

**Putting the Congressional Election in Perspective:
Hand-Outs to Accompany the Presentation on “U.S. Mid-Term
Elections and the Future of Trade Promotion Authority”**


























Notes:

The data presented here are based on the best available information as of the morning of 9 November 2006. There are still several races in the House of Representatives for which final results remain in doubt; these tables are based on preliminary data for those races. The results might be adjusted somewhat when the final numbers are available. The tables also assume that the uncertainties over the Senate race in Virginia will be resolved in favor of the Democrat.

In all of the data that follow, the parties are coded by their traditional colors (i.e., Democrats are shown in **blue**, Republicans in **red**).

Table 1
Partisan Divisions in the House of Representatives, 1931-2008

*“Margins” Are the Number of Seats Above a Majority Held by the Party that Controls a Chamber; Democratic Majorities Are Shown in **Blue**, Republicans Are in **Red**; Independents Are not Shown; “Degree of Unity” Indicates Chambers of Congress that Are Controlled by the President’s Party*

President	Congress	Years	Margin in House	Margin in Senate	Degree of Unity
Hoover	72 nd	1931-1932	1	1	
Roosevelt	73 rd	1933-1934	95	11	
Roosevelt	74 th	1935-1936	104	21	
Roosevelt	75 th	1937-1938	116	28	
Roosevelt	76 th	1939-1940	44	21	
Roosevelt	77 th	1941-1942	49	18	
Roosevelt	78 th	1943-1944	4	9	
Roosevelt/Truman	79 th	1945-1946	24	9	
Truman	80 th	1947-1948	28	3	--
Truman	81 st	1949-1950	45	6	
Truman	82 nd	1951-1952	17	1	
Eisenhower	83 rd	1953-1954	3	1	
Eisenhower	84 th	1955-1956	14	1	--
Eisenhower	85 th	1957-1958	16	1	--
Eisenhower	86 th	1959-1960	65	15	--
Kennedy	87 th	1961-1962	45	14	
Kennedy/Johnson	88 th	1963-1964	41	16	
Johnson	89 th	1965-1966	77	18	
Johnson	90 th	1967-1968	29	14	
Nixon	91 st	1969-1970	25	7	--
Nixon	92 nd	1971-1972	37	4	--
Nixon/Ford	93 rd	1973-1974	24	6	--
Ford	94 th	1975-1976	73	10	--
Carter	95 th	1977-1978	74	11	
Carter	96 th	1979-1980	59	8	
Reagan	97 th	1981-1982	24	3	--
Reagan	98 th	1983-1984	51	4	
Reagan	99 th	1985-1986	35	3	
Reagan	100 th	1987-1988	40	5	--
G.H.W. Bush	101 st	1989-1990	42	5	--
G.H.W. Bush	102 nd	1991-1992	49	6	--
Clinton	103 rd	1993-1994	40	7	
Clinton	104 th	1995-1996	12	2	--
Clinton	105 th	1997-1998	10	5	--
Clinton	106 th	1999-2000	5	5	--
G.W. Bush	107 th	2001-2002	3	1	
G.W. Bush	108 th	2003-2004	11	1	
G.W. Bush	109 th	2005-2006	14	5	
G.W. Bush	110 th	2007-2008	14	1	--

Note: The Senate grew from 96 to 100 seats, and thus the number needed for a majority grew from 49 to 51, with the admission of Alaska and Hawaii into statehood during the 86th Congress. Senate majorities shown as “1” sometimes indicate an even division of seats, but the president’s party controls due to the vice president’s vote.

