

*Mike Berman's*

# **WASHINGTON POLITICAL WATCH**

No. 141

November 6, 2015

## **State of the Nation – page 1**

\* \* \* \* \*

## **President Obama – page 3**

\* \* \* \* \*

## **This and That – page 5**

\* \* \* \* \*

## **2016 Election**

### **U.S House of Representatives – page 6**

### **U.S. Senate – page 7**

### **President – page 8**

\* \* \* \* \*

## **State of the Nation**

64% of respondents, 80% of whom were Republican or Democratic primary voters, say that the country is on the wrong track. 25% say the country is on the right track. [NBC/WSJ 10/18/15] The CBS/NYT poll showed almost the identical result, with 64% saying the country is on the wrong track and 26% saying the country is on the right track. [CBS/NYT 10/25/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

The official BLS seasonally adjusted unemployment rate for September 2015 is 5.1 %, the same as the previous month. The rate is down from 5.9% one year ago. 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 10.0 %, down from 11.7% one year ago.

2.1% have been unemployed for 15 weeks or longer, down from 2.8% a year earlier. [Based on those 16 years of age and older.]

In the first week of October, Gallup found an unadjusted unemployment rate of 6.3%. It also found an under-employment rate (unemployed +those working part-time but wanting full time) of 14.1%. [Based on those 18 years of age and older.]

\* \* \* \* \*

71% of voters do not believe that their voices are heard effectively in political and public policy discourse. 71% of Republicans have a similar view. Independents are even more negative with 81% having this view.

Democrats are a bit more positive, with only 63% having a negative view. [Winston Group 10/9/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

54% of Americans believe that “the economic and political systems in the country are stacked against people like me.” 41% disagree.

47% believe that it is important to have a President “who stands up for his or her convictions.” 49% think it is more important for a President to “seek common ground.” [NBC/WSJ 10/29/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

Over the last 10 years, the number of American adults who use social networking sites has grown from 7% to 65%. It’s no surprise that 90% of those 18-29 years of age use these sites, but so do 35% of those 65 years of age and older. This is up from 2% in 2005. [PEW 10/8/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

There are substantial differences on immigration issues between Republicans and Democrats.

	<u>Reps</u>	<u>Dems</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Public</u>
Favor building a fence along Mexican boarder	73%	29%	43%	46%
Change U.S. Constitution so that parents must be legal residents for their newborn children to be citizens	53%	23%	37%	37%
Undocumented immigrants should not be allowed to stay legally [PEW 10/8/15]	32%	17%	24%	24%

\* \* \* \* \*

### President

The public's grade on President Obama's job approval (as found by Gallup 10/26) is 47% approval/49% 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>
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%	

	<u>App</u>	<u>Dis</u>
Clinton	56	39 (10/10/99)
Eisenhower	67	19 (10/21/59)
Reagan	51	41 (10/26/87)

<u>Obama</u>	47	49 (10/26/15)
G W Bush	32	64 (10/14/07)

\* \* \* \* \*

Americans disapprove of how Obama is handling the economy by 48% to 47%. A year ago, 52% disapproved of how he was handling the economy.

They also disapprove of the way he is handling foreign policy by 54% to 34%. A year ago, foreign policy disapproval was at 50% and approval at 38%. [CBS 10/8/15, 10/27/14]

When it comes to how Americans “feel” about Obama, 44% say they have positive feelings and 43% have negative feelings. A year ago, 43% had positive feelings and 45% had negative feelings. [NBC/WSJ 11/1/14]

\* \* \* \* \*

To what extent are the Democratic and Republican Parties’ positions on the issues below considered to be in the main stream?

