

*Mike Berman's*

# **WASHINGTON POLITICAL WATCH**

No. 142

December 11, 2015

**State of the Nation – page 2**

\* \* \* \* \*

**President Obama – page 3**

\* \* \* \* \*

**This and That – page 5**

\* \* \* \* \*

**2016 Election**

**U.S House of Representatives – page 5**

**U.S. Senate – page 6**

**President – page 6**

\* \* \* \* \*

**The Mondale Legacy – page 21**

\* \* \* \* \*

**Restaurants – Washington - page 25**

**Chez Billy**

**Greenhouse, Quill, Plume**

\* \* \* \* \*

## State of the Nation

69% of respondents say that the country is on the wrong track. 23% say the country is on the right track. This is the highest “wrong track” number found in some 20 surveys taken by the Bloomberg Poll since September 2009. [Bloomberg Politics Poll 11/17/15]

CBS/NYT had a slightly more positive result finding, 33% who say the country is headed in the right direction, while 63% say it is on the wrong track. [CBS/NYT 11/10/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

The official BLS seasonally adjusted unemployment rate for November 2015 is 5%, the same as October. If one takes into account the total unemployed + those marginally attached to the labor force + those working part-time who want full-time work, the rate is 9.9%. This number is lower than the unemployment number in October 2009, which was 10.2% (data based on those 16 years of age and older).

In the last week of November, Gallup found an unadjusted unemployment rate of 5.6%. It also found an under-employment rate (unemployed + those working part-time but wanting full time) of 14.4%. [This is based on those 18 years of age and older.]

\* \* \* \* \*

There are 8.6 million single mothers and 2.4 million single fathers in the United States. This compares to 1970 when there were 3 million single mothers and 300,000 single fathers in this country. Roughly 4 in 10 babies born in the U.S. are born to unmarried mothers. This is up from 1 in 10 in 1970. WP 12/2/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

355 or 4?

The events in San Bernardino represent the 355<sup>th</sup> mass shooting in the United States in 2015. So far this year 462 people have been killed in these

shootings and 1,314 people have been injured. This data is based on a definition that describes a mass shooting as one in which four or more people are killed or injured. The data was compiled by a group of private organizations. It is the data used by many major media organizations. [NPR 12/2/15]

However, it turns out that there is another point of view, a point of view that claims there have been only 4 mass shootings this year. This definition is based on an apparent FBI policy that requires that at least 4 people be killed before an incident can be classified as a mass killing. This is the standard used by the Congressional Research Service.

58% of Americans -- including 79% of Democrats, 41% of Republicans, and 53% of Independents -- believe that the laws governing the sale of firearms should be made more strict.

92% favor requiring background checks on all potential gun buyers; this even includes 87% of Republicans. [CBS/NYT 10/25/15]

86% of respondents favor a universal background check for all gun purchases in the U.S., using a centralized database across all 50 States. However, if such a law was passed, 53% of Americans think it would do little or nothing to reduce the number of mass shootings. Only 19% believe it would have a great deal of effect in reducing mass shootings. [Gallop 10/11/15]

71% of all respondents, including 60% of Democrats, would oppose a ban on the sale of all handguns, except those that are issued to law enforcement officers. [NYT/CBS 11/10/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

### **President**

The public's grade of President Obama's job approval (as found by Gallup 12/1) is 46% approval/50% disapproval. His approval rating did hit 50% in early February of this year. Obama's approval rating at the time of his first inauguration was 68% approval/12% disapproval. [Gallup]

Here are other approval scores going back 2+ years.

<u>Date</u>	<u>NBC/WSJ</u>	<u>WP/ABC</u>	<u>CNN/ORC</u>	<u>NYT/CBS</u>	<u>FOX</u>
November	xxx	46/50	xxx	42/47(CBS)	40/54
October 2015	45/49	51/45	46/51	45/46(CBS)	42/53
September 2015	47/47	47/49	44/50	xxx	44/50
August 2015	xxx	xxx	47/51	xxx	42/51
July 2015	45/50	45/52	48/48	xxx	47/48
June 2015	48/48	xxx	50/48	xxx	44/50
May 2015	xxx	43/53	45/52	43/53	44/51
April 2015	48/47%	xxx	48/47	45/44	42/53
March 2015	46/50	46/49	46/51	45/46 (CBS)	45/50
Jan 2015	46/48%	47/48%	xxx	xxx	45/51
Jan 2014	43/51%	45/52%	45/51%	46/47(CBS)	42/53
Jan 2013	52/44%	55/41%	55/43%	51/41%	

App Dis – End of 3<sup>rd</sup> year of second term

Eisenhower	67	18 (12/8/59)
Clinton	56	41 (12/9/99)
Reagan	49	41 (12/7/87)
<u>Obama</u>	46	50 (12/1/15)
G W Bush	32	65(12/14/07)

\* \* \* \* \*

Americans disapprove of how Obama is handling the economy by 49% to 44% (CBS 11/22). A year ago, 53% disapproved of how he was handling the economy (CNN/ORC 11/23).

