

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2023-1267-S

FOIA Number:
2023-1267-S

CASE MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Rogers, Ed, Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 04015
Folder ID Number: 04015-007

Folder Title:
Speech Reference Information [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	0	0	0	0

	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
Grossley	79	21	79
Kansas			
Dale	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			
Exon	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			
Bingaman	54	46	54
Domenici	90	7	93
New York			
Moyihan	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			
Hatfield	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			
Benken	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
Garten	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.

¹ 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.

² 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.

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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.

⁹ Rep. Tommy F. Robinson, R-Ark., switched from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party on July 28.

¹⁰ 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

Alabama			
1 Callahan	73	21	78
2 Dickinson	71	16	81
3 Browder ¹	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 ⁹	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 Muneta	29	64	31
14 Shumway	78	20	80
15 Condit ²	35	65	35
16 Panetta	31	67	32
17 Pashayan	64	34	65
18 Lehman	29	63	32
19 Lagomarsino	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

42 Rehbach	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 Schoefer	69	29	70

Connecticut			
1 Kennedy	28	67	29
2 Geydenson	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 ¹⁰	77	22	79
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	32	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 ³	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 Saito	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

4 Long†	33	47	33	31
5 Jones	22	27	22	30
6 Burton	40	28	48	30
7 Myers	73	27	73	35
8 McCleary	31	59	31	35
9 Hamilton	42	68	42	35
10 Jacobs	27	67	28	
1 Leach	45	52	46	
2 Taulte	66	30	69	
3 Hoyle	41	58	41	
4 Smith	31	56	36	
5 Lightfoot	72	27	73	
6 Grandy	74	26	74	
1 Roberts	79	21	79	
2 Stoney	45	55	45	
3 Meyers	69	31	69	
4 Cichman	37	60	38	
5 Whitaker	76	23	76	
1 Hubbard	49	50	49	
2 Nether	49	51	49	
3 Mazzei	50	50	50	
4 Burnig	78	17	82	
5 Rogers	50	20	50	
6 Hopkins	72	28	72	
7 Perkins	37	62	38	
1 Livingston	79	21	79	
2 Boggs	50	45	52	
3 Tausen	49	29	70	
4 McCary	85	15	85	
5 Buckley	74	22	77	
6 Baker	70	27	72	
7 Hoyes	59	38	61	
8 Hulewary	66	26	72	
1 Berman	27	73	27	
2 Snowe	51	48	52	
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 Milne	31	66	32	
8 Merello	41	58	41	
1 Garte	43	53	45	
2 Neol	30	64	32	
3 Early	23	69	25	
4 Frank	27	72	27	
5 Atkins	30	67	31	
6 Moroules	37	60	38	
7 Mosley	28	71	28	
8 Kennedy	23	73	24	
9 Modley	31	65	33	
10 Shudds	27	73	27	
11 Donnelly	33	63	34	
1 Congen	14	57	20	
2 Purcell	60	37	62	
3 Wojce	28	70	29	
4 Upton	74	26	74	
5 Henry	66	33	67	
6 Carr	30	67	31	
7 Kidde	35	65	35	
8 Traylor	28	63	31	
9 Vander Jogi	78	14	85	
10 Schutte	65	28	70	
11 Davis	52	30	63	
12 Bonor	36	63	36	
13 Cockert	22	64	26	
14 Herrel	28	67	29	
15 Ford	24	73	25	
16 Dingell	35	62	36	
17 Levin	31	69	31	
18 Bloomfield	74	20	79	
1 Henry	57	43	57	
2 Weber	77	22	78	
3 Frenzel	76	22	77	
4 Vento	30	69	31	
5 Sabo	30	69	31	
6 Starob	30	70	30	
7 Stongland	78	16	83	
8 Oberm	35	64	35	
1 Epy	52	47	53	
2 Whiten	35	59	37	
3 Montgomery	78	22	78	
4 Porter	71	23	75	
5 Toplor†	68	32	68	
1 Croy	28	62	31	
2 Buchner	62	63	64	
3 Cephardt	33	62	34	
4 Station	59	34	64	
5 Wheat	27	71	27	
6 Coleman	67	30	69	
7 Hancock	78	22	78	
8 Emerson	78	21	79	
9 Voltner	53	47	53	
1 Williams	31	40	34	
2 Marlenee	70	21	77	
1 Berenier	69	29	70	
2 Hoogland	35	65	35	
3 Smith	80	17	82	
1 Bihoy	45	53	46	
2 Vucenovich	79	19	81	
1 Smith	62	37	62	
2 Douglas	64	34	65	
1 Florio	8	22	27	
2 Hughes	30	69	31	
3 Pallone	34	65	34	
4 Smith	55	44	55	
5 Roulema	53	42	56	
6 Dwyer	34	63	35	
7 Rineide	35	48	42	
8 Roe	35	55	47	
9 Torncelli	24	54	28	
10 Payne	24	62	28	
11 Gelle	64	34	65	
12 Currier	6	10	36	
13 Satten	45	33	67	
14 Cuerni	34	63	35	
1 Schiff	69	30	69	
2 Steen	86	14	86	
3 Richardson	37	58	39	
1 Hoodbuckner	33	64	34	
2 Downey	28	72	28	
3 Mizcek	31	65	33	
4 Lear	76	21	78	
5 McGeeth	60	36	63	
6 Fiske	27	67	28	
7 Ackerman	27	66	29	
8 Schuer	30	59	34	
9 Morton	38	53	42	
10 Schurer	26	70	27	
11 Towns	19	67	22	
12 Owens	21	70	23	
13 Soloz	37	63	37	
14 Mulhner†	45	19	71	
15 Green	57	37	61	
16 Rongel	27	59	31	
17 Weiss	28	78	29	
18 Garcia	15	36	30	
19 Engel	30	65	32	
20 Loney	28	78	29	
21 Felt	65	33	67	
22 Gilman	44	55	45	
23 McNulty	42	57	42	
24 Solomon	67	33	67	
25 Buehler	51	42	52	
26 Martin	71	22	72	
27 Walsh	69	30	69	
28 McHugh	35	64	35	
29 Harren	50	49	51	
30 Slaughter	77	27	77	
31 Patten	73	26	74	
32 Lofake	34	59	36	
33 Newell	37	60	38	
34 Neughten	65	26	72	
1 Jones	36	51	41	
2 Valentine	52	47	53	
3 Lunkater	45	52	46	
4 Price	34	66	34	
5 Neel	29	65	31	
6 Cable	81	17	82	
7 Rose	36	58	38	
8 Helzer	41	55	42	
9 McMillan	80	17	82	
10 Bollinger	79	20	80	
11 Certe	37	60	38	
1 Luten	38	51	43	
2 Gredison	67	28	71	
3 Hall	31	62	34	
4 Odey	80	19	81	
5 Gilmer	77	22	78	
6 McEwen	72	21	78	
7 DeWine	71	29	71	
8 Lutenz	72	23	76	
9 Kaphur	33	64	34	
10 Miller	76	20	79	
11 Ecton	31	69	31	
12 Kensch	70	29	71	
13 Pease	30	66	31	
14 Sawyer	33	67	33	
15 Wyrie	83	12	88	
16 Argula	70	30	70	
17 Trickett	29	71	29	
18 Applegate	45	52	46	
19 Feghnan	31	66	32	
20 Oskar	33	60	35	
21 Stokes	28	70	29	
1 Inabite	72	24	75	
2 Synor	28	71	28	
3 Watkins	48	49	49	
4 McCurdy	55	44	55	
5 Edwards	81	9	90	
6 English	64	35	65	
1 AuCon	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	
1 Foglietta	28	63	31	
2 Croy	30	63	33	
3 Borki	41	59	41	
4 Kohr	45	48	49	
5 Schulze	69	30	69	
6 Tarron	69	30	69	
7 Weldon	27	47	27	
8 Kormeyer	45	33	45	
9 Shuster	26	72	26	
10 McDade	76	23	76	
11 Kanporu	66	29	70	
12 Munro	51	63	56	
13 Caughlin	69	28	71	
14 Corne	30	70	30	
15 Elter	69	30	69	
16 Welker	79	21	79	
17 Gekas	69	29	70	
18 Walgen	64	34	65	
19 Goodling	35	65	34	
20 Gordos	42	56	43	
21 Ridge	56	43	56	
22 Murphy	34	62	35	
23 Clinger	78	22	78	
1 Moschley	49	50	49	
2 Schneider	35	56	38	
1 Reverel	64	33	66	
2 Spence	72	24	75	
3 Derrick	43	55	44	
4 Patterson	55	45	55	
5 Spron	49	51	49	
6 Talon	56	41	58	
1 Chapman	49	47	51	
2 Wilson	80	20	80	
3 Barlett	69	29	70	
4 Hall	24	43	26	
5 Bryant	67	27	72	
6 Berren	81	16	83	
7 Archer	78	20	80	
8 Fields	16	49	47	
9 Brooks	47	52	47	
10 Peltle	60	27	69	
11 Leeth	60	27	69	
12 Cerny†	51	49	51	
13 Solopis	60	38	61	
14 Longlin	63	30	68	
15 de la Gorzo	43	50	46	
16 Coleman	35	62	36	
17 Stenholm	71	28	72	
18 Vancay†	85	15	85	
19 Gambert	38	62	38	
20 Gonzalez	80	14	85	
21 Smith	79	19	81	
22 Delay	40	56	40	
23 Burdante	38	58	40	
24 Frost	38	58	40	
25 Andrews	45	51	47	
26 Arney	76	24	76	
27 Ortiz	50	47	52	
1 Hansen	80	17	82	
2 Oema	27	63	30	
3 Nelson	76	23	76	
1 Smith	50	49	51	
1 Berman	74	21	78	
2 Feltet	52	47	52	
3 Bailey	80	17	82	
4 Stutty	51	47	52	
5 Pome	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	
1 Miller	59	36	62	
2 Smith	31	65	33	
3 Unsoeld	67	31	73	
4 Morrison	27	73	27	
5 Foley†	38	57	40	
6 Dicks	28	67	30	
7 McDermott	39	67	40	
8 Chendler	62	34	65	
1 Melahan	55	43	56	
2 Stoggers	40	59	40	
3 Wise	31	60	34	
4 Raboll	40	58	40	
1 Aspen	41	38	51	
2 Kormenier	28	71	28	
3 Gunderson	77	23	77	
4 Klecko	28	66	30	
5 Moody	77	73	77	
6 Peiri	66	34	66	
7 Ober	31	67	32	
8 Reih	72	27	73	
9 Senterbrenner	66	34	66	
1 Chapman	49	47	51	
2 Wilson	80	20	80	
3 Barlett	69	29	70	
4 Hall	24	43	26	
5 Bryant	67	27	72	
6 Berren	81	16	83	
7 Archer	78	20	80	
8 Fields	16	49	47	
9 Brooks	47	52	47	
10 Peltle	60	27	69	
11 Leeth	60	27	69	
12 Cerny†	51	49	51	
13 Solopis	60	38	61	
14 Longlin	63	30	68	
15 de la Gorzo	43	50	46	
16 Coleman	35	62	36	
17 Stenholm	71	28	72	
18 Vancay†	85	15	85	
19 Gambert	38	62	38	
20 Gonzalez	80	14	85	
21 Smith	79	19	81	
22 Delay	40	56	40	
23 Burdante	38	58	40	
24 Frost	38	58	40	
25 Andrews</				

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
Wylie, 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%	62%	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	
1953	89.0%
1954	82.8
1955	75.0
1956	70.0
1957	68.0
1958	76.0
1959	52.0
1960	65.0

Kennedy	
1961	81.0%
1962	85.4
1963	87.1

Johnson	
1964	88.0%
1965	93.0
1966	79.0
1967	79.0
1968	75.0

Nixon	
1969	74.0%
1970	77.0
1971	75.0
1972	66.0
1973	50.6
1974	59.6

Ford	
1974	58.2%
1975	61.0
1976	53.8

Carter	
1977	75.4%
1978	78.3
1979	76.8
1980	75.1

Reagan	
1981	82.4%
1982	72.4
1983	67.1
1984	65.8
1985	59.9
1986	56.1
1987	43.5
1988	47.4

Bush	
1989	62.6%

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

INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE

Education

Principles for reform

■ President Bush is leading reform and restructuring of America's educational system. Reforms are guided by four principles:

- Ensure that parents have a choice of public schools.
- Recognize and reward excellence.
- Target funds to schools and students most in need.
- Make schools and education officials accountable for results.

The President's Education Summit

■ President Bush convened members of his Cabinet and the nation's governors to focus on issues such as choice, educational restructuring and a competitive work force.

Fighting Drug Abuse

The most comprehensive assault of the war on drugs began when President Bush announced his National Drug Control Strategy. It calls for: the largest single-year increase in drug-war spending; suppressing the supply of drugs; holding users responsible; treating drug abuse as a serious crime; and imposing heavy penalties for casual users. In short, "zero tolerance."

Combatting Violent Crime

The President's Anti-Crime Initiative became law. It strengthens current laws by doubling the mandatory minimum penalties

from 5 to 10 years in federal prison for use of semiautomatic weapons in violent or drug-related crimes; curtails plea bargains; urges Congress to expand the death penalty for the most serious federal crimes; hires 825 federal agents and 1,600 prosecutors; and expands prison construction.

Protecting the Environment

President Bush has placed environmental protection, conservation, and wise management of our natural resources high on his agenda.

President Bush acted to strengthen the Clean Air Act by advocating marketplace solutions to reduce acid rain, urban air pollution, and toxic air emissions.

A KINDER AND GENTLER AMERICA

Affordable Housing

The President's Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere (HOPE) program aims at:

- helping low-income families find affordable housing;
- helping millions of Americans become first-time homeowners;
- providing job opportunities in our most distressed communities; and
- helping the homeless.

Head Start

President Bush called for a \$250 million expansion in Head Start funding to include 95,000 more four-year-olds.

Child Care

President Bush believes that parents, rather than a government bureaucracy, should choose the best and safest care for their child. The President's Working Family Child Care Assistance Act of 1989:

■ Proposes a refundable child-care tax credit of up to \$1,000 per child under age four, for low- and moderate-income working families.

■ Makes the existing Dependent Care Tax Credit refundable.

■ Does not discriminate against religious- or family-based child care, or against stay-at-home parents.

