiPrete
Governor

Thank you, Andy, for all your help. I
deeply appreciate it.



GOVERNOR KAY A. ORR
STATE OF NEBRASKA

AC HAS SEEN ✓

December 8, 1989

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As 1989 draws to a close, my plans for 1990 are being accelerated. Looking forward to the campaign it is my pleasure to invite you to come back to Nebraska in the Spring of 1990 for a fund raising event on my behalf.

Nebraskans have always held you in high regard, and recent polls indicate increasing support here for your leadership. It goes without saying that your appearance in support of my reelection will be an important factor.

With great expectation I await your favorable reply.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Kay A. Orr".

KAY A. ORR
Governor of Nebraska

1425 H STREET LINCOLN, NEBRASKA 68508

NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 24, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDY CARD
DAVE DEMAREST
MARLIN FITZWATER
BILL KRISTOL
ROGER PORTER
SIG ROGICH

FROM: ED ROGERS

SUBJECT: POLL MEETING BRIEFING PAPERS

Attached please find the briefing papers for the poll meeting to be held at 4:00pm tomorrow, Wednesday, October 25th, in Andy Card's office.

If you have any questions, please call.

Thanks.

President Bush: Job Performance

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	Oct 1989	April 1989
Collapsed Responses		
Approve	75%	70%
Disapprove	18	19
Full Responses		
Strongly approve	29%	27%
Just somewhat approve	45	43
Just somewhat disapprove	10	11
Strongly disapprove	8	8
Don't know/NA	7	11
Subgroups		
	Approve	Disapprove
Republicans	94%	5
Ticket-Splitters	79%	15
Democrats	56%	36
Blacks	62%	25
Right Direction	88%	9
Wrong Track	65%	27

Comment

No significant changes in approval or disapproval are found among important voter groups.

The public does not blame President Bush for their anxiety over the course of the nation. By comparison, in a similar right direction/wrong track environment (42% to 55% in April, 1987), a stronger relationship between dissatisfaction with the direction of the country and presidential approval is seen in the large disapproval of Reagan (64% versus only 34% approval) from 'wrong track' adults.

President Bush's strong approval rating is moderately intense: by September in his first term Reagan's strong approval was slightly higher (34%). Bush's performance as President has not polarized the public into both strong approval and disapproval as was the case for Reagan who faced 32% disapproval in September of 1981.

Draft Report -- October 18

Reasons for Approval and Disapproval

APPROVAL Selected Mentions		DISAPPROVAL Selected Mentions	
Like stance on drugs	17%	Not doing good job	5%
Doing good job	14	Dislike drug plan	5
Doing his best	6	He's too weak	4
Like stance on education	6	Dislike like his foreign policy	4
Like stance on foreign policy	5	Dislike his social policies	4
Knows what he's doing	3	Represents rich, not poor	3
Good man - I like him	3	Hasn't had enough time yet	2
Taking things slowly	3	All talk no action	2
Handling USSR well	2	Not doing enough for education	2
Willing to listen	2	Didn't handle Panama well	2
Stands up for what he believes in	2	Not doing things to help country	2
Done no wrong	2	Not helping homeless	2
Family man	2		
Honest	2	Don't know/NA	7

Comment

Draft Report -- October 18

President Bush: General Feelings

Trend	51-100 Warm	50 Neutral	0-49 Cold	Don't Know Ref./NA	Avg. ¹
October, 1989	62%	20	17	1	64°
April	63%	16	19	2	64°
Jan., 1989	54%	17	26	3	58°
Nov. 6-7, 1988	48%	16	34	3	53°
Sept. 27-28	47%	16	34	3	54°
Aug. 22-24	56%	15	30	2	57°
Aug. 3-6	42%	17	38	3	50°
July	44%	17	37	2	50°
May	38%	22	38	2	48°
March	42%	16	36	6	49°
Intense Favorability		90-100°			
October, 1989		20%			
April		19			
January, 1989		13			

Comment

The voters' general feelings about President Bush remain mostly favorable. The President is likely at what essentially is his ceiling of popularity.

The aborted coup in Panama had no negative effect on voters' general feelings toward the President (nor on their perception of his job performance).

While much of the intense favorability for the President is composed of traditional Republican constituencies, Democrats are a tenth to this total, and women and blacks contribute more than their population share and especially more than their normal partisanship would suggest.

¹ Average on a 0-to-100 scale where 0=very cold, 50=not warm or cold, and 100=very warm

Bush Style of Leadership

In general, do you think George Bush has been too bold, too cautious, or about right in handling his responsibilities as President?

Too bold	2%
Too cautious	31
About right	63
Don't Know/NA	5

Subgroups	Too Bold	Too Cautious	About Right
Republican	1%	17	80
Ticket-Splitters	2%	32	62
Democrats	3%	42	50
Conservative GOP	2%	16	81
Conservative DEM	4%	39	52

Comment

This Democratic attack strategy has no audience with either Bush's core of support or substantial shares of important swing groups.

Draft Report -- October 18

Volunteered Perceptions of President Bush's
Accomplishments and Disappointments

What has George Bush done so far that has impressed you the most?

What has George Bush done so far that has disappointed you the most?

Impressive (Selected Mentions)		Disappointing (Selected Mentions)	
Action on drugs	32%	Poor Panama handling	5%
Making effort on education	6	Drug action positions	4
Handling USSR	5	Not doing anything	2
General foreign policy	5	Poor job	2
Doing good job	3	Not enough effort	2
Cool, calm approach	3		
		Nothing	33
Education summit	2	Don't know/NA	18
His honesty	2		
Hasn't raised taxes	2		
Like him personally	2		
Too early to tell	2		
Continuing Reagan policy/trends	2		
Making overall good effort	2		
Nothing	18		
Don't know/NA	13		

Comment

[Check April data for significant trend (Q47 impressive)]

Draft Report -- October 18

Vice-President Quayle: General Feelings

Trend	51-100 Warm	50 Neutral	0-49 Cold	Don't Know Ref./NA	Avg. ²
October, 1989	28%	24	40	9	44°
April	35%	20	38	8	46°
Jan., 1989	26%	24	43	7	41°
Nov. 6-7, 1988	22%	21	52	5	37°
Sept. 27-28	25%	19	46	9	40°
Aug. 22-24, 1988	38%	18	33	11	50°

Subgroups (October, 1989)	Warm	Neutral	Cold	Avg.
Republicans	51%	24	18	59°
Ticket-splitters	30%	25	38	46°
Democrats	10%	21	62	30°
Men	31%	22	41	45°
Women	25%	25	39	44°

Comment

Improvement in the public's perception of the Vice-President has stalled: favorability has slipped into ambivalence, while Americans with negative impressions of Quayle have let go of their perceptions of him.

² Average on a 0-to-100 scale where 0=very cold, 50=not very warm or cold, and 100=very warm.

Draft Report -- October 18

Vice-President Quayle: Job Performance

*Do you approve or disapprove of the way Dan Quayle is handling his job as Vice-President?
Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?*

	Oct 1989	April 1989
Collapsed Responses		
Approve	38%	50%
Disapprove	22	22
Don't know/NA	41	28

Do you think Dan Quayle would or would not be able to handle the job of President if something happened to President Bush?

Would be able	34%	41%
Would not be able	52	49
Don't know/NA	14	10

Subgroups	Job Performance			Able to Handle Presidency	
	Approve	Dis-approve	Don't Know	Would	Would not
Republicans	56%	12	32	53%	36
Ticket-Splitters	38%	21	39	36%	51
Democrats	25%	33	42	20%	67
Men	42%	22	37	41%	28
Women	35%	20	45	28%	56
East North Central	40%	20	40	41%	47
Mid Atlantic	28%	23	50	25%	58
Southern Whites	43%	18	37	36%	51

Summit

The drop in Quayle's job approval was led by swing and Republican coalition groups -- ticket-splitters and white Southerners, for example. Again, with the Vice-President's lower profile, disapproval remains while approval and favorability in general, and confidence in his abilities to take over for the President fades.

Erosion in confidence in the Vice-President to handle the job of President has eroded among voters generally over 50 years of age. These older voters had previously given Quayle more support than had those of his own age, now they are as much in doubt about the Vice-President as younger voters.