Americans also disapprove of the way he is handling foreign policy by 51% to 37% (CBS 11/22). A year ago, foreign policy disapproval was at 54% (CNN/ORC 11/23).

Americans are split down the middle as to how they” feel” about Barack Obama. 48% are feeling favorably toward Obama, of which 19% feel very favorable. 49% of Americans feel unfavorably toward Obama, of which 29% feel very unfavorable. [Bloomberg Politics Poll 11/17/15)

\* \* \* \* \*

## **This and That**

24% of Americans now consider themselves to be Republicans, 29% say they are Democrats, and 38% say they are Independents. Going back to at least mid-2002, this is the lowest number of Democrats recorded by this survey. [NYT/CBS 11/10/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

## **Congress**

Currently, 86% of Americans disapprove of the job being done by Congress, while 11% approve. A year ago, 79% disapproved and 15% approved.

Americans disapprove of the job being done by Democrats in Congress by 65% to 27%, and they disapprove of the job being done by Republicans in Congress by 79% to 15%. [Gallup 11/8/15]

## **The House**

The 2016 election is about 11 months from now. There is nothing to suggest that the Democrats' chances of taking back control of the House have improved since the last issue of the Watch. As it stands now, the Republicans can hold the House without a whole lot of effort. (As usual, The Cook Political Report is the source of the data below.)

The Republicans need only win 9 of the 24 seats that are leaning their way to retain control of the House.

### THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Democrats 188

Republicans 246

Vacancy 1

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Safe in 2016	170	209
Leaning	14	24

	<u>Toss Ups</u>	
4		14

## The Senate

It is possible to see a scenario in which Democrats make progress in their effort to retake the Senate. It is also possible to imagine an outcome of the election in which Democrats do retake control or at least create a 50/50 situation.

The possible outcome is likely to be heavily affected by the nature of the Presidential candidates who that will also be on the ballot and driving turnout.

### THE U.S. SENATE

Republicans	54
Democrats	44
Independents	2

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
Seats not up in 2016	36	30
Safe in 2016	8	14
Leaning in 2016	2	5
	Bennett	Burr
	Kirk	Portman
		Blunt
		McCain
		Indiana
Total	46	49

<u>Toss Up</u>
Nevada
Johnson
Florida
Ayotte
Toomey

\* \* \* \* \*

## Looking Ahead to 2016 – Contest for President

In mid-November Americans were asked what “is the single most important issue in your choice for President?” A specific series of options were presented. Topping the list were the economy (33%), terrorism (28%), healthcare (13%), immigration (10%), and tax policy (5%). [ABC/WP 11/19]

\* \* \* \* \*

In mid-November, Peter Hart and Corrie Hunt did two focus groups in Columbus, Ohio, on behalf of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania. One of the two focus groups was made up of all men; the other all women.

The locale was Columbus's Franklin County. Because this is a location that is seen as a must-win for Democrats, the composition of both groups was weighted toward Democrats (Clinton and Sanders supporters). However, 6 of the dozen participants in each group identified as Republican or Independent.

The following is a short summary of a much longer report prepared after these focus groups. If you would like to read the full reports and see the video, you can find them on the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the link below.  
<http://www.annenbergpublicpolicycenter.org/lecture/ohio-voters-offer-views-on-gop-and-democratic-front-runners-for-president/>

\* \* \*

The assessment of Hillary Clinton is pretty clear and simple -- these voters respect Hillary Clinton for her experience, understanding, and knowledge about policy, and especially for being a person who can deal on the international front. She has been tested, and they describe her as having a backbone of steel, titanium or iron. Nobody underestimates her professional abilities or how formidable she is.

\* \* \*

From this perspective one does not get a sense of a glass ceiling preventing Hillary Clinton from becoming the first woman President. Given the times, one would think she is a sure-fire recipe for victory.

\* \* \*

Yet, strong reservations also emerge when these voters consider her candidacy. They openly discuss their personal reasons for questioning a Hillary Clinton Presidency. There is a sort of "glass curtain" between Clinton and these voters. Many feel that they cannot relate to her or trust her. Even her supporters express uneasiness about their ability to connect with her.

\* \* \*

The voters perceive a glass curtain or invisible shield between them and Hillary Clinton, through which they can see and study her, but they cannot touch or relate to her.

\* \* \*

An important observation is that voters' perception of a female President (in general) bringing the quality of "inclusiveness" to the table does not translate to Hillary Clinton; on the contrary, she is perceived as someone who is polarizing and surrounded by controversy.

\* \* \*

In the end one is left with a very divided profile of Hillary Clinton: admiration and respect for her professional abilities, knowledge and strength....But the comfort level of her personally has not advanced much from the day she first contemplated seeking the Presidency in 2016.

\* \* \*

At this stage, one year before the election, the challenge facing Hillary Clinton is to find a way to relate to voters; and more important, provide a way to relate to her.

\* \* \* \* \*

### **Views and Attitudes toward the Republican Candidates**

(WW editorial note: Keep in mind that these focus groups focused primarily on Hillary Clinton and occurred before the recent rise of Ted Cruz and the apparent slippage of Ben Carson.)