National Service

The President is spearheading a movement to involve Americans in voluntary community service. "The Thousand Points of Light Initiative" is encouraging all Americans to address social problems; replicate successful community service initiatives; and develop new community leaders.

Ethics

Numerous ethics reforms proposed in President Bush's ethics legislation were enacted by Congress in the "Government Ethics Reform Act of 1989" shortly before it adjourned.

Campaign Finance Reform

The President's campaign finance reform proposal will restore real competition to congressional elections by reducing the power of special interests and enhancing the role of individuals and political parties.

Building a better America

Bush Administration Accomplishments

REPUBLICAN
LEADERSHIP
CONTINUES 

A STRONG ECONOMY

Record Peacetime Expansion

■ Thanks to Republican policies, December 1989 marked America's 85th month of economic growth — its longest peacetime economic expansion.

■ More than 20.7 million new jobs have been created during this expansion — more than 2 million jobs were created in 1989 alone.

■ The President kept his promise to the American people and resisted Democrats' calls for new taxes.

■ The civilian unemployment rate stood at 5.3 percent in 1989, the lowest level in 16 years.

■ Republican policies kept consumer price inflation under five percent from 1982 to 1989.

Capital Gains Tax Reduction

■ President Bush proposed cutting the top capital gains tax rate to 15 percent to promote long-term investment in new jobs and new businesses. Majorities in both houses of Congress are now on record in support of such a reduction.

Savings and Loan Reform: Restoring Confidence

To restore confidence in the savings and loan industry, President Bush signed the Financial Institutions Reform, Recov-

ery and Enforcement Act of 1989. The President's plan will protect the savings of millions of Americans and institute tough standards to prevent another crisis.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE

A Resurgence of Democracy

"The day of the dictator is over."

— President George Bush, Inaugural Address

Republican leadership in the 1980s and four decades of strength and solidarity among the Western democracies have revived political and economic freedom. Marxist-Leninism and other forms of totalitarianism have been discredited. The President has taken the initiative to build a new structure of peace and freedom.

U.S. - Soviet Relations

■ Seeing historic change in the Soviet Union, the President has declared his intention to move beyond the successful policy of containment to a new policy of integrating the Soviet Union into the world community.

■ At Malta, the President noted his strong support for perestroika and suggested that the two leaders work to give major new impetus to the U.S. - Soviet relationship.

Nurturing Democracy in Eastern Europe

President Bush has encouraged democracy and free-market policies in Eastern Europe.

■ The President traveled to Poland and Hungary to encourage their march toward democracy.

■ Congress supported the President's proposal for U.S. economic assistance and trade and investment incentives to assist in the economic restructuring of Poland and Hungary.

China

While seeking to preserve a strategically important relationship, the President's policy makes clear that repression cannot be condoned. In response to the tragic suppression of the democratic movement in June, the President, among other actions, suspended all government-to-government sales and commercial exports of weapons and ordered a review of other aspects of our bilateral relations.

Defending Democracy in the Philippines

President Bush provided military support to President Aquino when her government was threatened by rebel insurrection.

Panama: Protecting American Interests; Restoring Democracy

■ On December 20, 1989, President Bush sent U.S. forces to protect American lives, restore democracy, preserve the Panama Canal Treaties and bring Manuel Noriega to justice.

■ On Jan. 3, 1990, following Noriega's surrender, the President declared that all U.S. objectives had been achieved.

KEEPING AMERICA STRONG

Strategic Moderization

President Bush believes that the key to securing peace is a deterrence that convinces our adversaries that the cost of aggression is simply unacceptable.

■ President Bush proposed a two-missile plan that maintains a secure and modernized strategic deterrent. The deployment of the rail-mobile ICBM and the road-mobile Single-Warhead Midg-etman missile will foster arms reduction negotiations.

■ The continued modernization of the strategic submarine force and the deployment of the B-2 Stealth bomber are essential to the process of deterrence.

Strategic Defense Initiative

■ The President requested funding for SDI to support an informed development and deployment decision within four years.

Management Reform

■ The President also directed a Defense Management Review to develop a plan to streamline the defense acquisition system and to manage defense resources more effectively. The plan, now being implemented, promises to save billions.

MARKET OPINION REPORTS

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

Conducted by:
MARKET OPINION RESEARCH



December, 1989

MARKET OPINION REPORTS

This report summarizes a few key results of the December national attitude survey conducted by **Market Opinion Research (MOR)**. MOR conducts national surveys on political and public policy issues each month.

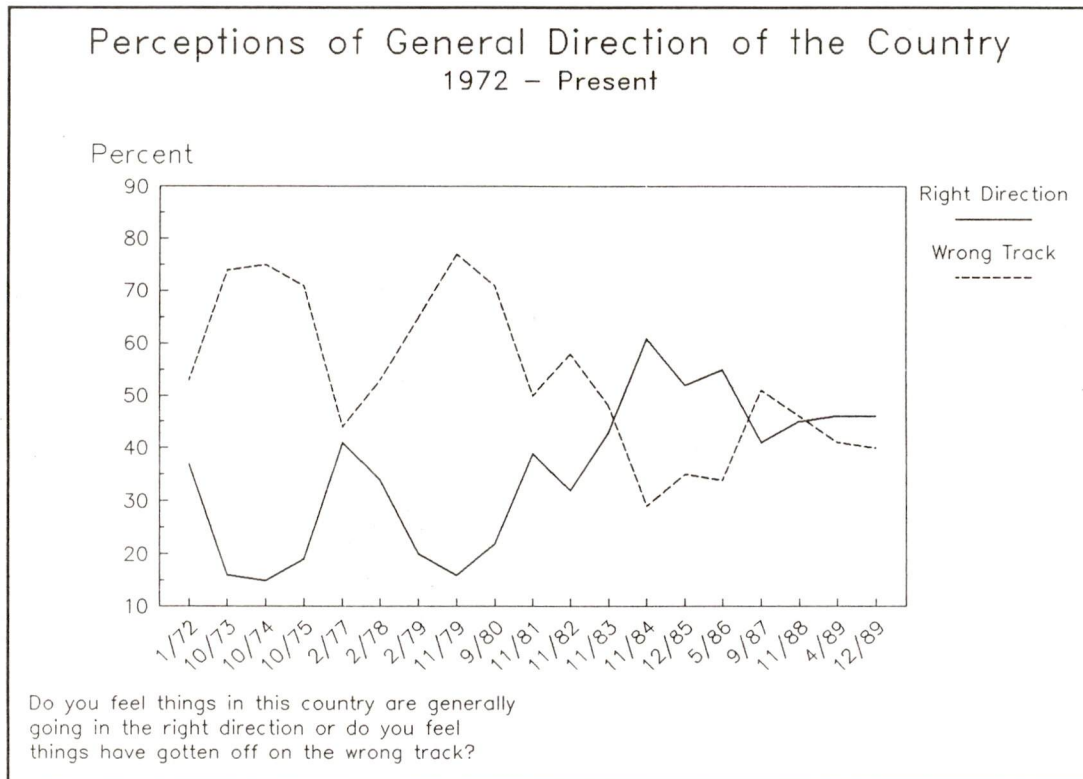
The samples were designed as probability-proportionate-to-size sample of all voters registered throughout the U.S. A total of 1,000 telephone interviews with randomly selected voters was conducted between November 30 and December 3. The margin of error for this survey is plus or minus 3.1.

For more information on MOR's monthly series of national surveys, contact **Dr. Jan van Lohuizen** or **Richard G. Reed** at:

Market Opinion Research
1400 L Street
Suite 650
Washington, D.C. 20005
Telephone: 202-289-0429
0420

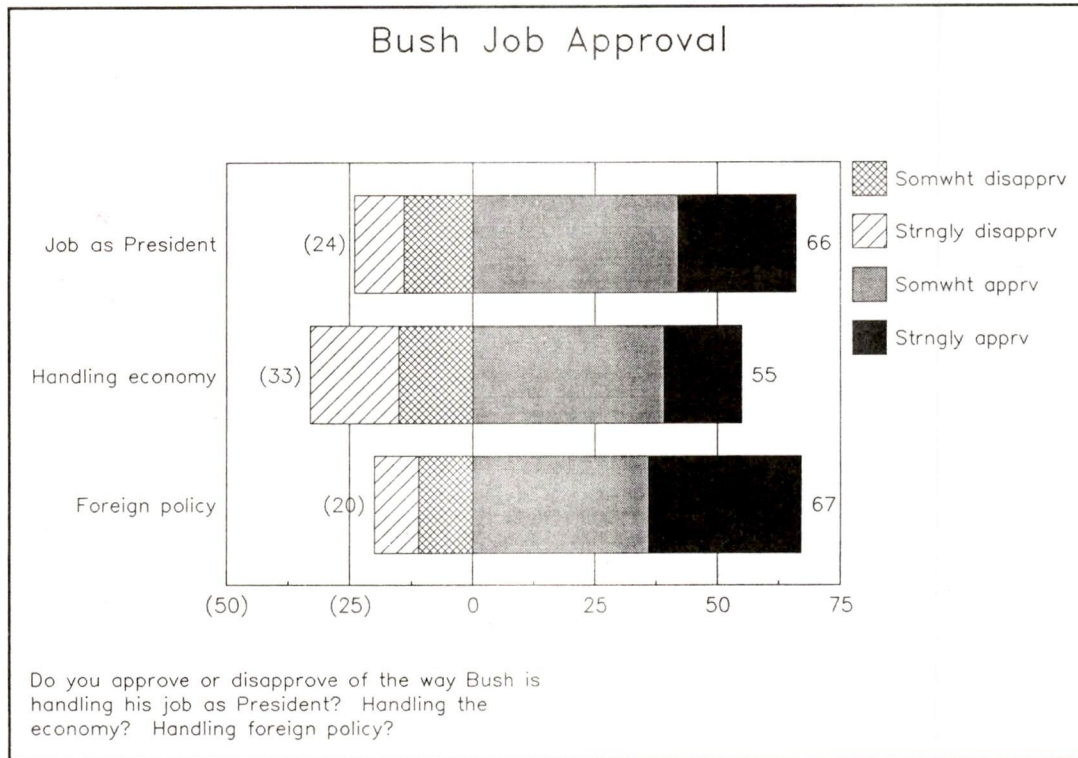
Market Opinion Reports is published monthly by **Market Opinion Research**. Entire contents copyrighted 1989 by **Market Opinion Research**. Permission is granted to quote this material without written permission from the publisher, provided accurate citation of the source is made.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY



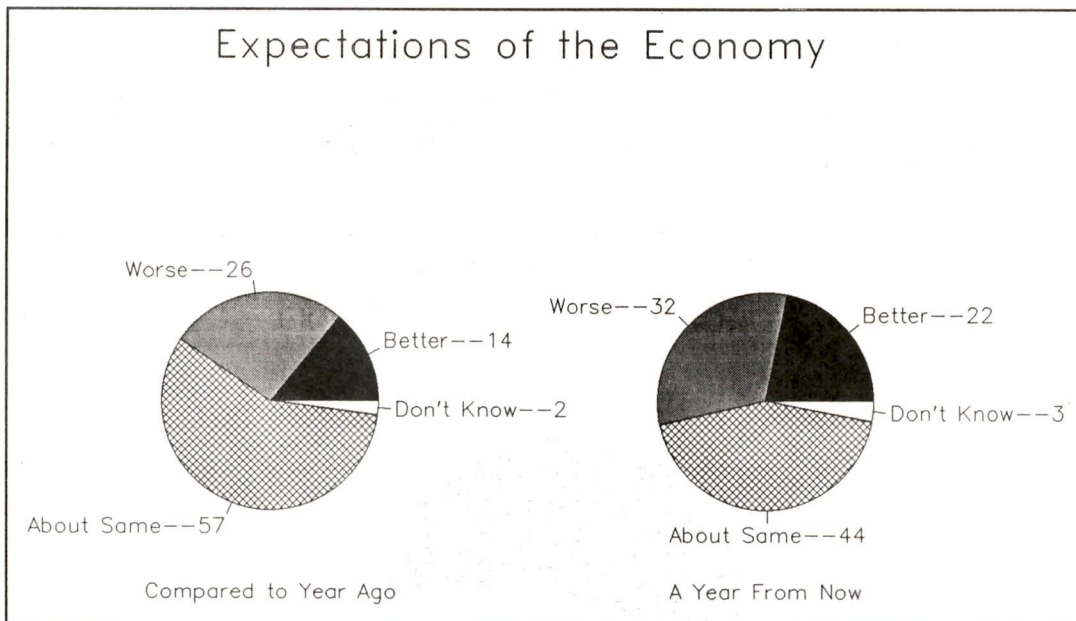
- Figures throughout most of the year have been reasonably stable. Currently, 45% believe things are "going in the right direction". Forty percent (40%) believe things are "off on the wrong track".
- Sixty-one percent (61%) of Republicans believe things are going in the right direction; only 33% of Democrats 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% "some-what approve", 14% "somewhat disapprove", and 10% "strongly disapprove".
- Those most critical of Bush's performance include "strong Democrats" and those who consider themselves "very liberal", but even these groups are closely divided ("strong Democrats" = 45% approve, 44% disapprove; "very liberal" = 48% approve, 48% disapprove). Among blacks, 48% approve while 35% disapprove.
- President Bush's job approval appears to be driven by the fact that 67% approve of his handling of foreign policy. Note that this survey was conducted while the President attended the summit in Malta. Still, while there are foreign policy "exceptions" (e.g. El Salvador), the President gets considerably higher marks for handling foreign policy than he does for handling the economy.