Table 2
Net Partisan Changes in Congress by Presidential Cycle, 1946-2006

*Net Changes in House Seats Held by the President's Party;
Elections in Which Party Control Changed Are Shown in **Bold Type***

House of Representatives:

	First Election	First Mid-Term	Reelection	Second Mid-Term
Truman*	—	-54	75	-28
Eisenhower	22	-18	-2	-48
Kennedy/Johnson**	-20	-4	36	-48
Nixon/Ford***	5	-12	12	-48
Carter	1	-15	—	—
Reagan	34	-26	16	-5
G.H.W. Bush	-2	-8	—	—
Clinton	-9	-54	2	5
<i>Average</i>	4	-24	23	-29
G.W. Bush	-2	8	3	-30

Senate:

	First Election	First Mid-Term	Reelection	Second Mid-Term
Truman*	—	-12	9	-5
Eisenhower	1	-1	0	-12
Kennedy/Johnson**	-1	2	2	-4
Nixon/Ford***	7	1	-2	-4
Carter	1	-3	—	—
Reagan	12	1	-1	-8
G.H.W. Bush	0	-1	—	—
Clinton	1	-9	-3	0
<i>Average</i>	3	-3	1	-6
G.W. Bush	-5	1	4	-6

Note that while the vast majority of these changes are the result of elections, in some instances the changes are due partly to one or more legislators' decisions to switch partisan affiliations.

The "First Election" is the one in which the president was first chosen. In the case of President Bush, for example, that was 2000. The "First Mid-Term" in his case was 2002, and "Reelection" was 2004.

* : The first mid-term number here is for the 1946 election, which came a year after Harry Truman became president upon the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

** : The reelection and second mid-term numbers here are for the elections held during Lyndon Johnson's presidency, which began after the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963.

*** : The second mid-term number here is for the 1974 election, which came three months after Gerald Ford became president upon the resignation of Richard Nixon.