.... while Hillary Clinton excels on experience and leadership in these voters' eyes, they tend to appreciate more the personal qualities of the leading Republican candidates.

\* \* \*

Trump may captivate audiences of Republican primary voters, but thus far he has failed to win over this more ideologically mixed group of voters. They already feel



they have a sense of who he is and what he stands for, and what they know they do not like. Trump's "loudmouth" style has alienated these voters and very few can see themselves supporting him for President. More so than perhaps any other candidate, many say they definitely would NOT support him. He is a "bully," "racist," "arrogant," "hateful," and "inappropriate" in their eyes.

\* \* \*

Carson is less of a known quantity among this mix of voters. Those who like him say he is compassionate, and they praise his intelligence and calm demeanor. His gentle and low-key demeanor reminds his supporters of a "sweet grandpa that you would want to invite over."

\* \* \*

It is the demeanor and combustible personality of Donald Trump that scares people; it is the lack of knowledge and sophistication on issues that frightens of voters from Dr. Carson.

\* \* \*

Perhaps the most ominous news for Carson is that these voters do not see him as ready for the job. When they think about all the responsibilities of the Presidential office, 21 of the 24 respondents say they did NOT feel comfortable with Carson at the helm.

\* \* \*

Jeb Bush has the notable position as the only one of the Republican candidates who these voters feel is ready for the job. Yet they do not want him as the next President...But Bush himself does not have a strong presence or personality for these voters; he remains amorphous without a clear identity.

\* \* \*

The greatest challenge for Jeb Bush may be that voters are not curious about him anymore. He must redefine himself with voters who have already moved on or lost interest.

\* \* \*

Rubio has not yet broken through in this middle-American city, but he shows serious potential among these voters. He is still somewhat of an unknown quantity among these voters, and unlike the other leading Republican candidates, many say they still want to learn more about Rubio.

\* \* \*

The Republican candidates were not at the center of these focus groups' discussion, but the overall impression was of a Party that had many candidates, but nobody that appeared to be a natural leader for the times. It would take little to start a groundswell for a GOP candidate that can demonstrate that they have both the temperament and wisdom to lead. For now, none has emerged. [End]

\* \* \* \* \*

There is particular attention being paid in the Republican primary to the role that Evangelical Protestants will play in the primaries and in the general election. While most, if not all, of the Republican candidates are paying attention to this group, Ted Cruz seems most intent.

PEW Research estimates that there are 62 million people in the U.S. that adhere to churches in the evangelical Protestant tradition.

In 2014, PEW estimated that among evangelicals, 56% are Republican/lean Republican, 28% Democrat/lean Democratic, and 16% don't lean either way.

A Public Opinion Strategies survey found that in the 2014 election, self-identified conservative Christians made up 32% of the electorate and 86% of them voted Republican, while 12% voted Democrat.

In the 2004, 2008, and 2012 Presidential elections, the vast majority of Evangelicals voted as follows:

	Bush/Kerry	McCain/Obama	Romney/Obama
2004	79% 21%		
2008		73% 26%	
2012			79% 20%

\* \* \* \* \*

The following are a series of charts that provide basic information about the 2016 election and the candidates.

1. The list of current candidates/those who have left the field  
/those who chose not to run
2. Select national polls
3. Select state polls
4. The money game
5. Primary/caucus dates and state delegate numbers and allocation
6. The Primary Debates
7. The conventions

## **1. The current list of candidates**

The 2016 campaign began with a series of candidates who, over time, registered with the Federal Election Commission. Ultimately there were 17 candidates seeking the Republican nomination and 5 candidates seeking the Democratic nomination.

Currently, there are 14 Republican and 3 Democratic candidates who remain on the field.

On The Field – Candidate has filed with the Federal Election Commission; has announced that he or she is running; has announced that they are going to commence a formal candidacy; or has been particularly active in raising money or campaigning.

Fallen by the Wayside –Candidate has been on the field, but has now left.

Announced – Not Going to Play - These individuals have specifically made it clear that they are not going to be candidates.

### On the Field

Democrats	Republicans
Hillary Clinton, 67 Martin O'Malley, 52 Bernie Sanders, 73	Ted Cruz, 44 Rand Paul, 52 Marco Rubio, 43 Jeb Bush, 62 Ben Carson, 63 Carly Fiorina, 60 Mike Huckabee, 59 George Pataki, 69 Rick Santorum, 56 Lindsey Graham, 59 Donald Trump, 68 Chris Christie, 52 John Kasich, 62 Jim Gilmore 65

### Fallen by the Wayside

Democrats	Republicans
Jim Webb, 69: Dropped out 10/20* Lincoln Chafee, 62: Dropped out 10/23	Rick Perry, 65: Dropped out 9/11 Scott Walker, 47: Dropped out 9/21 Bobby Jindal, 43: Dropped out 11/17

### Announced – Not Going to Play

Democrats	Republicans
Elizabeth Warren, 65 Joe Biden, 72	Mitt Romney ,68 John Bolton, 66 Mike Pence, 55 Rick Snyder, 56

\*Jim Webb is considering a run as an independent.