EXPECTATIONS OF THE ECONOMY



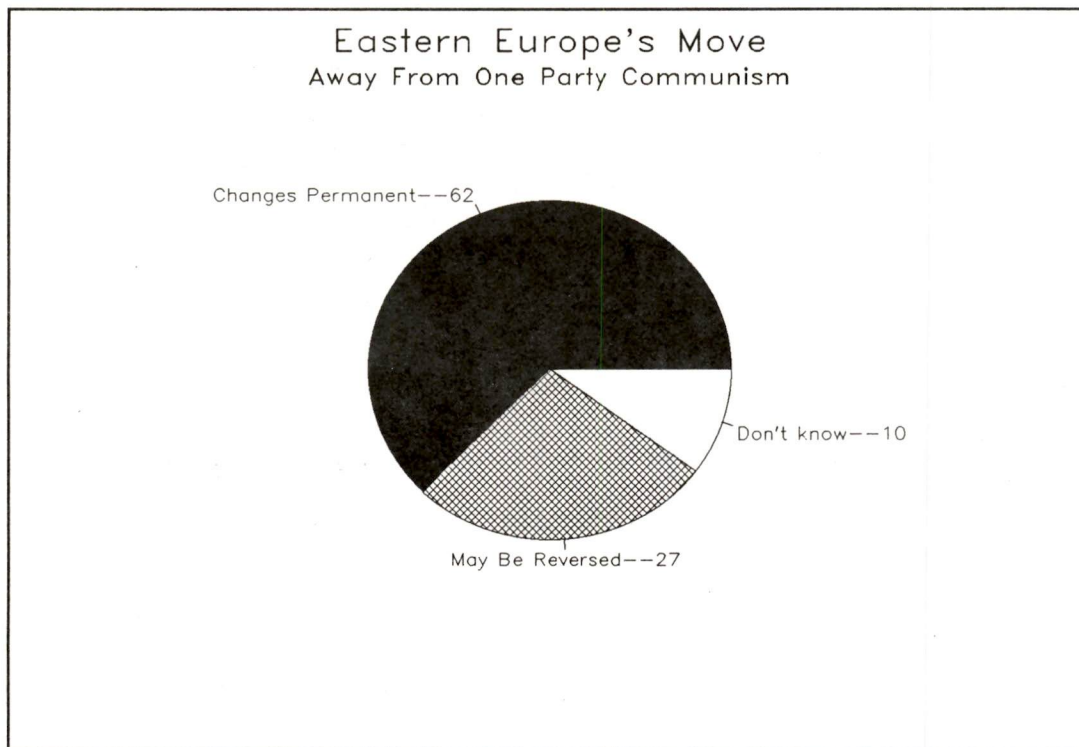
- Most voters have a mixed-to-negative view of the economy. Fifty-seven percent (57%) feel the national economy has "stayed the same", 26% feel it has gotten worse, while only 14% feel it has gotten better.
- Those in the northeast and Mid-Atlantic states, Democrats, union members and minorities are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

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

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

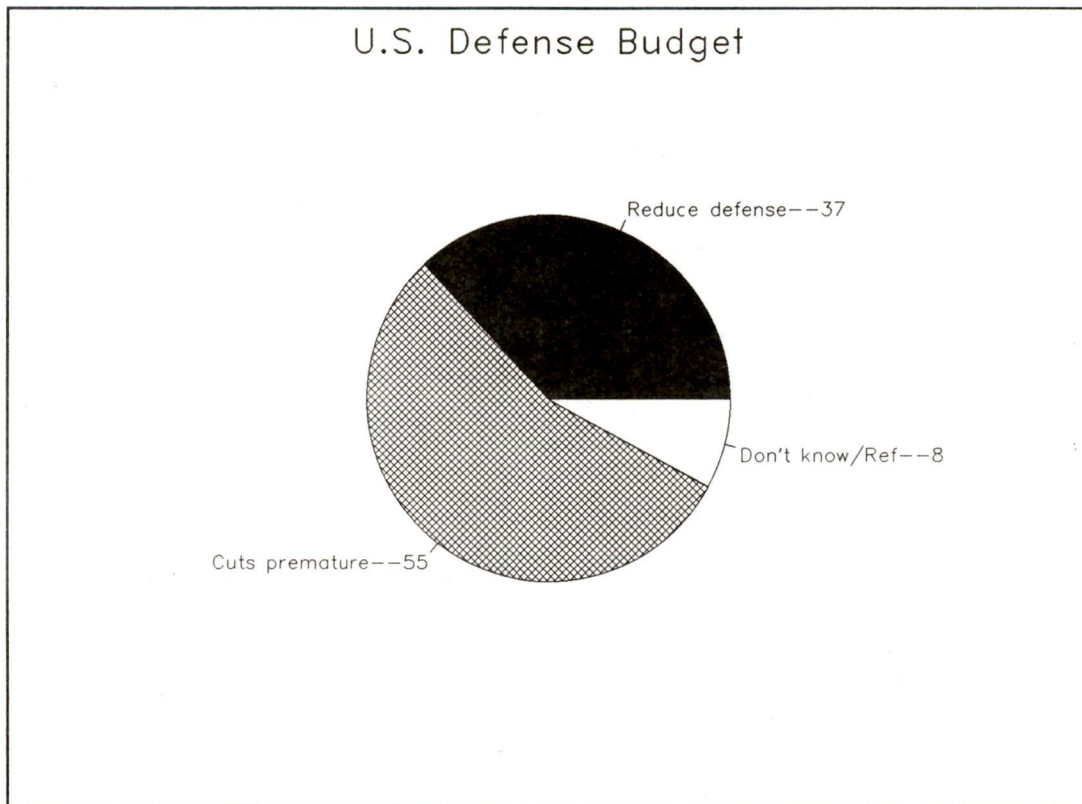
EASTERN EUROPE

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



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

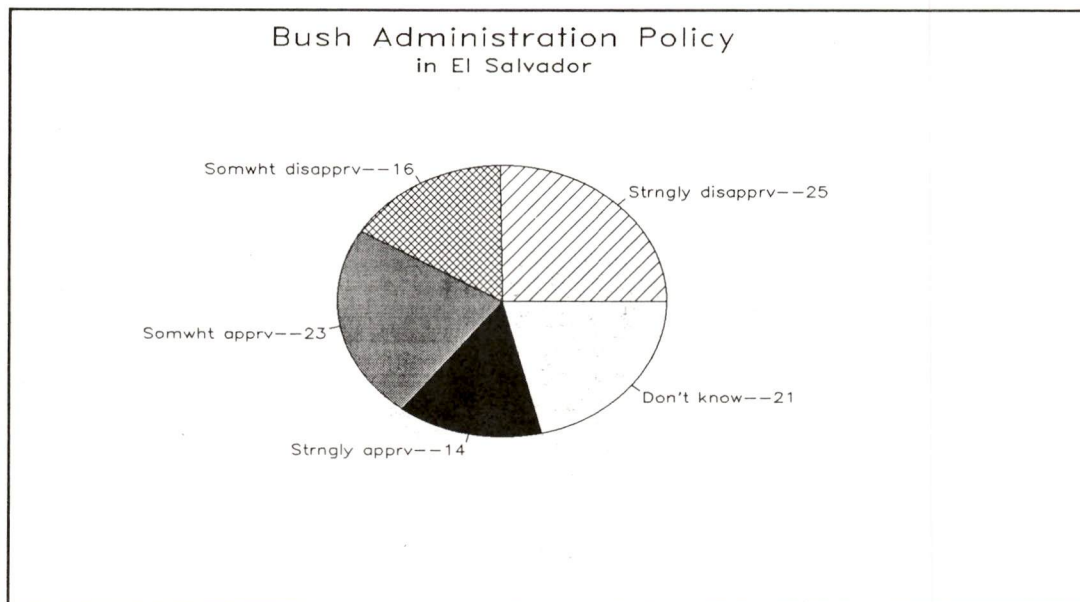
Q. *In view of the situation in Eastern Europe, do you feel that now would be an appropriate time to cut the U.S. defense budget to encourage the peace process, or do you feel that defense spending cuts now would be premature because of uncertainties in Eastern Europe?*



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

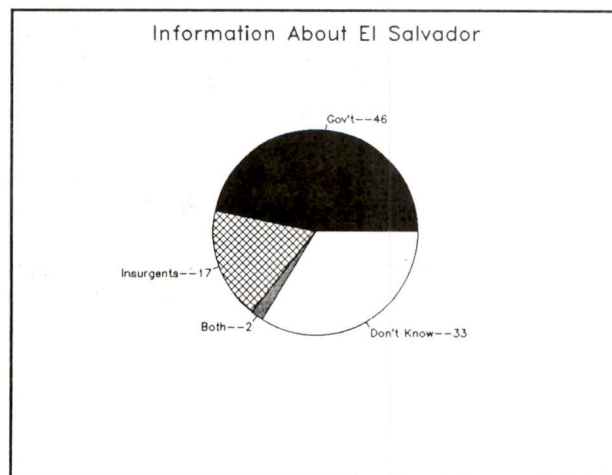
EL SALVADOR

Q. *Thinking for a moment about developments in Central America, do you approve or disapprove of the Bush Administration's policy with respect to El Salvador?*



- Forty-eight percent (48%) of Republicans support the policy in El Salvador, while 25% disapprove.
- Only 29% of Democrats and 32% of Independents approve of the policy.
- Thirty-nine percent of males and only 13% of females approve of the Bush Administration's policy in El Salvador
- Evaluation of Bush Administration policy in El Salvador contrasts sharply with the high approval ratings of overall foreign policy.

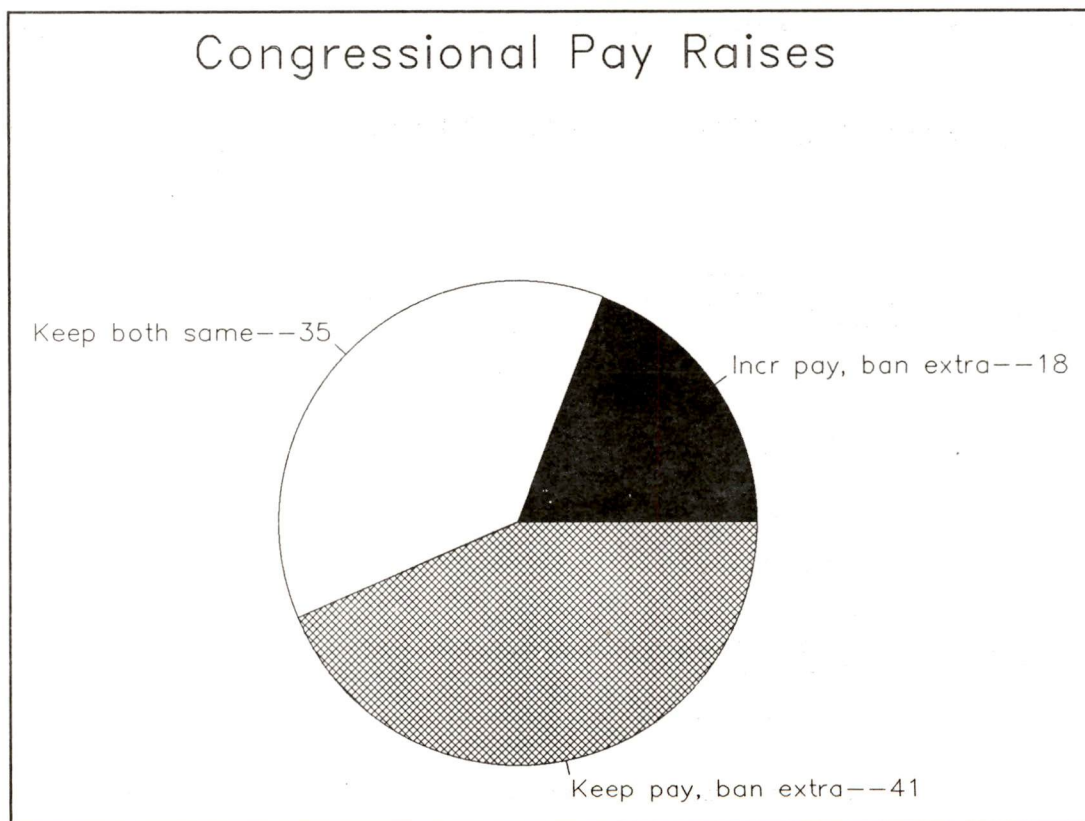
Q. *Now, thinking back to the situation in El Salvador for a moment... to the best of your knowledge, does the Bush Administration support the Government or the insurgents in El Salvador?*



CONGRESSIONAL PAY RAISES

Q. Currently, members of Congress earn \$89,500 a year and are allowed to make an additional \$35,000 in honoraria and speaking fees. Of the following three proposals, which ONE do you feel would be best? ONE MENTION ONLY (RANDOMIZE CODES)

- 18% Increase Congressional pay by \$35,000 a year, but ban outside earnings from speaking fees and honoraria.
- 35% Keep Congressional pay at current rates, but continue to allow \$35,000 from speaking fees and honoraria.
- 41% Keep Congressional pay at current levels and ban outside earnings from speaking fees and honoraria.



- While most polls show strong public objection to Congressional pay raises, a trade-off of pay raises for honoraria cuts is more palatable, but only slightly. A plurality of the public wants to see honoraria cut without a companion pay increase.

DRUGS

Targeting Users Not a High Priority

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

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

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

15% Both (Volunteered)

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

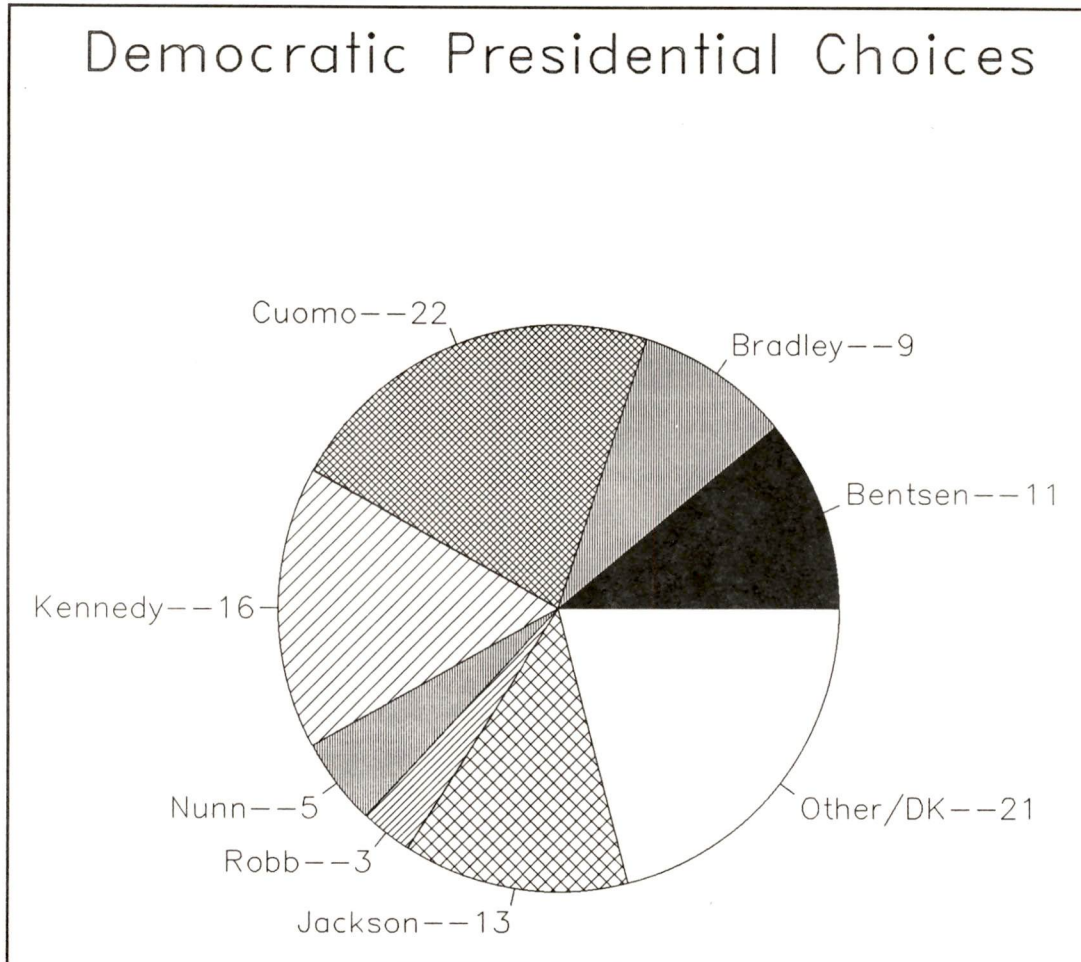
Now let me read you some proposals that have been made to stop people who buy and use illegal drugs. For each, please tell me whether you would support or oppose that proposal?