Figure 1: Public Opinion of President Bush, 2001-2006

Views on the President's Performance in the Washington Post/ABC News Poll

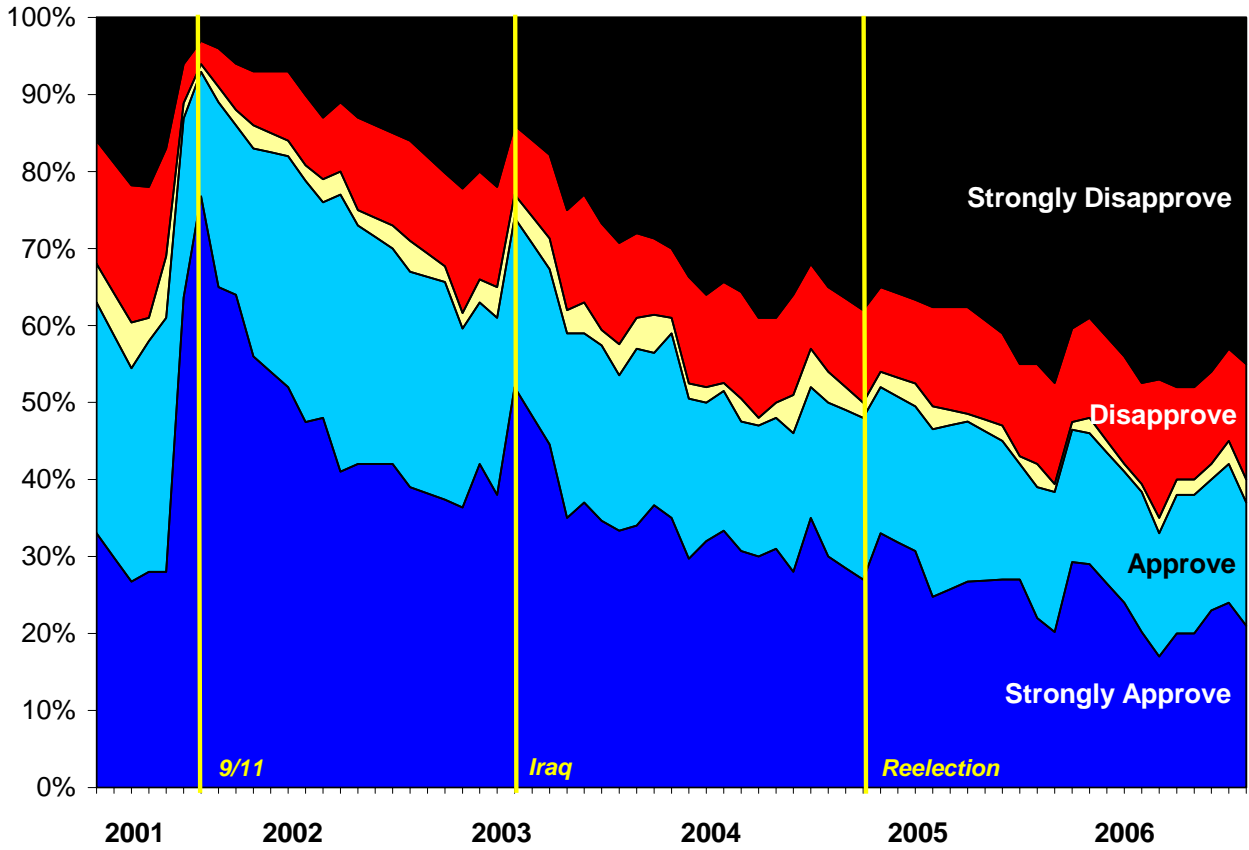


Figure 2: Public Opinion of President Bush, 2001-2006

Views on the President's Performance in the Washington Post/ABC News Poll

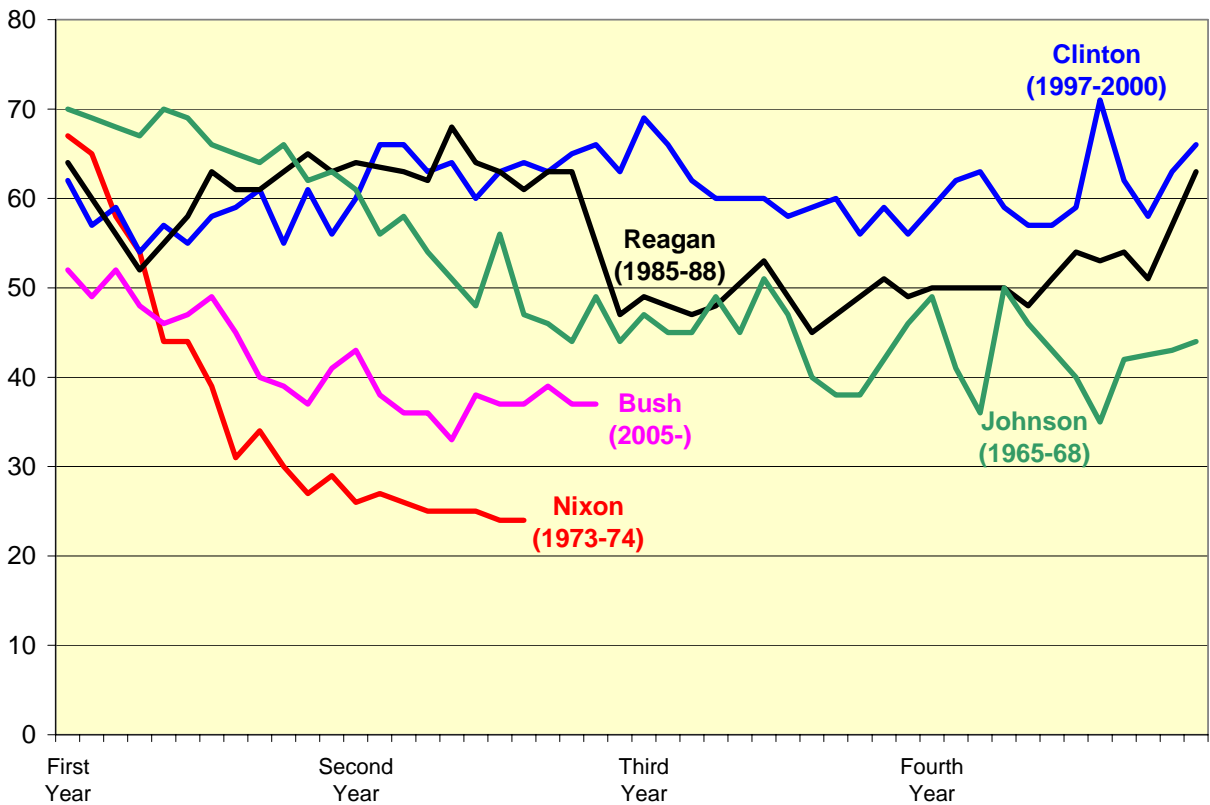


Table 3:
Partisanship on Selected Votes in the House of Representatives, 1934-2006

Percentages Taking the Pro-Trade Position; *Red Shading* Shows Republican Administrations; *Blue Shading* Shows Democratic Administrations; Party Casting the Higher Percentage Shown in *Black Shading*

Year	Issue	Democrats	Republicans
1934	Approve original Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act (RTAA)	96.1	2.0
1937	Approve RTAA-extension bill	96.2	3.6
1940	Approve RTAA-extension bill	91.4	3.3
1943	Approve RTAA-extension bill	94.7	73.6
1945	Recommit RTAA-extension bill to committee	94.0	4.0
1948	Recommit RTAA-extension bill to committee	96.1	7.7
1949	Recommit RTAA-extension bill to committee and repeal authority	97.1	3.4
1951	Restrict RTAA authority through "peril points" mechanism	79.5	2.1
	<i>Average for the Roosevelt and Truman administrations</i>	93.1	12.4
1954	Extend RTAA	91.7	75.9
1955	Extend RTAA	84.2	59.2
1958	Recommit RTAA-extension bill to committee	72.4	56.0
1960	Restrict president's authority under the escape clause	70.1	56.1
	<i>Average for the Eisenhower administration</i>	79.6	61.8
1962	Recommit Trade Expansion Act to committee	82.7	25.3
1970	Approve Trade Act of 1970 (providing for import quotas, etc.)	37.7	51.3
1973	Approve Trade Act of 1973	48.1	89.4
1974	Approve Trade Act of 1974	87.6	93.0
	<i>Average for the Nixon and Ford administrations</i>	57.8	77.9
1979	Approve Trade Agreements Act (Tokyo Round implementing bill)	98.0	98.7