## 2. Select polls, Late October- Early December

The following is a selection of national polls for the months of October and November.

During this period Hillary Clinton has had leads ranging from 18 points to 30 points over the other Democratic candidates. Trump has had leads of 1 point to 20 points.

### Republicans

	Quinnipiac 10/29-11/2	ABC/WP 11/16-11/19	Fox 11/16-11/19	Quinnipiac 11/23-11/30	CNN/ORC 11/27-12/1
Trump	24	32	28	27	36
Carson	23	22	18	16	14
Cruz	13	8	14	16	16
Rubio	14	11	14	17	12
Bush	4	6	5	5	3
Fiorina	3	4	3	3	3
Christie	3	2	3	2	4
Kasich	3	3	2	2	2
Huckabee	1	3	3	1	2
Paul	2	3	2	2	1
Graham	0	1	0	0	0
Pataki	0	0	1	0	0
Santorum	1	1	0	0	0
<b>Spread</b>	<b>Trump +1</b>	<b>Trump +10</b>	<b>Trump +10</b>	<b>Trump +10</b>	<b>Trump +20</b>

### Democrats

	Quinnipiac 10/29-11/2	ABC/WP 11/16-11/19	Fox 11/16-11/19	Quinnipiac 11/23-11/30
Clinton	53	60	55	60
Sanders	35	34	32	30
O'Malley	0	3	3	2
<b>Spread</b>	<b>Clinton +18</b>	<b>Clinton +26</b>	<b>Clinton +23</b>	<b>Clinton +30</b>

Source: RealClearPolitics

\* \* \* \* \*

### 3. Select state polls

(Republican lists include only those candidates scoring 5% or better.)

#### Iowa

GOP	
	Quinnipiac 11/16-11/22
Trump	25
Cruz	23
Rubio	13
Paul	5
<b>Spread</b>	<b>Trump +2</b>

Dems	
	Quinnipiac 11/16-11/22
Clinton	51
Sanders	42
O'Malley	4
<b>Spread</b>	<b>Clinton +9</b>

#### New Hampshire

GOP	
	CBS/YouGov 11/15-11/19
Trump	32
Rubio	13
Carson	10
Kasich	8
Bush	6
Fiorina	6
Paul	6
Christie	5
<b>Spread</b>	<b>Trump +19</b>

Dems	
	CBS/YouGov 11/15-11/19
Sanders	52
Clinton	45
O'Malley	3
<b>Spread</b>	<b>Sanders +7</b>

#### South Carolina

GOP	
	CBS/YouGov 11/15-11/19
Trump	35
Carson	19
Cruz	13
Bush	5
<b>Spread</b>	<b>Trump +16</b>

Dem	
	CBS/YouGov 11/15-11/19
Clinton	72
Sanders	25
O'Malley	3
<b>Spread</b>	<b>Clinton +47</b>

\* \* \* \* \*

#### **4. Money raised and spent since September 30<sup>th</sup>**

Since the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter, September 30, there are only odds and ends available about the income, expenditures, and cash balances of the various campaigns, PACs, and Super PACs in the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter. Complete information will next be available in January, as late as January 31, 2016.

#### **5. Primary/Caucus dates and state delegate numbers and allocation**

*Summary of the delegate allocation process written by Josh Putnam, reporter for the Washington Post:*

“On the Democratic side, the national party mandates a proportional allocation of the delegates apportioned to each state. The majority of states, in turn, utilize the results of their primaries or caucuses at both the statewide and congressional district level to allocate and bind those delegates to the candidates who clear a threshold of the vote — which can be set no higher than 15 percent — in those political units. If Hillary Clinton wins 60 percent of the vote statewide in the South Carolina primary, she would receive around 60 percent of the at-large and pledged party leader delegates. If she wins 60 percent of the vote in one of South Carolina’s congressional districts, she would receive around 60 percent of the delegates apportioned to that district.

“The Republican National Committee is taking a similar approach for the states with primaries and caucuses that fall in the so-called “proportionality window,” defined as the first two weeks of March for 2016. The only difference is that the RNC allows the threshold for receiving any delegates to be set as high as 20 percent either statewide or in congressional districts.

“The RNC also allows a state party to institute a threshold for a candidate to receive all of the at-large and bonus delegates. In those states that set such thresholds, if a candidate wins a majority of the vote statewide or in a congressional district, that candidate would be eligible to be allocated all of the delegates apportioned to that political unit.

“After March 14, state parties in the Republican process have the freedom to set their delegate allocation rules as they see fit. States can institute a proportional rule, a winner-take-all rule, or some hybrid. The differences between proportional and hybrid plans are typically so subtle that they do not affect the delegate count.

If states with contests after March 14 adopt a winner-take-all rule, that could create a de facto nominee sooner. However, in 2012, there was no such rush to winner-take-all rules among states with contests after the proportionality window.” (The above is from The Washington Post’s Josh Putnam, *Everything you need to know about how the presidential primary works*, 5/12/15.)

**Here is the primary/nomination schedule as presently available:**

Also included are the number of delegates assigned to each Party in each State and how the delegates will be allocated. The DNC mandates a proportional allocation for all States. The RNC allows States more flexibility.

