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THE WHITE HOUSE

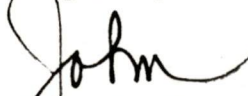
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1990

Dear Roger,

Attached please find White House talking points on President Bush's Supreme Court nominee - Judge David Souter. Obviously, we'd like to get the word out, so please refer to these in any remarks you may be making. Also, if you're hearing anything that you think we should know, or, if you have any suggestions, please don't hesitate to drop me a line.

Regards,



John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

Mr. Roger Ailes
Ailes Communication
440 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10016

WHITE HOUSE DISCUSSION POINTS

SUPREME COURT NOMINATION OF JUDGE DAVID SOUTER

"Judge Souter, I believe with all my heart, will prove a most worthy member of the court. His tenure as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New Hampshire, as Attorney General of that state, and more recently, as a federal appeals judge, unquestionably demonstrates his ability, his integrity, and his dedication to public service. And he has a keen appreciation of the proper judicial role rooted in fundamental belief in separation of powers and the democratic principles underlying our great system of government."

--- President Bush nominating Judge Souter as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court on July 24, 1990

- * In nominating Judge Souter to the Supreme Court, the President selected a jurist of **extraordinary** ability with impeccable qualifications.
- * Judge Souter is a man of unquestioned distinction and accomplishment. He is an outstanding judge, **fair**, equitable, and thoughtful.
- * Judge Souter received the ABA's **highest** rating of "well qualified" before he was nominated for a judgeship on the court of appeals. He was unanimously confirmed for that position by the Senate in April, 1990.
- * Judge Souter is a believer in judicial restraint, a **tough** trial court judge with a **great** legal mind who will interpret the Constitution not legislate from the bench.
- * The President did not use any litmus test nor did any single issue dominate his decision to choose. There should be no litmus test in the process of confirmation.
- * Judge David Souter was chosen because of his fidelity to the Constitution and the rule of law. These qualities, coupled with a nominee's education and experience, determine whether a nominee will be a good Justice of the Supreme Court.

For additional information, please contact the Office of Public Affairs at 202-456-2483.

July 24, 1990

David H. Souter

Judge David Souter was born on September 17, 1939 in Melrose, Massachusetts to Joseph and Helen Souter. His family moved to a farm in Weare, New Hampshire when he was 11, and he has lived there since. After attending the public schools in Concord, New Hampshire he went on to Harvard College, working summers as a truck driver. He graduated from Harvard in 1961 magna cum laude and was a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

On the strength of his well rounded record at Harvard, Souter was chosen a Rhodes Scholar and studied at Magdalen College, Oxford University from 1961 to 1963. Returning to Harvard, he earned his law degree in 1966 and entered into the private practice of law with the Concord, New Hampshire firm of Orr and Reno.

Judge Souter's career as a public servant began in 1968 with his appointment as an Assistant Attorney General for the State of New Hampshire.

After Judge Souter had served for three years in the office's Criminal Division, he was appointed Deputy Attorney General under then-Attorney General Warren Rudman. In 1976, eight years after entering the office, Souter rose to become New Hampshire's Attorney General, charged with final responsibility for the legal affairs of the State. As the State's top law enforcement officer, Souter was known as a firm advocate of law and order who urged tough penalties for those who threaten society.

Judge Souter's outstanding performance as Attorney General led to his appointment to the Superior Court of New Hampshire in 1978. He served as a state trial court judge for five years until 1983, when again he was promoted -- this time to a post on the State's highest Court, the Supreme Court of New Hampshire.

As a state Supreme Court Justice, Souter quickly gained an excellent reputation for his precise and lucid written opinions and for his fidelity to the rule of law.

On April 30, 1990, President Bush appointed Souter to the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.

* * * * *

Judge Souter is a scholar of the law in particular and a lover of books in general; he is a student of the history of the State through whose mountains he hikes for recreation, and served as a Trustee and Vice President of the New Hampshire Historical Society. He has made further contributions to his community even apart from his service on the bench. His service on legal and judicial committees is too lengthy to describe in full, but has included membership on the New Hampshire Police Standards and Training Council, the Governor's Commission on Crime and Delinquency, and the New Hampshire Bar Association Committee to Recommend Codification of Rules of Criminal Procedure (of which

he was Vice Chair). He was also involved in the successful effort to make St. Andrews Episcopal Church, of which he is a parishioner, accessible to those with disabilities.

* * * * *

Justice Souter described his general approach to judging in the Senate Judiciary Committee Questionnaire he submitted upon his nomination to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit. As he put it:

The obligation of any judge is to decide the case before the court, and the nature of the issue presented will largely determine the appropriate scope of the principle on which its decision should rest. Where that principle is not provided and controlled by black letter authority or existing precedent, the decision must honor the distinction between personal and judicially cognizable values. The foundation of judicial responsibility in statutory interpretation is respect for the enacted text and for the legislative purpose that may explain a text that is unclear. The expansively phrased provisions of the Constitution must be read in light of its divisions of power among the branches of government and the constituents of the federal system.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1990

Dear Newt,

I thought the Attorney General did an outstanding job on "This Week with David Brinkley" last Sunday,

Just wanted to be sure you didn't miss his comments.

FYI.

Regards,

John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

(Announcements)

MR. DONALDSON: Mr. Attorney General, good to see you.

ATTORNEY GENERAL RICHARD THORNBURGH: Thank you, Sam, good to be here--I think.

MR. DONALDSON: Glad you came in today. Well, let's start with Neil Bush, the president's son.

Now, members of the House Judiciary Committee, Democratic members, called on you last week to appoint an independent counsel, a special prosecutor, to look into Neil Bush.

Are you going to do that?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: Well, there seems to be some confusion about the letter that we received. People are scurrying around to take their names off the letter.

MR. DONALDSON: One person.

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: And we're going to have to take a look at that and see what the consequences are. But let me get to the real issue.

We are in the law enforcement business. We deal with allegations of criminal violations, and we deal with them, I think, thoroughly and in a fair and effective way.

I'm not aware of any evidence or any allegation from a credible source that Neil Bush has participated in any criminal activity. There have been a raft of allegations with regard to civil liabilities. There have been reports that have been leaked with regard to administrative or regulatory action.

So that's the context within which we have to look at our responsibilities. Let me assure you, however, that in this case, as in any other, if there are credible allegations of criminal conduct, we'll pursue them.

MR. DONALDSON: Mr. Attorney General, you know the history of this town. You've been around a long time. You've served in previous administrations that have had a problem with this. And do you think the American public will accept the fact that the Justice Department of President Bush can fairly make that statement about the son of President Bush? Wouldn't it be fairer to the Bushes to say, all right, we're going to turn this over to someone who the public will trust from the standpoint of a final report?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: I don't think it would be fair to anyone, any citizen in the United States, to appoint an independent counsel or special prosecutor where there are no allegations of criminal misconduct.

And you have to look at two things here. One, is there any allegation of criminal wrongdoing, and, secondly, is there a conflict of interest? We will address both those questions at the proper time.

MR. WILL: I'm evidently even more slow-witted than usual this morning. Suppose there were

criminal allegations against Neil Bush. What has that to do with an independent counsel? Is there any precedent for an independent counsel appointed for a private citizen? I thought that was to do with the misdeeds of government officials.

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: There is, in the statute, a mandatory obligation to seek the appointment of an independent counsel with respect to an enumerated list of individuals. That does not include family members of those individuals.

But there is a discretionary power on the part of the attorney general to seek the appointment of an independent counsel where, with respect to the individual involved, there is a personal, financial, or political conflict of interest.

MS. ROBERTS: Well, you say it just drops here then, if you don't have any criminal allegations, and you just leave the whole case alone?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: Well, we are in the business of investigating criminal allegations.

MS. ROBERTS: So are you investigating the case?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: Well, there have been no allegations of criminal misconduct made to my knowledge.

MS. ROBERTS: So the Neil Bush case is dead as far as the Justice Department is concerned?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: Not at all. As I said, if allegations of criminal misconduct arise and they're referred to us, we'll handle them.

MS. ROBERTS: Where would they come from? We just heard the regulator, Mr. Cooke, say this all happened before his time. So he's not going to be referring it to you. Where would it come from?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: Well, it could come from any number of investigations that are involved in our ongoing activity. We have some 1,200 criminal referrals that we're looking at very closely now. We've been very actively indicting, convicting and jailing those who are involved in this kind of fraud. That's our principal priority.

MR. DONALDSON: Maybe it would help--it would certainly help me--if you explain the law on one point.

As I understand it, there are allegations that Neil Bush may not have made the proper disclosures of his connections as a director of Silverado.

Are you saying that if those allegations were true, they would not be a criminal matter?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: Those matters relate to his civil liability, or his failure to comply with regulatory requirements.

MR. DONALDSON: And the failure to comply with a regulatory disclosure is not in any way

a criminal matter, is that what you're saying?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: I'm saying that nothing has been brought to our attention that indicates any credible--

MR. DONALDSON: Well, could you just answer that particular question?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: Sam, these are involved, complicated cases.

MR. DONALDSON: I know.

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: And I'm not going to give you a curbstone opinion on something as important as this. What I'm telling you is that at the present time we are not aware of any allegations or criminal misconduct.

And that would occasion our investigation of anyone as a triggering act. We don't just investigate people, and we would be roundly criticized if we were to do so on general grounds of misconduct. Criminal misconduct is what the Department of Justice or an independent counsel have the responsibility to pursue.

MR. WILL: You say you're investigating 1,200 criminal referrals. There have been, I think, 21,000 criminal referrals to your department.

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: Well, let me deal with that 21,000 figure right up front, because the gross distortion of these statistics has finally focused people's attention on what we in the Department of Justice have been doing.

That 21,000 figure, which is noised about by our critics, has to do with every garden variety kind of bank fraud and embezzlement that exists down to the bank teller who slips five bucks out of the cash till into his or her pocket at the end of the day.

We've identified as a priority a hundred major cases. We have prosecuted, in a little less than two years, 329 persons, convicted 213, many of those are going to jail. There is not a major fraud case in the United States that isn't under active investigation by the FBI at this point.

MR. WILL: When the president holds essentially a political rally saying no stone will be unturned and we're going to look under all the rocks to find the crooks, isn't he suggesting, falsely, that criminality is at the heart of this problem? I mean Americans may think that under capitalism stupidity ought to be a crime. But isn't stupidity the explanation for a lot of what happened?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: I think that's a good point, George. And I think you can look at the great mass of these failures, and I would estimate that at most a third of them involve criminal conduct. A third of them may involve some wrongdoing that we simply don't have evidence or can't prove. And a third of them are just sheer stupidity. And in that case, it is not a criminal offense and is not any business of ours to investigate.

MS. ROBERTS: George talks about the president holding basically a campaign rally at the Justice Department. You have been in other administrations, you've been a governor, you are a

Republican. We've just had these two lovey-dovey members of Congress unwilling to be partisan on this issue.

Isn't this likely to be a problem for the Republican Party just because--and clearly they were concerned about it this week, we've just seen the Republican National Committee have a meeting where Ed Rollins was blaming the Democrats for this, trying to go on the offensive, seeming to feel like the blame was on him. Polls are showing that.

Isn't there a perception here anyway that the Republican Party is the party of the rich, and that there are a lot of rich, fat cats getting away with murder on the S&L scandal, and isn't that the problem that you have at the Justice Department in terms of having to investigate these people?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: Cokie, we're not in the political business. We're in the law enforcement business. And the notion that fat cats are getting off without having to pay their share of the price would be news indeed to the 213 people who were convicted within less than the last two years.

Our number one priority is to put the crooks in jail and recover as much of the money that they've stolen as we can. And we're devoting, thankfully, after the Congress finally got around to giving us the necessary resources--we're devoting about double the resources we are now as when the Bush administration started.

MR. DONALDSON: Let me ask you about William Seidman, who at the moment is still in charge of the clean-up. But he has said this morning, I understand, that he's not going to serve out his full term, because he says there are people in the administration who want me out.

Are you one of them?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: I have no position on William Seidman's status. He's accountable to the president. We're in the prosecution business, Sam. We don't get involved in the Resolution Trust business, we don't get involved in the clean-up operation. Our job is to put crooks in jail. And I suggest that our U.S. attorneys are doing a darn good job in that respect.

MR. WILL: Let me switch the focus of this just a moment.

A charge was made this week by Benjamin Hooks at the NAACP convention that you may be in the prosecution business, but you're disproportionately interested in and in effect are harassing with prosecution black public officials, Barry and others.

Would you care to respond?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: I do. It is absolute nonsense. I have told Dr. Hooks that personally and publicly. And I defy anyone to show that the Department of Justice uses any criterion other than legally admissible evidence of wrongdoing to pursue those persons who we investigate and prosecute.

I would be the first one to be disturbed if I were to find any investigator or prosecutor within the Department of Justice using racial grounds for pursuing an investigation or prosecution.

On the other hand, I will say this: no one acquires immunity from prosecution because of their race or religion, or political party.

One thing about the law--the criminal law is neutral. If there's evidence, we'll pursue it.

MR. DONALDSON: Well, you okayed the sting operation against Mayor Barry at the Vista

Hotel. Have you okayed similar sting operations against other mayors?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: We have a procedure within the Department of Justice whereby those are carefully reviewed by career prosecutors.

MR. DONALDSON: But you okayed it?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: I didn't okay it personally, no.

MR. DONALDSON: You didn't? Let me just check on that. The prosecutor did it without your okay?

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: He went through the standards we've set up. We have a committee of professional career prosecutors who review these operations. They don't come to the attorney general in every case.

MR. WILL: Do you have a statistical basis for refuting Mr. Hooks, that is out of so many thousand prosecutions against public officials--

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: No, strangely enough, George, we don't keep records of people we prosecute by race, religion, or political affiliation.

MR. WILL: Well, it is strange.

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: And I think that's probably a good thing. Crime is color blind, crime is not a respecter of political--

MR. WILL: But the law is not color blind these days. The government keeps track of Americans on the basis of race for all kinds of things.

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: I understand that. And I think it would be a sorry thing where we established quotas for criminal prosecutions.

The evidence that we use does not take into account what the race or religion or political affiliation is of the prospective defendants.

MR. DONALDSON: Mr. Attorney General, thank you for joining us. I wish we had more time. Thanks for being here.

ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH: Glad to be here, thank you.

MR. DONALDSON: Come again.

