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- Group 1 - 99% definite votes for Reagan nominee
- Group 2 - usually supports Reagan nominee
- Group 3 - can sometimes be counted on to support Reagan nominee
- Group 4 - almost never votes right - can probably be written-off

GROUP 1	GROUP 2	GROUP 3	GROUP 4
Armstrong	Bentsen	Bingamen	Adams*
Bond*	Boren	Bumpers	-Baucus
Boschwitz	Breaux*	Chiles	Biden
Chafee	Deconcini	Dixon	Bradley
Cochran	Ford	Graham*	Burdick
Cohen	Heflin	Nunn	<Byrd
D'Amato	Hollings	Pell	Conrad*
Danforth	Johnston	Proxmire	Cranston
Dole	Kassebaum	Sanford*	-Daschle*
Domenici	Pryor	Weicker	Dodd
Durenberger	Shelby*		-Exon
Evans	Spector	10	-Fowler*
Garn	Stennis		Glenn
Gramm			Gore
Grassley	<u>13</u>		Harkin
Hatch			Inouye
Hatfield			Kennedy
Hecht			Kerry
Heinz			Lautenberg
Helms			Leahy
Humphrey			Levin
Karnes*			Matsunaga
Kasten			Melcher
Lugar			Metzenbaum
McCain			Mikulski
McClure			Mitchell
McConnell			>Moynihan
Murkowski			-Reid*
Nickels			Riegle
Packwood			Rockefeller
Pressler			Sarbanes
Quayle			-Sasser
Roth			Simon
Rudman			Wirth*
Simpson			<u>Packwood</u>
Stafford			24
Stevens			35
Symms			
Thurmond			
Trible			
Wallop			
Warner			
Wilson			

* represents arbitrary assignment of freshman

Copy to: Dan Danner
Carl Anderson ✓
Linas Kojelis
Mel Bradley -

Note: This is the
oppositions target
list on Book. Thought
you might want to
see it.

Rebecca

GRASSROOTS TARGET LIST

1. Committee Members

Pennsylvania
West Virginia
Alabama
Arizona

Specter
Byrd
Heflin
DeConcini

(and Heinz)
(and Rockefeller)
(and Shelby)

2. Swing Senators

Louisiana
Florida
Georgia
Tennessee
Maine
Mississippi

Breaux - Johnston
Chiles - Graham
Fowler - Nunn
Sasser - Gore
Mitchell - Cohen
Stennis - Cochran

3. Swing Democrats

Texas
Oklahoma
Kentucky
Illinois
Nebraska
South Carolina

Bentsen
Boren
Ford
Dixon
Exon
Hollings

4. Possible Republicans

Minnesota
Rhode Island
Washington
Connecticut
Vermont
California
Oregon

Durenberger
Chafee
Evans
Weicker
Stafford
Wilson
Packwood

- Group 1 - Assumed to be fairly solid.
- Group 2 - Can probably be considered leaning pro-Bork when all is said and done.
- Group 3 - Can probably be considered leaning anti-Bork but can possibly be gotten - maybe only on cloture.
- Group 4 - Assumed to be solidly anti-Bork.

GROUP 1	GROUP 2	GROUP 3	GROUP 4
Armstrong	Bentsen	#Bingaman	Adams*
Bond*	Boren	Chafee	Bumpers
Boschwitz	Breaux*	Chiles	Biden
Cochran	Deconcini	+Dixon	Bradley
D'Amato	Ford	Graham*	Burdick
Danforth	Heflin	Nunn	Conrad*
Dole	+Johnston	#Pell	Cranston
Domenici	+Pryor	Proxmire	Dodd
Durenberger	Shelby*	Sanford*	
Garn	Specter	#Weicker	Glenn
Gramm	Stennis	Packwood	
Grassley	Cohen	Baucus	Harkin
Hatch	Evans	Byrd	Inouye
Hollings	Hatfield	Daschle*	Kennedy
Hecht	Heinz	Exon	Kerry
Kassebaum	Stafford	Fowler*	Lautenberg
Helms	16	Moynihan	#Leahy
Humphrey		Reid*	Levin
Karnes*		Sasser	Matsunaga
Kasten		Gore	Melcher
Lugar		20	Metzenbaum
McCain			Mikulski
McClure			Mitchell
McConnell			
Murkowski			Riegle
Nickels			Rockefeller
Pressler			Sarbanes
Quayle			
Roth			Simon
Rudman			Wirth*
Simpson			26
Stevens			
Symms			
Thurmond			
Trible			
Wallop			
Warner			
Wilson			

* represents arbitrary assignment of freshmen
 # voted for Rehnquist cloture but against him
 + voted against cloture but for Rehnquist