	<u>In the mainstream</u>	
	<u>Dem</u>	<u>GOP</u>
Guns	42%	51%
Fiscal issues/taxes & spending	42%	47%
Abortion	54%	33%
Climate change	54%	30%
Immigration	46%	43%
Gay marriage	63%	29%

\* \* \* \* \*

55% of us believe that gun laws should be more strict, while 9% say they should be less strict. 34% believe the gun laws should be kept as they are now. [NBC/WSJ 10/15]

29% of the general public and 45% of Republicans believe that stricter gun control laws will eventually lead to the Federal government trying to take away guns from Americans who own guns legally. [CBS/NYT 10/25/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

58% of respondents agree that illegal immigrants living in the U.S. should be allowed to stay and apply for citizenship. 26% take the position staked out by Donald Trump that they should be required to leave the country. Among Republicans, 42% would allow them to stay and apply for citizenship, while 38% would require them to leave. [CBS/NYT 10/25/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

1% of Americans are enthusiastic about the way things are going in Congress. 52% are dissatisfied.

17% blame the Republicans in Congress, a lot, for the gridlock in Washington. 63% blame Obama and the Democrats in Congress for the gridlock.

4% rate the economy as very good and 30% think it is getting worse.

65% believe that money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed.

In April 2010, 16% said they could see justification for citizens to take violent action against the government. As of last month, 23% of Americans had that point of view. [CBS/NYT 10/25/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

### **This and That**

2.5 billion people have digital cameras. More photos are now taken every two minutes than in all of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. [The Second Machine Age – p. 126]

\* \* \* \* \*

Since the establishment of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1789, 160 people have been nominated to serve on the Court. Of that number, 124 were confirmed, but 7 of those nominees declined to serve, so only 117 actually were seated. Of the remaining nominees, no action was taken on 9; 3 were postponed; 12 were rejected; and 12 were withdrawn. [United States Senate]

\* \* \* \* \*

Gallop has announced that it will not be doing horse-race polling during the current primary season. It remains to be seen whether it will return to horse-race polling in the general election. Gallup will continue to ask respondents how they feel about individual candidates. This decision is fall-out from its 2012 experience, when Gallop's results were particularly off the mark compared to most of its competitors.

PEW has yet to do any horse-race polling in this election, but has not made any particular announcement about its plans.

There is generally some "concern about the accuracy of polling at a time when fewer people are reachable or willing to talk to pollsters."

\* \* \* \* \*

## **Congress**

Currently, 78% of Americans disapprove of the job being done by Congress while 13% approve. This represents a tiny change since a year ago, when 80% disapproved and 13% approved. [Fox 10/12/15]

Americans disapprove of the job being done by Democrats in Congress by 59% to 35%, and the job being done by Republicans in Congress by 71% to 24%. [WP/ABC 10/18/15]

45% of respondents prefer a Congress controlled by Republicans, while an equal number prefer a Congress controlled by Democrats. [NBC/WSJ 10/29/15]

## **The House**

With the 2016 election just over a year away, the potential for Democrats to take over the House remains something less than modest. There has been little change since the September Watch. (As usual, The Cook Political Report is the source of the data below.)

The Republicans need only win 10 of the 25 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	208
Leaning	14	25
	<u>Toss Ups</u>	
	4	14

### **The Senate**

The decision by Democratic Governor Maggie Hassan to take on incumbent Republican Senator Kelly Ayotte results in an increase of one in the number of incumbent Senators whose seats are at risk.

However the prospect for the Democrats to regain their majority is still quite slim. At least at this time, the Republicans need only take two of the Toss-Up races to retain their majority, while the Democrats will have to take all five of the Toss-Up races in order to end up with the majority.

Of course the above assumes there will be no surprises among the States that are currently treated as Safe or Leaning.

## 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	16
Leaning in 2014	2	3
Total	46	49

### Toss-ups

1 Democrat  
Nevada

4 Republicans  
Ayotte  
Johnson (WI)  
Florida  
Toomey (PA)

\* \* \* \* \*

### **Looking Ahead to 2016 – Contest for President**

**Note:** If you think you know where the GOP nominating process will end up, you are smarter than I am, so please drop me a line. Short of some major untoward event it seems most likely that Hillary Clinton will capture the Democratic banner.

Quoting one of my favorite pundits, Amy Walter of The Cook Political Report, “summer is for dating and winter is for mating.”