Agreements Reached at Summit Appear to Be More Favorable to U.S. Than Critics Maintain

By WALTER S. MOSSBERG
And GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—President Bush's summit meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev had hardly begun when the cries arose: Mr. Bush was selling out by making concessions on strategic arms and by signing a trade pact without forcing an end to the Kremlin's crackdown on Lithuania.

The drumbeat of criticism is coming mostly from conservatives, led by former Pentagon officials Richard Perle and Frank Gaffney, who has an active fax machine and extensive contacts in the press. Some liberals, such as Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Maine), have picked up some of their points.

But a closer look at the arms and trade moves suggests that Mr. Bush didn't give away nearly as much as the attacks suggest, according to analyses not only inside the administration but by outside analysts. In some cases Soviet benefits are illusory and in others the U.S. seems to be the clear winner. Accordingly, the political dangers to Mr. Bush may be considerably less than would be the case if there were a full-scale conservative attack. "In the immediate post-summit climate, the attacks are meaningless," says Kevin Phillips, a Republican political theorist.

The summit did fail to advance Mr. Bush's key foreign-policy goals: unifying Germany in the West and rolling back Soviet troops in Europe.

Agreement Favors U.S.

But on strategic-arms control, the treaty nearing completion will be lopsided in most respects in favor of the U.S. And on Lithuania, Mr. Bush has shifted to a strategy of using congressional pressure to force Mr. Gorbachev into easing his crackdown before the pact is ratified. That ensures that months, at least, will pass before real trade benefits flow to Moscow.

"On START [the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty], we got most of the restrictions we were looking for," maintains Michael Mandelbaum, an analyst at the Council on Foreign Relations. And on Lithuania, says Rep. Jim Leach, an Iowa Re-

ADVANTAGE: U.S.

Under the likely terms of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty currently being negotiated, the Soviet warhead total is estimated to fall about twice as much as the U.S. total by the late 1990s.

	UNITED STATES		SOVIET UNION	
	CURRENT	FUTURE	CURRENT	FUTURE
BALLISTIC MISSILES	7,474	4,900	10,172	4,900
BOMBS	3,000	3,440	400	2,000
CRUISE MISSILES	1,950	2,720	640	2,230
OTHER	0	576	0	528
TOTAL	12,424	11,636	11,212	9,658
CUTS	(6.3%)	788	(13.8%)	1,554

Source: The Arms Control Association

publican, Congress is "making very clear that the Baltics matter," leaving Mr. Bush free to avoid "backing Gorbachev into a corner from which there is no maneuverability."

Among those who disagree, the drumbeat of criticism began the week before the summit, when Secretary of State James Baker went to Moscow to settle key arms-control provisions that made up the joint summit statement on strategic weapons.

In the following days, influential conservative commentators blasted Mr. Baker for caving in to Soviet demands. Actively pushing the attack is the Center for Security Policy, a small think tank run by Mr. Gaffney, an informed and articulate conservative who was a top Pentagon arms-control official from 1983 to 1987. Mr. Gaffney has established a reputation for quickly providing journalists and analysts with pointed commentary on foreign-policy issues.

The center's final judgment on the Washington summit accused Mr. Bush of making "the worst strategic miscalculation on the part of a president of the United States since the Yalta conference of 1945," when Franklin Roosevelt agreed to a Soviet sphere of influence in Europe.

Columnists William Safire and Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, and an editorial

in this newspaper, all complained. The conservative Washington Times carried a banner headline declaring: "Baker 'sell-out' in arms talks feared." Mr. Perle strongly sounded the same charges in commentaries before, during and after the summit.

Some lawmakers echo the complaints about Lithuania, with Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole of Kansas warning after the summit that "if the Lithuania or the Baltic problem isn't resolved, then I think it will become a matter of great concern."

In an interview, Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R., Wyo.) concedes congressional conservatives haven't raised much of a ruckus so far about the arms-control deals. But he called the recent arms concessions "a serious error that will tie us down on military technology." He said "it's arms control as a political process, not a strategic process," adding that "the administration has decided that there is but one overriding U.S. national interest, and that is Gorbachev's survival. They're willing to subordinate all other goals to that."

On arms control, the critics have many gripes but have zeroed in on two key issues: long-range cruise missiles, where the U.S. has an edge; and "heavy" multiple-warhead, land-based, ballistic missiles, where Moscow has a monopoly.

The critics charge that, by agreeing to an upper limit of 880 sea-launched cruise missiles, Mr. Bush wrote off a major U.S. advantage, and tempted Congress to cut the programs.

But the deal worked out by Mr. Baker in Moscow, and sanctioned at the summit, actually meets an American demand that sea-launched cruise missiles be excluded altogether from the legally binding treaty limits and verification procedures. Instead, they are to be covered only by "politically binding declarations" in which each side will merely state how many it will build. In return, Mr. Baker—with Pentagon and White House concurrence—agreed that the U.S. wouldn't declare an intention to build more than 880 of the weapons, well above the total of 758 the Navy says it needs.

mailing 6/11/90

On air-launched cruise missiles, fired from the wings of bombers, the critics lambaste the administration for agreeing to count all such weapons with a range of more than 600 kilometers and for making promises about a new conventional cruise missile code-named "Tacit Rainbow."

But the U.S. actually won the right to exclude as many as 1,500 of the weapons from treaty limits vs. 840 for the U.S.S.R. And Mr. Baker managed to exempt the exotic "Tacit Rainbow" missile merely by stating that the Air Force only plans a non-nuclear version.

On heavy missiles, the critics complain that the U.S. has agreed that some modernization of the Soviets' huge SS-18 will be permitted. They contend that by upgrading the SS-18s, Moscow could fully offset cuts in the number of missiles.

Slashing Heavy Missiles

But the treaty as it stands would slash the SS-18 force in half, from 308 missiles to 154. And no amount of improvement is likely to offset that cut, according to former defense secretary Harold Brown, because nuclear-war planners generally seek to aim two warheads at each target. Further, the U.S. is still pressing to effectively cut off further SS-18 modernization after 1992.

Overall, experts estimate that the treaty will widen the U.S. lead in nuclear warheads and deprive Moscow of its historic edge in ballistic missiles.

On the trade issue, there isn't any doubt that Mr. Bush gave Mr. Gorbachev a symbolic political prize by signing the trade pact while the Kremlin is still squeezing Lithuania. But in more substantive terms, Mr. Bush has made it clear to the Soviets that he won't send the trade deal to Congress for approval, and won't take the related step of granting the Soviets most-favored-nation trade status, until the Soviet legislature passes a new law guaranteeing Soviet Jews expanded rights to emigrate.

Beyond that, Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker drove home to the Soviets the need to keep the trade pact from becoming entangled in a fight with Congress over Lithuania. To make the point, Mr. Bush used a congressional action he initially didn't like: a May 1 Senate resolution declaring that the president shouldn't even bother sending Congress a new trade deal for approval until the Kremlin's economic crackdown on Lithuania is eased.

As a result, both U.S. and Soviet officials suddenly find it convenient to put off implementing the trade pact. Soviet officials now are hinting that passage of their new emigration law, the next step in the process, won't occur until at least September. In the meantime, U.S. officials hope that, by dangling a signed but unactivated trade treaty before Mr. Gorbachev's eyes, they are giving a positive incentive to get moving by then on Lithuania.

By giving Congress the bad-cop role, Mr. Bush has let others tie trade to the Baltics while avoiding formal linkage that might rear its head again and again as ethnic issues boil up in the future. Some think that's useful in the long run. "I think we ought to think twice before we tie our economic relationship to the Soviet Union to the satisfaction of each and every grievance" by ethnic groups, says Mr. Mandelbaum.

May 30, 1990

The Washington Post

Bad Vote in the House

THE HOUSE has passed a close cousin of legislation that the Senate wisely killed, providing special unemployment benefits to workers displaced by the pending amendments to the Clean Air Act. The administration has rightly threatened a veto if the benefits survive in conference.

The way to help the unemployed is not according to the cause of their unemployment. While the benefits under this legislation would be limited, the principle they represent is not. Jobs are created and destroyed in the economy all the time. The federal government is complicit in much of this activity. It is not just budget cuts and regulations that have employment effects, but all kinds of federal policies.

If the government provides a cushion against some of these, what is the basis for not providing a cushion against all? Why stop with clean air or with environmental regulation? What about the victims, if that is the word, of the defense budget cuts now likely to be made, or cuts in Medicare or the tax reform Congress passed four years ago? What is the rationale for helping workers who are hurt but not investors, the suppliers of the labor but not suppliers of capital?

The right thing to do for the involuntarily unemployed is not to Balkanize assistance but to improve the general, underlying system of unemployment compensation. That mainly countercyclical system is now weak. Fewer than a third of the unemployed are covered, as threadbare a figure as the program has ever recorded. But the safety net should be consistent, not a patchwork. Nor should it be a system of federal liability, in which worthy federal action in the environmental or some other sphere would be subject to the payment of benefits.

Conservatives like the latter notion. They would, in this case, shrink the government by expanding its budget. They reason that if regulatory costs had to be paid through the budget, there would be fewer regulations, which is to say that Congress often shifts to regulations costs that it is unwilling to finance through taxes. But that's not a rationale for special unemployment benefits for those who lose their jobs to cleaner air. If the unemployment compensation system doesn't do enough for them, it doesn't do enough for the rest of the unemployed, either. That's the problem Congress—and the administration—should define and solve.

112X mailing
5/30/90

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1990

NOTE FROM ED ROGERS

Attached please find budget guidance from Marlin's briefing this morning. Please keep it in mind when commenting around town.

We'll keep you posted.

Thanks.

FAXED TO:

May 9, 1990

Dave Carney
Bob Teeter
Pete Teeley
Mary Matalin
Eddie Mahe
Jim Lake
Craig Fuller
Rich Bond
Charlie Black
Haley Barbour

White House Press Briefing
May 9, 1990

Q Marlin, this is a significant step in a process one presumes to address the deficit. Can you tell the American people now whether they can plan on paying higher taxes as a result of this process?

MR. FITZWATER: The leadership of the Congress and the administration are sitting down to work out this matter with no preconditions, as they said.

Let me just give you a little perspective on this no preconditions term. Our use of the term indicates and symbolizes an attitude and a spirit of achieving an end result that is good government, void of the normal political posturing, politics and perceptions. For an example, in the past some people have said that raising taxes has to be on the table. But no preconditions means just the opposite; it means the table is clean. We are setting the stage for open and fruitful discussions in the best interest of the American people and the economy. There is but one overriding goal for all lawmakers, a low deficit and a sound economy. That's the task and it does no good to specify what specific actions will be taken.

Q Marlin, if I may follow, please. The question is, to what extent are the American people going to be permitted to get some sense of this process and be a part of the process? And your talk now about what's on the table or what's not on the table, is more dancing around this issue. Should Americans count on paying more taxes or not?

MR. FITZWATER: No.



sent
4/10/90

CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

I thought the attached would interest you.

John H. Sununu

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

NEWS



A Federal agency advised by the National Council on the Arts
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

For further information contact:
Katherine Christie/Virginia Falck
202/682-5440 tel.

For Immediate Release
March 22, 1990

National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John Frohnmayer today reiterated his and the Endowment's position on art versus obscenity. He stated:

"For approximately the last six months, I have been Chairman of the Arts Endowment. Many of the complaints which are currently being aired about 'obscenity' with regard to Endowment funded art projects relate to actions taken prior to my appointment. The record shows that I am personally and unequivocally opposed to government funding of obscenities. I will be diligent that obscenity will not be funded by the Endowment. As I stated yesterday in my testimony to Congress:

'I and the National Endowment for the Arts oppose obscenity unequivocally. It is the antithesis of art. It is without soul. It conveys no message. It degrades humanity, and it sickens me.'

"In my testimony yesterday, I outlined 14 steps which I have undertaken to strengthen the panel process so that the citizen-experts (some 800 of them each year who come to the Endowment to recommend grants) might have adequate guidance both on the law and their responsibilities as panelists.

"I believe in a responsible Arts Endowment, which promotes only the finest art available in this country. I believe it is inappropriate for Congress to micro-manage the Endowment through additional legislation. Rather, we at the Endowment must act responsibly and reflect the broad range of American cultures, expertise and viewpoints.

"Art and obscenity are opposites. Obscenity will not be funded with taxpayers' money."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR ED ROGERS

FROM: DOUG WEAD *DW (104)*
SUBJECT: List of Names from National Endowment for the Arts
letter

Here are the names you requested along with proper addresses:

Paul Weyrich
Chairman
Coalitions for America
721 2nd Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Richard Cizik
National Association of Evangelicals
1023 15th Street, NW
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20005

Eric Licht
Coalitions for America
721 2nd Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

John Holmes
Association of Christian
Schools International
331 Kolbe Road
Westminster, MD 21157

Beverly LaHaye
President
Concerned Women for America
370 L'Enfant Promenade
Washington, D.C. 20024

Phyllis Schlafly
President
Eagle Forum
P.O. Box 618
Alton, IL 62002

Robert McFadden
Ad Hoc Committee in
Defense of Life
1187 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

Ray Allen
Chairman
American Coalition for Life
701 East Main
Grand Prairie, TX 75050

Michael Schwartz
Siena Group for Catholic Policy
721 2nd Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Inga Cannon
Home School Legal Defense Foundation
P.O. Box 159
Paenian Spring, VA 22129

Art Kelly
Council for National Policy
513 Capital Court, NE
Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20002

Gary Bergel
Intercessors for America
P.O. Box 2639
Reston, VA 22090

Richard Hendrix
United Families of America
3819 Plaza Drive
Fairfax, VA 22030

Darrel Brubaker
Evangelicals for Social Action
713 Monroe Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20017

Pastor George Lucas
American Life Lobby PAC
188 Onville Road
Stafford, VA 22554

Robert Wall
c/o Free Congress
721 2nd Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Operation Rescue
c/o Free Congress
721 2nd Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Rev. Lou Sheldon
Traditional Values Coalition
200 South Anaheim Blvd.
Anaheim, CA 92005

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 28, 1990

Dear Paul:

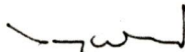
The President has asked that I respond to the recent letter sent to him by the distinguished group of conservative leaders.

As you know, the President recently issued a statement expressing his deep offense at sexually explicit and sacrilegious art paid for with taxpayers money. Certainly religious intolerance, whether it be anti-Semitic or anti-Christian, has no place in our society and its sponsorship with federal funds is frightening.

Even so, the President has issued a statement opposing specific legislation that offers control of content for NEA funding. Rather, the President has called for NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer to take the leadership in dealing responsibly with this issue. The President has confidence that Mr. Frohnmayer will be both sensitive to issues of artistic freedom and to responsible use of taxpayers dollars.