1982	Approve Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act	43.6	91.5
1983	Approve Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act	56.0	90.1
1984	Remove Asian NIEs from Generalized System of Preferences	36.3	91.0
1986	Approve bill amending trade-remedy and reciprocity laws	1.7	65.3
1987	Impose import quotas on countries with persistent surpluses	21.5	90.3
1988	Approve U.S.-Canada FTA implementing bill	87.8	93.8
1991	Deny fast-track extension for NAFTA and Uruguay Round	34.9	87.0
	<i>Average for the Reagan and Bush administrations</i>	40.3	87.0
1993	Approve NAFTA implementing bill	39.5	75.4
1994	Approve Uruguay Round agreements implementing bill	65.2	68.4
1997	Expand preferences under the Caribbean Basin Initiative	23.5	62.1
1998	Approve extension of fast-track authority	14.5	68.0
2000	Approve preferences for African and Caribbean Basin countries	61.8	85.9
2000	Reject withdrawal of the United States from the WTO	89.2	84.7
	<i>Average for the Clinton administration</i>	49.0	74.1
2001	Recommit Andean Trade Preferences Act renewal	27.2	91.1
2001	Approve bill to grant trade promotion authority	10.0	89.4
2002	Approve Trade Act of 2002	12.0	87.6
2003	Approve U.S.-Chile FTA implementing bill	36.9	87.8
2003	Approve U.S.-Singapore FTA implementing bill	37.1	87.9
2004	Approve U.S.-Australia FTA implementing bill	58.0	89.2
2004	Approve U.S.-Morocco FTA implementing bill	60.0	91.9
2005	Reject withdrawal of the United States from the WTO	76.9	82.6
2005	Approve U.S.-Central America FTA implementing bill	7.4	88.2
2005	Approve U.S.-Bahrain FTA implementing bill	58.7	94.2
2006	Approve U.S.-Oman FTA implementing bill	11.1	87.7
	<i>Average for the Bush administration</i>	35.9	88.9

Source: Calculated from votes reported in the Congressional Quarterly Almanac (various years).