\* \* \* \* \*

The country is evenly divided as to whether it would be better for the country to have a Republican (40%) or a Democrat (41%) as the next President. [NBC/WSJ 10/15]

In March 2015, Republican/Republican-leaning voters “valued experience and a proven record over new ideas” in Presidential candidates by 57% to 36%. By the end of September there had been an enormous shift among the same Republicans. Now, by 65% to 36%, they prefer that Presidential candidates have “new ideas” rather than “experience and a proven record.”

Democrats, on the other hand, had little change during this same period, and any change it did have swung the other way. In March, 49% of Democrats preferred “new ideas and a different approach,” while 46% preferred “experience and a proven record.” By September only 42% chose the latter.

In September 2007, 69% of Republicans/Republican-leaning voters had thought “a lot/some” about the Presidential candidates. In September 2015, 81% of the same voters had thought “a lot/some” about the Presidential candidates.



Among Democrats in September 2007, 72% had thought “a lot/some” about the candidates. There was little change in 2015, when 71% had thought “a lot/some” about the candidates. [PEW Research 10/2/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

A total of 82% would be enthusiastic (28%) or comfortable (54%) with a woman as a candidate for President. On the other hand, only 34% would be enthusiastic (11%) or comfortable (23%) with a person who is “not a politician and has no previous elected experience in government.” 65% would be very uncomfortable (29%) or have some reservations (35%) with the non-politician. [NBC/WSJ 10/15]

\* \* \* \* \*

In late October, Peter Hart and Corrie Hunt did a Focus Group in Indianapolis, Indiana, on behalf of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania.

There were 12 GOP primary voters (11 of them hardcore, staunch Republicans.) “Participants represented supporters of the major candidates.”

The following are excerpts from a summary memorandum of the focus group, prepared by Peter and Corrie.

“Voters are paying attention and are much more into the process than in previous political years. And while they are still at the “sound bite’ level of knowledge, their awareness and perceptions of the major candidates are quite formed.”

\* \* \*

“At the heart of this discussion is the word ‘temperament.’ These Republican primary voters are angry and unhappy with the direction of the country, the leadership and performance of the Congress, and especially with President Obama. Yet, behind this, they still are searching for the right person to be the Republican nominee.”

\* \* \*

“Behind all of this is a sense that these people have done a better job of figuring out what they are against rather than what they are for. Part of the challenge that emerges for Republicans is that there appears to be nothing positive around which they can unite. Much of this discussion was spent railing against what is wrong rather than searching for a uniting vision of what they want in their nominee. A uniting leader may yet emerge, but for now the consensus is around a quiet man vs a loudmouth.”

\* \* \*

On the specific issue of gay marriage, Hart and Hunt wrote the following:

“In light of the myriad other pressing issues facing the country, when asked which issues they believe Republicans should stay quiet about and just move on from, Republican primary voters decisively choose gay marriage. Eight in 12 focus group participants say they want Republicans to “just shut up” about same-sex marriage. In a state that has seen its share of controversy around gay marriage, these Republican primary voters say we have so many other bigger problems to fix such as healthcare, terrorism, and the economy. There is a sense that, for the most part it does not affect their lives directly and there is no point in arguing about it anymore.”

\* \* \* \* \*

In a recent email for general distribution, Alex Castellanos presented the Republican side of the chart below. WW added the data about Democrats.

Castellanos makes the point that no Republican “nominee in modern history has failed to win either Iowa or New Hampshire.”

WW then looked to see whether the same “rule” might apply to Democratic nominees. It does not. It did not apply to the Democratic nominees in 1968, 1972 and 1992.