Thank you for taking the time to write us about this. I can assure you that there are a number of people here at the White House who are equally concerned.

Sincerely,



Doug Wead

Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Mr. Paul Weyrich
National Chairman
Coalitions for America
721 2nd Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

sent with JHS card April 10, 1990

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1990

The following is a list of key Presidential events. Please keep these dates in mind over the next several weeks.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>EVENT</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
April 13-14	Meeting with Prime Minister Thatcher	Bermuda
April 19	Meeting with President Mitterand	Key Largo, FL
April 20	Fundraising Reception and Lunch for Bill Cabaniss	Birmingham, AL
April 20	Fundraising Reception and Dinner for Florida GOP	Orlando, FL
April 22	Earth Day	
April 30	Address U.S. Chamber of Commerce	Washington, DC
May 4	Oklahoma State University Commencement Address	Stillwater, OK
May 4	Oklahoma State GOP Fundraising Reception	Tulsa, OK
May 11	Texas A&I Commencement Address	Kingsville, TX
May 11	Fundraising Reception and Dinner for Governor Campbell	Columbia, SC
May 12	University of South Carolina Commencement Address	Columbia, SC
May 12	Liberty University Commencement Address	Lynchburg, VA
May 18	Fundraising Reception and Dinner for Texas GOP	Dallas, TX

May 19	University of Texas Commencement Address	Austin, TX
May 21	Fundraising Breakfast for David Frohnmayer	Portland, OR
May 21	Fundraising Luncheon for the RNC	Los Angeles, CA
May 30 - June 3	Summit with President Gorbachev	Washington, DC
June 12	Political Fundraiser 1990 President's Dinner	Washington, DC
July 9-11	Economic Summit	Houston, TX

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

DATE: April 3, 1990

TO:

FROM: GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

Thought the attached would interest you.

91 *The Tiff Over EPA*

IN THE REAGAN administration, advocacy groups and members of Congress charged that the Office of Management and Budget was usurping regulatory authority that belonged by law in other agencies. The arguments had to do with congressional intent and the balance of powers. The reality was grittier. The advocacy groups thought they could win more policy fights in the agencies than they could at OMB.

The effort to make OMB keep hands off failed, as it should have. Thanks to Congress, regulatory activity has become almost a fourth branch of government, in which Congress has given the executive branch enormous discretion. A president has not merely the right but the positive duty to control this important activity. If people don't like how he does it, they should defeat him at the polls, not try to wall off a part of the executive branch from his powers.

The wall-builders haven't quit, however. The latest example involves the Environmental Protection Agency. The House has passed the president's bill to elevate EPA to a Cabinet-level department. No harm in that, we think, and maybe even a little good. The House, however, included in its version a new Bureau of Environmental Statistics that neither the president nor the secretary of the new department could control.

The secretary would appoint the director for a four-year term; the appointment would not be subject to Senate confirmation. But the director

could not be removed except for cause. All functions of the secretary "that relate to gathering, analysis and dissemination of environmental quality and related public health information" would have to be delegated to the director. No report by the bureau would be subject to prior approval by the secretary or officials above him.

The idea, not to put too fine a point on it, is to limit the capacity of White House Officials to minimize environmental problems, as environmentalists think White House chief of staff John Sununu and budget director Richard Darman have done a couple of times in the past. The hope is that, if an independent statistical bureau is created, there can be no more of what the advocates call political interference with the environmental truth.

We wish there were such easy, apolitical truth, but there isn't. The advocates say their only goal is independence, creation of a genuinely neutral agency like the admirable Bureau of Labor Statistics. But environmental risks aren't measurable in the same way unemployment is. We're not in favor of cooking the environmental books, either, but the effort here smacks too much of creating a redoubt for a point of view. The administration says it will veto the bill if the offending provisions that supposedly violate presidential prerogative aren't excised. That too is a little excessive. The nation's environmental problems are substantive, and procedural arguments won't resolve them.

Talking Points

President Bush wants to elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to the highest level of the federal government, the Cabinet level. But responsibility demands that we do it right.

At best, the House-passed legislation, H.R. 3847, represents an irresponsible overhaul of the EPA and its mission to protect the environment.

At worst, it's a politically motivated attempt at congressional micro-management of the executive branch. Chief among the reasons the Administration opposes the Department of Environmental Protection Act:

- The creation of a new Bureau of Environmental Statistics, an information gathering agency to operate within the new department, is not, in and of itself, problematic, but the bureau created by the House bill would act independently, without the direction, guidance or approval of the Secretary of the Department. It could conduct billions of dollars worth of new activities with no approval of its budget, programs or efforts.
- Restrictions on the ability of the President and the Secretary to run the Department. The legislation limits the ability to hire and fire top level senior staffers and appointees in violation of the appointments clause of the Constitution. No other department of government operates under such a severe handicap.
- The tremendous cost of the House bill, estimated to be as much as \$50 to \$100 million, according to congressional estimates. The President's proposal to give the EPA the clout it deserves would cost a fraction of that.
- Housing the federal government's premier statistical and analytical environmental bureau within any one Cabinet agency will undermine the goal of a cross-government perspective of environmental issues and programs. Currently, numerous federal agencies, including NOAA, CEQ, NSF, NASA, DOI and DOE, have extensive environmental research and data gathering programs.

EPA Talking Points
Page Two

During the House debate on H.R. 3847, the Department of Environmental Protection Act, opponents of the legislation said:

"This bill is intended to cause political embarrassment to the Administration. With all these amendments and add ons ... the only lasting embarrassment will be to the U.S. which will continue to have its environmental problems being handled by a non-cabinet level, non-department." -- Rep. Richard Ray, D-GA.

"H.R. 3847 is a monument to the congressional obsession with giving directions to presidents. Given the fact that our own institution needs serious management reform, you would think we would be the last people in the world to load up this bill with defective directives." -- Rep. Bob Michel, R-IL, Republican Leader.

"Old timers down our way say 'Never try to teach a pig to sing. It frustrates you, and irritates the pig.' That is good advice. I cannot see any reason to ignore it. We do not need any singing pigs. We do need a Secretary of (the) Environment." -- Rep. Porter Goss, R-FL.

The President's senior advisors, including the administrator of the EPA and the Attorney General, would recommend a veto of the House-passed legislation.

In an editorial concerning the House EPA bill in Sunday's (4/1/90) Washington Post, the paper noted it is the responsibility of the President, not the Congress, to control the regulatory activities of the government. "If people don't like how he does it, they should defeat him at the polls, not try to wall off a part of the executive branch from his powers."

David S. Broder

Serious About Schools

The most basic question that parents, teachers and students can ask of the president and the governors of the 50 states is this: Are you serious about the goals for education improvement which you said this week America should pledge to meet in this decade?

The answer to that question is unequivocally yes.

The goals are extremely ambitious. Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) may well be right in warning that none of them can be achieved—if you take literally such statements as: "By the year 2000, U.S. students will be first in the world in mathematics and science achievement. . . . Every adult American will be literate. . . . [And] every school in America will be free of drugs and violence. . . ."

But even if they are not achieved, those are the right goals. And the fact that the governors and the president agreed that "substantial, even radical, changes will have to be made" in the present education system to have even a hope of success is terribly important.

No one should underestimate the difficulty of making those changes. From the faculty of teacher-training colleges to the corps of testing experts, there are many education bureaucrats with a strong interest in protecting the status quo. But the ice is breaking in enough places to lend credence to Maine Gov. John R. McKernan, Jr.'s (R) comment that, "Contrary to what many of us thought, the education establishment is ready to work with us."

As the governors and president met, the American Association of School Administrators and the National Education Association each issued its own report on restructuring the schools. The former dealt skeptically with some arguments for restructuring, but in the end, it said school officials "should be wide open to change and challenge" because ultimately, "it is not a question of if but of how." And NEA, in announcing it was creating a "national center for innovation in education," pointed to more than 600 classroom-based experiments already underway.

Almost every governor I talked to had his own examples of school innovations. New Mexico Gov. Garrey Carruthers (R) has encouraged three schools in his state, including one on a Zuni Indian reservation, to try an intensive education experiment promoted by TheodoreSizer, a Brown University professor, in which small classes of high-schoolers discuss the writings of philosophers such as Hobbes and Locke—challenging material even in elite, liberal arts colleges.

Alaska Gov. Steve Cowper (D) has invited students from Eskimo villages to study at an open-enrollment high school in Sitka, where the curriculum focuses on Pacific Basin trade opportunities and includes instruction in Chinese, Japanese and Russian. Using federal-state job training funds, South Carolina Gov. Carroll Campbell (R) has persuaded 328 companies in his state to open classrooms at plant sites, where workers can take remedial education courses or upgrade their skills.

There are many such examples. And they are only the vanguard of far more numerous and basic changes. Carruthers and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton (D), a leader in the reform effort, believe the whole concept of the public school must change. Instead of being open only eight hours a day and only 180 days a year, the school must become a day-and-evening center for a much wider variety of education offerings, serving adults as well as children, and operating 12 months a year.

Most of the changes will be bottom-up, coming from local schools and local communities. But there is a national role, and the administration, while characteristically cautious, is stepping up to some of the challenges the federal government must take on. In a tight budget year for domestic programs, Bush recommended a \$500 million increase for the widely admired Head Start preschool program and a 36 percent increase in funds for research and development of better tools for evaluating schools, teachers and students.

That last point is of critical importance, because everyone agrees the present assessment methods are inadequate. An interesting and potentially vital argument surfaced this week about who should control the assessment process—the administration, Congress, the governors, educators, or some outside group of "wise men and women." That's an important issue. But the mere fact that the key players are arguing about who's going to keep score on their efforts suggests that they know this undertaking is serious.

Carruthers, the current chairman of the Education Commission of the States, said he told Bush that unless he was prepared to keep coming back to this education issue every year as long as he's president, there was no point in even setting the goals. Bush agreed, Carruthers said. And there will be many parents, teachers, students—and even journalists—holding him and the governors to that promise. Education is just too important to treat as a passing fad.

Sent w/JHS card 2/28/90

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Pebbles' Progress

Sometimes the best stories are the ones that don't make page one. A good example is the enormous progress being made on strategic defense, in particular on a concept known as Brilliant Pebbles.

"The technology is at hand to deploy such a system," said SDI's director, Lt. Gen. George Monahan, the other day. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney took a trip to the Pebbles' home at Livermore National Laboratory in California last fall, and was impressed enough to urge a similar trip for George Bush. The President visited this month and hailed Brilliant Pebbles. "If the technology I've seen today proves feasible—and I'm told it looks very promising," Mr. Bush said, "no war planner could be confident of the consequences of a ballistic-missile attack."

The beauty of Brilliant Pebbles is its simplicity, employing the classic military stratagem of dispersal. The idea is to send into Earth orbit 4,600 interceptors each small enough to hold in your hands. In peacetime, they'd serve as highly useful sensors for tracking and perhaps surveillance. But in the event of a ballistic-missile launch, they'd be activated on a signal from Earth, then use their powerful propulsion system to head for the nearest missile and destroy it with the force of impact.

It sounds fantastic, but then so did the Manhattan Project and Apollo. The concept has become possible because of the astounding progress in miniaturizing computer components. Lowell Wood, a Livermore physicist, says the size required for scientific computing has plunged by a factor of nearly 1,000 in 10 years. The large "smart rock" interceptors imagined 10 years ago can now be smarter pebbles costing less than \$1.4 million apiece.

The Pebbles program has also received a boost from independent scientists. A study by JASON, a group of physicists that regularly advises the Pentagon, concluded that "there does not appear to be any obvious technological show stopper." While problems remain, including how well the Pebbles could survive an attack aimed at them, JASON said the program "deserves continuing support."

A second study, by the influential Defense Science Board, also gave Pebbles qualified support. "JASON and DSB really gave it a good technical scrub," says one Pentagon official who's familiar with both studies. "Both don't say it's done yet, but they

cite enormous progress. Technically, it looks very good."

Those results explain why Mr. Bush has proposed to nearly triple Pebbles' funding next year to \$329 million. The Pentagon will sensibly continue to pursue other technologies—just this month it tested a ground-based interceptor for the first time. But if Pebbles works out, Gen. Monahan says, SDI's first phase could begin deployment by mid-decade at a cost of \$55 billion. That's \$14 billion less than he estimated only a year ago. When was the last time a government program's cost actually declined?

SDI's real obstacle has always been more political than technical, of course. Members of Congress are already massing to rob SDI's budget so they can save useless bases in their own districts. Which is why we're delighted to see Mr. Bush making the case for SDI even in a world of lower tensions. Even after a START accord, the Soviets will retain 10,000 nuclear warheads. They are modernizing their SS-18s and plan a follow-on to the mobile SS-24. As for any START-II, the fewer the weapons the greater the threat if one side cheats. SDI is insurance against cheating.

SDI can also defend against the 15 other nations the CIA says could have ballistic missiles in 10 years. Only last week, the U.S. expressed its concern about the sale of a French nuclear reactor to Pakistan. Maybe a few visionaries think a world of proliferated weapons can be protected by diplomats, but serious people don't. Since the Pebbles would have a global reach, they could also protect U.S. allies from such launches, or protect the Soviets for that matter. "In the 1990s, strategic defense makes much more sense than ever before, in my view," Mr. Bush said this month.

SDI's falling costs are approaching those of other strategic options, such as the Midgetman missile. For \$40 billion or more, Midgetman will buy a couple of hundred mobile missiles—that's it. For not much more, SDI buys peacetime sensors ("brilliant eyes") plus some protection against a variety of missile threats. It also buys valuable experience in space, which will become as strategically important as the seas became in the 16th and 17th centuries.

SDI has had to climb a wall of Establishment scorn, but the progress so far has borne out the faith George Bush places in American science.

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The rush to glory of 'Crazy Legs' Bush

With his opponents still gasping over the political success of his first year, George Bush is deftly moving to ensure that his second year is even better. There is a good chance he'll succeed.

He has no apparent game plan, but as a politician, Bush has become the best open-field runner since "Crazy Legs" Hirsch, the Los Angeles Rams halfback who merrily zigzagged through the opposition. Whenever the Democrats try to tackle him—on Panama, China, defense—Bush slips away and scores. Last week, in his state-of-the-union address, he did it again. In his calls for more troop cuts in Europe and higher standards in schools, Bush scampered past his Democratic foes just as they were preparing to pounce on him for complacency. Never mind that his new budget reduces education spending in real dollars; politically, Bush had another winner.