Definitions for Republican Allocation of Delegates:

**Conv:** State will bind delegates to the national convention at a State/territory convention. Other conventions will leave the delegation unbound.

**Prop:** State will proportionally allocate delegates based either on the Statewide primary/caucus vote or on the combination of the Statewide and Congressional district votes.

**Prop w/ Trigger:** State will follow above proportional rules, but allows for a winner-take-all allocation if a candidate wins a majority of the vote Statewide or at the Congressional district level.

**Hybrid:** State will follow some form of winner-take-most plan (i.e., winner-take-all by Congressional district) or directly elects delegates on the primary ballot.

**Winner-take-all:** State will award all delegates to the plurality winner of the primary or caucus.

The following is the tentative list (subject to change):

February

- ☐ Feb 1:
  - Iowa caucuses- (52D- Prop) (30R- Prop)
- ☐ Feb 9:
  - New Hampshire primary- (32D- Prop) (23R- Prop)
- ☐ Feb 20:
  - Nevada Dem caucuses- (43D- Prop)



- South Carolina GOP primary- (50R-Hybrid)
- Feb. 23:
  - Nevada GOP caucuses- (30R- Prop)
- Feb 27:
  - South Carolina Dem primary- (59D- Prop)

## March

- March 1 (Super Tuesday):
  - Alabama- (58D- Prop) (50R- Prop w/ Trigger)
  - Alaska GOP- (28R-Prop)
  - Arkansas - (37D- Prop) (40R- Prop w/ Trigger)
  - Colorado caucuses- (79D- Prop) (37R-Conv)
  - Georgia- (116D- Prop) (76R- Prop w/ Trigger)
  - Massachusetts- (116D- Prop) (42R- Prop)
  - Minnesota caucuses- (93D- Prop) (38R- Prop)
  - Oklahoma- (42D- Prop) (43R- Prop w/ Trigger)
  - Tennessee- (76D- Prop) (58R- Prop w/ Trigger)
  - Texas- (252D- Prop) (155R- Prop w/ Trigger)
  - Vermont- (26D- Prop) (16R- Prop w/ Trigger)
  - Virginia- (110D- Prop) (49R- Prop)
- March 5:
  - Kansas caucuses- (37D- Prop) (40R- Prop)
  - Kentucky GOP caucuses- (45R- Prop)
  - Louisiana- (58D- Prop) (47R- Prop)
  - Maine GOP caucuses- (23R- Prop w/ Trigger)
  - Nebraska Dem caucuses- (30D- Prop)
- March 6:
  - Maine Dem caucuses- (30D- Prop)
- March 8:
  - Hawaii GOP caucuses- (19R- Prop),
  - Idaho GOP primary- (32R- Prop w/ Trigger)
  - Michigan- (148D- Prop) (59R- Prop w/ Trigger)
  - Mississippi- (41D- Prop) (40R- Prop)
- March 12:
  - Washington, DC (GOP convention)- (19R- Prop)
- March 15:
  - Florida- (246D- Prop) (99R-Winner take All)
  - Illinois- (182D- Prop) (69R-Hybrid)
  - Missouri- (84D- Prop) (52R-Hybrid)
  - North Carolina- (121D- Prop) (72R- Prop)

- Ohio- (159D- Prop) (66R-Winner take All)
- ☐ March 22:
  - Arizona- (77D-Prop) (58R-Winner take All)
  - Idaho Dem caucuses- (27D- Prop)
  - Utah caucuses- (37D- Prop) (40R- Prop w/ Trigger)
- ☐ March 26:
  - Alaska Dem caucuses- (18D- Prop)
  - Hawaii Dem caucuses- (33D- Prop)
  - Washington Dem caucuses- (118D- Prop)

## April

- ☐ April 5:
  - Wisconsin- (96D- Prop) (42R-Hybrid)
- ☐ March 5:
  - Wyoming Dem- (18D- Prop)
- ☐ April 19:
  - New York- (291D- Prop) (95R- Prop w/ Trigger)
- ☐ April 26:
  - Connecticut- (70D- Prop) (28R-Hybrid)
  - Delaware- (31D- Prop) (16R-Winner take All)
  - Maryland- (118D- Prop) (38R-Hybrid)
  - Pennsylvania-(210D- Prop) (71R-Hybrid)
  - Rhode Island- (33D- Prop) (19R- Prop)

## May

- ☐ May 3:
  - Indiana- (92D- Prop) (57R-Hybrid)
- ☐ May 10:
  - Nebraska GOP primary- (36R-Winner take All)
  - West Virginia-(37D- Prop) (34R-Hybrid)
- ☐ May 17:
  - Kentucky Dem primary- (61D- Prop)
  - Oregon- (73D- Prop) (28R- Prop)
- ☐ May 24:
  - Washington GOP-(44R- Prop)

## June

- ☐ June 7:
  - California- (546D- Prop) (172R-Hybrid)
  - Montana- (28D- Prop) (27R-Winner take All)