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

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

DEMOCRATS / EARLY HORSERACE

Q. Of the following list of Democrats, which ONE would you most like to see receive the Democratic nomination for President in 1992? (ROTATE CODES)



- Jesse Jackson is back in third place, getting only half the black vote. Jackson is very popular among very young voters.
- Only Kennedy and Cuomo show strength outside their 'home' base, although Cuomo is weak in the South.

Market Opinion Research

Washington, D.C.



VOTE STUDIES

Bush Inspired Frail Support For First-Year President

He asked for little and got little from the Congress — but didn't suffer major political damage, either

Despite increased cordiality between the White House and Capitol Hill in 1989, George Bush fared worse in Congress than any other first-year president elected in the postwar era.

According to Congressional Quarterly's annual study of voting patterns on the House and Senate floors, Bush won only 63 percent of the roll calls on which he took an unambiguous position in 1989.

If Bush has few legislative victories to show for his honeymoon year, it's in part because he still hasn't gotten a divorce from Reaganism.

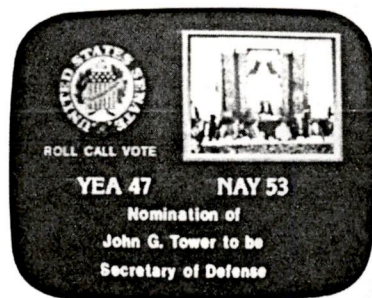
Having been elected in 1988 with a vague charge to build on his predecessor's policies, Bush, in his first year, did not bring the kind of bold agenda and sense of a fresh start that usually makes Congress more compliant to a new president's will.

"It's perceived as an ongoing Reagan administration," said Michael Johnson, a top aide to House Republican leader Robert H. Michel of Illinois.

Bush, bringing a chummy, less confrontational approach to congressional relations, did manage to win more support from Congress than Ronald Reagan did in his last years in office, when his success rate dropped to a record low, less than 50 percent. But political analysts have come to expect more from a president's inaugural year, when the White House has opportunities and momentum that tend to dissipate in subsequent years.

Since 1953,* when Dwight D. Eisen-

By Janet Hook



R. MICHAEL JENKINS

Guide to Vote Studies

Presidential Support	this page
Bush scores lowest of first-year elected presidents.	
Party Unity	p. 3546
Partisanship rises in House, dips in Senate.	
Conservative Coalition	p. 3551
No longer a major force in floor votes.	
Voting Participation	p. 3556
More members than ever have participated in all votes.	
How Individual Members Scored	For the Record
Presidential Support	p. 3559
List of Presidential Support Votes	p. 3562
Party Unity	p. 3564
Conservative Coalition	p. 3568
List of Conservative Coalition Votes	p. 3567
Voting Participation	p. 3571

* Data for Congressional Quarterly's vote studies were compiled by the following members of CQ's research and technical-services departments: Elizabeth A. Palmer, acting research director; Brian Birsá; Robert E. Clayton; Christine M. Dixon; Betsy Hill; Kenneth E. Jaques; Philip Marwill; Sharon Perkinson; Sheldon P. Yett.

hower was inaugurated and CQ began its studies of congressional voting, the only postwar president who won less often in Congress in his first year than Bush was Gerald R. Ford. After being thrust into the White House by the Watergate scandal in 1974, Ford won only 58.2 percent of the roll calls on which he took a position.

From the outset, Bush suffered a handicap only Ford and Richard M. Nixon shared among postwar presi-

dents: He had to contend in his first year with a Congress in which his party controls neither chamber. Bush came to office with fewer Republican votes in the House than any other newly elected GOP president in this century.

He also came to office with a limited agenda, not a blueprint to transform the work of his predecessor. So if Congress didn't give him much, it's in part because he asked for little. (*Weekly Report* p. 2921)

Some say what is remarkable is not that Bush has won so few votes but that his legislative defeats have not translated into more political damage.

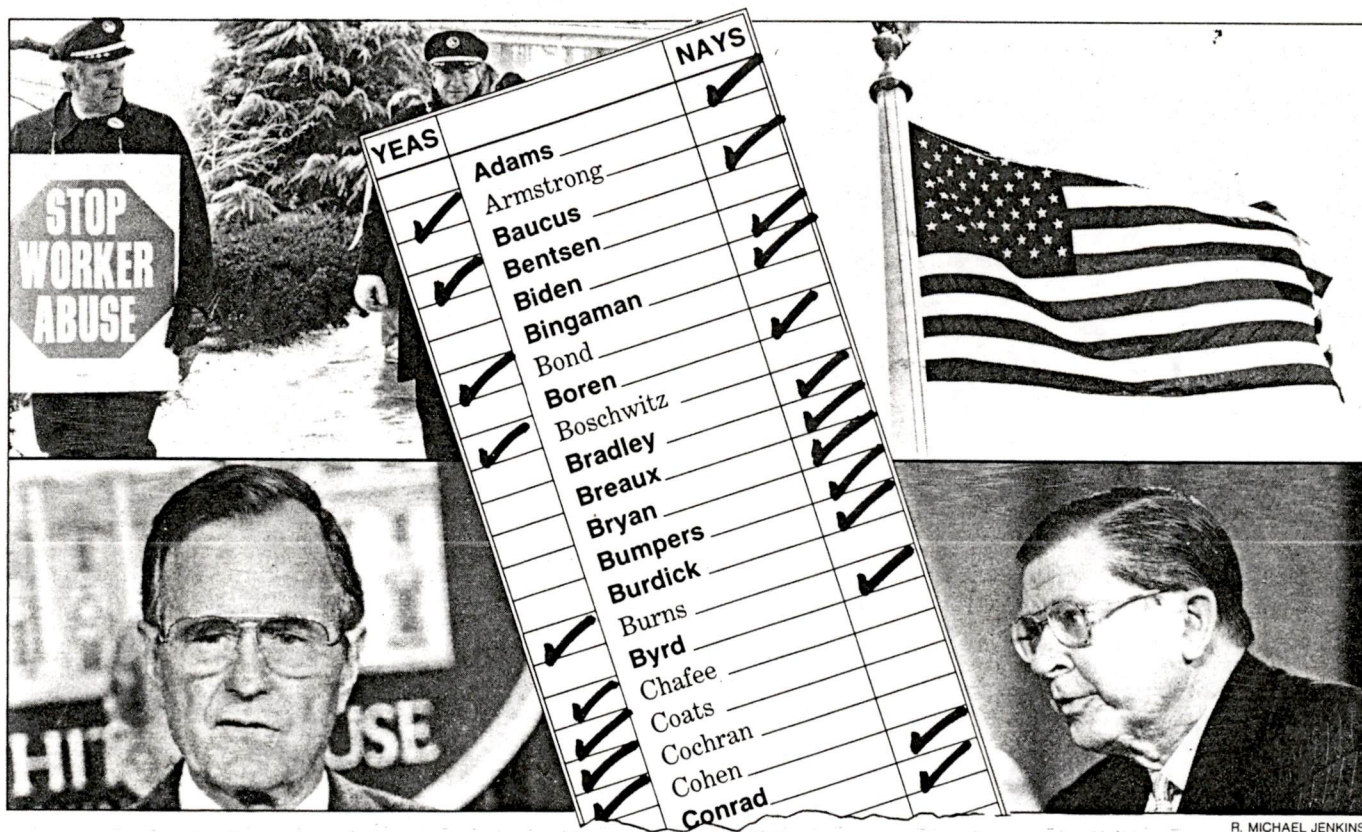
"He is a president of modest ambitions and substantial political constraints," said Thomas E. Mann, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution.

"But he has high job-approval ratings and a perception of cordiality with Congress. He's delivered on his promise of no new taxes and seen the economic recovery continuing."

And while Bush has not yet left a long list of legislative accomplishments bearing a partisan stamp, neither

have the Democrats. Most of the major issues of the 1989 session — from the minimum wage to capital gains taxes to the ailing thrift industry — were disposed of with bipartisan imprimatur or were fought to a draw.

"We have a coalition government now," said Sen. Tom Daschle of South Dakota, co-chairman of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee. "It only works when both sides are on board."



R. MICHAEL JENKINS

President Bush suffered defeats in Congress on his nomination of John Tower to be defense secretary, on his desire for a constitutional amendment outlawing flag-burning, and on Congress' insistence that he intervene in the Eastern Airlines strike. On the Eastern issue, however, he successfully vetoed the resolution mandating executive branch involvement.

Win-Loss Record

CQ's study analyzes all roll calls on the House and Senate floor on which the president took a clear position. The study is two-pronged, providing a measure of:

- **Presidential Success:** How often did the president get his way on votes on which he staked out a position?

- **Members' Support:** How often did each member support the president's position, regardless of whether that position prevailed?

The study is based on all votes, trivial and momentous. But even if the analysis is narrowed to major issues, such as the 32 roll calls CQ identified as the key House and Senate votes of 1989, Bush won less than two-thirds of the time: Of the 20 key votes on which Bush took a position, he won only 13. (*Key Votes, Weekly Report p. 3340*)

Some Democratic leaders see Bush's losses in his first year as a measure of their own success. "It has more to do with what Democrats did than with what Bush didn't do," said House Majority Whip William H. Gray III of Pennsylvania. Gray said the importance of Bush's big House victory on capital gains taxes was overstated at

the time. Congressional Democrats, in the wake of that loss, mounted more aggressive opposition to Bush on other issues, such as aid to Eastern Europe.

But Bush's allies see his record in Congress as a glass half full and say he has won in ways that don't show up in roll-call statistics.

"For a president who has a Congress [dominated by the other party], I think 63 percent is awfully good," said Frederick D. McClure, the chief White House lobbyist. "They ended up dealing with things on his agenda, and I cannot think of a single thing to date that was shoved down our throat."

Bush was stronger in the Senate, where he won on 73 percent of the votes testing his position, compared with a 50 percent win-loss record in the House.

It was easier for Bush to put together a majority in the Senate because the Democrats' 55-45 advantage over Republicans was not as commanding as their 258-176 margin in the House.

Moreover, Bush's success rate in the Senate was boosted by the large number of votes confirming Cabinet nominees — usually routine votes that don't take place in the House.

Issues at Home and Abroad

Overall, Bush had a somewhat easier time prevailing on foreign and defense policy, which tends to divide Democrats, than on domestic policy.

On domestic questions, Bush won 47 percent of the time in the House and 69 percent in the Senate; on defense and foreign policy votes, his position prevailed 58 percent of the time in the House and on 79 percent of the votes in the Senate.

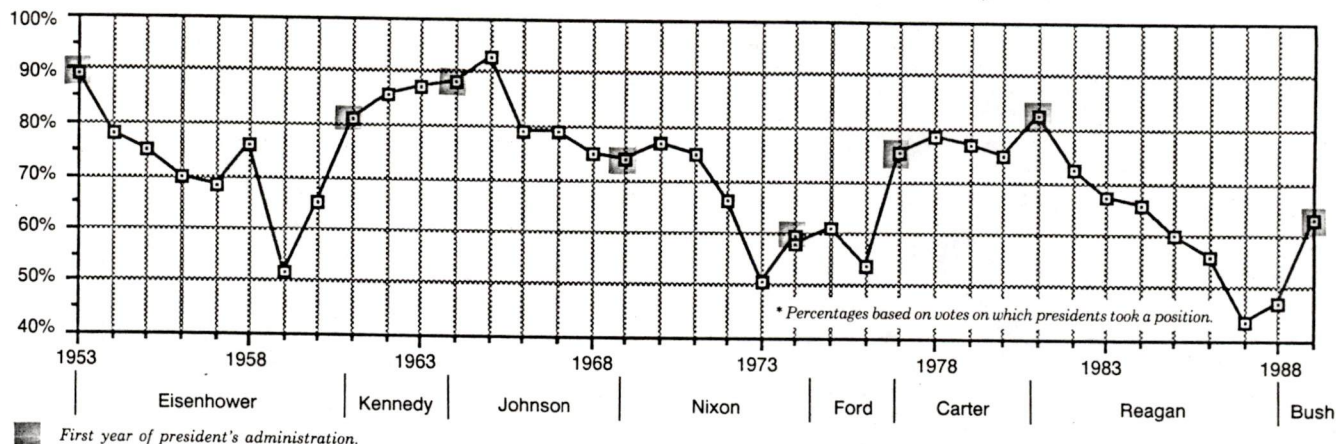
Among the defense and foreign policy issues on which Bush prevailed were efforts to curb military aid in El Salvador and to kill the B-2 "stealth" bomber.

Several of the most divisive national security issues of the Reagan years — the size of the defense budget and aid to the contras in Nicaragua — were defused in 1989.

But one of Bush's most embarrassing defeats came on his first choice for Pentagon chief, when the Senate refused to confirm the nomination of former Sen. John Tower of Texas (1961-85).