Averages are not shown for the Kennedy and Carter years because there was only one important trade vote cast in the House in each of those administrations (in 1962 and 1979, respectively).

Table 4:
Selected Votes on Trade Initiatives in the House of Representatives, 1979-2006

Percentages Taking the Pro-Trade Position (i.e., Voting for Market-Opening Initiatives or Against Market-Closing Initiatives); Categories Listed in Ascending Order of Partisanship

Year	Issue	Democrats	Republicans	Difference
<i>Average for Multilateral & Industrialized Country Agreements</i>		79.2	86.2	7.0
2005	Reject withdrawal of the United States from the WTO	76.9	82.6	5.7
2004	Approve U.S.-Australia FTA implementing bill	58.0	89.2	31.2
2000	Reject withdrawal of the United States from the WTO	89.2	84.7	-4.5
1994	Approve Uruguay Round agreements implementing bill	65.2	68.4	3.2
1988	Approve U.S.-Canada FTA implementing bill	87.8	93.8	6.0
1979	Approve Tokyo Round agreements implementing bill	98.0	98.7	0.7
<i>Average for Developing Country FTAs in the Middle East*</i>		43.3	91.3	48.0
2006	Approve U.S.-Oman FTA implementing bill	11.1	87.7	76.6
2005	Approve U.S.-Bahrain FTA implementing bill	58.7	94.2	35.5
2004	Approve U.S.-Morocco FTA implementing bill	60.0	91.9	31.9
<i>Average for Developing Country Preferences and FTAs</i>		36.9	85.1	48.2
2005	Approve CAFTA-DR implementing bill	7.4	88.2	80.8
2003	Approve U.S.-Chile FTA implementing bill	36.9	87.8	50.9
2003	Approve U.S.-Singapore FTA implementing bill	37.1	87.9	50.8
2001	Recommit Andean Trade Preferences Act renewal	27.2	91.1	63.9
2000	Approve preferences for Africa and Caribbean Basin	61.8	85.9	24.1
1997	Expand preferences under the Caribbean Basin Initiative	23.5	62.1	38.6
1993	Approve NAFTA implementing bill	39.5	75.4	35.9
1984	Remove Asian NIEs from Gen'd System of Preferences	36.3	91.0	54.7
1983	Approve Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act	56.0	90.1	34.1
1982	Approve Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act	43.6	91.5	47.9
<i>Average for Grants of New Negotiating Authority**</i>		17.9	83.0	65.2
2002	Approve Trade Act of 2002 (incl. negotiating authority)	12.0	87.6	75.6
2001	Approve bill to grant trade promotion authority	10.0	89.4	79.4
1998	Approve extension of fast-track authority	14.5	68.0	53.5
1991	Deny extension of fast-track authority	34.9	87.0	52.1

* : Note that votes on the free trade agreements with Israel (1985) and Jordan (2001) are not listed because the FTA with Israel received nearly unanimous support, and the FTA with Jordan was approved on a voice vote (i.e., the yeas and nays were not recorded).

** : Note that the two-year extension in trade promotion authority in 2005 was accomplished without a vote. It would have been denied only if Congress approved a resolution to deny the request, and no resolution came to a vote in the House.

Source: Calculated from votes reported in the Congressional Quarterly Almanac (various years) and the Website of the U.S. Congress.

CAFTA-DR = Free Trade Agreement with Central America and the Dominican Republic.

FTA = Free Trade Agreement.

NAFTA = North American Free Trade Agreement.

NIEs = Newly Industrialized Economies.

WTO = World Trade Organization.