- New Jersey- (142D- Prop) (51R-Winner take All)
- New Mexico- (43D- Prop) (24R- Prop)
- South Dakota-(25D- Prop) (29R-Winner take All)
- North Dakota Dem- (23D- Prop)
- June 14:
  - Washington, DC Dems- (46D- Prop)
- States that the RNC reports will not hold Presidential preference votes in 2016
  - North Dakota- (28R-Conv)
  - Wyoming- (29R-Conv)

Sources: RNC website, Balletopedia, US Presidential Election News

\* \* \* \* \*

## 6. Presidential Primary Debates

### Republicans:

The Republican National Committee is currently planning to sanction at least nine and possibly twelve Presidential primary debates. Four have already been held in Ohio, California, Colorado, and Wisconsin. The last debate for 2015 will be in Nevada on December 15, 2015

### **Current planned Republican primary debates:**

1. Fox News, August 6, 2015, Ohio – Completed
2. CNN, September 16, 2015, California- Completed
3. CNBC, October 28, 2015, Colorado - Completed
4. Fox Business, November 10, 2015, Wisconsin - Completed
5. CNN, December 15, 2015, Nevada
6. Fox News, January 2016, Iowa
7. ABC News, February 6, 2016, New Hampshire
8. CBS News, February 13, 2016, South Carolina
9. NBC/Telemundo, February 26, 2016, Florida

Three others are pending:

Fox News, March 2016, location TBD

CNN, March 10, 2016, location TBD

Conservative Media Debate, date TBD, location TBD

## Polling before and after the 2<sup>nd</sup> , 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Republican Debates

### Republicans

	CBS/NY Times 9/9-9/13	2 <sup>nd</sup> GOP Debate- CNN: 9/16/15	CNN/OR C 9/17-9/19	CBS/NY Times 10/21-10/25	3 <sup>rd</sup> GOP Debate- CNBC: 10/28/15	Fox News 11/1-11/3	4 <sup>th</sup> GOP Debate- Fox Business/WSJ: 11/10/2015	Bloomberg 11/15-11/17
Trump	27		24	22		26		24
Carson	23		14	26		23		20
Rubio	6		11	8		11		12
Bush	6		9	7		4		6
Cruz	5		6	4		11		9
Fiorina	4		15	7		3		3
Huckabee	6		6	4		4		3
Paul	3		4	4		4		3
Kasich	3		2	4		4		3
Christie	1		3	1		2		4
Graham	0		0	2		0		1
Santorum	1		1	1		0		1
Pataki	0		0	0		0		1
Spread	Trump +4		Trump +9	Carson +4		Trump +3		Trump +4

### Democrats:

There will be six Presidential primary debates. Two have already been held in Nevada and Iowa. The last debate for 2015 will be in New Hampshire on December 19<sup>th</sup>.

### **Current planned Democratic primary debates:**

1. CNN, October 13, 2015, Nevada- Completed
2. CBS News, November 14, 2015, Des Moines, Iowa-Completed
3. ABC News, December 19, 2015, Manchester, New Hampshire
4. NBC News, January 17, 2016, Charleston, South Carolina
5. Univision, February or March 2016, Miami, Florida
6. PBS, February or March 2016, Wisconsin

## Polling before and after the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Democratic Debates

### Democrats

	Fox News 10/10-10/12	1 <sup>st</sup> DEM Debate- CNN: 10/13/15	CNN/ORC 10/14-10/17	CBS/NYT 11/6-11/10	2 <sup>nd</sup> DEM Debate- CBS: 11/14/15	ABC/WP 11/16-11/19
Clinton	45		45	52		60
Sanders	25		29	33		34
O'Malley	1		1	5		3
Spread	Clinton +20		Clinton +16	Clinton +19		Clinton +26

The size of the television audience for each debate has steadily declined.

Republican - Fox News, August 6, 2015, Ohio – 24 million viewers

Republican - CNN, September 16, 2015, California -23 million viewers

Democrat - CNN, October 13, 2015 – 15.8 million viewers

Republican – CNBC, October 28, 2015 – 14 million viewers

Republican – Fox Business News, November 10, 2015 – 13.5 million viewers

Democrat – CBS/WSJ, November 14, 2015 - 8.5 million viewers

## 7. The Conventions

- ☐ Republicans: July 18-21, Cleveland, Ohio
- ☐ Democrats: July 25-28, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

\* \* \* \* \*

## The Mondale Legacy

On October 20, 2015, the Humphrey School of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota, with the cooperation of the Trachtenberg School of Public Policy at George Washington University, sponsored an all-day event honoring the life and legacy of Walter F. Mondale.

Events included a series of panels at GWU, a reception at the home of Vice President Joe Biden and Dr. Jill Biden, and a dinner at the Four Seasons hotel. The highlight of the dinner was a “conversation” between President Jimmy Carter and Vice President Mondale.

Vice President Biden honored Mondale by participating in the morning panels and speaking at the dinner, in addition to hosting the aforementioned reception at his home.

There was an extraordinary amount of information imparted on which one could come to appreciate Mondale's very special career.