Among Bush's highest-profile losses on domestic policy were on his proposal to reduce the tax on capital gains, which passed in the House but stalled in the Senate, and on a constitu-

Presidential Success on Votes, 1953-89*



tional amendment to ban flag burning.

He also was beaten repeatedly in confrontations on such issues as the minimum wage, federal funding for abortion and the government's handling of the Eastern Airlines strike. But despite those defeats, Bush's position triumphed in the end: He reversed congressional majorities on each of those issues with his veto pen. None of Bush's 10 vetoes has been overridden.

Not all of Bush's successes came over Congress' objections. Bush drew support from a broad bipartisan majority for a bailout of the thrift industry, for anti-bias protections for the handicapped and for ethics legislation that also included a congressional pay raise.

And Bush reached two major agreements with congressional leaders on U.S. policy in Nicaragua. He won a string of floor votes defending the compromise against amendments from both liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans.

Friend and Foe

Not surprisingly, Bush's most loyal supporters came from his own party, especially in the Senate, where Republicans supported him 82 percent of the time.

House Republicans, dominated by a more ideological brand of conservatism often at odds with Bush's centrist instincts, supported his positions an average of 69 percent of the time.

The average Democrat, by contrast, agreed with Bush 55 percent of the time in the Senate and 36 percent of the time in the House.

Those levels of support for the White House were higher than in 1988 in all quarters. But the most striking

change was among Senate Republicans, who supported Reagan only 68 percent of the time in 1988, a year when many Republicans up for re-election saw it in their interest to distance themselves from the lame-duck president.

This year, Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas put aside his 1988 campaign rivalry with Bush and supported his position on the Senate floor 94 percent of the time, making him one of Bush's most reliable Senate allies.

In the House, Minority Leader Michel and GOP Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who have a history of disagreement about political tactics and strategy, managed to come together in support of Bush: They backed him more than any other House Republicans, with support ratings of .88 percent and 87 percent, respectively.

GOP moderates were always the Republicans most likely to oppose the president under Reagan — and they

continue to be under Bush, even though he is more in tune with that wing of the party. But GOP conservatives also were represented among the 10 Senate Republicans most likely to oppose Bush. Among them was Jesse Helms of North Carolina, who opposed, among other things, Bush's agreements with Democrats on Central American policy.

The Republican who disagreed with Bush most often was Larry Pressler of South Dakota, who opposed him 41 percent of the time. Pressler was an active Dole supporter during the 1988 campaign. Like Helms, Pressler opposed Bush's position on, among other things, a number of votes related to the White House-congressional agreement on Central America and on providing assistance and support for the 1990 elections in Nicaragua.

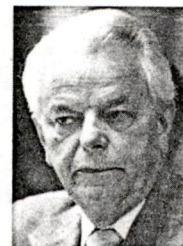
The Senate Democrats most likely

The Senate's New Leaders

In choosing George J. Mitchell of Maine to be their leader beginning in 1989, Senate Democrats chose someone somewhat to the left of his predecessor, Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia — particularly on conservative coalition scores.



Mitchell



Byrd

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	1989	1988	1989	1988	1989	1988
Mitchell	57 %	43 %	86 %	95 %	37 %	5 %
Byrd	54	56	83	81	50	49

to agree with Bush included several in the party leadership, including two who supported Bush's position at least as often as Helms did. Chief Deputy Whip Alan J. Dixon of Illinois agreed with Bush 72 percent of the time, and Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Chairman John B. Breaux of Louisiana backed him 71 percent of the time.

Other supportive Democrats included two conservative Southern committee chairmen: Intelligence Chairman David L. Boren of Oklahoma (77 percent), who was notably sympathetic to Bush on cutting taxes on capital gains, and Armed Services Chairman Sam Nunn of Georgia (72 percent), who helped Bush maintain his defense priorities against drastic reordering by more liberal House Democrats.

In the House, the Democrat most likely to support Bush was G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery of Mississippi, his good friend and longtime paddleball partner. Agreeing with Bush 78 percent of the time, Montgomery was a more consistent backer than the average House Republican.

But being a personal ally of Bush didn't necessarily translate into consistent support on legislative tests. Iowa Republican Jim Leach, one of Congress' earliest boosters of Bush's presidential ambitions, opposed Bush more often than he supported him (45 percent) in 1989 votes. Lynn Martin, an Illinois Republican active in Bush's 1988 campaign, voted with him 59 percent of the time, compared with a 69 percent average among House Republicans.

An administration official expressed some frustration at the lack of support from the people who would be expected to be Bush allies but said, "When you focus on some of those issues where we really asked our guys to stick with us, they did."

As evidence, he noted, only one House Republican strayed from the administration line on cutting capital gains taxes, one of the most dramatic tests of Bush's standing in the House.

However, of the 20 House Republicans who voted to override Bush's veto of legislation raising the minimum wage, two were Martin and Leach.

Some Caveats

CQ's vote study provides a rough measure of the White House's relations with Congress, but its findings must be interpreted with care. The study reflects trends only in those issues that come to recorded votes on the House and Senate floor.

House Leaders' Scores Shift

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo., and House Majority Whip William H. Gray III, D-Pa., seemed to move closer to the center of their party after their ascension into the leadership in mid-1989.



Gephardt

Gray

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	1989	1988	1989	1988	1989	1988
Gephardt	33 %	18 %	95 %	73 %	22 %	16 %
Gray	30	14	88	78	15	11

It thus does not take account of matters that are approved by voice vote or that are killed or bottled up in committee. So, for example, a Bush proposal to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge never came to the House or Senate floor, and all the 1989 tests of his clean-air proposal took place in committee.

In addition, the administration sometimes does not take a position on important votes, so some of the major issues of the year do not come into play. For example, Bush didn't take an unambiguous position on key roll calls involving the controversial catastrophic health insurance law, a conservative Democrat's child-care alternative and an amendment to repeal much-criticized rules regulating employee fringe benefits.

What's more, the CQ study gives equal weight to such ground-shaking votes as the Senate's rejection of Tower as it does to each of the more-routine votes, such as the unanimous confirmation of 15 other Bush nominees. It gives the same weight to narrow triumphs on such major issues as capital gains as it does to near-unanimous approval of such popular bills as one to reauthorize a commission honoring the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The results can be skewed by any matter that was the subject of repeated roll calls. For example, Bush's success in the Senate was inflated by a proliferation of votes on amendments to the contra-aid compromise that the White House and congressional leaders were committed to keeping intact against assaults from both left and right.

Still, the vote study provides a useful yardstick for measuring patterns over time in relations between Congress and presidents.

Indeed, the 1989 findings — giving Bush an unusually low success rate for his first year in office — raise a question about whether Bush's presidency will break a three-decade-long pattern documented by CQ studies, in which presidents near their high point of success on Capitol Hill in their first year.

Gingrich predicts that Bush's presidency will break that pattern — provided he moves more aggressively in the coming year to define the party's direction for the post-Reagan era.

"George Bush is a man who gains momentum over time," Gingrich said. But, he added, "If Bush is a stand-pat president, which I don't think he will be, his power will erode every year." ■

Methodology

Congressional Quarterly has studied how members of Congress vote for more than 40 years. This year's studies use methodology adopted in 1987. Under this procedure, numbers in articles and charts are computed according to all recorded votes in Congress, whether or not a member voted. This preserves comparability with past CQ vote studies. The lists of individual members' scores beginning on p. 3559, however, also include scores based on only the roll calls in which a member actually voted. Many scholars find the data discounting absences more useful in delineating how an individual member votes.

1989 Senate Presidential Position Votes . . .

The following is a list of Senate and House votes in 1989 on which there was a clear presidential position. CQ determines presidential positions by examining statements by President Bush or by his authorized spokesmen. Statements by Cabinet members are not

considered positions unless endorsed by Bush. If legislation is amended, the original presidential position is considered invalid. When the administration's position is not clear, it is not included. The votes are listed by number with a brief description and categorized by topic.

Senate

Domestic Policy

14 Victories

Vote	Description
24	"Whistleblower" Protection
57	Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday Commission
84	Gas-price decontrol
85	Gas-price decontrol
86	Gas-price decontrol
87	Gas-price decontrol
88	Gas-price decontrol
89	Gas-price decontrol
90	Gas-price decontrol
91	Gas-price decontrol
173	Disabled anti-discrimination
290	Minimum wage
291	Minimum wage
292	Minimum wage

11 Defeats

29	Minimum wage
30	Minimum wage
39	Minimum wage
68	Minimum wage
93	Child care
94	Child care
199	Child care
200	Child care
251	Anti-flag desecration
273	Eastern Airlines strike
276	Eastern Airlines strike

Defense/Foreign Policy

30 Victories

40	Nicaraguan contra aid
41	Nicaraguan contra aid
42	Nicaraguan contra aid
43	Nicaraguan contra aid
44	Nicaraguan contra aid
65	Bahamas drug decertification
66	FS-X plane
131	Palestine Liberation Organization negotiations
136	Aid to Cambodian opposition
148	SDI funding
152	MX rail program
154	Soviet Union/Cuban drug involvement
175	FS-X plane-veto override
189	Military aid to El Salvador
190	Military aid to El Salvador
201	Military base closings
203	"Stealth" bomber
206	Troops in South Korea
213	SDI funding increase

214	Troops in Europe
215	Troops in Europe
228	Use of force against Gen. Noriega
245	Nicaraguan election aid
246	Nicaraguan election aid
247	Nicaraguan election aid/anti-drug programs
248	Nicaraguan election aid
249	Nicaraguan election aid
250	Nicaraguan election aid
310	"Stealth" bomber
311	Military aid to El Salvador

9 Defeats

67	FS-X plane
119	Circumventing foreign aid restrictions
155	Use of force against drug smugglers
188	U.N. Population Fund
192	Circumventing foreign aid restrictions
202	SDI funding
244	Nicaraguan election aid
289	CIA inspector general
300	U.N. Population Fund

Nominations

21 Victories

1	Secretary of State Baker
2	Labor Secretary Dole
3	OMB Director Darman
4	U.S. Trade Representative Hills
5	Commerce Secretary Mosbacher
6	Transportation Secretary Skinner
7	Interior Secretary Lujan
8	Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Boskin
9	HUD Secretary Kemp
10	EPA Administrator Reilly
13	Agriculture Secretary Yentler
16	HHS Secretary Sullivan
17	Energy Secretary Watkins
18	Veterans Affairs Secretary Derwinski
19	U.N. Ambassador Pickering
21	Director of National Drug Control Policy Bennett
26	Defense Secretary Cheney
92	START Negotiator Burt
105	Bahamas Ambassador Hecht
174	South Korea Ambassador Gregg
223	Spain Ambassador Zappala

1 Defeat

20	Defense Secretary nominee Tower
----	---------------------------------

Economic Affairs/Trade

8 Victories

47	Savings and loan restructuring
48	Savings and loan restructuring
51	Savings and loan restructuring
72	Defense funds/prison construction

... And House Position Votes, by Category

74	Anti-drug programs
76	Anti-drug programs
77	Anti-drug programs
166	Savings and loan restructuring

3 Defeats

294	Presidential rescission power
295	Capital-gains tax cut
298	Capital-gains tax cut

Appropriations

1 Victory

271	Continuing appropriations
-----	---------------------------

3 Defeats

179	D.C. funds
205	Labor, Education and HHS funds
252	Labor, Education and HHS funds

House

Domestic Policy

9 Victories

45	Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday Commission
86	Minimum wage
118	Supercollider funding
146	NASA funding
216	Amtrak funding
324	Minimum wage
344	Oil-spill liability standards
347	Drug-related forfeitures
358	Government pay-and-ethics package

24 Defeats

8	Eastern Airlines strike
13	Minimum wage
14	Minimum wage
16	Minimum wage
28	Hatch Act revisions
52	Minimum wage
75	Water resources research
82	D.C. police expansion
138	Tongass Forest restrictions
145	Solid-waste disposal
221	NOAA Programs
237	Airport security funding
241	Amtrak funding
263	Fairness doctrine
277	Abortion funding
278	Abortion funding
297	Abandoned-mine reclamation
307	Chinese and Central American refugees
325	Airline stock-acquisition review
328	Airline stock-acquisition review
337	Oil-spill liability standards
338	Oil-spill liability standards
341	Oil-spill liability standards
354	Civil Rights Commission

Defense and Foreign Policy

15 Victories

26	Nicaraguan contra aid
27	Nicaraguan contra aid

32	Military base closings
109	Hungary most-favored-nation status
122	Military aid to El Salvador
123	Military aid to El Salvador
125	Philippines aid
167	"Stealth" bomber
169	MX rail program
170	Midgetman elimination
234	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
269	Nicaraguan election aid
270	Nicaraguan election aid
287	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
352	U.N. Population Fund

11 Defeats

79	FS-X plane
80	FS-X plane
81	FS-X plane
128	Foreign aid provisions
153	SDI funding
164	Defense Dept. funding redistribution
224	Hungary most-favored-nation status
288	Intelligence authorization
350	Foreign aid/conference report
351	U.N. Population Fund — abortions
361	U.N. Population Fund — abortions

Economic Affairs/Trade

15 Victories

67	Anti-drug programs
87	Savings and loan restructuring
88	Savings and loan restructuring
89	Savings and loan restructuring
95	Savings and loan restructuring
199	Debt-limit extension
200	Debt-limit extension
219	Savings and loan restructuring
253	Capital-gains tax cut
258	Steel quotas
293	International development funding
300	Continuing appropriations
302	Continuing appropriations
310	Disaster assistance
336	Debt-limit increase

5 Defeats

63	Anti-drug programs
90	Savings and loan restructuring
93	Savings and loan restructuring
272	Child-care provisions
301	Disaster assistance

Appropriations

4 Victories

35	Supplemental appropriations — offsetting cuts
225	Energy and water spending
305	Labor, HHS and Education spending — veto override
356	Continuing appropriations

3 Defeats

34	Supplemental appropriations
65	Supplemental appropriations
279	D.C. funding

	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			
Exon	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			
Bingaman	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			
Hatfield	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

	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.

¹ 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.

² 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.

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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.

⁹ Rep. Tommy F. Robinson, R-Ark., switched from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party on July 28.