Draft Report -- October 18

Congress: Job Performance

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Collapsed Responses	Oct. 1989	April 1989	1984	Nov. 1983	Early 1983	1982	1981	Oct. 1979
Approve	51%	50%	46%	34%	51%	37%	42%	18%
Disapprove	34	39	33	32	33	39	39	67
Don't Know/ NA	15	11	21	34	16	42	19	15

Subgroups

	Approve	Disapprove		Approve	Disapprove
Republicans	50%	40	Men	50%	41
Ticket-splitters	48%	39	Women	51%	29
Democrats	56%	29	Pro-life	43%	39
18-39 years	60%	26	In-between & somewhat		
40-64 years	45%	39	pro-choice	57%	29
65+ years	34%	50	Strongly pro-choice	48%	36

Comment

Congress appears to have a considerable cushion of appeal before significant turnover of incumbents could be anticipated. Substantial approval from Republicans indicates how far the Party has to go before Democratic control of Congress can be seriously challenged.

Ambivalence is probably a better term for the public's perception of Congress: just one adult in nine reports that they strongly approve of the institution's performance.

Draft Report -- October 18

Congress: Reasons for Approval and Disapproval

Approval (Combined Mentions)		Disapproval (Selected Mentions)	
Doing good job	6%	Only interested in self/careers	6%
Doing their best	3	Can't agree/too much arguing	5
Haven't done any wrong	3	Don't represent people	4
Representing people well	2	Not working hard	4
Like handling of drug issue	2	Not doing good job	3
Don't know/NA	17%	Bad priorities	3
Comment		Anti-elderly	3
		Influenced by special groups	3
		Dislike drug issue handling	2
		Don't work with President	2
		Overpaid/gave themselves raise	2
		Dislike abortion issue handling	2

Americans have no solid reasoning about why they approve of Congress, nearly two-thirds of those approving have no rationale.

On the disapproval side, Americans are quite specific and can name many disagreements with Congress' style and substantive actions. Few complaints were heard about lack of financial or moral ethics on the part of Congress.

Draft Report -- October 18

Generic Congressional Ballot

If the elections for the U.S. House of Representatives were being held today, would you be voting for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate from your district?

Which way do you lean as of today -- toward the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate?

	Oct 1989	April 1989
Republican	43%	38%
Democrat	47	46
Don't Know/NA	10	16

Subgroups

	Rep	Dem		Rep	Dem
Republicans	90%	6	Men	48%	43
Ticket- splitters	45%	40	Women	39%	51
Democrats	5%	91	Strongly pro-life	46%	44
18-39 years	47%	45	Strongly pro-choice	41%	48
40-64 years	40%	48			
65+ years	38%	52			
Bush Core Support	85%	8			
Swing	28%	59			
Anti-Bush	4%	93			

Comment

Democrats remain remarkably loyal to the notion of electing their own to Congress despite significant alienation as measured by much weaker confidence in their party's policies than Republicans have in their party's.

Of adults who currently make up swing support for Bush, generic congressional Democratic voters outnumber Republicans by two to one.

Draft Report -- October 18

Party Confidence

Do you have more confidence in the policies and programs of the Republican party or the Democratic Party to solve the problems facing the country?

	Oct.	April	1989 Jan.	Nov. 6-7	Sept.	July	1988 May
Republican	38%	43%	47%	43%	40%	37%	35%
Democratic	30	33	33	49	41	37	39
Both	10	8	6	4	6	7	6
Neither	12	11	10	7	6	11	10
Don't Know/ NA	10	5	4	8	7	8	10
GOP Margin	8	10	14	-6	1	0	-4

Subgroups

	Rep Party	Dem Party	Both/Neither/ NA
Republicans	83%	3	14
Ticket-Splitters	36%	23	41
Democrats	8%	62	30
Men	42%	25	33
Women	34%	34	32
18-39 years	43%	31	27
40+ years	34%	30	36
Blacks	5%	62	32
Right Direction	54%	20	26
Wrong Track	27%	39	34

Comment

The Republican party continues to lead the Democratic party on handling the country's problems, taken as the voters' net judgment across all their various concerns. (The drug problem is the greatest concern in this survey and the GOP leads the Democrats on that issue by 13 percent.)

A large 32% do not have a party preference on the issues. In the past, those voters have tended to vote Democratic.

Draft Report -- October 18

Party Issue Handling

Here are some issues and problems. For each one, please tell me whether you think the Republican Party or the Democratic Party would do a better job of handling it.

	Republican Party	Democratic Party	Both	Neither	GOP Margin
Avoiding a tax increase to reduce the federal budget deficit	55%	27	5	5	28
Improving our competitive position in world markets	49%	27	8	3	22
Combatting the drug problem	41%	28	13	7	13
Reducing the federal budget deficit	44%	32	8	6	4
Cleaning up corruption in government	31%	33	11	15	-2
Doing the right thing on the nation's abortion laws	32%	39	9	6	-7
Improving the quality of public education	34%	42	11	4	-8
Protecting the environment from toxic waste and pollution	26%	47	10	5	-21

Comment

The President's announced anti-drug plan and the education summit did not change the party margins on these issue, though they may have reinforced people's preferences.

The GOP has been more successful in reducing the Democratic party's traditional margin on education than it has on the environment.

The back and forth flow of ethics charges this year have left neither party with an advantage as the anti-corruption party.

Draft Report -- October 18

Party Handling Trends for Drugs, Education and Environment

Net Republican Advantage	Oct.	April	1989 Jan.	1986 May	1984 October	1983 March
Reducing the federal budget deficit	+12	+19	+11	+13	+2	+15
Combatting the drug problem	+13	+12	+6 ³			
Improving the quality of public education	-8	-6	-15			
Protecting the environment from toxic waste and pollution	-21	-19	n.a.			

³ January wording: 'Solving the drug problem'

Draft Report -- October 18

Party Identification

Party Identification	Oct.	April	1989 Jan.
Republican	45%	44%	46%
Democratic	46	47	47
Independent	8	8	7
Other/NA	1	1	2

Subgroups	Party ID	
	Republican	Democratic
Men	49%	42
18-34 years	57%	36
35+ years	44%	47
Women	41%	50
18-34 years	43%	51
35+ years	41%	50
New Deal Groups		
Northern Protestant	59%	31
Northern Catholic	45%	48
Northern Union	42%	49
Southern White	52%	41
Blacks	5%	86
Jews	35%	50

Comment

The Republican party remains at parity with the Democrats in the voters' basic party identifications.

The Democratic party's overwhelming support from minorities plus their nearly ten point margin with women is preventing the Republicans from effecting an overall realignment.

National Direction

Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

	Oct.	April	1989 Jan.	Aug.	1988 March	1987	1986	1985
Right Direction	40%	46%	53%	48%	41%	39%	54%	52%
Wrong Track	51	41	37	44	49	53	34	35
Don't Know/ NA	9	13	10	8	10	8	12	13
Difference	-11	5	16	4	-8	-14	20	17

Subgroups

	Right Direction	Wrong Track	Don't Know/ NA
Republicans	55%	38	7
Ticket-Splitters	41%	51	8
Democrats	27%	63	10
Men	46%	45	8
Women	34%	56	9
18-39 years	46%	46	8
40+ years	34%	56	10
Blacks	18%	74	9

Comment

Largely because of the drug problem, a majority of voters have a negative perception of the overall direction of the country.

The current situation is unusual in that such perceptions usually negatively effect their perceptions of the President's job performance. So far, they are not holding President Bush responsible.

Volunteered National Problems

What do you think are the most important problems facing the country at the present time?

Drugs	57%
Homelessness	18
Education	16
Budget deficit and national debt	10
Unemployment	9
Crime	8
Pollution/Environment	7
Foreign Relations, unspecified	5
Economy	5
Poverty	5
Abortion	4
Senior health care/costs/insurance	4
AIDS	4
Welfare	4
Health care/insurance	4
War and Peace	4
Too much foreign aid	4
Lack of family morals	4
Don't know/NA	2

Comment

Ranking of Government Goals

	9-10 Extremely	Collapsed Importance Ratings			Average ⁴
		6-8 Very	5 Neutral	0-4 Not Very	
Combatting the drug problem					
October, 1989	75%	21	3	3	9.0
April, 1989	74%	20	3	2	8.9
Improving the quality of public education					
October, 1989	69%	25	4	2	8.9
April, 1989	63%	29	6	2	8.6
Protecting the environment from toxic waste and pollution					
October, 1989	64%	29	4	2	8.7
April, 1989	62%	30	5	3	8.6
Reducing the federal budget deficit					
October, 1989	48%	36	8	5	8.1
April, 1989	58%	29	8	4	8.3
Improving our competitive position in world markets					
October, 1989	39%	41	12	5	7.7
Doing the right thing on the nation's abortion laws					
October, 1989	37%	22	15	20	6.7
Avoiding a tax increase to reduce the federal budget deficit					
October, 1989	30%	33	15	19	6.6

Comment

The budget deficit has slipped while the drug problem, education, and the environment have all increased in perceived importance.