About a week after the symposium I received a copy of a piece written about Mondale by Joel K Goldstein, the Vincent C. Immel Professor of Law at St. Louis University School of Law. The article was posted on October 28<sup>th</sup> on The Huffington Post Politic Blog. Goldstein is an expert on the Vice Presidency and over the years we have become quite friendly. I am posting it here...

## **Walter Mondale's Living Legacy**

After two leading academic institutions held celebrations of Walter F. Mondale's public service on October 20, 2015, most headlines summarizing the events highlighted Mondale's historic role in remaking the American vice presidency. I'm all for celebrating the importance of the modern vice presidency and Mondale's essential role in making that happen, a topic I've written about including in a book coming out this winter focused on that very point.

But as historic and as beneficial as was Mondale's role in elevating the vice presidency, that accomplishment was an application of Mondale's leadership, beliefs and skill, and a vehicle for Mondale to advance some of his values, not the measure of the man or his "Living Legacy" as many headlines implied.

Mondale's work in recreating the vice presidency was consistent with his belief that government can and must be a force for good and that public officials should work to improve the Framers' design not disrupt it. Whereas Ronald Reagan declared at his first inauguration that government was the problem, Mondale recognized government as a necessary instrument to address communal problems, not simply national security and law enforcement, but education and social and health security and other public goods which even government's critics happily access. And he understood that progress in civil rights, for racial minorities and women, had depended on legislative, executive and judicial action, not principally on individual initiatives or free markets. Mondale thought government should be more effective and more transparent, more responsive and more accountable. As a Senator, he had worked to make filibusters more difficult and to protect individual privacy rights from overzealous government intelligence agencies.

Mondale certainly had personal incentive to imagine a more robust vice presidency, but his work in achieving it reflected a larger commitment to improve government and displayed skills and dispositions of his public service. The new and constructive vice presidency would not have happened without President Carter's leadership, but it also would not have occurred without Mondale's ability to reimagine the office and his skill in executing their creation.

Carter and Mondale changed the vice presidency from a limited institution, which provided a presidential successor and did some work episodically in the executive branch, into an integral part of the president's inner circle on an ongoing basis. Whereas Mondale's predecessors had thought vice-presidential influence depended on owning some issue or program, Mondale reached the counterintuitive, but wise, conclusion that less turf could produce more power. Mondale understood that the vice presidency could be significant if it added value rather than assumed redundant roles. Mondale became a senior presidential adviser and troubleshooter.

His skillful implementation of that role helped convince others of its merit and Carter's and Mondale's successors have largely preserved the Mondale Model as a new institution that allows the government to operate more effectively.

Elevating the vice presidency was not an end in itself. Mondale used the vice presidency to advance his core commitment to make America a more inclusive and pluralistic society. He took the lead in making sure that the Carter administration supported affirmative action in public education, notwithstanding the more conservative inclinations of leaders in the Department of Justice. Mondale recognized the merit in diversity and that decades of discrimination had produced an unequal field that required corrective action. He used the robust vice presidency to advance a core Mondale value, one he had pursued as a senator when he led the fight to legislate against racial discrimination in housing and did later, as a presidential candidate, when he chose the first running mate who was not a white male, Geraldine Ferraro.

Regarding the latter, Mondale's process opened doors to a range of communities traditionally excluded from presidential politics, including women, African-Americans, Hispanics, Jews, Italian-Americans. Mondale was widely criticized for considering those who did not hold familiar vice-presidential feeder positions, but he recognized that in 1984 it was unfair to insist on the same paper credentials from members of demographic groups who had been denied access to political office.

Mondale also used his vice presidency to secure fair treatment for powerless communities with needs. The fair housing battle and his efforts to protect children had been examples during his Senate career. As vice president, Mondale was central to the Carter administration's unwillingness to tolerate apartheid in South Africa. And when Mondale learned that Indochinese boat people were being forced to flee from their homeland in unseaworthy vessels, he galvanized first the Carter administration and then the world to accept responsibility to rescue and provide refuge for the victims. Many came to the United States and have enhanced their communities and our country.

In addition to vindicating human rights, the vice presidency provided Mondale an opportunity to work to secure the peace, for instance in his important roles in achieving the accords between Israel and Egypt before and during Camp David and in normalizing relations with China.

Mondale never forgot that notwithstanding his essential role in the Carter-Mondale 1976 election, Carter was president. He advanced his values by persuading Carter, not by circumventing his authority.

Before leaving the vice presidency, Mondale and his staff educated his successor, George H. W. Bush, and his team on the innovations he had brought to the second office. Mondale and his associates did not hesitate to share with a past and future political rival secrets of his success in office. Reagan and Bush largely adopted the Carter-Mondale vice presidential innovations, as have subsequent administrations of both parties.

So yes, the headlines are right to celebrate Mondale's historic role in converting the vice presidency to the constructive and significant job it has become. But that great contribution was not simply an end in itself. It reflected Mondale's belief in the possibilities of government and allowed him to advance values of his career -- pluralism, just treatment of the powerless, peace. He advanced those ideals in a manner that recognized the president's role. And he passed on the new vice presidency in a way that placed country over partisan or self-interest.