¹⁰ 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 Beville	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 Lagomarsino	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 McCollum	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 Fancell	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 Saiiki	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 Jontz	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 Touzin	69	29	70
4 McCrery	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 Pursell	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 Helner	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 Machtley	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 Geren††	51	49	51
13 Sarpalis	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 Vacancy††			
19 Cambest	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 Armey	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 Siskis	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
West Virginia			
1 Mollohan	55	43	56
2 Staggers	40	59	40
3 Wise	31	60	34
4 Rahall	40	58	40
Wisconsin			
1 Aspin	41	38	51
2 Kostenmeier	28	71	28
3 Gunderson	77	23	77

	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			
Baschwitz	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			
Exon	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			
Bingaman	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			
Hatfield	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.

¹ 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.

² 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.

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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.

⁹ Rep. Tommy F. Robinson, R-Ark., switched from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party on July 28.

¹⁰ 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 Flippen	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 Lagomarsino	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 McCollum	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 Fassel	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 Saiki	60	40	60
2 Akaka	35	62	36
Idaho			
1 Craig	78	22	78
2 Stallings	45	51	47
Illinois			
1 Hoyer	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 Jontz	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 McCrery	85	15	85
5 Huckabee	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 Pursell	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	26	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 Horton	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 Hefner	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 Machtley	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 Geren ^{††}	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 Vacancy ^{††}	85	15	85
19 Combest	38	62	38
20 Gonzalez	85	15	85
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 Armey	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

Highest Scorers in Presidential Support...

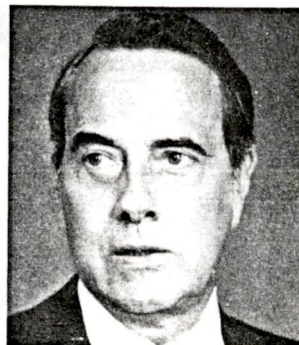
Highest Scorers — Support

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

Senate



David L. Boren



Bob Dole

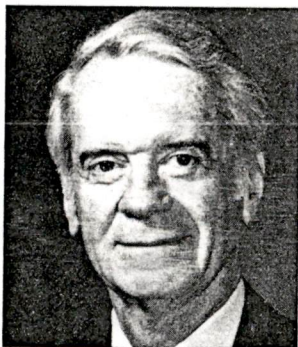
Democrats

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	
1953	89.0%
1954	82.8
1955	75.0
1956	70.0
1957	68.0
1958	76.0
1959	52.0
1960	65.0

Kennedy	
1961	81.0%
1962	85.4
1963	87.1

Johnson	
1964	88.0%
1965	93.0
1966	79.0
1967	79.0
1968	75.0

Nixon	
1969	74.0%
1970	77.0
1971	75.0
1972	66.0
1973	50.6
1974	59.6

Ford	
1974	58.2%
1975	61.0
1976	53.8

Carter	
1977	75.4%
1978	78.3
1979	76.8
1980	75.1

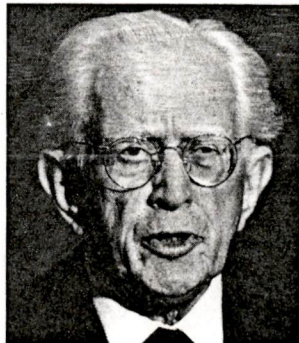
Reagan	
1981	82.4%
1982	72.4
1983	67.1
1984	65.8
1985	59.9
1986	56.1
1987	43.5
1988	47.4

Bush	
1989	62.6%

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		Republicans	
Metzenbaum, Ohio	59%	Pressler, S.D.	41%
Harkin, Iowa	58	Specter, Pa.	34
Simon, Ill.	58	D'Amato, N.Y.	32
Adams, Wash.	56	Hatfield, Ore.	30
Mikulski, Md.	56	Helms, N.C.	28
Riegle, Mich.	54	Heinz, Pa.	27
Kerry, Mass.	53	Cohen, Maine	26
Kohl, Wis.	53	Jeffords, Vt.	26
Leahy, Vt.	53		
Sarbanes, Md.	53		

House



Patricia Schroeder



Christopher Shays

Democrats		Republicans	
Schroeder, Colo.	79%	Shays, Conn.	64%
Jontz, Ind.	78	Morella, Md.	58
Sangmeister, Ill.	78	Schneider, R.I.	56
Bates, Calif.	77	Gilman, N.Y.	55
Evans, Ill.	77	Conte, Mass.	53
Dellums, Calif.	76	Leach, Iowa	52
Durbin, Ill.	76	Machtley, R.I.	50
Miller, Calif.	76		

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

Weekly Report

JAN 2 2 53 PM '90
WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY
RESEARCH CENTER

A Year of Comity and Conflict

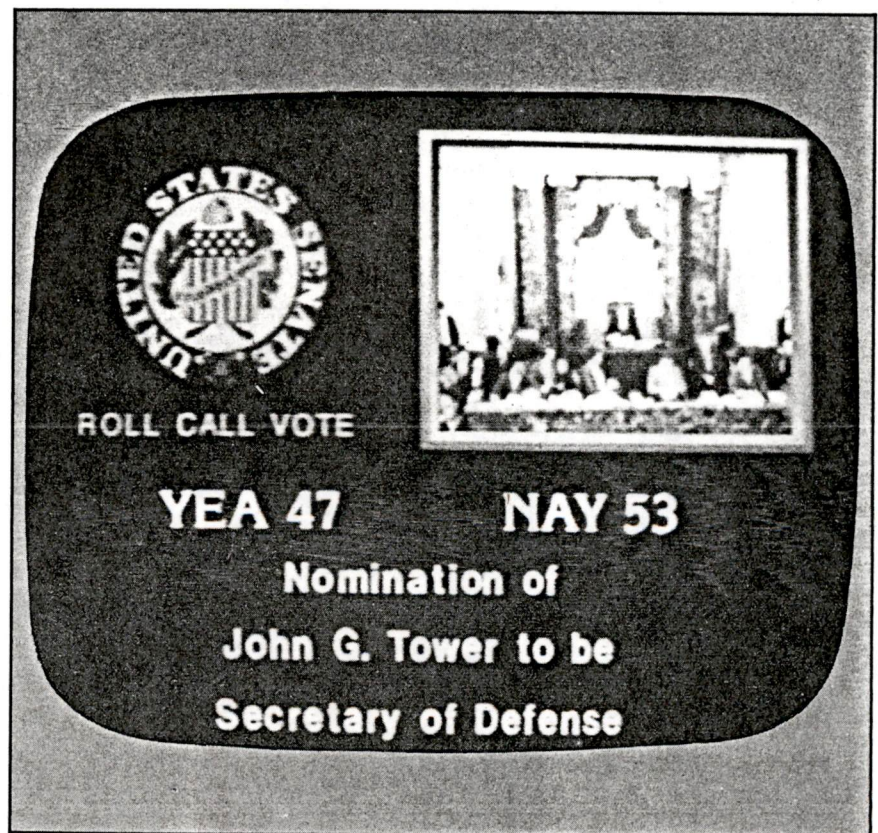
Annual Study of Congressional Voting
Indicates Rocky Year for Bush

Partisanship Scores
Rise in House,
Dip in Senate

Conservative
Coalition Quiet
On Major Issues

Missing a Vote
Becomes Rare
In Congress

Analysis
Of Voting
By Members



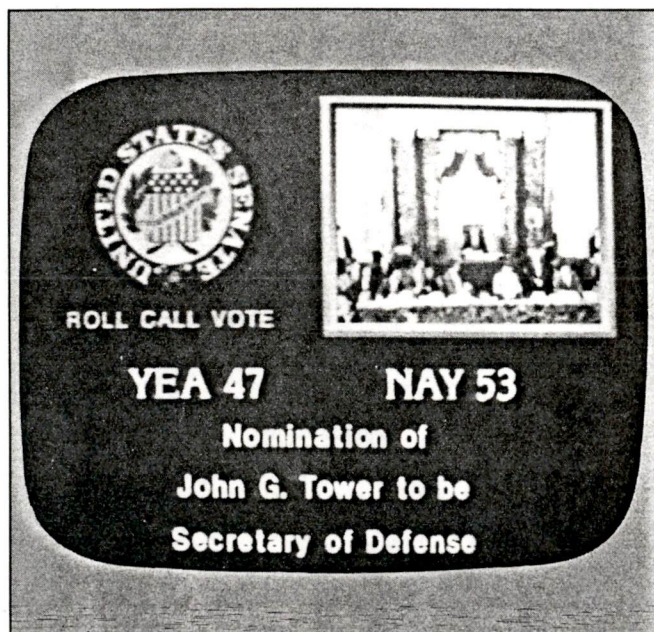
CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

Weekly Report

December 30, 1989

Pages 3537-3576

Volume 47, No. 52



INSIDE CONGRESS/COVER STORY

In CQ's annual vote studies report, President Bush asked for little and got little, but it didn't hurt him politically. 3540

INSIDE CONGRESS

Bush Inspired Frail Support on Hill 3540

Despite increased cordiality between the White House and Capitol Hill in 1989, George Bush fared worse in Congress than any other first-year president elected in the postwar era.

Guide to Vote Studies 3540

Breakdown of Presidential Support Scores 3542

History of Presidential Support 3544

Senate Leaders' Scores 3544

House Leaders' Scores 3545

How the Numbers Were Compiled 3545

House Partisanship Scores Rise; Senate's Dip 3546

History of Partisan Roll Calls 3546

Senate Leaders' Scores 3547

Breakdown of Partisanship Scores 3548

Conservative Coalition Fairly Quiet on Floor 3551

Breakdown of Conservative Coalition Scores 3552

History of Conservative Coalition 3554

Voting-Participation Scores Set a Record 3556

How the Numbers Were Compiled 3556

Six Senators Under Ethics Scrutiny 3557

Social Security Refunds Set for Four Months 3557

Parties Pick Candidates for N.Y. Vacancy 3557

DEFENSE & FOREIGN POLICY

Fight Looms Over Plan to Raze Embassy 3558

The Bush administration has chosen the most expensive option, demolition, to account for the new U.S. Embassy building in Moscow, which is riddled with Soviet listening devices.

Bush Sets No Time Limit on Troops in Panama 3557

Bush Lifts Some China Sanctions 3558

DEPARTMENTS

What's Ahead 3539

CQ Roundtable 3574

For the Record

Presidential Support, Senate 3559

Presidential Support, House 3560

President's Wins and Losses 3562

Party Unity, House 3564

Party Unity, Senate 3566

Conservative Coalition's Wins and Losses 3567

Conservative Coalition, House 3568

Conservative Coalition, Senate 3570

Voting Participation, Senate 3571

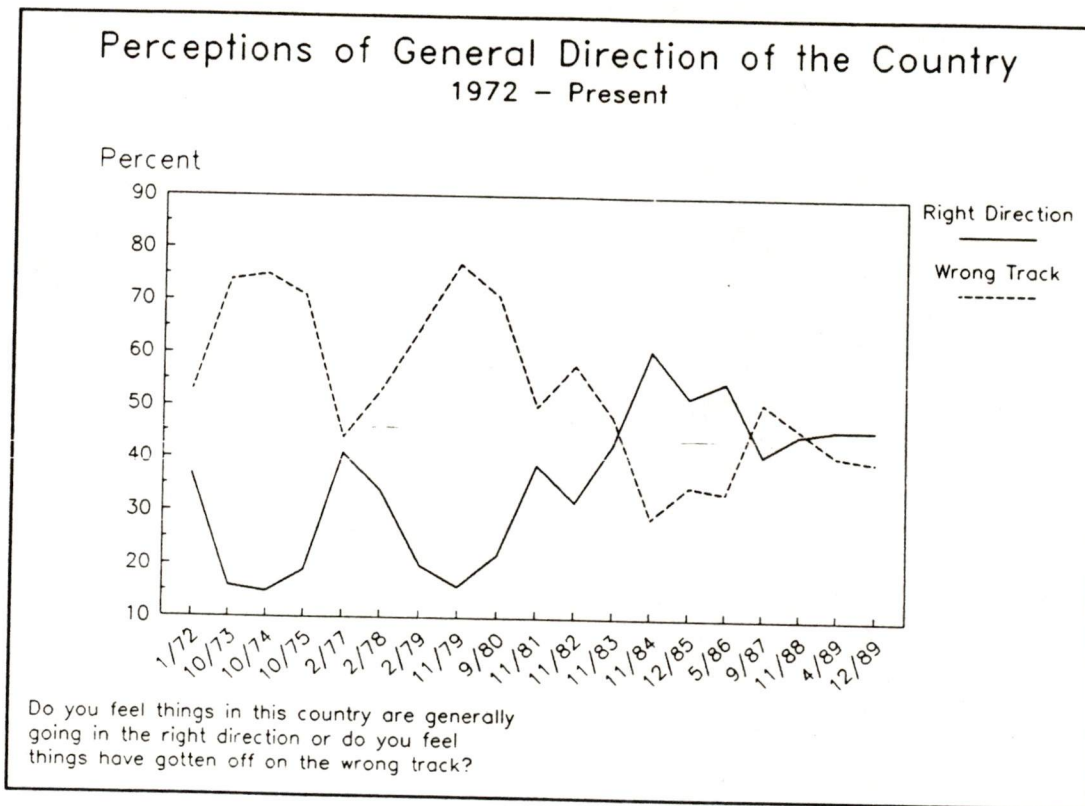
Voting Participation, House 3572

Correction 3550

Cover: Cable News Network

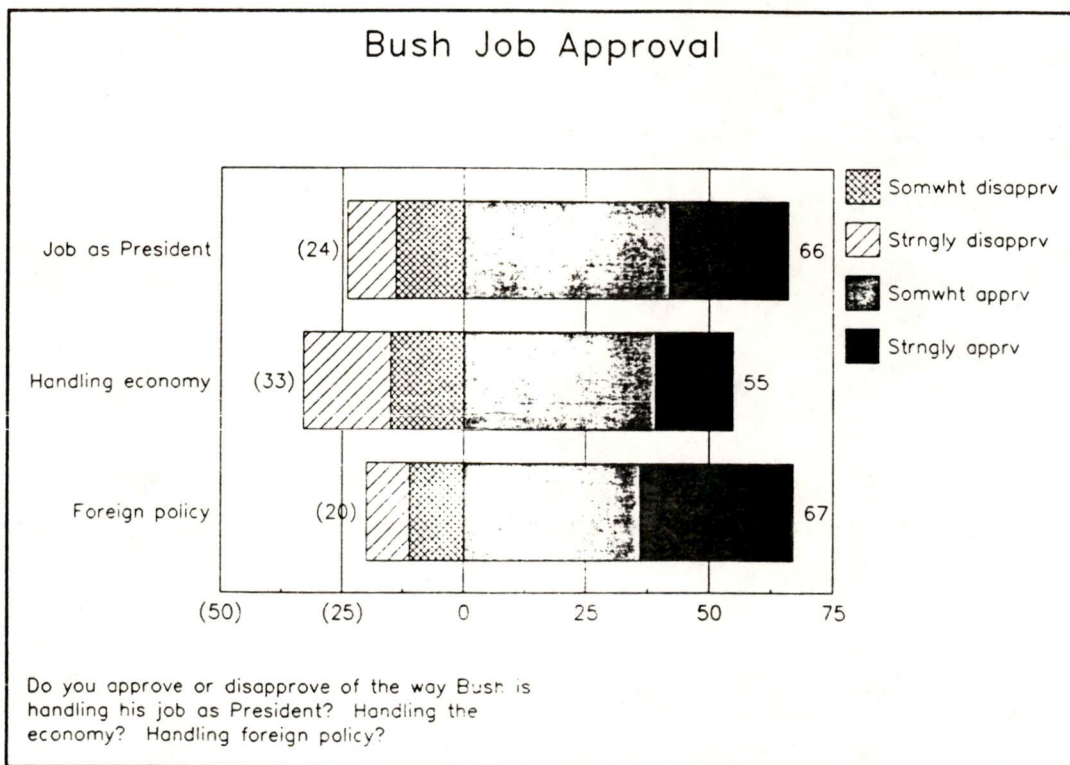
CQ Weekly Report (USPS 081-620). Published weekly by Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1414 22nd Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. (202) 887-8500. All reproduction rights reserved for current editorial clients. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any information storage and retrieval system. Second rights are reserved, including use of Congressional Quarterly material in campaign supplements, advertisements and handbooks without permission. Rates are furnished on request. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. (ISSN 0010-5910) POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 1414 22nd Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY



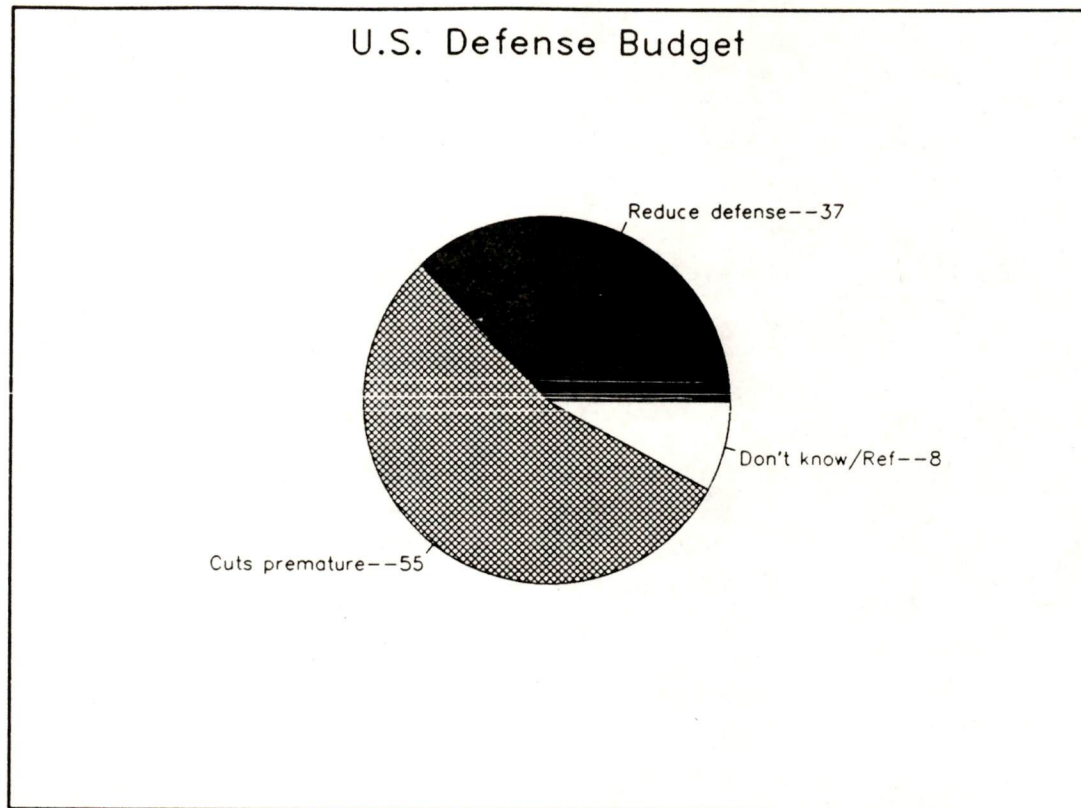
- Figures throughout most of the year have been reasonably stable. Currently, 45% believe things are "going in the right direction". Forty percent (40%) believe things are "off on the wrong track".
- Sixty-one percent (61%) of Republicans believe things are going in the right direction; only 33% of Democrats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



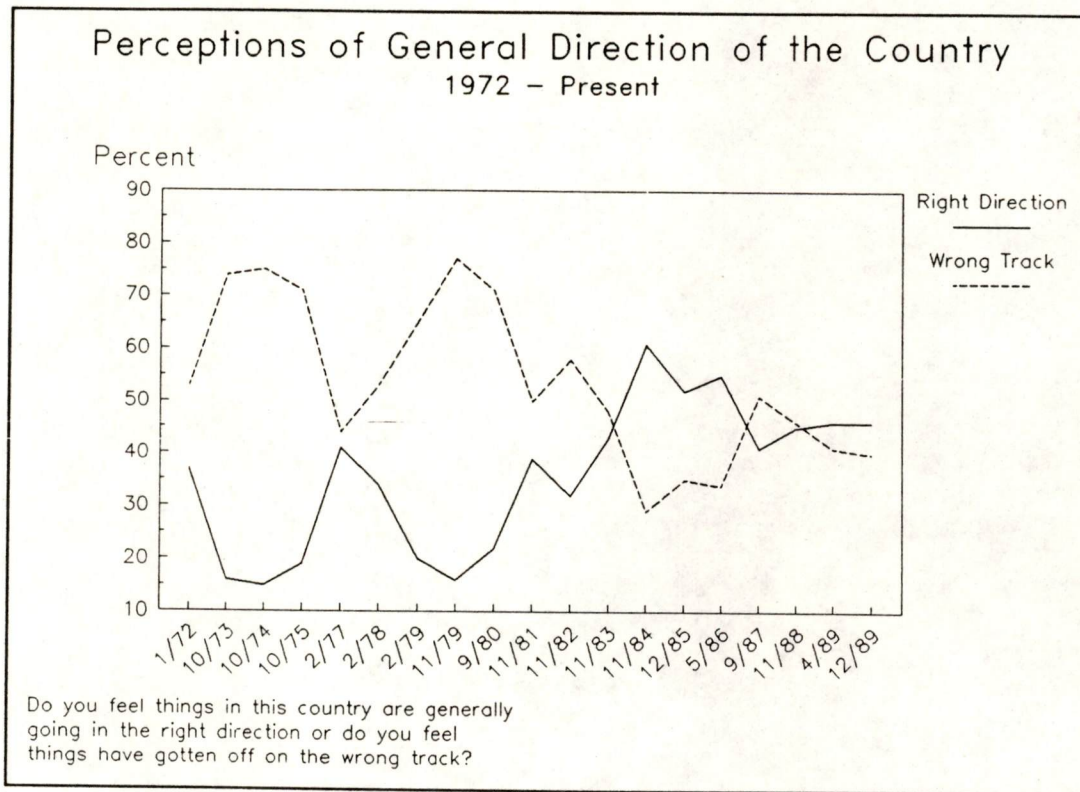
- The President's job approval continues to be high: 24% "strongly approve", 42% "some-what approve", 14% "somewhat disapprove", and 10% "strongly disapprove".
- Those most critical of Bush's performance include "strong Democrats" and those who consider themselves "very liberal", but even these groups 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?*



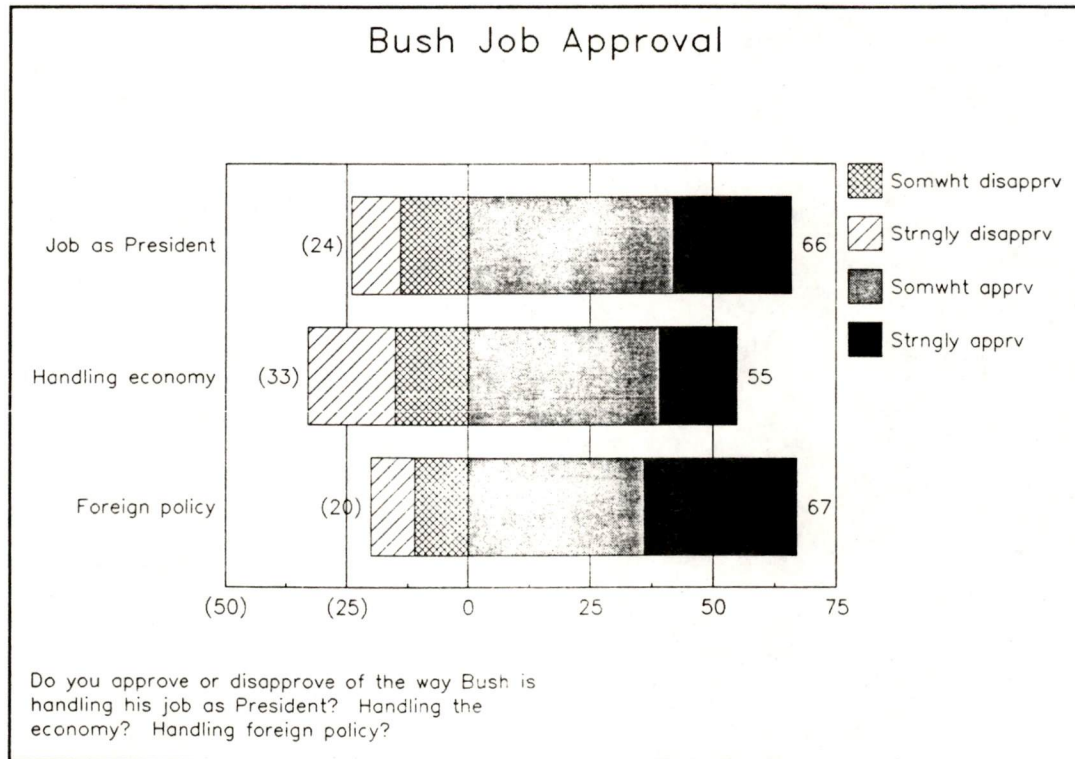
- While the American public is optimistic about political changes in Eastern Europe, they are also quite conservative when it comes to the U.S. budget implications of changes in Eastern Europe. Specifically, a majority of the public feels that defense spending cuts now are premature.
- Remarkably, where 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.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY



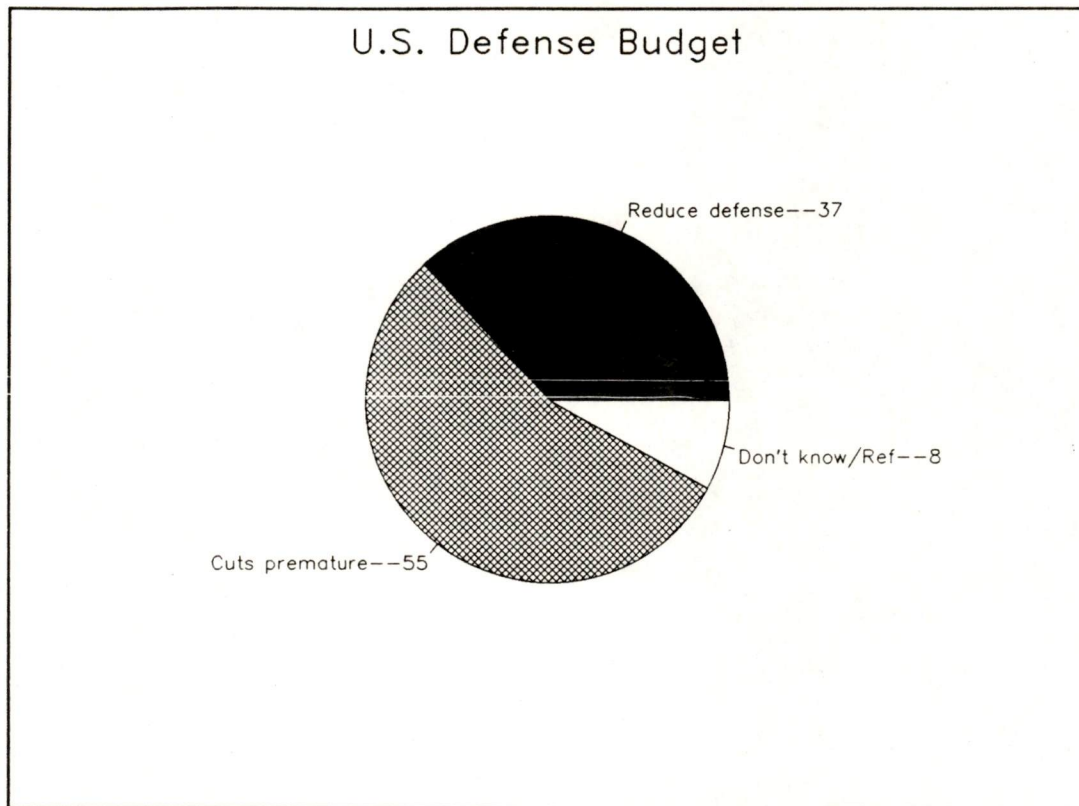
- Figures throughout most of the year have been reasonably stable. Currently, 45% believe things are *"going in the right direction"*. Forty percent (40%) believe things are *"off on the wrong track"*.
- Sixty-one percent (61%) of Republicans believe things are going in the right direction; only 33%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

THE MEDIA BUSINESS

Advertising

Randall Rothenberg

Proclaiming A Decade Of Decency

GOOD Housekeeping, the magazine that declared that the liberated woman had been succeeded by the "new traditionalist," is risking another look into the future, contending that the 1990's will be the "decency decade."