⁴ Average on a 0-to-10 scale where 0=not at all important and 10=extremely important

National Economy

Compared to A YEAR AGO, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	Oct.	April	Jan. 1989
Gotten better	16%	16%	20%
Stayed about the same	56	56	50
Gotten Worse	26	27	27
Don't know/NA	2	1	3

Thinking about A YEAR FROM NOW, do you expect the national economy will be better, worse or about the same?

Better	22%	23%	24%
About the same	47	43	44
Worse	28	31	23
Don't know/NA	3	3	9

Subgroups	Vs. Year Ago		Year From Now	
	Better	Worse	Better	Worse
Republicans	23%	18	27%	18
Ticket-Splitters	18%	23	22%	25
Democrats	10%	33	15%	41
Men	21%	21	24%	25
Women	13%	30	20%	32
Bush Core	24%	18	26%	18
Swing	18%	21	29%	25
Anti-Bush	4%	40	10%	47
Right Direction	23%	13	26%	19
Wrong Track	12%	35	18%	36

Comment

The voters' perceptions of the current and future economy remain unchanged. They still do not expect a recession in the next year.

Awareness and Attitudes Toward Capital Gains Reduction

One proposal in Washington is to reduce the tax rate on capital gains. Are you generally familiar or not familiar with what a tax on capital gains means?

Familiar	46%
Not familiar	53
Don't know/NA	1

(If familiar, ask:) *Do you favor or oppose reducing the tax rate on capital gains?*

Favor	51%
Oppose	43
Don't know/NA	6

Subgroups	Awareness		Those Aware	
	Familiar	Not Familiar	Favor	Oppose
Republicans	54%	46	68%	27
Ticket-Splitters	49%	51	53%	42
Democrats	43%	55	31%	63
Less than \$40,000 Family Income	38%	61	48%	46
\$40-\$50,000	63%	36	51%	47
\$50-\$70,000	73%	27	57%	33
\$75,000 & over	77%	23	71%	27
Men	56%	44	54%	42
Women	37%	63	48%	46
Bush Core	54%	45	65%	30
Swing	39%	60	50%	45
Anti-Bush	45%	55	31%	64

Comments

Men and upper-income voters are significantly more attentive to the capital gains issue than are middle and lower income voters and women (even controlling for their education and income levels).

Among the attentive public, opinions are closely divided with support increasing with income levels, as was expected.

Reactions to Capital Gains Tax Arguments

The capital gains tax is the tax on the sale of stocks, bonds, a home, and other real estate. Some people favor reducing the tax on capital gains because they think it would increase business investment and jobs. Others oppose this proposal because they think it is mainly a tax cut for the rich. Who do you agree with more -- those who favor or those who oppose a reduction in the tax on capital gains?

	Total	Familiar	Unfamiliar
Favor	44%	50%	40%
Oppose	50	44	54
Don't Know/NA	7		

Subgroups	Favor	Oppose
Republicans	58%	36
Ticket-Splitters	46%	49
Democrats	30%	65
Pacific	48%	41
Mid Atlantic	38%	57
Men	48%	47
College grad or more	60%	35
Women	40%	52
College grad or more	43%	51
Bush Coalition	57%	37
Swing	43%	51
Anti-Bush	30%	65
Less than \$40,000		
Family Income	40%	54
\$40-\$50,000	47%	46
\$50-\$70,000	52%	41
\$75,000 & over	66%	27

Comment

With the general public, opinions are also closely divided but this time with a majority opposed to a capital gains tax cut. Those unfamiliar with the issue oppose a tax reduction, while the attentive public remains in moderate support.

College educated men are the major supporters; non-college men are slightly opposed; and women, regardless of education, are opposed.

Public's Perceptions of Deficit Consequences

Do you think the federal budget deficit should be considered a national crisis that needs a solution very quickly, or do you think it is not quite that serious and just needs to be reduced over the next several years?

Quick solution	33%
Not quite that serious	62
Don't know/NA	5

If the federal budget deficit is not brought under control, which one of the following four consequences do you think we have to be most concerned about?

A major recession	26%
A large tax increase	22
The U.S. becoming less competitive in the world market	18
A lower standard of living for our children and grand children	28
None of the above (VOLUNTEERED)	2
Don't know/NA	5

Some people say that we will soon have a major recession if Congress and the President do not agree on a deficit reduction plan in the next six months. Others say the immediate future of our economy does not depend THAT MUCH on reducing the federal budget deficit -- there are other factors that are more important. Which opinion is closest to you own?

Will have recession if no agreement on deficit reduction	37%
Will NOT have recession, other factors important	54
Don't Know/NA	10

Comment

The public does not perceive the deficit as putting the country in immediate peril.

The low sense of urgency about the deficit is consistent with the previous findings that the deficit has slipped some in importance, in general.

Focus groups had often brought up concern over the deficit consequence of a lowered standard of living for future generations -- its lead over a recession as a consequence is less than expected.

Deficit Reduction Responsibility

Do you think the primary responsibility to reduce the budget deficit rests with the President or with Congress?

President	16%
Congress	65
Both equally	17
Neither/Don't Know/NA	2

Comment

This result confirms what was said in the August budget focus groups.

Across-the-Board Cuts and Deficit Reduction

Would you favor or oppose an across-the-board freeze on all federal spending if it meant that the federal budget deficit could be significantly reduced without raising taxes?

Favor	68%
Oppose	25
Don't Know/NA	7

Would you favor or oppose an across-the-board freeze on all federal spending if it meant that the federal budget deficit could be significantly reduced without raising taxes but the freeze included no increase in social security benefits for one year?

Favor	55%
Oppose	38
Don't Know/NA	7

Another way to reduce the deficit is to cut government spending. Some people say that spending reductions should be done across-the-board so no one group suffers more than others. Others say spending reductions should cut some programs more than others because some needs are more important. Which do you favor -- cutting programs across-the-board or cutting some programs more than others?

Across-the-board cuts	24%
Some programs more than others	74
Don't know/NA	3

Comment

Majority support for a freeze including social security is a surprise. A larger drop in support was expected between the two questions. Focus group work at the end of August indicated more support for a one year freeze than for a permanent cap on Social Security COLA's. The Social Security freeze finding should be treated cautiously. Voters generally do not see the program as part of the problem or the solution to the budget deficit.

The third result confirms a finding of the focus groups: more people support a flexible freeze than an across-the-board freeze. The survey quantifies the margin among the general population as substantial.

Tax Increases and Deficit Reductions

Would you support or oppose a tax increase as one part of an overall plan to reduce the federal budget deficit?

	October	1989 April
Support	53%	41%
Oppose	41	55
Don't know/NA	6	4

Do you think that it will or will not be necessary to have a tax increase in order to reduce the deficit?

	October	April	1989 January
Will	53%	60%	56%
Will Not	41	35	40
Don't know/NA	6	4	4

Do you think that it will or will not be necessary to have a tax increase IN THE NEXT YEAR to reduce the deficit?

	October	April	1989 January ¹
Will	38%	39%	37
Will Not	56	55	57
Don't know/NA	6	5	6

Comment

The majority support for a tax increase may be the result of question placement rather than a real change from April. In this survey several questions probing the perceived consequences of not solving the deficit came before the tax question. [In April, it is instructive that the preceding questions could **increase** support for a tax increase.

There has been no change in the perceived need for an immediate tax increase, a majority remain opposed.

¹ April and January used 'this year.'

Tax Preferences

If taxes had to be raised to reduce the deficit, which ONE of the following would favor most?