While the year ahead will be contentious, Congress is likely to go along with Bush in passing his "four C's": A capital-gains-tax cut and legislation on clean air, child care and crime. Democrats will insist on modifications, but Bush will get the credit. Even on capital gains, where Democrats thought they could draw blood, Bush has blunted the issue of tax breaks for the rich by announcing his own savings plans for the middle class.

Bush also holds the upper hand in wrangling over the federal budget deficit. In the past, Democrats had leverage in negotiations because they could threaten deep defense cuts. But with Bush now seeking cuts, the Democrats can no longer make that threat. By the end of last week, Senate Democrats were sending conciliatory budget signals. At this rate, Bush will keep his no-new-taxes pledge for at least another year.

No-lose with the Soviets. Politically, Bush is also in a no-lose posture with the Soviet Union. If Gorbachev remains in power, Bush will sign a gush of new arms agreements. Should Gorbachev fall, the U.S. will rally behind its President, and his legendary caution will seem vindicated.

What can the Democrats do now that Bush has stolen their themes? One opening has been spotted by Democratic House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, who is good at sniffing out new issues. He wants to push competitiveness much harder and is working with Congressman Mel Levine (D-Calif.) and others on ways to spur the country's high-tech industries in areas such as semiconductors and high-definition TV. Later in the year, should trade talks with Japan continue to lag, Gephardt will also advocate tougher economic sanctions. The President's top economic advisers—Nicholas Brady and Richard Darman, and especially Michael Boskin—are adamantly opposed to Gephardt's ideas (he is also one of the few members Bush personally dislikes). So competitiveness could become a sharp national debate that the Democrats might win.

For now, however, Republicans aren't worried. In a

By DAVID R. GERGEN

private memorandum to friends last week, Richard Nixon said, "The Democratic leadership in the Congress is the weakest in 50 years." Nixon's assessments: Tom Foley, "while highly intelligent and a much nicer man than Jim Wright, lacks Wright's jugular instinct"; George Mitchell showed in the Iran-Contra hearings he is "intelligent enough and mean enough to be an effective partisan leader" but he "has not yet demonstrated that he has the political smarts to play in the big leagues"; and no potential presidential candidates are ready to take on Bush yet—Sam Nunn is too statesmanlike, Bill Bradley does not like to attack, Gephardt hasn't learned how and Mario Cuomo remains on the national sidelines, even though he could be an "enormously effective leader of the opposition."

Only two obstacles appear to lie in Bush's path this year. The most obvious is a weak economy. But the White House continues to believe that a recession can be avoided and the economy will revive in midsummer. The other potential

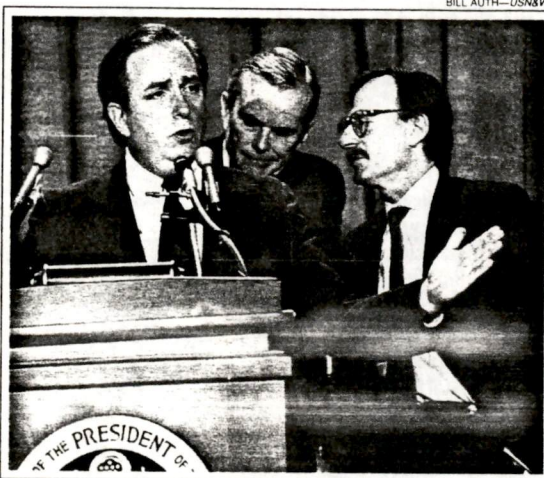
pitfall is that voters will decide there is too much of a gap between Bush's rhetoric and his reality, that he isn't serious about the nation's problems and is only mincing into the future. The Washington press is already on that trail. But Bush has plenty of time to finesse that issue, too, and given his recent running game, he probably will. □

Social insecurity

On the face of it, the Democrats would appear to have a strong issue in Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's proposal to cut Social Security taxes. Only four times since World War II

have federal tax revenues exceeded 19.4 percent of the nation's gross national product, and as Wall Street leader Pete Peterson points out in his book *On Borrowed Time*, a voter backlash has followed on every occasion. The new Bush budget envisions taxes once again piercing the 19.4 percent barrier, rising to 19.9 percent in 1991 (the post-war record is 20.1 percent).

Signs of voter resistance are scant, however. A *New York Times*/CBS survey asking how voters would allocate the "peace dividend" found that 62 percent would pour the money into social programs, 21 percent would reduce the federal deficit and only 10 percent would reduce taxes. There's no groundswell on that front. More to the point, a recent Hotline-KRC poll found that when the choice was presented between cutting Social Security taxes and protecting the Social Security fund, the public overwhelmingly preferred the latter, 72-to-20 percent. Doug Bailey, the media-meister who cofounded Hotline, says the White House has smartly found a better button than Moynihan by arguing: Don't mess with Social Security. Best bet: The Moynihan plan will continue to stir up a fierce, constructive debate over federal financing but won't make it into law. ■



Bush team. Advisers Darman, Brady and Boskin

Something Seems Missing: Fear

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4 — After a decade of feeling on the wrong side of history, Democrats now sense the unfamiliar stirrings of hope.

To be sure, it is a small and subtle thing. Congressional Democrats have held a series of meetings in recent weeks that, on the surface, were not unlike the hand-wringing sessions they held throughout the 1980's while the Republicans were out winning Presidential elections.

But there seems to be a shift in the party's psyche in these early days of 1990. What is missing is the fear. "Most people felt fairly confident that the issues are moving in our direction, slowly but surely," said Representative Charles E. Schumer of Brooklyn, after returning from a House Democratic retreat in Maryland this weekend. "There was hardly the panic of the early 80's that we'd missed the boat on issues."

In the Reagan era one could often smell the panic in the Democratic Party, the sweaty fear that the party was fundamentally, unalterably out of synch with the times.

A Government Label That Stuck

All the maneuvering and repackaging in the world could not hide that the Democrats were the party of big government in an era when voters were choosing the tax-cutting, government-reducing philosophy of Ronald Reagan. And it was hard for Democrats to win an argument over the Pentagon budget when voters were much more fearful of the Soviet Union and a growing threat of nuclear war, as they were in the first half of the 1980's.

Now, Democrats dare to hope that the spirit of the times is changing, the political debate moving back to their turf. Cuts in the Pentagon budget are a given after the upheaval in Eastern Europe. Poll after poll show Americans are increasingly concerned with the environment, education, the nation's ability to compete in the world marketplace, all issues that the Democrats consider their own.

Studies conducted by Democrats for the 90's, a Washington advocacy group, show "a restive anxiety" among middle-class voters and "a desire to return to more human and compassionate values," both of which are interpreted as signs of opportunity for the Democrats.

Facing Bush's Popularity

All of this helps explain the dynamic in Washington these days, why Congressional Democrats seem slightly cocky in the face of a President whose popularity ratings are soaring. Indeed, House Democrats, often accused of minding their own affairs and letting the national party take care of itself, came back from Maryland with vows of new aggressiveness.

"The Bush popularity is in no sense intimidating to any of us," said Representative Vic Fazio of California. "We have no alternative but to go toe to toe, and there's no inclination to do anything but go toe to toe. We are a Congressional party that's interested in becoming a national party again."

It will not be easy, as Democrats have been told in a series of retreats, meetings and special studies in recent weeks. House Democrats groaned last week as they watched a film of voters talking about the Democratic Party. They read studies that said many voters see the party as one of "profligate spending," more interested in protecting the poor than the middle class.

Sounding Like Spenders

Also, while voters may be increasingly concerned about domestic issues, President Bush is hardly ceding that field to them. His State of the Union Message was only the most recent example of his embrace of a new domestic agenda. Democrats say Mr. Bush's embrace is only oratorical: "The speech says one thing, the budget does another," Senator George J. Mitchell, the majority leader, said last week.

But Democrats are often in a strategic corner. When they try to challenge the President's commitment to domestic needs, they risk sounding like big spenders. "They can't get out of their little box where everything they want to propose costs more," said Mary Matalin, chief of staff of the Republican National Committee.

The opportunity and the problem for the Democrats was reflected by a white male voter in his 40's who was interviewed by Democratic researchers not long ago. "Bush won't spend money for education, but the Democrats want to go the opposite way," he said. "Everybody that wants a nickel for education will have it."

Delighting the Republicans

The deeper problem for the Democrats is a lack of national leaders, as many Democrats privately acknowledge. For most of the last 20 years, there have been few second acts for Democratic Presidential campaigns: nominees have run, lost, left the national scene. Senator Edward M. Kennedy and the Rev. Jesse Jackson continue to be among the best-known national Democrats, a fact that cheers

With changing times, a subtle shift is emerging in the party's psyche.

many Republican strategists who are delighted when the Democratic Party is perceived as left of center.

In Democratic circles there is worried talk about who will emerge as the party's standard-bearer in 1992. Mr. Bush's approval ratings may not have broken the Congressional wing of the party, but they seem to have discouraged potential challengers. To many Democrats, there is a chilling silence among potential Presidential candidates right now. "We are becalmed as a Presidential party," said Bruce E. Babbitt, a former Arizona Governor and Democratic Presidential candidate.

As a result, even if the spirit of the times is turning the Democrats' way, there are few leaders to seize the day. After much urging in the party, both

Mr. Mitchell and Representative Thomas S. Foley, the Speaker of the House, have tried to step up to the challenge. For example, Mr. Foley, ordinarily the most conciliatory of men, delivered a vigorous speech last week filled with promises that "we stand with you" and "we will fight."

But it is hard to turn a legislator with legislative duties and a legislative habit of mind into a national party spokesman. Who speaks for the Democrats in this election year? Mr. Mitchell was asked on the NBC News program "Meet the Press" this morning. "In each race, each Democrat running speaks for the Democrats," the majority leader replied, reflexively, as befits a man who must cope with 54 Democratic egos in the Senate.

For all of that cacophony, for all the damage left by a decade of political defeats, the Democrats are daring to hope again. "We're not content to be subcommittee chairmen for 20 years," Mr. Fazio said.

FEBRUARY 2, 1990

Congress Locked In Darman's Budget Trap

Why is Dick Darman smiling? The White House budget director has just endured a week of Democratic attacks as a writer of "lies" (Illinois Rep. Marty Russo), a "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" (New York Rep. Charles Schumer), and, in the worst slur Washington can utter, his budget was labeled "warmed-over Reagan" (Tennessee Sen. James Sasser).

So why is Mr. Darman standing there, smiling that ironic smile, telling reporters after a Senate roast that what Mr. Sasser said could be "construed as conciliatory"? This is the new Charmin' Darman? No, Dick is smiling because he knows that he and President Bush have more budget leverage over Congress this year than any White House since David Stockman's salad days in 1981.

Mr. Darman can afford to be gracious, because he knows he has congressional Democrats prostrate on an anvil waiting for the hammer to strike. The anvil is the Gramm-Rudman budget targets, which ratchet the federal deficit down to zero by 1993. The hammer is the "sequester," the automatic budget cuts that slam down every autumn if Congress doesn't meet the Gramm targets. It's exaggerating only slightly to say that the cries of outrage

recession, which would allow Congress to throw out the Gramm-Rudman targets. Even here, though, Congress would still need Mr. Bush's signature. (Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, the main architect of Gramm-Rudman, is a cunning fellow.)

The second threat is New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's proposal to cut Social Security payroll taxes by \$62 billion over two years. This would blow Gramm-Rudman to smithereens, at least in the short run. Sen. Sasser went so far this week as to call the Moynihan plan a "shot-gun . . . poised precariously"—presumably at the White House. This is the main reason Republicans have worked overtime to discredit Moynihan. White House aides are hoping that Democrats love government so much they would never vote to cut tax revenue. They're probably right.

To pile irony upon irony, all of this new White House leverage may actually increase the likelihood of getting the "big budget deal." Mr. Darman has claimed to want all along. As an alternative to torture by hammer, Democrats may prefer to play poker with Mr. Darman. The idea horrifies many conservatives, who fear a smoke-filled sellout on taxes.



Richard Darman

But Mr. Darman now has more cards to play. He doesn't think much of the conventional wisdom of trading new taxes in return for Social Security benefit cuts. Instead he would want, among other things, a capital gains tax cut, reforms to close the black hole of federal credit guarantees and reforms in the budget process. Buried in the text of Mr. Darman's budget is even a proposal for a *second* sequester each budget year—lest Congress somehow skirt the first. The price of moving Mr. Bush from his "no new taxes" pledge has soared.

Critics are on firmer ground when they ask if Mr. Darman wants a smaller government. He's known to believe that the current level of federal tax revenue—about 19.6% of the economy—is probably the floor for a modern democracy with social insurance. For those of us who think the federal government should shrink if defense does, this is a bad omen. Mr. Darman's proposal to run a budget surplus to pay down the national debt is also dreamy, given the way politicians like to spend.

Yet even if he isn't a card-carrying supply-sider, Mr. Darman has earned some conservative good will. At the Reagan Treasury, he helped move the top tax rate down to 33% from 50%. Inside the Bush White House, he defends free markets on everything from trade to the environment. Ever politic, Mr. Darman prefers the obfuscating "market-oriented" to "free market." But he smiles when he says that to

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

from Democrats are pleas for an act of White House mercy.

This is a revolution in budget politics. For years Congress had a Gramm-Rudman sequester hammer too, of course. Gramm cuts were originally designed to "share the pain equally" between defense and domestic spending programs. Democrats figured Ronald Reagan would never agree to slash defense and so they could stare him down until he accepted only modest domestic cuts too. Mr. Reagan always blinked first.

Two fundamental things have now changed. First, George Bush didn't blink. He proved last year he was willing to accept a sequester, making it a tangible threat to Democratic spending constituencies. Second, the Warsaw Pact collapsed. With Democrats vowing to slash defense by billions anyway, the defense side of the sequester threat melts away.

One senior White House aide compares Gramm-Rudman's sequester showdown to the game of chicken in "Rebel Without a Cause"—but one side has just got a faster car. Democrats are the ones still driving the Volkswagen Beetle. The White House can now drive relentlessly toward a balanced budget by reelection time in 1992, with or without Congress's help.