VOTING KEY

- A -- Nomination of Edwin Meese as Attorney General.
Confirmed (63-31) 2/23/85
- B -- Nomination of James Buckley for D.C. Circuit Court.
Confirmed (84-11) 12/17/85
- C -- Nomination of Alex Kozinski for 9th Circuit Court.
Confirmed (54-43) 11/7/85
- D -- Cloture vote on Sidney Fitzwater Nomination to Northern
District Court of Texas. Agreed (64-33) 3/18/86
- E*-- Nomination of Fitzwater (Final).
Confirmed (52-42) 3/18/86
- F*-- Nomination of Daniel Manion to 7th Circuit Court.
Confirmed (48-46) 6/26/86
- G*-- Reconsideration of Manion confirmation.
Rejected (49-49) 7/23/86
- H -- Cloture vote on Justice William Rehnquist nomination to
Chief Justice. Agreed (68-31) 9/17/86
- I -- Nomination of Rehnquist (Final).
Confirmed (65-33) 9/17/86
- J -- Nomination of Antonin Scalia to Supreme Court.
Confirmed (98-0) 9/17/86

+ indicates a vote in favor of the President's nominee

- indicates a vote against the President's nominee

? indicates a missed vote

* (live pairs included as + and -)

HOW THEY VOTED

Votes supporting the President's Position

SENATOR	A	B	C	D	E*	F*	G*	H	I	J	
ABDNOR (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
ANDREWS (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
ARMSTRONG (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
BAUCUS (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
BENTSEN (D)	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	6 of 10
BIDEN (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
BINGAMAN (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	3 of 10
BOREN (D)	+	?	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	5 of 9
BOSCHWITZ (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
BRADLEY (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
BUMPERS (D)	-	+	-	?	?	-	-	+	+	+	4 of 8
BURDICK (D)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	3 of 10
BYRD (D)	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
CHAFEE (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
CHILES (D)	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	3 of 8
COCHRAN (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
COHEN (R)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9 of 10
CRANSTON (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
D'AMATO (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
DANFORTH (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
DECONCINI (D)	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	8 of 10
DENTON (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
DIXON (D)	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	4 of 10
DODD (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	1 of 10
DOLE (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
DOMENICI (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
DURENBERGER (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
EAGLETON (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
EAST/ BROYHILL (R)	?	?	+	+	+	+					4 of 4
EVANS (R)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	9 of 10
EXON (D)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	3 of 10
FORD (D)	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	5 of 10
GARN (R)	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	6 of 6
GLENN (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
GOLDWATER (R)	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	6 of 7
GORE (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
GORTON (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
GRAMM (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
GRASSLEY (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
HARKIN (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
HART (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
HATCH (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
HATFIELD (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
HAWKINS (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
HECHT (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
HEFLIN (D)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	8 of 10
HEINZ (R)	+	+	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	8 of 9
HELMS (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
HOLLINGS (D)	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	6 of 10
HUMPHREY (R)	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9 of 9
INOUE (D)	+	-	-	?	?	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 8
JOHNSTON (D)	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	5 of 10

SENATORS	A	B	C	D	E*	F*	G*	H	I	J	Votes supporting the President's position
KASSEBAUM (R)	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	8 of 10
KASTEN (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
KENNEDY (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
KERRY (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
LAUTENBERG (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	1 of 10
LAXALT (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
LEAHY (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	3 of 10
LEVIN (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	1 of 10
LONG (D)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	9 of 10
LUGAR (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
MATHIAS (R)	+	?	+	?	?	-	-	+	-	+	4 of 7
MATSUNAGA (D)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
MATTINGLY (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
MCCLURE (R)	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	9 of 9
MCCONNELL (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
MELCHER (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
METZENBAUM (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	1 of 10
MITCHELL (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
MOYNIHAN (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
MURKOWSKI (R)	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9 of 9
NICKLES (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
NUNN (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	4 of 10
PACKWOOD (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	9 of 10
PELL (D)	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	6 of 10
PRESSLER (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
PROXMIRE (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	3 of 10
PRYOR (D)	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	5 of 10
QUAYLE (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
RIEGLE (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	1 of 10
ROCKEFELLER (D)	-	+	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 9
ROTH (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
RUDMAN (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
SARBANES (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
SASSER (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2 of 10
SIMON (D)	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	4 of 10
SIMPSON (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
SPECTER (R)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	7 of 10
STAFFORD (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
STENNIS (D)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	7 of 10
STEVENS (R)	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9 of 9
SYMMS (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
THURMOND (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
TRIBLE (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
WALLOP (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
WARNER (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
WEICKER (R)	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	5 of 10
WILSON (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10 of 10
ZORINSKY (D)	+	+	?	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	6 of 9

(oppositing list)

UNKNOWN OR UNCOMMITTED

COLUMN 1 - assumed leaning pro-Bork

COLUMN 2 - unknown

COLUMN 3 - assumed leaning anti-Bork - or might be good on cloture

COLUMN 1

Bentsen
Boren
Cohen
Dixon
Evans
Hatfield
Reid
Shelby
Stafford
Stennis
Heflin
11

COLUMN 2

Breaux
Byrd
Chiles
Exon
Graham

Johnston
Nunn
Weicker

8

COLUMN 3

Baucus
Bingaman
Chafee
Deconcini
Ford
Gore
Leahy
Melcher
Mitchell
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Sanford
Sasser
Specter

15

Assumed solid 39
Assumed lost 27

9/17/87