A twenty cent per gallon increase in the gasoline tax	12%
A two percent increase in the federal income tax	21
Establish a one percent national sales tax	62
Don't know/NA	6

Do you agree or disagree with this statement concerning a 20 cent increase in the gas tax: 'It is a good idea because it would encourage Americans to conserve gasoline and our gasoline prices would still be lower than most other countries'?

Agree	32%
Disagree	65
Don't know/NA	3

Comment

The substantial preference for using a sales tax is consistent with many surveys on the subject, and with the budget focus groups held in August.

The public's low support for using the gas tax confirms the focus groups discussions on the subject. The focus groups felt the gas tax is very regressive (a sales tax was not seen as regressive).

Ranking of Dedicated Revenue Proposals

Congress could pass a tax increase and require that all the additional money be spent for a specific program or purpose. Here are some examples and please tell me if you would be WILLING or NOT WILLING to have a tax increase if all the additional money went to that program or purpose.

Purpose	Willing	Not Willing
Improve the quality of public education	72%	27
Combat the drug problem	67%	32
Protect the environment for toxic waste and pollution	64%	34
Reduce the federal budget deficit	47%	48
Begin paying off the national debt	45%	53

Comment

Dedicated tax increases generally are supported by the public and the first three results follow that pattern. The operative words behind these findings are "if **all** the additional money went to..."

The budget deficit and the national debt obviously are not perceived as important as the first three purposes for a tax increase.

The lowest support for beginning to pay off the national debt is a surprising finding. Other surveys and the focus groups suggested there would be greater support for a tax increase to pay off the debt than deficit.

Taxes, Deficit Reduction and President Bush

President Bush said in his campaign that he would not raise taxes; he would eliminate the deficit by controlling spending. Democrats in Congress say, without a tax increase, important programs would be cut too much to eliminate the deficit so both a tax increase and spending controls are needed.

Do you think President Bush should keep his promise not to raise taxes even if it means not reaching agreement with Congress on a plan to eliminate the deficit, or do you think he should reach an agreement even if it means increasing taxes?

	Total	Bush Core	Swing	Anti- Bush
Keep his promise	44%	51%	42%	36%
Reach an agreement with Congress	52	46	54	62
Don't know/NA	4	3	4	3

If George Bush SUPPORTS a tax increase to reduce the federal budget deficit, would your opinion of him become more favorable or less favorable? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be much (more/less) favorable or just somewhat (more/less) favorable?

Collapsed Responses	Total	Bush Core	Swing	Anti- Bush
More Favorable	31%	28%	32%	38%
Less favorable	42	41	41	46

Full Responses

Much more favorable	7%	5%	8%	9%
Somewhat more favorable	24	22	24	29
No difference/Not important (VOLUNTEERED)	22	27	22	13
Somewhat less favorable	27	32	27	24
Much less favorable	15	10	15	15
Don't Know/NA	5	5	5	4

Comment

These findings indicate, as did the focus groups, that supporting a tax increase would not be a 'kiss of death' for Bush. The intensity of much less favorable response is quite low at one in seven adults.

President Bush Drug Control Strategy

William Bennett personality rating

	51-100 Warm	50 Neutral	0-49 Cold	Don't Know Ref./NA	Avg. ²
October, 1989	18%	15	10	57	54°

Have you read or heard about President Bush's plan to combat illegal drugs?

	1989 October
Yes	78%
No	21
Don't know/NA	1

Overall, do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of President Bush's plan to combat illegal drugs?

Strongly approve	45%
Somewhat approve	41
Somewhat disapprove	6
Strongly disapprove	6
Don't know/NA	2

Comment

President Bush's anti-drug plan receives substantial general support. The public, however, is less than enthusiastic about the program as can be seen from the results on the following page:

Americans see the President's plan as a small first step rather than one which will significantly reduce drugs. The view that it was a 'small step' was frequently voiced in recent focus groups;

They would favor a 'tougher' policy than what they perceive the President's plan to be. The perceived toughness of the plan is more frequently criticized than the amount of money committed to the plan.

² Average on a 0-to-100 scale where 0=very cold, 50=not warm nor cold, and 100=very warm.

Drug Control Strategy Public Debate

Do you think his plan proposes too much money, not enough money, or about the right amount of money to combat illegal drugs?

	1989 October
Too much money	10%
Right amount of money	38
Not enough money	36
Don't know/NA	17

Do you think his anti-drug plan is too tough, not tough enough, or is about right?

Too tough	3%
About right	35
Not tough enough	56
Don't know/NA	7

Which of the following statements best describes the Bush Administration's policy on drugs:

The Bush Administration has a serious policy which has a good chance of significantly reducing the flow of drugs	18%
The Bush Administration's drug policy is only a small first step toward significantly reducing the flow of drugs	62
The Bush Administration's drug policy is put together just for political reasons without much chance of succeeding	17
Don't know/NA	3

The Education Summit

Have you read or heard about an education summit meeting between the Bush Administration and the nation's governors?

	1989 October
Yes	48%
No	52
Don't know/NA	1

Do you think this summit meeting will generate ideas that will result in significant improvements, moderate improvements, or very little improvements in education in our country?

	Pct. Heard of Summit
Significant improvements	15%
Moderate improvement	46
Very little improvements	36
Don't know/NA	3

Subgroups	Awareness		Improvement		
	Heard of	Hadn't Heard	Significant	Moderate	Very Little
Republicans	56%	44	26%	46	26
Ticket-Splitters	48%	51	11%	48	38
Democrats	48%	51	11%	43	43

Comment

Cynicism about the meeting is in the minority with only one in three expecting very little improvements due the summit. Much of this is in turn driven by partisanship, despite the bipartisan nature of the event.

Abortion

In the debate over abortion policy, do you consider yourself pro-life, pro-choice or somewhere in between?

Are you strongly pro-(life/choice) or just somewhat pro-(life/choice)?

	1989 October
Strongly pro-life	22%
Somewhat pro-life	4
Somewhat in between	30
Somewhat pro-choice	9
Strongly pro-choice	31
Don't know/NA	3

Which one of the following three statements best describes your GENERAL position on abortion...do you favor allowing a woman the right to an abortion:

For any reason during her early pregnancy	45%
Only in cases of rape, incest or danger to the mother's life	41
Or, do you oppose abortion at all times?	10
Don't know/NA	4

Under which of the following three circumstances do you feel POOR women should receive public funding to pay for an abortion:

For any reason during her early pregnancy	24%
Only in cases of rape, incest or danger to the mother's life	45
Or, do you oppose abortion at all times?	27
Don't know/NA	3

Comment

Nine in ten Americans accept abortion to some degree, but they are deeply divided by the motivations which could be permitted as justification. These attitudes are held consistently across sex, age and partisanship division.

Similarly, majority acceptance of public financing for abortion motivated by at least rape, incest or endangerment of the mother is found with all parts of the American public.

Voters who say they would not support a candidate with a different abortion position than theirs show the pro-life and pro-choice camps to be equal in size: 14% for each side.

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

QUESTION RESULTS

Q1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

	Oct. 1989	Apr. 1989	Jan. 1989	Nov. 6-7	Sept. 27-28	Aug. 22-24	Aug. 3-6	July 1988	May 1988
Right direction	40%	46%	53%	45%	47%	51%	45%	42%	40%
Wrong track	51	41	37	46	43	42	46	50	47
Don't know	8	12	9	9	9	7	9	8	11
Refused/NA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Now, I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people and groups in the news on a zero-to-one hundred scale with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling; zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred; the higher the number, the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or group. If you've never heard of the person or group, just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. Let's start with **(READ AND RANDOMIZE NAMES)**. How do you feel toward him/them on a zero to one hundred scale?