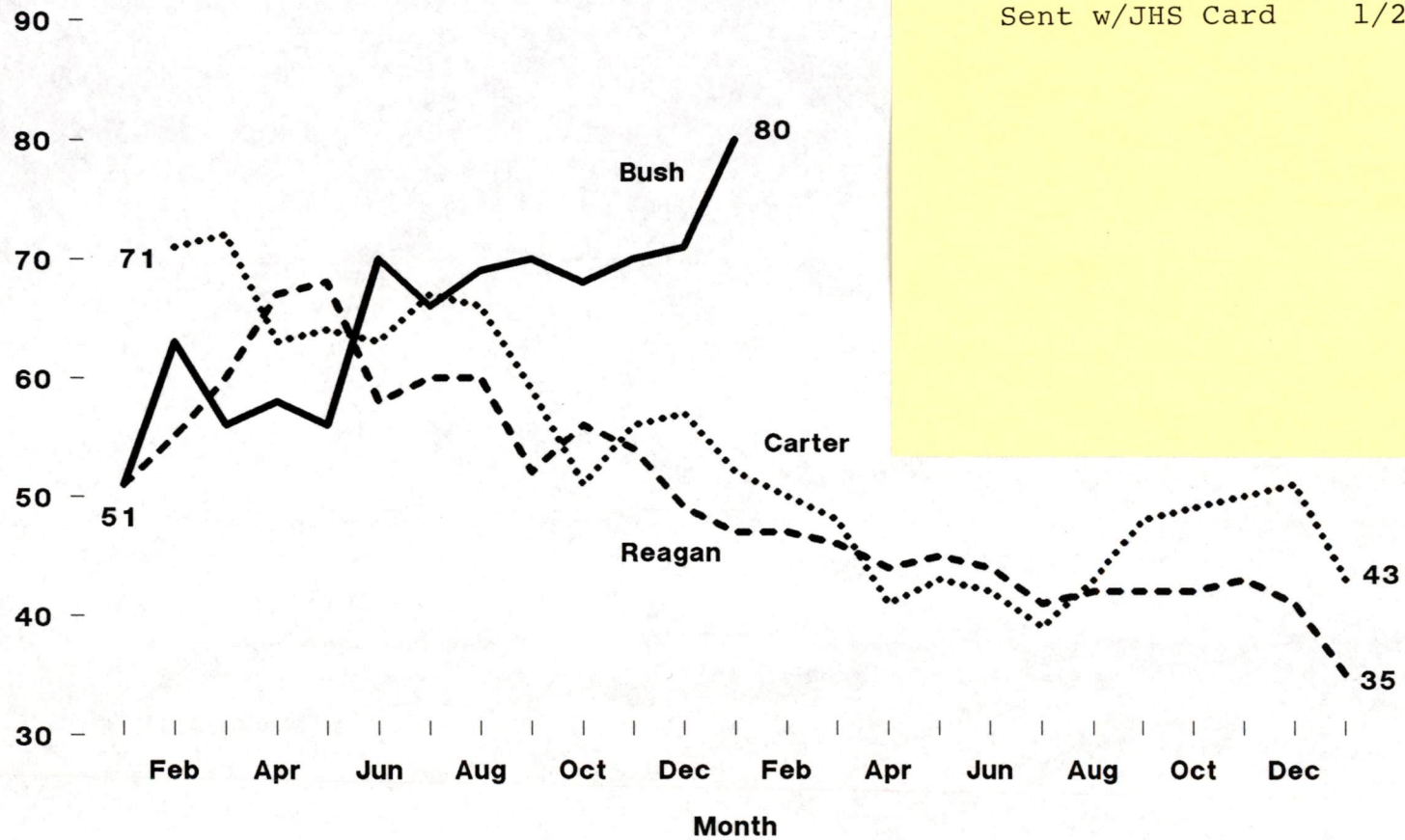
While most of Congress hasn't noticed this yet, Democrats who understand the budget have. Suddenly, they're desperate to "modify" Gramm-Rudman. Mr. Sasser, who groans about the deficit constantly, is suddenly horrified at the prospect of genuine spending cuts. His panic is palpable.

Two potential storms could yet ruin this rosy White House scenario. The first is a

Comparative Presidential Job Approval

Through Second Year in Office

Percent Approval



Sent w/JHS Card 1/26/90

Source: Gallup Organization
RNC Survey Research

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Key Dates to Remember:

January 29, 1990	-	Release of the FY 1991 Budget
January 31, 1990	-	State of the Union Address
February 6, 1990	-	Travel to Los Angeles, CA
February 7, 1990	-	Travel to San Francisco, CA
February 8, 1990	-	Travel to Omaha, NE, and Columbus, OH
February 15-16/TBD, 1990	-	Travel to Cartagena, Columbia (Drug Summit)

1/9/90 mailing
w/ CoS card "FYI"
"list" plus Cabinet

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

PRESIDENT OPENS LEGISLATIVE DRIVE

Capital Gains Tax Cut Urged
and Farm Policy Outlined
in Talk on '90 Agenda

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

ORLANDO, Fla., Jan. 8 — President Bush opened the legislative battle of 1990 today, attacking "demagogues" in Congress, renewing his demand for a cut in the capital gains tax and calling for a new five-year farm bill that would allow grain farmers more choice in deciding what crops to produce.

Mr. Bush's comments marked the start of a strong White House effort to use the President's popularity, in the aftermath of the Panama attack, to sell the Administration's legislative program. Congress reconvenes Jan. 23, and White House officials have said that issues like a lower capital gains tax rate will be top priorities on the President's agenda.

Mr. Bush's visit here, where he toured Disney World's Epcot Center, was his first trip out of Washington since he returned from his New Year's vacation in Texas. He made scant mention of the invasion of Panama as he spoke to the farm group in this city some 250 miles north of Miami, where Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega is being held before a trial on Federal drug charges.

Mr. Bush's remarks expressed a lingering frustration about his troubled relationship with Congress in 1989.

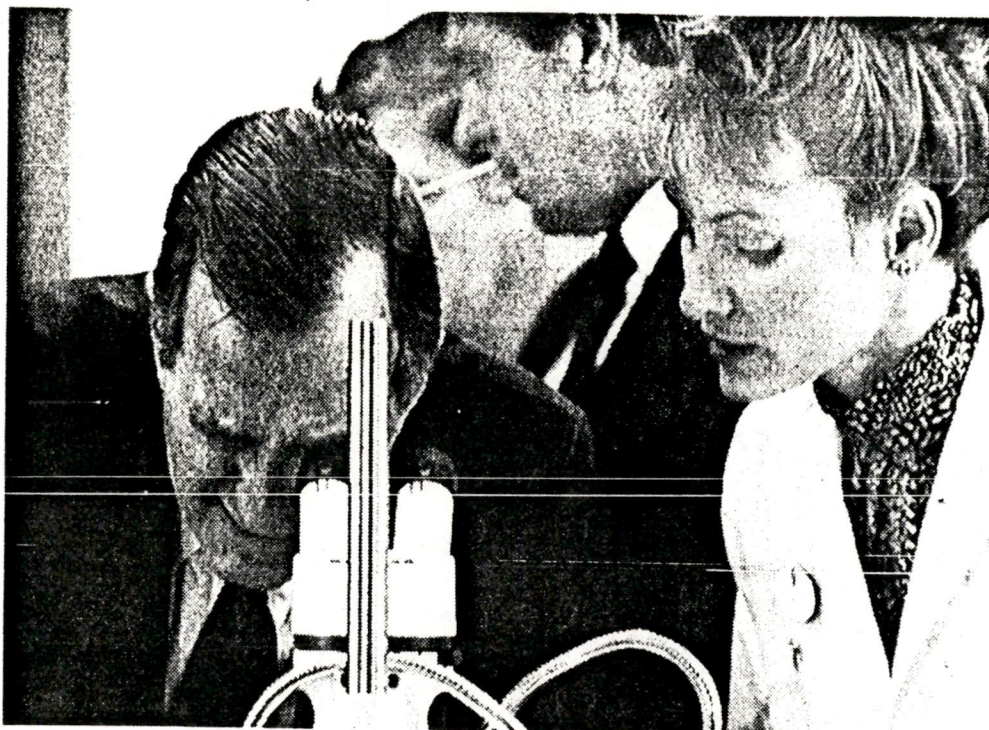
Pledge of Cooperation

"He repeated his Inaugural Day promise to extend 'the hand of cooperation' to lawmakers. 'I put my hand out to Congress, to the Democratic majority, and reminded us all that the American people did not send us to Washington to bicker,' he said.

"Now a year has passed; a new year has begun," Mr. Bush went on.

"We are always willing to listen to ideas and alternatives," he said. "We are not willing to compromise on fundamental principles."

As he did in 1989, Mr. Bush signaled that a cut in the capital gains tax rate would be a top priority this year. Last year the House of Representatives passed a cut in the tax rate, to 19.6 percent from 33 percent, but the Senate killed the bill in procedural wrangling



President Bush viewed peanut embryos through a microscope in the Land pavilion at Disney World's Epcot Center after delivering his first speech this year on domestic policy to a Farm Bureau conference.

over another bill reducing the Federal budget deficit.

Although Congressional leaders who fought the cuts last year have more or less conceded that they do not have the votes to block them this year, and Mr. Bush seems likely to prevail on the issue in 1990, he grew angry and punched his hand in the air today when he raised the subject.

"For us to reap the full benefits of a competitive economy, we must cut the capital gains tax rate," the President said. "The fight isn't over yet, and I am sick and tired of the demagogues who call this a tax cut for the rich."

Mr. Bush has long argued that cutting the tax rate on profits from sales of things like stocks or real estate would bring widespread benefit to taxpayers, increase employment and generally give the economy a lift. The proposal is popular among farmers, for whom land sales are a critical issue, but by far most capital gains go to the well-to-do.

Mr. Bush also complained that Congress had not acted on his proposals on amending the Clean Air Act and stiffening penalties against drug dealers.

"Brave citizens everywhere are standing up to crime," he said. "And it's a time for Congress to act quickly and responsibly because the war on drugs and crime will not wait."

After the speech, Mr. Bush toured the Land and Living Seas pavilions at Epcot Center. As about 150 tourists applauded loudly, he watched two scuba divers playing with two dolphins at the aquatic exhibit and spoke by radio to a

**'I am sick and tired
of the demagogues
who call this a tax
cut for the rich.'**

third diver. "Thanks a lot," he said. "Good luck in there."

The address to the Farm Bureau conference here was Mr. Bush's first speech on domestic policy in the new year and contained his first major statement on farm policy, which opened the debate over the law that will be drafted this year to replace 1985 legislation that expires in 1990.

The President touched on the three major points of controversy in the new bill: flexibility in crop production, efforts to increase ground water quality and regulation of the use of pesticides and growth-enhancing chemicals. Mr. Bush seemed to signal more flexibility on those issues than had been the policy in the Reagan Administration, but he offered no specifics to his audience.

On agricultural policy, Mr. Bush sounded a generally upbeat tone, talking of the accomplishments of the 1980's, of declining surpluses of produce, the returning of fallow land to production and increases in net farm income. But a videotape shown just before he took the stage painted a bleaker picture. In the tape, farmer after farmer interviewed during the confer-

ence complained of high interest rates, low prices for their produce and "depression" in the farming industry in general.

Mr. Bush pledged to work for a comprehensive, innovative farm bill, although he drew an appreciative laugh when he joked that "getting a farm bill through Congress is like milking a bull."

Goal of Farm Flexibility

Touching on the primary areas of dispute in the new farm legislation, Mr. Bush said, "We must have market-oriented farm policies that allow producers more flexibility to decide what crops to grow."

But he did not say exactly how he would amend rules in the 1985 law that penalize farmers who change their grain crops from year to year.

Mr. Bush also said he believes "productive agriculture and a sound environment can be compatible, especially in terms of water quality," and that "we must also make sure that all Americans are confident in the safety of our food supply."

But he did not say how far he was willing to go in regulating the use of chemicals in agriculture.

Mr. Bush also said Florida citrus growers, whose crops were badly damaged by a recent frost, could count on the Department of Agriculture "to be in there fighting with you." He did not offer the orange growers in the region where he spoke any money to help overcome the effects of the frost.

Bush, Taking Tougher Stance, Charges Congress With Dawdling on His Agenda

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ORLANDO, Fla. — President Bush struck a tougher posture toward Congress, charging that lawmakers have dawdled in acting on his programs and that "it is past time" for them to move.

The remarks by Mr. Bush, delivered here in his first major speech of the new year, reflect an administration decision to become slightly more aggressive in dealing with Congress when lawmakers return to work Jan. 23, administration aides said. Officials believe that, after stressing bipartisan cooperation in 1989, Mr. Bush's strong popularity ratings now give him the luxury of pushing lawmakers harder to fall in line behind his proposals in 1990.

The president particularly chided lawmakers for failing to move more rapidly on proposals he made last year for crime and drug legislation, a new Clean Air Act and a capital-gains tax cut. "It's time—it

is past time—for Congress to tend to some of the unfinished business," Mr. Bush said in a speech to the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Mr. Bush tempered his remarks by declaring that "the hand of cooperation" is extended to lawmakers, just as it was at the outset of his administration last January. He said his administration is willing to consider suggestions for modifying his initiatives.

But the president also added: "We are not willing to compromise on fundamental principles." He reserved his harshest remarks for critics of his proposal to cut the tax rate on capital gains, saying he is "sick and tired of the demagogues who call this a tax cut for the rich."

Mr. Bush's remarks also illustrate how the administration intends to push the capital-gains tax cut this year by more actively drawing into the fight special-interest groups who would benefit. The president pointedly noted in his remarks to the farm group that the tax cut "would apply to the sale of farmland."

The question of how to mix cooperation and confrontation with the Democratic-controlled Congress has been one of the most ticklish ones facing Mr. Bush and his aides. Because his party doesn't control either chamber of Congress, Mr. Bush has noted repeatedly that he needs the cooperation of lawmakers and has to be willing to accept compromise.

But aides calculate that Mr. Bush has demonstrated his willingness to cooperate with Democratic lawmakers and now is in a position to push harder for action from them. In speaking about his legislation on crime and drugs, for instance, Mr. Bush declared: "It's time for Congress to act quickly and responsibly because the war on drugs and crime won't wait."

Vice President Dan Quayle gave an outline of Mr. Bush's State of the Union themes in remarks that were meant to dovetail with the president's, but he took a shriller line against Congress. Speaking to the City Club of Cleveland, Mr. Quayle urged Congress to move on the president's pending legislation on Clean Air, child care, and fighting crime and drugs.

But he warned that vetoes will be swift if Congress adopts legislation that doesn't conform to Mr. Bush's principles. He said, "Once the Congress returns—in case you haven't noticed they've been on recess for two months"—Mr. Bush will "warn" lawmakers that "he will resist them when they seek to behave irresponsibly."