That's a Living Legacy to be proud of and to learn from..



## **Restaurants**

Chez Billy  
1039 31<sup>st</sup> St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20007  
202-965-2684  
chezbillysud.com

I went to Chez Billy with Debbie and Hilary.

The restaurant is fairly narrow and seats 50 people. By the front windows there are a couple of tables to the left as you enter. The main dining room is one step down. On the left there is a banquette that runs the length of the dining room, providing half of the seating for two and four tops. On the right side of the room there are also a series of two and four tops.

Debbie started with the PATE MAISON, country style pork pate with dried figs, Dijon mustard and cornichons. I ordered RILLETTES, smoked blue fish rillettes, horseradish, dill, crème fraiche, and trout roe. Hilary tried a taste of each of the things we ordered. (I finished only a part of the Rillettes and to my surprise, as we were preparing to leave, I was given a small bag which included the unused dish as well as some bread.)

For an entrée Hilary chose the LOUP DE MER, Mediterranean sea bass, fennel barigoule, cured olives, lemon, and parsley pistou. Debbie selected TRUITE GRENOBLOISE, sautéed trout, fennel puree, fingerling potatoes, baby carrots, and lemon-caper butter. I went for the CONFIT DE CANARD, pommes sarladaise, shiitakes, spinach, banyuls vinegar.

We all enjoyed the fine French bread that was delivered to the table early in the meal.

We ordered three desserts that were more or less shared. Debbie picked PARIS BREST (croissant dough wrapped around whipped cream); Hilary selected PLAT DE FROMAGE; and I chose DOME AU CHOCOLAT (as a chocolate lover, this is close to the top of the list, a real competition to the excellent chocolate dessert served in the Terrace Restaurant in the Kennedy Center.)

Greg was our serving person and we found him to be as good at his craft as any serving person in town.

At the far end of the restaurant there is a small bar on one side, which is primarily a service bar, but there seem to be a few places to sit. You walk through this area looking for the restrooms. I found that the restrooms are on the second floor of the building, so I had to skip the usual review

There is no parking made available by this restaurant. However, almost directly across from Chez Billy is the Capella Hotel, which does have parking services. Parking is \$21, assuming space is available.

\* \* \* \* \*

Jefferson Hotel  
1200 16<sup>th</sup> Street Northwest  
Washington, DC 20006  
202-448-2300

Ordinarily, WW, writes about individual restaurants, but this is an exception. This is about the three restaurants at the Jefferson Hotel.

The Greenhouse  
Plume  
Quill

The Greenhouse serves breakfast, lunch, brunch and tea. The Plume serves dinner. The Quill is a bar and lounge.

The Greenhouse has four tables that are 2 tops, two tables that will seat up to 6 people, three tables that will hold up to 4 people. I sat at table 81.

Plume has six tables that are 2 tops, three tables that will seat up to 6, and something called the book nest that will seat 2-4 people. I sat at table 41.

Quill has one table that is a 4 top and six tables that are 2 tops. It tends to be informal.

For private events there is a Private Cellar that seats up to 18 people; a Board Room that seats up to 16 with particularly comfortable chairs and 26 with banquet chairs; and the Gallatin that seats up to 44 people using long tables or rounds of 10-12 people.

I have enjoyed several breakfasts and lunches in the Greenhouse, a dinner with friends in the Plume, and a drink with a friend in the Quill.

Most recently, I had lunch at the Greenhouse with Ana, who chose Roasted Tomato Soup and a Half a Grilled Chicken Sandwich. I selected a Classic Caesar Salad and a half Turkey Sandwich. The room is quiet and the service could not have been more attentive.

Quill is a bar and lounge. As noted earlier I have not eaten at Quill, although I plan to do so in the near future. Given the range of its menu, one can enjoy a small bite or a full dinner. It is open from noon until midnight.

Dinner at Plume included Virginia, Whitney, Debbie, Jim, and I.

Virginia started with Asparagus and Parsnip Bouquet, and for her entrée chose Beeswax Poached King Salmon. Virginia particularly commented about how well the salmon was prepared. (She was also provided with a small stand for her purse.)

Whitney started with Diver Sea Scallops, followed by Roasted Shenandoah Lamb Rack. Debbie started with Foie Gras Terrine and also had the Lamb Rack.

Jim also started with the Foie Gras Terrine, followed by a Bison Strip Loin. I chose Truffle Arborio Risotto to begin, and then the Amish Farm-Raised Rabbit.

We were treated to a series of terrific desserts, and I became so engaged I forgot to record them.

There is a formality about the Plume, but it is not unpleasant. Our dinners were served impeccably, and, while the serving persons were dressed quite formally, dinner was served at a leisurely and comfortable pace.

Happily, the tables are far enough apart so you do not have to be part of another table's conversation and they of yours.

Plume is now on my short list of two restaurants to which I would take folks for a more formal occasion.

There is valet parking at the front door of the hotel.

*Mike*

Suite 500  
2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20037  
202- 728-1100

[mberman@duberteingroup.com](mailto:mberman@duberteingroup.com)