(RANDOMIZE Q2 THROUGH Q6)

	51-100 Warm	50 Neutral	0-49 Cold	Don't Know Ref./NA	Avg in Degrees
Q2. George Bush					
October, 1989	62%	20	17	1	64
April, 1989	63%	16	19	2	64
January, 1989	54%	17	26	3	58
Nov. 6-7, 1988	48%	16	34	3	53
Q3. Dan Quayle					
October, 1989	28%	24	40	9	44
April, 1989	35%	20	38	8	46
January, 1989	26%	24	43	7	41
Nov. 6-7, 1988	22%	21	52	5	37
Q4. The Republican Party					
October, 1989	43%	26	27	4	55
April, 1989	50%	19	29	3	56
January, 1989	47%	22	29	3	54
Q5. The Democratic Party					
October, 1989	41%	30	26	4	55
April, 1989	46%	21	30	3	55
January, 1989	43%	26	29	2	54
Q6. William Bennett					
October, 1989	18%	15	10	57	54

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Thinking about George Bush

Q7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	October 1989	April 1989
Strongly approve	29%	27%
Just somewhat approve	45	43
Just somewhat disapprove	10	11
Strongly disapprove	8	8
Don't know	7	11
Refused/NA	1	1
Collapsed Responses		
Approve	75%	70%
Disapprove	18	19

Q8a. Why do you (approve/disapprove)? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Thinking about Dan Quayle

- Q9. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Dan Quayle is handling his job as Vice-President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:)
Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	October 1989	April 1989
Strongly approve	10%	15%
Just somewhat approve	28	35
Just somewhat disapprove	10	10
Strongly disapprove	12	12
Don't know	39	20
Refused/NA	2	2
Collapsed Responses		
Approve	38%	50%
Disapprove	21	22

- Q10. Do you think Dan Quayle would or would not be able to handle the job of President if something happened to President Bush?

	October 1989	April 1989
Would be able	34%	41%
Would not be able	52	49
Don't know	13	10
Refused/NA	1	*

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Thinking about Congress for a moment

Q11. If the elections for the U.S. House of Representatives were being held today, would you be voting for the (ROTATE: Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate) from your district?

	October 1989	April 1989
Republican	43%	38%
Democratic	47	46
Don't know	8	15
Refused/NA	2	1

Q12. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	October 1989	April 1989
Strongly approve	9%	7%
Just somewhat approve	42	43
Just somewhat disapprove	17	20
Strongly disapprove	17	18
Don't know	14	10
Refused/NA	1	1
Collapsed Responses		
Approve	51%	50%
Disapprove	34	38

Q13. Why do you (approve/disapprove)? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Now, I'd like to turn to some issues in the country.
First

Q14. What do you think are the most important problems facing the country at the present time? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

Q15. Do you have more confidence in the policies and programs of (ROTATE: the Republican Party or the Democratic Party) to solve the problems facing the country?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989	November 6-7, 1988
Republican	38%	43%	47%	43%
Democratic	30	33	33	39
Both equally	10	8	6	4
Neither one	12	11	10	7
Don't know	10	6	4	7
Refused/NA	1	1	*	1

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Here are some possible goals for the Federal government in Washington, DC and for each one please tell me how important you think it is. We'll use a zero-to-ten scale, where zero means not at all important and ten means extremely important. The higher the number you give me, the more important you think that goal is for the Federal government. Use a nine or ten only for those goals you think should be the highest priority. Let's start with (READ AND RANDOMIZE Q16 THROUGH Q22). How important of a goal should this be to the federal government?

(RANDOMIZE Q16 to Q22)

	9-10 Extremely	6-8 Very	5 Neutral	0-4 Not Very	Average
Q19 Combatting the drug problem.					
October, 1989	75%	21	3	3	9.0
April, 1989	74%	20	3	2	8.9
Q18 Improving the quality of public education.					
October, 1989	69%	25	4	2	8.9
April, 1989	63%	29	6	2	8.6
Q17 Protecting the environment from toxic waste and pollution.					
October, 1989	64%	29	4	2	8.7
April, 1989	62%	30	5	3	8.6
Q16 Reducing the federal budget deficit.					
October, 1989	48%	36	8	5	8.1
April, 1989	58%	29	8	4	8.3

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Preliminary

	9-10 Extremely	6-8 Very	5 Neutral	0-4 Not Very	Average
Q22 Improving our competitive position in world markets.					
October, 1989	39%	41	12	5	7.7
Q20 Doing the right thing on the nation's abortion laws.					
October, 1989	37%	22	15	20	6.7
Q21 Avoiding a tax increase to reduce the federal budget deficit.					
October, 1989	30%	33	15	19	6.6

Turning to foreign policy for a moment

Q23. Which **ONE** of the following three goals do you think is most important in the negotiations with the Soviet Union on arms reductions?

Which of the remaining two goals do you think is next most important?

	First Choice	Second Choice	1st/2nd Combined
Reducing long range nuclear weapons.	48%	38%	86%
Reducing chemical weapons.	38	44	82
Reducing conventional forces in Europe.	9	17	26
Don't know	5	1	6
Refused/NA	*	*	

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q25. It may be possible for the U.S. and the Soviet Union to reach an agreement to reduce the chemical weapons on each side by 80 percent. However, several Third World countries may have chemical weapons and are working to improve them.

If Third World countries have chemical weapons, do you think the U.S. should or should not agree to an 80 percent reduction in its chemical weapons with the Soviet Union?

	October 1989
Should	64%
Should not	29
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	*

Thinking about the nation's economy

Q26 Compared to **A YEAR AGO**, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Better	16%	16%	20%
Same	56	56	50
Worse	26	27	27
Don't know	2	1	2
Refused/NA	--	*	*

Q27 Thinking about **A YEAR FROM NOW**, do you expect the national economy will be better, worse, or about the same?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Better	22%	23%	24%
Same	47	43	44
Worse	28	31	23
Don't know	3	3	8
Refused/NA	--	*	*

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q28 One proposal in Washington is to reduce the tax rate on capital gains. Are you generally familiar or not familiar with what a tax on capital gains means?

	October 1989
Familiar	46%
Not familiar	53
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	--

Q29 (Of those "Familiar" in Q28:) Do you favor or oppose reducing the tax rate on capital gains?

	October 1989
Favor	51%
Oppose	43
Don't know	5
Refused/NA	*

Q30 The capital gains tax is the tax on the sale of stocks, bonds, a home, and other real estate. Some people favor reducing the tax on capital gains because they think it would increase business investment and jobs. Others oppose this proposal because they think it is mainly a tax cut for the rich. Who do you agree with more -- those who favor or those who oppose a reduction in the tax on capital gains?

	October 1989
Favor	44%
Oppose	50
Don't know	6
Refused/NA	1

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Here are some questions about the Federal budget deficit.
First

Q31 Do you think the federal budget deficit should be considered a national crises that needs a solution very quickly, or do you think it is not quite that serious and just needs to be reduced over the next several years?

October
1989

Quick solution	33%
Not quite that serious	62
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	*

Q32 What do you think needs to be done to eliminate the federal budget deficit? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO SPECIFIC RESPONSES - IF MENTION REDUCE SPENDING, ASK: "What spending do you have in mind?")

Q33 If the federal budget deficit is not brought under control, which one of the following four consequences do you think we have to be most concerned about? (READ AND RANDOMIZE 1 THROUGH 4)

RANDOMIZE

October
1989

A lower standard of living for our children and grandchildren	28%
A major recession	26
A large tax increase	22
The U.S. becoming less competitive in the world market	18
None of the above	2
Don't know	5
Refused/NA	*

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q34 Some people say that we will soon have a major recession if Congress and the President do not agree on a deficit reduction plan in the next six months. Others say the immediate future of our economy does not depend **THAT MUCH** on reducing the federal budget deficit -- there are other factors that are more important. Which opinion is closest to your own?

	October 1989
Will have recession if no agreement on deficit reduction	37%
Will NOT have recession, other factors more important	54
Don't know	9
Refused/NA	1

Q35 Do you think the primary responsibility to reduce the budget deficit rests (**ROTATE:** with the President or with Congress?)

	October 1989
President	16%
Congress	65
Both equally	17
Neither	*
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	--

Q36 Would you favor or oppose an across-the-board freeze on all federal spending if it meant that the federal budget deficit could be significantly reduced without raising taxes?

	October 1989
Favor	68%
Oppose	25
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	*

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q37 Why do you oppose this? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO SPECIFIC RESPONSES)

Q38 (ASK ALL) Would you favor or oppose an across-the-board freeze on all federal spending if it meant that the federal budget deficit could be significantly reduced without raising taxes but the freeze included no increase in social security benefits for one year?

	October 1989
Favor	55%
Oppose	38
Don't know	6
Refused/NA	1

Q39 Would you support or oppose a tax increase as one part of an overall plan to reduce the federal budget deficit?