—Michel McQueen in Cleveland contributed to this article.

1/9/90



President Bush, accompanied by Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter, greets conventioners of the American Farm Bureau Federation, meeting in Orlando, Fla.

Bush Hits 'Demagogues' on Capital Gains Tax Cut

Citing His Hill Agenda, President Tells Farm Bureau That 'America Wants It Done Now'

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

ORLANDO, Fla., Jan. 8—Winding up for a new session of Congress, President Bush yesterday lashed out at critics of his proposal to cut the capital gains tax, saying: "I am sick and tired of the demagogues who call this a tax cut for the rich. It means jobs, it means savings, and it is good for all Americans."

Bush, in a speech on agriculture policy to the American Farm Bureau Federation convention here, departed briefly from his prepared text to talk about what he called the "unfinished business" of Congress. The White House has embraced the phrase this year to refer to the group of domestic proposals Bush failed to get through Congress in the last session.

In the speech, Bush cited the capital gains tax cut, crime legislation, a package of education bills and a new Clean Air Act.

Noting that when he took office a year ago "I put my hand out to the Congress . . . and reminded us all that the American people did not send us to Washington to bicker," the president said "it's time, it's past time" for congressional action.

Directing his remarks to Congress, which returns on Jan. 23, the president called his proposals "responsible . . . carefully thought-out, based on principle." He said: "America wants it done right. America wants it done responsibly and America wants it done now."

Bush fought a close but losing battle with the Democratic-led Congress for much of 1989 to enact the capital gains tax cut, a centerpiece of his 1988 presidential campaign. He has vowed to make it a major element of his domestic agenda this year.

The White House is expected to modify the proposal this year to extend the tax break to timber and real estate and to set the maximum capital gains rate slightly above 15 percent. The current tax rate is 28 to 33 percent on profits from the

sale of stocks, real estate and other assets. Bush originally proposed to cut the rate to 15 percent only on profits gained from the sale of stocks and bonds held for three or more years.

The president used his speech here to lay out broad themes governing his agriculture policy as Congress prepares to write the new farm bill. "To be competitive," Bush said, "we must have market-oriented farm policies that allow producers more flexibility to decide what crops to grow."

Without saying how those "market-oriented policies" would affect price supports and other federal agriculture programs, Bush said the government must maintain "a safety net to protect farmers from conditions beyond their control."

The president also called for an agriculture policy that recognizes environmental concerns in areas such as use of pesticides and fertilizers. "We must keep your good land in business, without unreasonable burdens, but we must also keep it good land," he said.

The president said his administration is working to develop legislation to protect the food supply, and he repeated his general call for more intensive international negotiation, rather than protectionism, to expand markets abroad.

The rewriting of the 1985 farm act is expected to be a politically contentious, controversial exercise and Bush joked about that to a chuckling audience. "Getting a good farm bill through Congress is like milking a bull," he said. In his speech, he touched on the major areas of controversy—farmer flexibility on price-supported crops, ground-water contamination from agricultural pesticides and the safety of the food supply. But Bush offered few details on what his policies might be in these areas.

Vice President Quayle also used a speech yesterday, to the City Club of Cleveland, to urge Congress to approve the capital gains tax cut, as well as the clean air legislation, a child-care bill, and anti-crime and space program proposals.

Trib. Tampa Tribune, Tuesday, January 9, 1990

Bush pushes capital gains tax reduction

By GIL KLEIN
Tribune Correspondent

ORLANDO — Pounding his fist on the podium, a newly combative President Bush promised a convention of farmers Monday that he would push his legislation through Congress this year, especially his capital gains tax reduction.

"The fight isn't over yet," he said. "And I am sick and tired of these demagogues who call this a tax cut for the rich. It means jobs. It means savings, and it is good for all Americans."

Bush's first speech of the 1990s, an address to the American Farm Bureau Federation, set the tone for what is likely to be a tough year after Congress returns in two weeks to begin its second session. Bush made it clear he will not be as conciliatory as last year.

"We sent proposals to Congress on clean air, combating crime, capital gains," Bush said of last year's initiatives. "Now a year has passed. It is time for Congress to attend to some of the unfinished business."

Bush said the capital gains tax proposal would be his top priority. He was stymied last year by Senate Democratic leaders who would not let his tax proposal come to a vote.

The Farm Bureau, with 3 million members, has strongly supported the tax reduction, and Bush's promise that it will "help keep American agriculture dynamic and prosperous" was applauded by the 8,000 conventioners at the Orange County Civic Center.

He told them the tax cut on capital gains, which are profits from sales of property, stocks and other assets, would apply to profits on sales of farm land.

Bush is expected to amend his capital gains tax proposal when he introduces his new budget Jan. 29. Congressional Republicans have said the new plan would give greater tax advantages to investments that have been held a long time.

The Democratic Senate leadership insists that the cut would increase the federal deficit, while 60 percent of the benefits would go to the 0.3 percent of taxpayers whose incomes exceed \$200,000 a year. Those taxpayers would receive an average of \$35,000 a year.

See BUSH, Page 1A

Bush seeks gains tax cut

From Page 1A

The vast majority of taxpayers, who report capital gains would realize a tax savings of about \$30.

In Washington, an aide to Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, who led the opposition last year, said the Maine Democrat would support a capital gains tax reduction if it did not add to the budget deficit and did not help only the rich.

Bush also called for action on his education, child care, clean air, crime and anti-drug proposals.

"This critical crime legislation has been sitting on Capitol Hill for months," he said, again pounding the podium. "Brave citizens everywhere are standing up to crime. It's time for Congress to act quickly and responsibly. The war on crime and drugs won't wait."

Congress and Bush agree on the goals, but have been at loggerheads about how to pursue them.

On drugs, Bush wants to put the emphasis on law enforcement, while congressional Democrats want more money to treat addicts. On child care, Bush wants tax breaks for poor families with young children, while Congress wants to create a federal system to provide and regulate child care.

Bush gave the farmers little idea of what he will propose in an upcoming farm bill, but said it would center on market-oriented policies that would give them "more flexibility to decide what crops to grow."

He said he would push to open foreign markets for farmers, and would not support new barriers against foreign agricultural products imported by the United States.

After his speech, Bush toured the "Land" and "Living Seas" pavilions at EPCOT Center.

Although Bush encountered a cheering throng of about 300 tourists near the end of his Living Seas tour, he was kept well away from the public and the press for most of his tour.

Staff writers Kevin Bouffard and Steve Kanigher contributed to this report.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 4, 1990

Dear ^F3^,

As the first year closes and the second begins, I wanted to be sure that you hadn't missed the attached: Congressional Quarterly's Presidential support ratings for 1989. Please pay particular attention to those with the highest rating - as well as those with the lowest.

I also enclose some recent polling data - taken before Panama - the results of which are highly encouraging.

From now on, I'm going to stop making predictions about the President's approval rating. I've done nothing but underestimate the strength of his appeal all year!

Best wishes for 1990!

Regards,

John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

^F1^

^F2^

	1	2	3
Alabama			
Heflin	71	29	71
Shelby	68	32	68
Alaska			
Murkowski	85	10	90
Stevens	87	13	87
Arizona			
DeConcini	61	38	62
McCain	91	9	91
Arkansas			
Bumpers	50	50	50
Pryor	53	45	55
California			
Cranston	50	50	50
Wilson	68	22	76
Colorado			
Wirth	56	41	58
Armstrong	83	12	88
Connecticut			
Dodd	54	45	55
Lieberman	56	44	56
Delaware			
Biden	50	48	52
Roth	94	5	95
Florida			
Graham	64	36	64
Mack	86	14	86
Georgia			
Fowler	61	38	62
Nunn	72	28	72
Hawaii			
Inouye	60	37	62
Matsunaga	50	35	59
Idaho			
McClure	88	10	90
Symms	82	14	86
Illinois			
Dixon	72	28	72
Simon	41	58	41
Indiana			
Coats	81	19	81
Lugar	93	2	98

	1	2	3
Iowa			
Harkin	38	58	39
Grassley	79	21	79
Kansas			
Dole	94	4	96
Kassebaum	85	14	86
Kentucky			
Ford	60	39	61
McConnell	82	18	82
Louisiana			
Breaux	71	28	72
Johnston	70	30	70
Maine			
Mitchell	57	43	57
Cohen	74	26	74
Maryland			
Mikulski	41	56	42
Sarbanes	45	53	45
Massachusetts			
Kennedy	48	49	49
Kerry	47	53	47
Michigan			
Levin	50	50	50
Riegle	45	54	45
Minnesota			
Boschwitz	86	10	90
Durenberger	77	18	81
Mississippi			
Cochran	94	6	94
Lott	82	16	84
Missouri			
Bond	86	12	88
Danforth	90	10	90
Montana			
Baucus	48	48	50
Burns	86	12	88
Nebraska			
Eron	65	35	65
Kerrey	51	49	51
Nevada			
Bryan	59	40	60
Reid	63	37	63

	1	2	3
New Hampshire			
Humphrey	76	23	77
Rudman	80	19	81
New Jersey			
Bradley	46	51	47
Lautenberg	49	50	49
New Mexico			
Binamon	54	46	54
Domenici	90	7	93
New York			
Moynihan	52	45	54
D'Amato	67	32	68
North Carolina			
Sanford	56	40	59
Helms	71	28	72
North Dakota			
Burdick	51	48	52
Conrad	55	45	55
Ohio			
Glenn	59	38	61
Metzenbaum	39	59	39
Oklahoma			
Boren	77	20	80
Nickles	86	11	89
Oregon			
Harfield	69	30	70
Packwood	79	18	82
Pennsylvania			
Heinz	71	27	73
Specter	66	34	66
Rhode Island			
Pell	49	48	51
Chafee	81	19	81
South Carolina			
Hollings	67	33	67
Thurmond	90	10	90
South Dakota			
Daschle	49	51	49
Pressler	59	41	59
Tennessee			
Gore	56	30	66
Sasser	55	43	57

Democrats Republicans

	1	2	3
Texas			
Bentsen	69	28	71
Gramm	86	12	88
Utah			
Garn	86	11	89
Hatch	81	18	82
Vermont			
Leahy	47	53	47
Jeffords	68	26	73
Virginia			
Robb	73	27	73
Warner	86	13	87
Washington			
Adams	43	56	43
Gorton	89	11	89
West Virginia			
Byrd	54	46	54
Rockefeller	51	49	51
Wisconsin			
Kohl	47	53	47
Kasten	85	15	85
Wyoming			
Simpson	84	10	89
Wallop	78	13	86

ND Northern Democrats SD Southern Democrats

Southern states - Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., Ky., La., Miss., N.C., Okla., S.C., Tenn., Texas, Va.

Presidential Support and Opposition: Senate

1. Bush Support Score, 1989. Percentage of 101 recorded votes in 1989 on which President Bush took a position and on which a senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the president's position. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

2. Bush Opposition Score, 1989. Percentage of 101 recorded votes in 1989 on which President Bush took a position and on which a senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with the president's position. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

3. Bush Support Score, 1989. Percentage of 101 recorded votes in 1989 on which President Bush took a position and on which a senator was present and voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the president's position. In this version of the study, absences are not counted; therefore, failures to vote do not lower support or opposition scores. Opposition scores, not listed here, are the inverse of the support score; i.e., the opposition score is equal to 100 percent minus the individual's support score.

Presidential Support, Presidential Opposition: House

1. Bush Support Score, 1989. Percentage of 86 recorded votes in 1989 on which President Bush took a position and on which a representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the president's position. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

2. Bush Opposition Score, 1989. Percentage of 86 recorded votes in 1989 on which President Bush took a position and on which a representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the president's position. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores.

3. Bush Support Score, 1989. Percentage of 86 recorded votes in 1989 on which President Bush took a position and on which a representative was present and voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the president's position. In this version of the study, absences are not counted; therefore, failures to vote do not lower support or opposition scores. Opposition scores, not listed here, are the inverse of the support score; i.e., the opposition score is equal to 100 percent minus the individual's support score.

* Rep. Glen Browder, D-Ala., was sworn in April 18, 1989, to succeed Bill Nichols, D, who died Dec. 13, 1988. Browder was eligible for 79 presidential-support votes in 1989. His presidential-support score was 54 percent; opposition score was 44 percent; support score, adjusted for absences, was 55 percent.

* Rep. Gary Condit, D-Calif., was sworn in Sept. 20, 1989, to succeed Tony Coelho, D, who resigned June 15, 1989. Coelho was eligible for only 27 presidential-support votes in 1989. His presidential-support score was 26 percent; opposition score was 63 percent; support score, adjusted for absences, was 29 percent. Condit was eligible for only 37 presidential-support votes in 1989.

* Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R-Fla., was sworn in Sept. 6, 1989, to succeed Claude Pepper, D, who died May 30, 1989. Pepper was eligible for only 15 presidential-support votes in 1989. His presidential-support score was 0 percent; opposition score was 7 percent; support score, adjusted for absences, was 0 percent. Ros-Lehtinen was eligible for only 41 presidential-support votes in 1989.

* Rep. Jill Long, D-Ind., was sworn in April 5, 1989, to succeed Daniel R. Coats, R, who was sworn in as senator Jan. 3, 1989. Long was eligible for 82 presidential-support votes in 1989. Her presidential-support score was 33 percent; opposition score was 67 percent. She missed none of the presidential-support votes for which she was eligible.

* Rep. Gene Taylor, D-Miss., was sworn in Oct. 24, 1989, to succeed Larkin Smith, R, who died Aug. 13, 1989. Smith was eligible for 45 presidential-support votes in 1989. His presidential-support score was 76 percent; opposition score was 24 percent. He missed none of the presidential-support votes for which he was eligible. Taylor was eligible for only 22 presidential-support votes in 1989.

* Craig Washington, D-Texas, tentatively will be sworn in Jan. 23, 1990, to succeed Mickey Leland, D, who died Aug. 7, 1989. Leland was eligible for 45 presidential-support votes in 1989. His presidential-support score was 27 percent; opposition score was 62 percent; support score, adjusted for absences, was 30 percent.

* Rep. Pete Geren, D-Texas, was sworn in Sept. 20, 1989, to succeed Jim Wright, D, who resigned June 30, 1989. Wright was eligible for 18 presidential-support votes in 1989. His presidential-support score was 22 percent; opposition score was 28 percent; support score, adjusted for absences, was 44 percent. Geren was eligible for only 37 presidential-support votes in 1989.