In an old-fashioned all-text advertisement that starts running today in several magazines and newspapers and contains the familiar Good Housekeeping "seal of approval," the venerable women's magazine maintains that in the 90's goodness will reign for the earth, the family, corporate ethics and consumers as new traditionalists "lead an unstoppable environmental juggernaut" and "look for what is real, what is honest, what is quality, what is valued, what is important."

Good Housekeeping's original "new traditionalist" campaign, by the ad agency Jordan, McGrath, Case & Taylor, attracted inordinate attention, both for dramatic black-and-white portraits of women by Mary Ellen Mark and for the boldness of the pronouncement that women were returning to hearth and home.

To many, the assertions flew in the face of reality. For example, last year, more than half the mothers with children under a year old were working, for the first time in the nation's history. A New York Times poll of 1,025 women, conducted in June, showed that 56 percent of the women believed American society had not changed enough to allow women to compete with men on an equal basis. The poll also showed serious concerns among women about their ability to combine jobs and family life.

Some people, and even some other women's magazines, attacked Good Housekeeping.

"A lot was a misunderstanding," said Alan M. Waxenberg, the magazine's publisher. "The ads were taken as meaning that women were leaving the work force. That's not what they meant. It was a philosophy."

Malcolm MacDougall, vice chairman of Jordan, McGrath, said: "We were celebrating working mothers. All but two of the women we used in the ads were working mothers."

The new "decency decade" campaign not only celebrates the working mother but extols what the magazine says is a new attitude that will force manufacturers to mend their ways. In a presentation Good Housekeeping is taking to 16 cities over the next four months, the magazine makes several claims, among them that the new traditionalist "can make or break brands," "has become aware of the connections between the products she purchases and their social consequences" and "will reject mindless line extensions and over-manipulative marketing."

The support for these conclusions comes not from rigorous survey data but from focus groups and in-depth interviews with consumers and experts conducted by Faith Popcorn. A familiar Madison Avenue figure and well-known pop sociologist, Ms. Popcorn heads Brainreserve, an oft-quoted trend-analysis organization.

She responded to a question about the pitfalls of projecting future social trends from current trends by saying: "These are spiritual trends. The 80's was a glitz blitz. That will be an embarrassing place for companies to be in the 90's. We see companies making responsible decisions for society."

Behind Good Housekeeping's new ad campaign lies a desire to reinvigorate its "seal of approval," which turns 80 years old this year.

Part of the magazine's presentation to advertisers includes the result of a survey of 800 consumers who were asked, with no prompting, to name stamps, endorsements and seals on products. The Good Housekeeping seal finished first, named by 30.3 percent of those surveyed. The



Alan M. Waxenberg, publisher of Good Housekeeping, which is predicting that the 1990's will be the "decency decade."

United States Department of Agriculture stamp was second, cited by 20.8 percent.

The magazine hopes that advertisers who accept its conclusions about the "decency decade" will see the seal — which is bestowed only on Good Housekeeping advertisers — as a symbol of the manufacturer's concern for the new traditionalist's public-spiritedness.

**U.S. National Survey of Public Opinion:
Weighted Flash Results**

R.N.C. Survey Research

Republican National Committee

Lee Atwater, Chairman

8:00 A.M.

Washington, D.C.

December 22, 1989

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

PRESIDENT BUSH: JOB PERFORMANCE

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

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

Subgroups

Approve

Disapprove

Republicans
Democrats

18-29
30-44
45-64
65+

Whites
Blacks

Men
Women

NATIONAL DIRECTION

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

1989 Trend

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

Subgroups

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

APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT'S PANAMA DECISION

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

Approve	79%
Disapprove	16

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

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

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

CONTINUED TROOP DEPLOYMENT

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

Withdraw in week or so 14%

Remain as neccessary 77

Don't know/NA

9

Subgroups

Approve

Disapprove

Republicans
Democrats

18-29
30-49
50+

Men
Women

JUDGING SUCCESS OF PANAMA ACTION

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

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

Which statement comes closest to your own opinion?

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

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

A Bush Report Card

by Larry Hugick
THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION

One year after he won the presidency in a sometimes bitter and divisive campaign, George Bush receives broad-based public approval for his performance in office.

In the Nov. 9-12 Gallup Poll of 1,230 Americans, 70% approve of the way Bush is handling his job, while fewer than one in five disapproves (17%). To find a president with a higher rating at this point in his first term, one must go back to John F. Kennedy, who earned 79% approval in a November 1961 Gallup Poll.

The new poll, conducted as the opening of the Berlin Wall took most of the world by surprise, identifies the reduction of East-West tensions as one of the keys to Bush's high approval rating. When asked to evaluate the president's handling of specific policy areas, the public gives Bush his best marks for his handling of U.S.-Soviet relations (81% approve) and foreign policy in general (65%).

Despite the President's high overall approval rating and indications that the public holds Bush in high personal esteem, the poll finds some troubling signs for the president. The ratings he receives for his handling of specific domestic issues are significantly

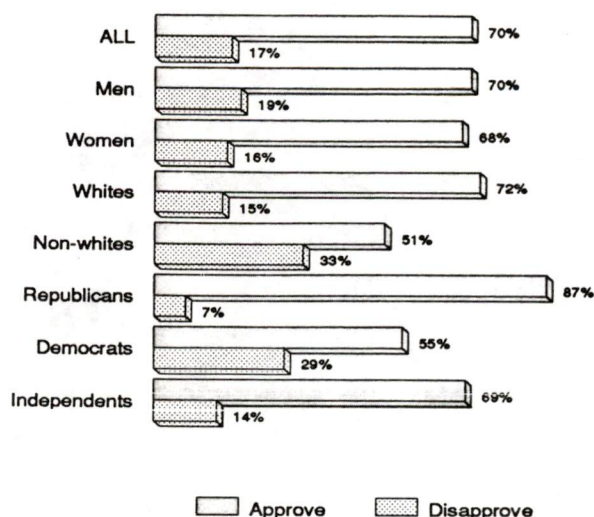
Unlike Ronald Reagan, whose strongly conservative views on many issues tended to alienate certain segments of the public, Bush attracts little strong opposition.

less positive than those he receives for his handling of international relations. Moreover, there is growing disapproval of his handling of the economy, the federal budget deficit, the drug problem, the abortion issue and the problems of poverty and homelessness.

International Situation a Plus

Being at the helm when the Soviet Union's dominance of Eastern Europe wanes is a clear positive for Bush. The swiftness with which political change has come in

Bush Job Rating -- November 1989



Source: The Gallup Poll

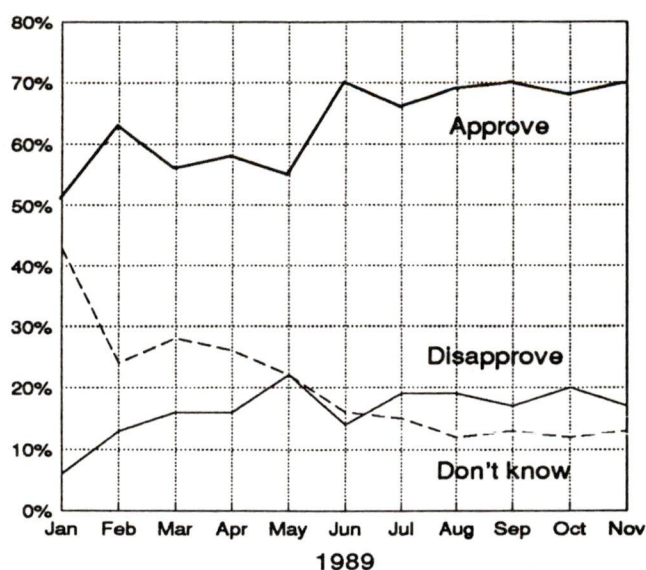
Poland, Hungary and now East Germany, would seem to disarm those who have criticized Bush for not doing more to advance U.S. interests in that part of the world.

By a margin of 63% to 16%, Americans approve of the president's handling of the situation in Eastern Europe. Similarly, by 59% to 27%, Americans say that Bush is doing enough to help the Eastern Bloc countries deal with political and social change. Bush's conciliatory style is a second key factor behind his high approval ratings. Unlike Ronald Reagan, whose strongly conservative views on many issues tended to alienate certain segments of the public, Bush attracts little strong opposition. Americans today are only a third as likely to strongly disapprove of Bush's job performance (8%) as they were to feel that way about Reagan eight years ago (24%). While those who approve of Bush generally express moderate approval (38%) rather than strong approval (32%), the president still receives more strong approval than Reagan did in his first term (25%).

Bush's personal popularity—that is, opinions of him as a person rather than his job performance—compares favorably with that of his predecessor. Currently, 84% of the public say they approve of Bush as a person, while only 7% disapprove. The figures for Reagan at a comparable point in his presidency were significantly less positive—73% approve vs. 17% disapprove.

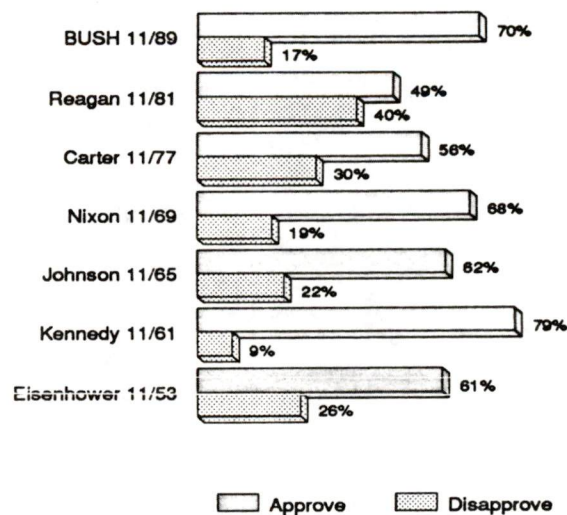
In fact, Bush's personal popularity is now as high as Reagan's personal popularity was at any time

Bush Job Rating -- Trend



Source: The Gallup Poll

Bush and His Predecessors



Source: The Gallup Poll

during his eight years in office.

Throughout his presidency, Ronald Reagan was plagued by a "gender gap," receiving lower ratings among women than he did among men. Despite the abortion issue, Bush's approval rating in the current poll is about as high among women (68%) as it is among men (70%).

While Bush's ratings among non-whites are below his overall rating (51% vs. 70%), he nonetheless does far better than Reagan typically did among racial minorities. In November of 1981, Reagan's approval among non-whites stood at 17%. Similarly, while Bush's scores fall somewhat among less-affluent and less-well educated Americans, the socioeconomic differences are less severe than those typically seen for Reagan.

Vulnerable on Economy, Domestic Issues

How long Bush can maintain these high overall approval ratings is uncertain, especially if the boost he appears to be receiving from change in the communist world begins to fade. Bush's job performance ratings on specific issues outside the area of foreign policy and East-West relations all fail to match his overall approval rating.

Bush has pledged to be the "education president" and he gets better marks for his education policies than he does for his handling of any other domestic concern. Still, his ratings on education—53% approve vs. 35% disapprove—do not come close to the

overall approval figure.

Perhaps most worrisome for Bush are his ratings on economic issues. Opinion now cuts against him—51% disapprove vs. 40% approve for his general handling of economic conditions. Americans are twice as likely to disapprove of the president's handling of the economy as they were back in March. Similarly, Americans give Bush lower ratings for his efforts to deal with the deficit—more than one-half (53%) now disapprove, while only about a third (32% approve).

In addition to the economy, Bush seems vulnerable on the abortion issue and on the problems of poverty and homelessness. On these growing concerns, a plurality express approval of the way Bush has handled the situation. Disapproval of Bush on abortion is highest on the east and west coasts. The abortion issue is said to have hurt the GOP in the elections that took place in New Jersey and Virginia this November.

Central America remains one area of foreign policy that is not a clear positive for Bush—the public divides about evenly (40% approve; 39% disapprove).

Bush gets better marks on the environment than Reagan did, but even so a large proportion (40%) express disapproval of his handling of environmental issues. Ratings of his performance in combatting the drug problem is now fairly closely divided—53% vs. 41%—after being overwhelming positive (71%) shortly after Bush's televised speech on the issue. Opinion is mixed on whether Bush's anti-drug program has made significant progress. © 1989 The Gallup Organization



The Secretary of Energy
Washington, DC 20585

December 14, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff to the President

FROM: James D. Watkins *in white*
Admiral, U.S. Navy (Retired)

SUBJECT: State of the Union Address

John!
Two items which I believe particularly merit inclusion in the President's upcoming State of the Union Address are progress on cleanup of the nuclear weapons complex and a new conservation and renewable energy initiative. In addition, I would urge the need to emphasize math and science education in the President's discussion of education.

I am attaching a brief discussion of these topics and would be happy to provide additional information or language. I really believe these matters rise to the level of inclusion in the State of the Union Address. Please let me know if I can be of further assistance.

Attachment

- o Cleanup of Nuclear Weapons Facilities - Decades of neglect at our vital nuclear weapons plants have left us with a massive environmental cleanup and modernization task. We now have a plan which prioritizes the waste cleanup and we have substantially increased spending for this effort. We are moving forward to clean up these plants and operate them safely and without harm to the environment. We must continue on this path.
- o Conservation and Renewable Energy Initiative - In the 1990s and beyond, our Nation faces a new era of challenges in providing the American people with ample supplies of secure, competitively priced energy while protecting our environment. We are developing a National Energy Strategy to map a course to meet these challenges. As a first step in this strategy, we need a renewed emphasis on energy conservation and renewable energy sources. Tonight, I am happy to announce that we have developed an action agenda and are increasing federal spending on research in renewable energy and on promoting energy efficiency to help meet our energy needs in the future.
- o Math and Science Education - As our society becomes more technologically advanced, we must increase our attention to math and science education in order to increase our competitive advantage in the global marketplace. Tomorrow's work force will need to be capable of dealing with advanced technologies if the U.S. is to remain competitive. The role of the computer in the work place and in our daily lives is ever increasing, and qualified scientists and engineers will be in even greater demand in the years to come. Emphasis on math and science education is one of our education priorities.

We now have in place a Math/Science Education Action Plan to mobilize federal, state and local government and private sector resources to increase math/science literacy. Part of this effort involves harnessing community service and the expertise in our National Laboratories to improve skills. A pilot program in Chicago creating an urban partnership with the Chicago Public School system, Chicago's business community and the National Laboratories is underway today. Additional partnerships in other cities will be established this year.