	October 1989	April ¹ 1989
Support	50%	41%
Oppose	42	55
Don't know	7	4
Refused/NA	1	*

¹ Question appeared first in budget/tax section in April survey

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q40 Do you think that it will or will not be necessary to have a tax increase in order to reduce the deficit?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Will	53%	60%	56%
Will not	41	35	40
Don't know	6	4	4
Refused/NA	*	*	*

Q41 Do you think that it will or will not be necessary to have a tax increase **IN THE NEXT YEAR** to reduce the deficit?²

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Will	38%	39%	37%
Will not	56	55	57
Don't know	6	6	5
Refused/NA	*	*	*

Q42 If taxes had to be raised to reduce the deficit, which ONE of the following would you favor most? (READ AND RANDOMIZE 1 THROUGH 3)

(RANDOMIZE)

	October 1989
Establish a one percent national sales tax.	62%
A two percent increase in the federal income tax.	21
A twenty cent per gallon increase in the gasoline tax.	12
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	2

² In April and January 1989 the question read 'THIS YEAR'

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q43 Do you agree or disagree with this statement concerning a 20 cent increase in the gas tax: 'It is a good idea because it would encourage Americans to conserve gasoline and our gasoline prices would still be lower than in most other countries'?

	October 1989
Agree	32%
Disagree	65
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	*

Congress could pass a tax increase and require that all the additional money be spent for a specific program or purpose. Here are some examples and please tell me if you would be **WILLING** or **NOT WILLING** to have a tax increase if all the additional money went to that program or purpose.

(RANDOMIZE Q44 THROUGH Q48)

	October 1989
Q46 Improve the quality of public education.	
Willing	72%
Not willing	27
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	*
Q44 Combat the drug problem.	
Willing	67%
Not willing	32
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	*

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

October
1989

Q45 **Protect the environment from
toxic waste and pollution.**

Willing	64%
Not willing	34
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

Q47 **Reduce the federal
BUDGET DEFICIT.**

Willing	47%
Not willing	48
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	*

Q48 **Begin to pay off
the NATIONAL DEBT.**

Willing	45%
Not willing	53
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

Q49 **Another way to reduce the deficit is to cut government spending. Some people say that spending reductions should be done across-the-board so no one group suffers more than the others. Others say spending reductions should cut some programs more than others because some needs are more important. Which do you favor--cutting programs across-the-board or cutting some programs more than others?**

October
1989

Across-the-board cuts	24%
Some programs more than others	74
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	*

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q50 President Bush said in his campaign that he would not raise taxes; he would eliminate the deficit by controlling spending. Democrats in Congress say, without a tax increase, important programs would be cut too much to eliminate the deficit so both a tax increase and spending controls are needed.

Do you think President Bush should keep his promise not to raise taxes even if it means not reaching agreement with Congress on a plan to eliminate the deficit, or do you think he should reach an agreement with Congress even if it means increasing taxes?

	October 1989
Keep his promise	44%
Reach an agreement with Congress	52
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	*

The drug problem is the next topic

Q51 Have you read or heard about President Bush's plan to combat illegal drugs?

	October 1989
Yes	78%
No	21
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	--

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q52 (IF AWARE:) Do you think his plan proposes too much money, not enough money, or about the right amount of money to combat illegal drugs?

	October 1989
Too much money	10%
Not enough money	36
Right amount of money	38
Don't know	17
Refused/NA	*

Q53 (IF AWARE:) Do you think his anti-drug plan is too tough, not tough enough, or is about right?

	October 1989
Too tough	3%
Not tough enough	56
About right	35
Don't know	6
Refused/NA	1

Q54 (IF AWARE:) Overall, do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of President Bush's plan to combat illegal drugs?

	October 1989
Strongly approve	45%
Somewhat approve	41
Somewhat disapprove	6
Strongly disapprove	6
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q55 (IF AWARE:) Which of the following statements best describes the Bush Administration's policy on drugs:

	October 1989
The Bush Administration's drug policy is only a small first step toward significantly reducing the flow of drugs.	62%
The Bush Administration has a serious policy which has a good chance of significantly reducing the flow of drugs.	18
The Bush Administration's drug policy is put together just for political reasons without much chance of succeeding.	17
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	*

Concerning education

Q56 Have you read or heard about an education summit meeting between the Bush Administration and the nation's governors?

	October 1989
Yes	48%
No	52
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	--

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q57 (IF AWARE:) Do you think this summit meeting will generate ideas that will result in significant improvements, moderate improvements, or very little improvements in education in our country?

	October 1989
Significant improvements	15%
Moderate improvements	46
Very little improvements	36
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	--

The abortion issue is another issue in the news lately

Q58 In the debate over abortion policy, do you consider yourself (ROTATE: pro-life, pro-choice) or somewhere in between?

	October 1989
Strongly Pro-life	22%
Just somewhat Pro-life	4
Somewhere in between	30
Just somewhat Pro-choice	9
Strongly Pro-choice	31
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	1

U.S. National #3
 Preliminary

Q59 Which one of the following three statements best describes your GENERAL position on abortion...do you favor allowing a woman the right to an abortion: ... (READ 1 THROUGH 3)

	October 1989
For any reason during her early pregnancy?	45%
Only in cases of rape, incest or danger to the mother's life?	41
Or, do you oppose abortion at all times?	10
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	1

Here are some SPECIFIC situations when women sometimes want an abortion. For each one, please tell me if you think a woman should or should not have the right to an abortion. First...

(RANDOMIZE Q60 THROUGH Q67)

	October 1989
Q60 The woman's health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy.	
Should	89%
Should not	8
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	1
Q61 The woman became pregnant as a result of rape.	
Should	85%
Should not	11
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	1

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

October
1989

Q62	There is a strong chance of a serious defect in the baby.	
	Should	72%
	Should not	23
	Don't know	4
	Refused/NA	2
Q63	The woman is an unmarried teenager.	
	Should	51%
	Should not	44
	Don't know	4
	Refused/NA	2
Q65	The family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children.	
	Should	48%
	Should not	48
	Don't know	3
	Refused/NA	2
Q64	The woman is a single adult and does not want to marry the man.	
	Should	42%
	Should not	54
	Don't know	3
	Refused/NA	2

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

October
1989

Q67 The woman is married and does not
want any more children.

Should	38%
Should not	58
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	1

Q66 The pregnancy seriously interferes
with the woman's work or education.

Should	36%
Should not	60
Don't know	3
Refused/NA	1

Q68 Under which of the following three circumstances do you feel
POOR women should receive public funding to pay for an
abortion:

October
1989

For any reason during her early pregnancy?	24%
Only in cases of rape, incest or danger to the mother's life?	45
Or, do you oppose public funding of abortions at all times?	27
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	1

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Here are some regulations on abortions that are being considered in some states. For each one, please tell me if you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose such a regulation in your state.

(RANDOMIZE Q69 THROUGH Q72)

October
1989

Q72 **Requiring a 48 hour waiting period
and counseling before the abortion
is performed.**

Strongly favor	59%
Somewhat favor	20
Somewhat oppose	6
Strongly oppose	12
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	1

Q70 **Requiring that women under the age
of 18 get parental consent before
they are allowed to have an abortion.**

Strongly favor	49%
Somewhat favor	16
Somewhat oppose	11
Strongly oppose	21
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	1

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

October
1989

Q69 **Allowing abortions to be performed
in public hospitals ONLY IN cases
of rape, incest, or danger to the
mother's life.**

Strongly favor	46%
Somewhat favor	22
Somewhat oppose	7
Strongly oppose	22
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	1

Q71 **In cases where the mother is five
months pregnant, requiring a test
to see if the fetus might survive
outside the womb before allowing
an abortion.³**

Strongly favor	26%
Somewhat favor	21
Somewhat oppose	16
Strongly oppose	28
Don't know	7
Refused/NA	2

Q73 **Overall, would you vote for a candidate whose position on
abortion is different from your own?**

October
1989

Yes	47%
No	44
Don't know	8
Refused/NA	1

³ Possible misunderstanding of question meaning

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Thinking about George Bush again

Q74 What has George Bush done so far that has impressed you the most? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q75 What has George Bush done so far that has disappointed you the most? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Q76 In general, do you think George Bush has been too bold, too cautious, or about right in handling his responsibilities as President?

	October 1989
Too bold	2%
Too cautious	31
About right	63
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	1

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

Q77 If George Bush SUPPORTED a tax increase to reduce the federal budget deficit, would your opinion of him become more favorable or less favorable? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:)
Would that be much (more/less) favorable or just somewhat (more/less) favorable?