* Rep. Craig Thomas, R-Wyo., was sworn in May 2, 1989, to succeed Dick Cheney, R, who became defense secretary March 21, 1989. Cheney was eligible for only one presidential-support vote in 1989. His presidential-support score was 100 percent. Thomas was eligible for 76 presidential-support votes in 1989.

* Rep. Tommy F. Robinson, R-Ark., switched from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party on July 28.

** Rep. Bill Grant, R-Fla., switched from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party on Feb. 21.

KEY

† Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1988 (sworn in after Jan. 25) or voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.

Democrats Republicans

	1	2	3
Alabama			
1 Callahan	73	21	78
2 Dickinson	71	16	81
3 Browder†	54	44	55
4 Bevil	52	45	54
5 Flippo	45	45	50
6 Erdreich	49	50	49
7 Harris	52	48	52
Alaska			
Al Young	70	27	72
Arizona			
1 Rhodes	86	13	87
2 Udall	29	60	32
3 Stump	72	27	73
4 Kyl	80	20	80
5 Kolbe	69	28	71
Arkansas			
1 Alexander	34	63	35
2 Robinson*	64	31	67
3 Hammerschmidt	81	15	84
4 Anthony	38	57	40
California			
1 Bosco	34	60	36
2 Herger	76	24	76
3 Matsui	33	66	33
4 Fazio	35	64	35
5 Pelosi	26	70	27
6 Boxer	26	72	26
7 Miller	22	76	23
8 Dellums	23	76	24
9 Stark	24	73	25
10 Edwards	27	69	28
11 Lantos	31	62	34
12 Campbell	56	43	56
13 Mineta	29	64	31
14 Shumway	78	20	80
15 Condit†	35	65	35
16 Panetta	31	67	32
17 Pashayan	64	34	65
18 Lehman	29	63	32
19 Logomarsino	73	27	73
20 Thomas	72	28	72
21 Gallegly	76	24	76
22 Moorhead	72	24	75
23 Beilenson	33	64	34
24 Waxman	28	63	31
25 Roybal	24	66	27
26 Berman	31	63	33
27 Levine	31	65	33
28 Dixon	29	63	32
29 Hawkins	26	64	29
30 Martinez	34	60	36
31 Dymally	29	63	32
32 Anderson	36	58	38
33 Dreier	76	24	76
34 Torres	29	69	30
35 Lewis	78	21	79
36 Brown	31	55	36
37 McCandless	77	19	80
38 Dornan	70	23	75
39 Dannemeyer	70	26	73
40 Cox	71	26	73
41 Lowery	74	22	77

	1	2	3
42 Rohrabacher	70	29	71
43 Packard	81	15	84
44 Bates	23	77	23
45 Hunter	76	22	77
Colorado			
1 Schroeder	19	79	19
2 Skaggs	35	65	35
3 Campbell	45	50	48
4 Brown	63	35	64
5 Hefley	65	31	67
6 Schaefer	69	29	70
Connecticut			
1 Kennedy	28	67	29
2 Gejdenson	26	74	26
3 Morrison	24	70	26
4 Shays	36	64	36
5 Rowland	51	47	52
6 Johnson	60	38	61
Delaware			
Al Carper	41	58	41
Florida			
1 Hutto	70	29	71
2 Grant**	77	22	78
3 Bennett	43	57	43
4 James	69	30	69
5 McCallum	72	26	74
6 Stearns	78	22	78
7 Gibbons	37	53	41
8 Young	71	26	73
9 Bilirakis	60	36	63
10 Ireland	65	22	75
11 Nelson	42	48	47
12 Lewis	72	28	72
13 Goss	69	31	69
14 Johnston	34	64	35
15 Shaw	77	22	78
16 Smith	34	64	35
17 Lehman	24	71	26
18 Ros-Lehtinen†	66	32	68
19 Foscill	40	59	40
Georgia			
1 Thomas	58	42	58
2 Hatcher	49	45	52
3 Ray	69	28	71
4 Jones	38	59	39
5 Lewis	28	72	28
6 Gingrich	87	9	90
7 Darden	56	42	57
8 Rowland	52	45	54
9 Jenkins	47	47	50
10 Barnard	67	24	73
Hawaii			
1 Saiti	60	40	60
2 Akaka	35	62	36
Idaho			
1 Craig	78	22	78
2 Stallings	45	51	47
Illinois			
1 Hayes	27	73	27
2 Savage	23	70	25
3 Russo	27	72	27
4 Sangmeister	21	78	21
5 Lipinski	36	51	41
6 Hyde	66	16	80
7 Collins	14	38	27
8 Rostenkowski	36	59	38
9 Yates	27	72	27
10 Porter	65	35	65
11 Annunzio	37	60	38
12 Crane	63	30	68
13 Fawell	60	40	60
14 Hastert	76	23	76
15 Madigan	77	18	81
16 Martin	59	37	61
17 Evans	23	77	23
18 Michel	88	9	90
19 Bruce	33	67	33
20 Durbin	24	76	24
21 Costello	36	63	36
22 Poshard	35	65	35
Indiana			
1 Visclosky	30	67	31
2 Sharp	28	66	30
3 Hiler	81	19	81

ND Northern Democrats SD Southern Democrats

	1	2	3
4 Long†	33	67	33
5 Jantz	22	78	22
6 Burton	60	28	68
7 Myers	73	27	73
8 McCloskey	31	69	31
9 Hamilton	42	58	42
10 Jacobs	27	67	28

Iowa			
1 Leach	45	52	46
2 Tauke	66	30	69
3 Nagle	41	58	41
4 Smith	31	56	36
5 Lightfoot	72	27	73
6 Grandy	74	26	74

Kansas			
1 Roberts	79	21	79
2 Slattery	45	55	45
3 Meyers	69	31	69
4 Glickman	37	60	38
5 Whittaker	76	23	76

Kentucky			
1 Hubbard	49	50	49
2 Natcher	49	51	49
3 Mazzoli	50	50	50
4 Bunning	78	17	82
5 Rogers	80	20	80
6 Hopkins	72	28	72
7 Perkins	37	62	38

Louisiana			
1 Livingston	79	21	79
2 Boggs	50	45	52
3 Tauzin	69	29	70
4 McGary	85	15	85
5 Huckaby	74	22	77
6 Baker	70	27	72
7 Hayes	59	38	61
8 Holloway	66	26	72

Maine			
1 Brennan	27	73	27
2 Snowe	51	48	52

Maryland			
1 Dyson	48	52	48
2 Bentley	51	40	56
3 Cardin	36	63	36
4 McMillen	45	55	45
5 Hoyer	35	63	36
6 Byron	71	29	71
7 Mfume	31	66	32
8 Morella	41	58	41

Massachusetts			
1 Conte	43	53	45
2 Neal	30	64	32
3 Early	23	69	25
4 Frank	27	72	27
5 Atkins	30	67	31
6 Mavroules	37	60	38
7 Markey	28	71	28
8 Kennedy	23	73	24
9 Moakley	31	65	33
10 Studds	27	73	27
11 Donnelly	33	63	34

Michigan			
1 Conyers	14	57	20
2 Pussell	60	37	62
3 Wolpe	28	70	29
4 Upton	74	26	74
5 Henry	66	33	67
6 Carr	30	67	31
7 Kildee	35	65	35
8 Traxler	28	63	31
9 Vander Jagt	78	14	85
10 Schuette	65	28	70
11 Davis	52	30	63
12 Bonior	36	63	36
13 Crockett	22	64	26
14 Hertel	28	67	29
15 Ford	24	73	25
16 Dingell	35	62	36
17 Levin	31	69	31
18 Broomfield	74	20	79

Minnesota			
1 Penny	57	43	57
2 Weber	77	22	78
3 Frenzel	76	22	77
4 Vento	30	69	31

	1	2	3
5 Sabo	30	69	31
6 Sikorski	30	70	30
7 Stangeland	78	16	83
8 Oberstar	35	64	35

Mississippi			
1 Whitten	52	47	53
2 Espy	35	59	37
3 Montgomery	78	22	78
4 Parker	71	23	75
5 Taylor†	68	32	68

Missouri			
1 Clay	28	62	31
2 Buechner	62	22	74
3 Gephardt	33	63	34
4 Skelton	59	34	64
5 Wheat	27	71	27
6 Coleman	67	30	69
7 Hancock	78	22	78
8 Emerson	78	21	79
9 Volkmer	53	47	53

Montana			
1 Williams	31	60	34
2 Marlenee	70	21	77

Nebraska			
1 Bereuter	69	29	70
2 Hoagland	35	65	35
3 Smith	80	17	82

Nevada			
1 Bilbray	45	53	46
2 Vucanovich	79	19	81

New Hampshire			
1 Smith	62	37	62
2 Douglas	64	34	65

New Jersey			
1 Florio	8	22	27
2 Hughes	30	69	31
3 Pallone	34	65	34
4 Smith	55	44	55
5 Roukema	53	42	56
6 Dwyer	34	63	35
7 Rinaldo	55	42	57
8 Roe	35	48	42
9 Torricelli	34	56	38
10 Payne	24	62	28
11 Gallo	64	34	65
12 Courter	6	10	36
13 Saxton	65	33	67
14 Guarini	34	63	35

New Mexico			
1 Schiff	69	30	69
2 Skeen	86	14	86
3 Richardson	37	58	39

New York			
1 Hochbrueckner	33	64	34
2 Downey	28	72	28
3 Mrazek	31	65	33
4 Lent	76	21	78
5 McGrath	60	36	63
6 Flake	27	67	28
7 Ackerman	27	66	29
8 Scheuer	30	59	34
9 Manton	38	53	42
10 Schumer	26	70	27
11 Towns	19	67	22
12 Owens	21	70	23
13 Solarz	37	63	37
14 Molinari	45	19	71
15 Green	57	37	61
16 Rangel	27	59	31
17 Weiss	28	70	29
18 Garcia	15	36	30
19 Engel	30	65	32
20 Lowey	28	70	29
21 Fish	65	33	67
22 Gilman	44	55	45
23 McNulty	42	57	42
24 Solomon	67	33	67
25 Boehlert	51	47	52
26 Martin	71	22	76
27 Walsh	69	30	69
28 McHugh	35	64	35
29 Harton	50	49	51
30 Slaughter	27	71	27
31 Paxon	73	26	74

	1	2	3
32 LaFalce	34	59	36
33 Nowak	37	60	38
34 Houghton	65	26	72

North Carolina			
1 Jones	36	51	41
2 Valentine	52	47	53
3 Lancaster	45	52	46
4 Price	34	66	34
5 Neal	29	65	31
6 Cable	81	17	82
7 Rose	36	58	38
8 Helmer	41	55	43
9 McMillan	80	17	82
10 Ballenger	79	20	80
11 Clarke	37	60	38

North Dakota			
AL Dorgan	24	74	25

Ohio			
1 Luken	38	51	43
2 Gradison	67	28	71
3 Hall	31	62	34
4 Oxley	80	19	81
5 Gillmor	77	22	78
6 McEwen	72	21	78
7 DeWine	71	29	71
8 Lukens	72	23	76
9 Kaptur	33	64	34
10 Miller	76	20	79
11 Eckart	31	69	31
12 Kasich	70	29	71
13 Pease	30	66	31
14 Sawyer	33	67	33
15 Wylie	83	12	88
16 Regula	70	30	70
17 Traficant	29	71	29
18 Applegate	45	52	46
19 Feighan	31	66	32
20 Oaker	33	60	35
21 Stokes	28	70	29

Oklahoma			
1 Inhofe	72	24	75
2 Synar	28	71	28
3 Watkins	48	49	49
4 McCurdy	55	44	55
5 Edwards	81	9	90
6 English	64	35	65

Oregon			
1 AuCoin	26	69	27
2 Smith, R.	79	21	79
3 Wyden	27	69	28
4 DeFazio	23	73	24
5 Smith, D.	71	17	80

Pennsylvania			
1 Foglietta	28	63	31
2 Gray	30	63	33
3 Borski	41	59	41
4 Kolter	45	48	49
5 Schulze	69	30	69
6 Yatron	27	47	37
7 Weldon	65	33	67
8 Kostmayer	26	72	26
9 Shuster	76	23	76
10 McDade	66	29	70
11 Kanjorski	36	63	36
12 Murtha	51	47	52
13 Coughlin	69	28	71
14 Coyne	30	70	30
15 Ritter	69	30	69
16 Walker	79	21	79
17 Gekas	69	29	70
18 Walgren	34	65	34
19 Goodling	65	29	69
20 Gaydos	42	56	43
21 Ridge	56	43	56
22 Murphy	34	62	35
23 Clinger	78	22	78

Rhode Island			
1 Machtle	49	50	49
2 Schneider	35	56	38

South Carolina			
1 Ravenel	64	33	66
2 Spence	72	24	75
3 Derrick	43	55	44
4 Patterson	55	45	55
5 Spratt	49	51	49
6 Tallon	56	41	58

	1	2	3
South Dakota			
AL Johnson	34	66	34

Tennessee			
1 Quillen	71	21	77
2 Duncan	64	35	65
3 Lloyd	56	38	59
4 Cooper	48	50	49
5 Clement	42	52	44
6 Gordon	35	64	35
7 Sundquist	80	17	82
8 Tanner	47	51	48
9 Ford	21	64	25

Texas			
1 Chapman	49	47	51
2 Wilson	47	38	55
3 Bartlett	80	20	80
4 Hall	69	29	70
5 Bryant	24	43	36
6 Barton	67	27	72
7 Archer	81	16	83
8 Fields	78	20	80
9 Brooks	16	49	25
10 Pickle	47	52	47
11 Leath	60	27	69
12 Ceren†	51	49	51
13 Sarpalius	60	38	61
14 Laughlin	63	30	68
15 de la Garza	43	50	46
16 Coleman	35	62	36
17 Stenholm	71	28	72
18 Vucanovich†			
19 Combest	85	15	85
20 Gonzalez	38	62	38
21 Smith	80	14	85
22 DeLay	79	19	81
23 Bustamante	40	56	41
24 Frost	38	58	40
25 Andrews	45	51	47
26 Arney	76	24	76
27 Ortiz	50	47	52

Utah			
1 Hansen	80	17	82
2 Owens	27	63	30
3 Nielson	-76	23	76

Vermont			
AL Smith	50	49	51

Virginia			
1 Bateman	74	21	78
2 Pickett	52	47	52
3 Bliley	80	17	82
4 Siskiy	51	47	52
5 Payne	56	43	56
6 Olin	36	62	37
7 Slaughter	77	23	77
8 Parris	69	23	75
9 Boucher	27	67	29
10 Wolf	81	19	81

Washington			
1 Miller	59	36	62
2 Swift	31	65	33
3 Unsoeld	27	73	27
4 Morrison	67	31	68
5 Foley†	27	73	27
6 Dicks	38	57	40
7 McDermott	29	67	30
8 Chandler	62	34	65

Highest Scorers in Presidential Support...