	October 1989
Much more favorable	7%
Somewhat more favorable	24
No difference/Not important	22
Somewhat less favorable	27
Much less favorable	15
Don't know	4
Refused/NA	1

Thinking about the two political parties

Here are some issues and problems. For each one, please tell me whether you think (ROTATE: the Republican Party OR the Democratic Party) would do a better job of handling it.

(RANDOMIZE Q78 THROUGH Q85)

	Republican	Democrat	Both/ Neither	DK/Ref/ NA	PDI ⁴
Q83 Avoiding a tax increase to reduce the federal budget deficit.					
October, 1989	55%	27	8	10	+28
Q85 Improving our competitive position in world markets.					
October, 1989	49%	27	8	16	+22

⁴ Republican % minus Democrat %

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

	Republican	Democrat	Both/ Neither	DK/Ref/ NA	PDI
Q81 Combating the drug problem.					
October, 1989	41%	28	20	11	+13
April, 1989	43%	31	20	6	+12
January, 1989	38%	32	11	12	+ 6
Q78 Reducing the federal budget deficit.					
October, 1989	44%	32	14	10	+12
April, 1989	50%	31	14	6	+19
January, 1989	45%	34	15	6	+11
Q84 Cleaning up corruption in government.					
October, 1989	31%	33	26	11	- 2
Q82 Doing the right thing on the nation's abortion laws.					
October, 1989	32%	39	15	14	- 7
Q80 Improving the quality of public education.					
October, 1989	34%	42	15	10	- 8
April, 1989	38%	44	13	6	- 6
January, 1989	33%	48	13	7	-15
Q79 Protecting the environment from toxic waste and pollution,					
October, 1989	26%	47	15	11	-21
April, 1989	31%	50	13	7	-19

U.S. National #3
 Preliminary

Now, a few questions for statistical purposes...

- QD1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a **REPUBLICAN**, a **DEMOCRAT**, an **INDEPENDENT** or what?
- QD1a. Would you call yourself a **STRONG** (Rep./Dem.) or a **NOT VERY STRONG** (Rep./Dem.)?
- QD1b. Would you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Strong Democrat	16%	18%	19%
Weak Democrat	15	17	16
Independent Democrat	15	12	12
Independent	8	8	7
Independent Republican	17	13	13
Weak Republican	16	15	14
Strong Republican	12	17	19
Others/NA	1	1	2

U.S. National #3
 Preliminary

QD2. In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator? (READ CHOICES 01 THROUGH 07/ALTERNATE TOP TO BOTTOM/BOTTOM TO TOP)

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Straight Democratic	13%	16%	17%
Mostly Democratic	15	17	16
A few more Democrats than Republicans	9	8	6
About equally for both parties	19	18	17
A few more Republicans than Democrats	10	8	9
Mostly Republican	16	18	15
Straight Republican	8	9	12
Other	1	1	1
Never voted	7	2	3
Don't know	1	1	1
Refused/NA	1	2	2

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

- QD3. On political issues do you consider yourself a liberal, a conservative, or a moderate?
- QD3a. Would you call yourself extremely (liberal/conservative), fairly (liberal/conservative), or just slightly (liberal/conservative)?
- QD3b. Do you think of yourself as closer to being liberal or being conservative?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Extremely Liberal	3%	3%	3%
Fairly Liberal	12	9	9
Slightly Liberal	6	5	6
Moderate Liberal	16	16	14
Moderate	3	7	7
Moderate Conservative	29	25	24
Slightly Conservative	8	7	8
Fairly Conservative	15	17	16
Extremely Conservative	4	5	6
Don't know/NA	4	6	6

-
- QD4. Are you currently registered to vote at this address?

	October 1989
Yes	75%
No	23
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	1

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QD5. In what year were you born?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
18-24 years	15%	11%	14%
25-34 years	24	21	21
35-44 years	19	22	22
45-54 years	13	13	12
55-64 years	12	14	12
65 and over	16	17	15
Refused/NA	2	2	3

QD6. What is the last grade of school you completed?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Grade school or less	5%	3%	4%
Some high school	11	7	7
Graduated high school	34	29	33
Vocational school/ Technical school	3	3	2
Some college (2 years or less)	18	19	19
Some college (more than 2 years)	8	8	8
Graduated college	15	17	15
Post-graduate work	6	11	10
Refused/NA	1	2	3

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Preliminary

QD7. Are you currently... (READ 01-05 ONLY)

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Employed and working full-time	53%	55%	52%
Employed and working part-time	11	8	9
Unemployed	6	4	4
Retired	18	19	18
Housewife	8	9	8
Temporarily laid off	*	*	1
Student	2	2	4
Other	1	2	1
Don't know	--	--	*
Refused/NA	1	2	2

QD8. What is your present marital status?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Single	27%	21%	28%
Married	54	62	56
Divorced	8	6	6
Separated	2	2	1
Widow/Widower	9	8	7
Don't know	--	--	*
Refused/NA	1	2	3

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Preliminary

QD9. Do you belong to a labor union or teachers' association?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Labor union	11%	11%	10%
Teachers' association	3	5	5
No	85	81	82
Refused/NA	1	2	3

QD9a Does anyone **ELSE** in your household belong to a labor union or teachers' association?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Labor union	10%	9%	10%
Teachers' association	4	4	3
No	86	84	82
Refused/Single member household	1	3	5

QD10. Is your religious background Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or something else? (IF "SOMETHING ELSE" OR UNCLEAR IF CHRISTIAN, ASK:) Is that a Christian church?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Protestant	50%	52%	52%
Roman Catholic	26	26	28
Jewish	2	3	3
Other Christian	12	10	10
Other non-Christian/ Unspecified	3	2	2
Agnostic/Atheist	1	1	*
None	4	3	2
Don't know	1	*	*
Refused/NA	2	3	3

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

QD10a. Would you say you go to church...

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Every week	26%	28%	27%
Almost every week	14	13	14
Once or twice a month	15	14	14
A few times a year	31	22	24
Never	13	10	10
Refused/NA	1	1	*

QD11. Which of the following income groups includes your **TOTAL FAMILY INCOME** in 1988 before taxes? (JUST STOP ME WHEN I READ THE CORRECT CATEGORY)

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Under \$10,000	9%	9%	8%
\$10,000-\$14,999	9	9	10
\$15,000-\$19,999	13	9	11
\$20,000-\$24,999	10	9	9
\$25,000-\$29,999	11	11	14
\$30,000-\$39,999	15	12	12
\$40,000-\$49,999	10	12	9
\$50,000-\$74,999	10	11	9
\$75,000 and over	6	7	6
Don't know	4	3	2
Refused/NA	4	8	11

U.S. National #3
Preliminary

QD11a. Would you please tell me if your family income was under or over \$40,000?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Under \$40,000	37	3%	2%
Over \$40,000	15	1	1
Don't know	16	1	1
Refused/NA	33	6	8

QD12. Is your racial or ethnic heritage white, black, hispanic or what?

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
White	82%	80%	78%
Black	11	12	11
Hispanic/Spanish American/Chicano	3	5	7
Oriental	*	1	*
American Indian	*	*	1
Other	2	1	1
Not ascertained	1	1	2

QD13. Gender (BY OBSERVATION)

	October 1989	April 1989	January 1989
Male	47%	48%	48%
Female	53	52	52

Third U.S. National

TABLE 3

KEY NATIONAL PERCEPTIONS BY SUBGROUPS

	<u>National Direction</u>			<u>Presidential Approval</u>			Pol. Envir. Index ³
	Right Dir.	Wrong Track	PDI ¹	Approve	Dis- approve	PDI ²	
TOTAL							
Oct. 1989	40%	51	-11	75%	18	+57	+ 46
Apr. 1989	46%	41	+ 5	70%	19	+51	+ 56
Jan. 1989	53%	37	+16	61%	33	+28	+ 44
VOTER TYPE							
Straight/ Mostly Rep.							
Oct. 1989	55%	38	+17	94%	5	+89	+106
Apr. 1989	61%	27	+34	90%	3	+87	+121
Jan. 1989	76%	19	+57	91%	8	+83	+140
Ticket- Splitters							
Oct. 1989	41%	51	-10	79%	15	+64	+ 54
Apr. 1989	48%	37	+11	75%	14	+61	+ 72
Jan. 1989	55%	33	+22	71%	21	+50	+ 72
Straight/ Mostly Dem.							
Oct. 1989	27%	63	-36	56%	36	+20	+ 16
Apr. 1989	31%	57	-26	50%	37	+13	- 13
Jan. 1989	33%	56	-23	30%	64	-34	- 57
VALUES							
Conservative							
Oct. 1989	53%	40	+13	91%	6	+85	+ 98
Apr. 1989	56%	34	+22	84%	8	+76	+ 98
Jan. 1989	65%	26	+39	79%	17	+62	+101