Highest Scorers — Support

Highest individual scorers in presidential support — those who voted most often for Bush's position in 1989:

Senate



David L. Boren



Bob Dole

Democrats

Boren, Okla.	77%
Robb, Va.	73
Dixon, Ill.	72
Nunn, Ga.	72
Breaux, La.	71
Heflin, Ala.	71

Republicans

Cochran, Miss.	94%
Dole, Kan.	94
Roth, Del.	94
Lugar, Ind.	93
McCain, Ariz.	91

House



G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery



Robert H. Michel

Democrats

Montgomery, Miss.	78%
Huckaby, La.	74
Byron, Md.	71
Parker, Miss.	71
Stenholm, Texas	71
Hutto, Fla.	70
Hall, Texas	69
Ray, Ga.	69

Republicans

Michel, Ill.	88%
Gingrich, Ga.	87
Rhodes, Ariz.	86
Skeen, N.M.	86
Combest, Texas	85
McCrery, La.	85
Wyllie, Ohio	83

Average Scores

Composite presidential support scores for Democrats and Republicans for 1989 and 1988:

	1989		1988	
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
Support				
Senate	55%	82%	47%	68%
House	36	69	25	57
Opposition				
Senate	43%	16%	45%	25%
House	58	27	66	36

Regional Averages

Support

Regional presidential support scores for 1989. Scores for 1988 are in parentheses:

	East		West		South		Midwest	
Democrats								
Senate	50%	(41)	55%	(46)	65%	(54)	51%	(47)
House	32	(22)	30	(21)	47	(31)	32	(23)
Republicans								
Senate	75%	(57)	83%	(68)	85%	(76)	83%	(72)
House	58	(47)	72	(63)	75	(61)	71	(58)

Opposition

Regional presidential opposition scores for 1989. Scores for 1988 are in parentheses:

	East		West		South		Midwest	
Democrats								
Senate	49%	(48)	42%	(47)	34%	(39)	48%	(47)
House	61	(67)	65	(71)	49	(60)	64	(71)
Republicans								
Senate	23%	(42)	14%	(27)	14%	(26)	15%	(30)
House	36	(45)	25	(29)	22	(29)	26	(34)

(CQ defines regions of the United States as follows: **East** Conn., Del., Maine, Md., Mass., N.H., N.J., N.Y., Pa., R.I., Vt., W.Va. **West** Alaska, Ariz., Calif., Colo., Hawaii, Idaho, Mont., Nev., N.M., Ore., Utah, Wash., Wyo. **South** Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., Ky., La., Miss., N.C., Okla., S.C., Tenn., Texas, Va. **Midwest** Ill., Ind., Iowa, Kan., Mich., Minn., Mo., Neb., N.D., Ohio, S.D., Wis.)

... Include GOP Leaders Dole and Michel

Presidential Success

National Security vs. Domestic Issues

1989 presidential success scores broken down into domestic issues and national security issues, with national security including foreign policy and defense. Scores for 1988 are in parentheses:

	National Security	Domestic	Total
Senate	79% (92)	69% (45)	73% (65)
House	58 (53)	47 (24)	50 (33)
Total	71 (75)	57 (34)	62.6 (47)

Success Rate

Annual percentages of presidential victories since 1953 on congressional votes on which the presidents took a clear position:

Eisenhower		Ford	
1953	89.0%	1974	58.2%
1954	82.8	1975	61.0
1955	75.0	1976	53.8
1956	70.0		
1957	68.0		
1958	76.0		
1959	52.0		
1960	65.0		
Kennedy		Carter	
1961	81.0%	1977	75.4%
1962	85.4	1978	78.3
1963	87.1	1979	76.8
		1980	75.1
Johnson		Reagan	
1964	88.0%	1981	82.4%
1965	93.0	1982	72.4
1966	79.0	1983	67.1
1967	79.0	1984	65.8
1968	75.0	1985	59.9
		1986	56.1
		1987	43.5
		1988	47.4
Nixon		Bush	
1969	74.0%	1989	62.6%
1970	77.0		
1971	75.0		
1972	66.0		
1973	50.6		
1974	59.6		

Highest Scorers — Opposition

Highest individual scorers in presidential opposition — those who voted most often against Bush's position:

Senate



Howard M. Metzenbaum



Larry Pressler

Democrats

Metzenbaum, Ohio	59%
Harkin, Iowa	58
Simon, Ill.	58
Adams, Wash.	56
Mikulski, Md.	56
Riegle, Mich.	54
Kerry, Mass.	53
Kohl, Wis.	53
Leahy, Vt.	53
Sarbanes, Md.	53

Republicans

Pressler, S.D.	41%
Specter, Pa.	34
D'Amato, N.Y.	32
Hatfield, Ore.	30
Helms, N.C.	28
Heinz, Pa.	27
Cohen, Maine	26
Jeffords, Vt.	26

House



Patricia Schroeder



Christopher Shays

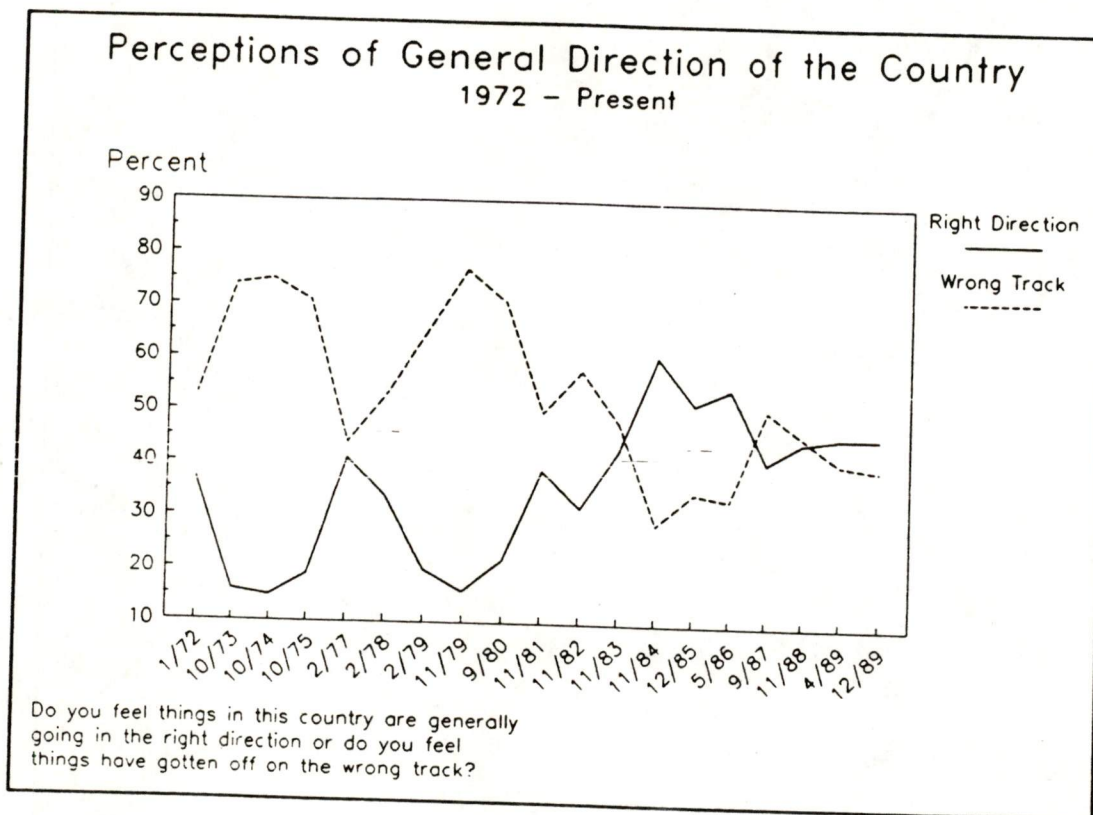
Democrats

Schroeder, Colo.	79%
Jontz, Ind.	78
Sangmeister, Ill.	78
Bates, Calif.	77
Evans, Ill.	77
Dellums, Calif.	76
Durbin, Ill.	76
Miller, Calif.	76

Republicans

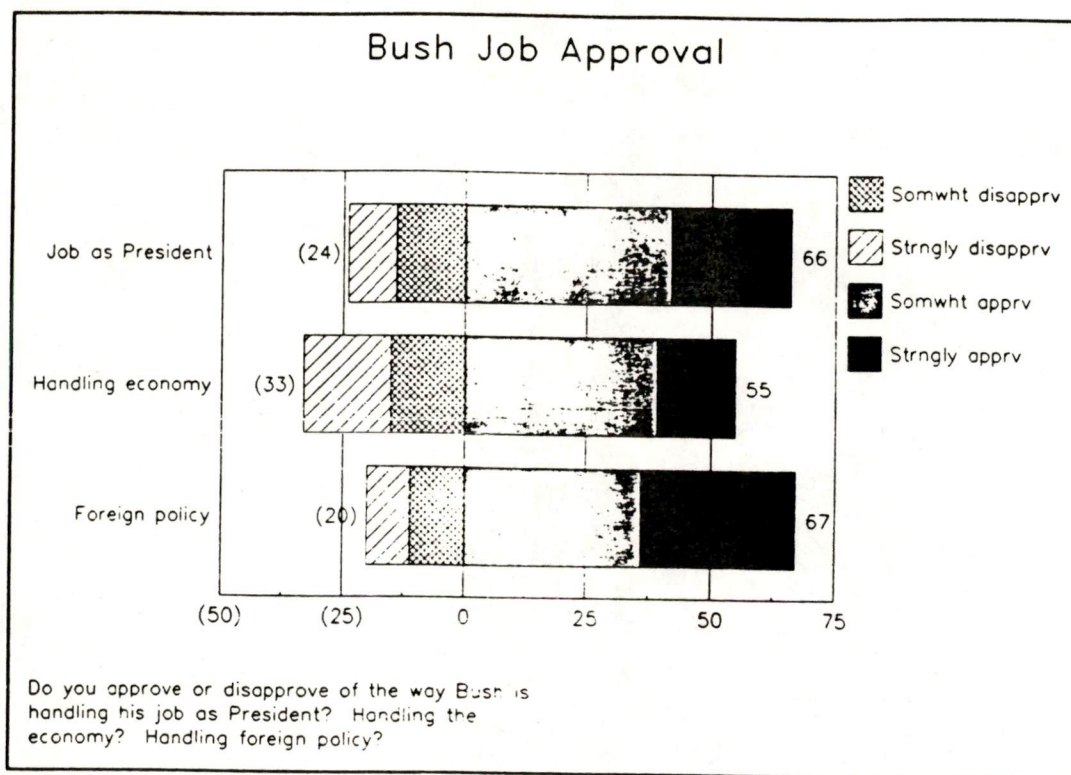
Shays, Conn.	64%
Morella, Md.	58
Schneider, R.I.	56
Gilman, N.Y.	55
Conte, Mass.	53
Leach, Iowa	52
Machtley, R.I.	50

PERCEPTIONS OF THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY



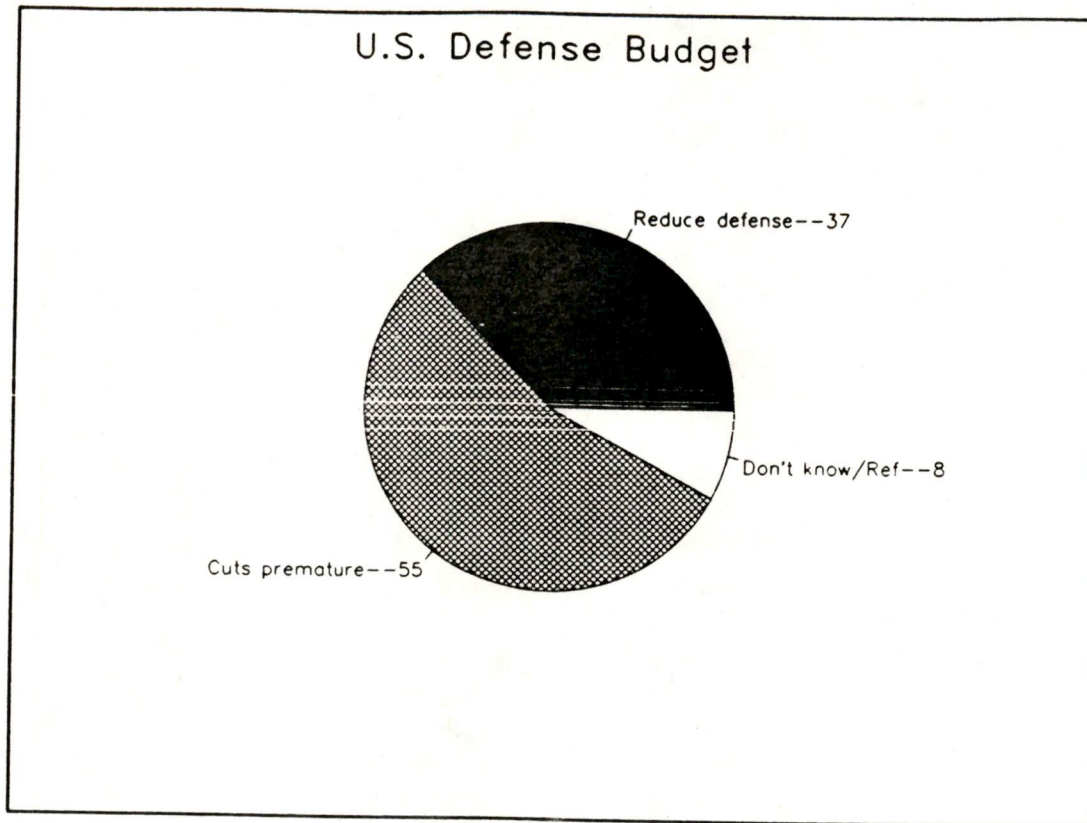
- Figures throughout most of the year have been reasonably stable. Currently, 45% believe things are *"going in the right direction"*. Forty percent (40%) believe things are *"off on the wrong track"*.
- Sixty-one percent (61%) of Republicans believe things are going in the right direction; only 33% 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.

- 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.