Third U.S. National

TABLE 3

KEY NATIONAL PERCEPTIONS BY SUBGROUPS

	<u>National Direction</u>			<u>Presidential Approval</u>			Pol. Envir. Index
	Right Dir.	Wrong Track	PDI	Approve	Dis- approve	PDI	
Moderate							
Oct. 1989	42%	50	- 8	77%	17	+50	+ 42
Apr. 1989	46%	39	+ 7	69%	19	+50	+ 57
Jan. 1989	52%	37	+15	60%	33	+27	+ 42
Liberal							
Oct. 1989	28%	63	-35	59%	32	+27	- 8
Apr. 1989	30%	59	-29	52%	36	+16	- 13
Jan. 1989	36%	56	-20	37%	57	-20	- 40
MAJOR POLITICAL REGIONS							
Middle Atlantic							
Oct. 1989	37%	54	-17	70%	18	+52	+ 35
Apr. 1989	44%	41	+ 3	64%	21	+43	+ 46
Jan. 1989	50%	42	+ 8	59%	37	+22	+ 30
East North Central							
Oct. 1989	44%	47	- 3	76%	19	+57	+ 54
Apr. 1989	48%	39	+ 9	64%	20	+44	+ 53
Jan. 1989	51%	35	+16	56%	34	+22	+ 38
South							
Oct. 1989	35%	54	-19	76%	19	+57	+ 38
Apr. 1989	49%	39	+10	76%	15	+61	+ 71
Jan. 1989	56%	34	+22	66%	29	+37	+ 59

Third U.S. National

TABLE 3

KEY NATIONAL PERCEPTIONS BY SUBGROUPS

	<u>National Direction</u>			<u>Presidential Approval</u>			Pol. Envir. Index
	Right Dir.	Wrong Track	PDI	Approve	Dis- approve	PDI	
Pacific							
Oct. 1989	41%	50	- 9	73%	18	+55	+ 46
Apr. 1989	38%	49	-11	70%	22	+48	+ 37
Jan. 1989	52%	39	+13	60%	36	+24	+ 37
AGE							
18-29							
Oct. 1989	46%	47	- 1	77%	18	+59	+ 58
Apr. 1989	58%	31	+27	72%	21	+51	+ 78
Jan. 1989	64%	27	+37	73%	22	+51	+ 88
30-39							
Oct. 1989	46%	46	+ 0	77%	15	+62	+ 62
Apr. 1989	45%	44	+ 1	67%	22	+45	+ 46
Jan. 1989	52%	36	+16	62%	32	+30	+ 46
40-54							
Oct. 1989	40%	52	-12	74%	16	+58	+ 46
Apr. 1989	44%	42	+ 2	71%	14	+57	+ 59
Jan. 1989	54%	38	+16	57%	38	+19	+ 35
55-64							
Oct. 1989	28%	62	-34	75%	22	+53	+ 19
Apr. 1989	41%	42	- 1	69%	17	+52	+ 51
Jan. 1989	42%	45	- 3	59%	34	+25	+ 22
65+							
Oct. 1989	30%	57	-27	69%	22	+47	+ 20
Apr. 1989	38%	47	- 9	71%	21	+50	+ 41
Jan. 1989	44%	44	+ 0	56%	37	+19	+ 19

Third U.S. National

TABLE 3

KEY NATIONAL PERCEPTIONS BY SUBGROUPS

	<u>National Direction</u>			<u>Presidential Approval</u>			Pol. Envir. Index
	Right Dir.	Wrong Track	PDI	Approve	Dis- approve	PDI	
GENDER							
Men							
Oct. 1989	46%	45	+ 1	76%	18	+58	+ 59
Apr. 1989	52%	37	+15	71%	18	+53	+ 68
Jan. 1989	58%	31	+27	65%	29	+36	+ 63
Women							
Oct. 1989	34%	56	-22	73%	19	+54	+ 32
Apr. 1989	40%	45	- 5	69%	19	+50	+ 45
Jan. 1989	48%	42	+ 6	58%	36	+22	+ 28
RACE/ RELIGION							
White							
Oct. 1989	43%	48	- 5	77%	17	+60	+ 55
Apr. 1989	50%	38	+12	74%	17	+57	+ 69
Jan. 1989	55%	35	+20	66%	29	+37	+ 57
Jewish							
Oct. 1989	39%	58	-19	58%	35	+23	+ 4
Apr. 1989	37%	47	-10	58%	26	+32	+ 22
Jan. 1989	53%	38	+15	38%	62	-24	- 9
Black							
Oct. 1989	18%	74	-56	62%	25	+37	- 19
Apr. 1989	22%	65	-43	55%	26	+29	- 14
Jan. 1989	31%	55	-24	33%	57	-24	- 48
Hispanic							
Oct. 1989	54%	38	+16	76%	14	+62	+ 78
Apr. 1989	41%	39	+ 2	49%	28	+21	+ 23
Jan. 1989	57%	33	+24	65%	25	+40	+ 64

Third U.S. National

TABLE 3

KEY NATIONAL PERCEPTIONS BY SUBGROUPS

	<u>National Direction</u>			<u>Presidential Approval</u>			Pol. Envir. Index
	Right Dir.	Wrong Track	PDI	Approve	Dis- approve	PDI	
STATUS GROUPS*							
High Income							
Oct. 1989	51%	41	+10	81%	13	+68	+ 78
Apr. 1989	57%	32	+25	75%	17	+58	+ 83
Jan. 1989	67%	23	+44	71%	24	+47	+ 91
Intelli- gentsia							
Oct. 1989	49%	39	+10	73%	22	+51	+ 61
Apr. 1989	47%	39	+ 8	69%	21	+48	+ 56
Jan. 1989	49%	45	+ 4	62%	36	+26	+ 30
Middle Class							
Oct. 1989	42%	50	- 8	77%	18	+59	+ 51
Apr. 1989	50%	39	+11	75%	14	+61	+ 72
Jan. 1989	56%	34	+22	69%	25	+44	+ 66
Lower End							
Oct. 1989	30%	59	-29	73%	15	+58	+ 29
Apr. 1989	39%	49	-10	72%	20	+52	+ 42
Jan. 1989	40%	45	- 5	58%	36	+22	+ 17
NEW DEAL GROUPS*							
Protestant							
Oct. 1989	49%	42	+ 7	83%	13	+70	+ 77
Apr. 1989	51%	36	+15	75%	17	+58	+ 73
Jan. 1989	53%	37	+16	63%	32	+31	+ 47

Third U.S. National

TABLE 3

KEY NATIONAL PERCEPTIONS BY SUBGROUPS

	<u>National Direction</u>			<u>Presidential Approval</u>			Pol. Envir. Index
	Right Dir.	Wrong Track	PDI	Approve	Dis- approve	PDI	
Catholics							
Oct. 1989	42%	50	- 8	71%	21	+50	+ 42
Apr. 1989	44%	44	+ 0	67%	23	+44	+ 44
Jan. 1989	62%	28	+34	71%	22	+49	+ 83
Union							
Oct. 1989	40%	52	-12	70%	23	+47	+ 35
Apr. 1989	47%	42	+ 5	68%	23	+45	+ 50
Jan. 1989	48%	42	+ 6	56%	40	+16	+ 22
Southern Whites							
Oct. 1989	38%	50	-12	78%	17	+61	+ 49
Apr. 1989	54%	34	+20	81%	10	+71	+ 91
Jan. 1989	58%	33	+25	73%	23	+50	+ 75

* Does not include minority groups: Blacks, Hispanics, Jews.

1 Right Direction % minus Wrong Track %.

2 Approve % minus Disapprove %.

3 Political Environment Index = (Right Direction % minus Wrong Track %) plus (Approve % minus Disapprove %).