#### Republican nominees

1968 - Nixon wins NH  
1972 - Nixon wins IA & NH  
1976 - Ford wins IA  
1980 - Reagan wins NH

#### Democratic nominees

Humphrey did not enter primaries/caucuses  
McGovern did not win IA or NH  
Carter wins NH  
Carter wins IA and NH

1984 - Reagan wins IA and NH	Mondale wins IA
1988 - Bush wins NH	Dukakis wins NH
1992 - Bush wins IA and NH	Clinton did not win IA and NH
1996 – Dole wins IA	Clinton wins IA and NH
2000 - Bush wins IA	Gore wins IA and NH
2004 - Bush wins IA and NH	Kerry wins IA and NH
2008 - McCain wins NH	Obama wins IA
2012 - Romney wins NH	Obama wins IA and NH

\* \* \* \* \*

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 polls between September and the end of October
3. Looking back at 2008 and 2012 primary polls at this time
4. Money raised and spent by the candidates through September 30, 2015
5. Primary/caucus dates as of now
6. The Primary Debates
7. The conventions
8. The general election

### **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 15 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**

<b>Democrats</b>	<b>Republicans</b>
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 Bobby Jindal, 43 John Kasich, 62 Jim Gilmore 65

### **Fallen by the Wayside**

<b>Democrats</b>	<b>Republicans</b>
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

### **Announced – Not Going to Play**

<b>Democrats</b>	<b>Republicans</b>
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, September- End of October 2015

The following is a selection of national polls for the months of September and October. Donald Trump led every national poll and for several months preceding until the CBS/NYT poll of October 21-25, followed by the NBC/WSJ survey of October 25-29.

During this period Hillary Clinton has had leads ranging from 7 points to 20 points over the other Democratic candidates.

### Republicans

	NBC/WSJ 10/25-29	CBS/NY Times 10/21-10/25	Fox News 10/10-10/12	CBS News 10/4-10/8	CBS/ NY Times 9/9-9/13
Trump	23	22	24	27	27
Carson	29	26	23	21	23
Rubio	11	8	9	8	6
Bush	8	7	8	6	6
Cruz	10	4	10	9	5
Fiorina	3	7	5	6	4
Huckabee	3	4	5	2	6
Paul	2	4	3	4	3
Kasich	3	4	1	2	3
Christie	3	1	1	3	1
Graham	--	2	0	0	0
Santorum	--	1	0	1	1
Jindal	--	0	1	0	0
Pataki	--	0	1	0	0
Spread	Carson +6	Carson +4	Trump +1	Trump +6	Trump +4

### Democrats

	NBC/WSJ 10/25-29	NBC/WSJ 10/15-10/18	Fox News 10/10-10/12	CBS News 10/4-10/8	CBS/ NY Times 9/9-9/13
Clinton	62	49	45	46	47
Sanders	31	29	25	27	27
Biden	--	15	19	16	15
Webb	--	2	0	2	1
O'Malley	3	1	1	0	0
Chafee	--	0	0	0	1
Spread	Clinton +31	Clinton +20	Clinton +20	Clinton +19	Clinton +20

Source: RealClearPolitics

\* \* \* \* \*

### 3. Looking back at the 2008 and 2012 primaries

Once again, WW has looked at the last two Republican primary contests in 2008 and 2012.

By this time in 2012 Rick Perry had lost his lead and Romney had moved into 1<sup>st</sup> place.

In 2008, Rudy Giuliani was still solidly in first place, with John McCain in 2<sup>nd</sup> place, and Fred Thompson running 3<sup>rd</sup>. Eventually, McCain won the nomination.

By this time in the Democratic contest in 2008, Hillary Clinton was well ahead with 49%. Obama was running second, with 26% of the vote. Obama became the nominee.

#### 2012 Presidential Election

##### Republican Primary Selected Polling Data, **10/16-31, 2011**

	ABC News/ Wash Post 10/31-11/3	FOX News 10/23-10/25	CBS News/NY Times 10/19-10/24	CNN/Opinion Research 10/14- 10/16
Romney	25	20	21	26
Santorum	1	3	1	2
Gingrich	12	12	10	8
Paul	9	9	8	9
Perry	14	10	6	13
Huntsman	1	0	1	1
Bachmann	4	3	2	6
Cain	23	24	25	25
Spread	Romney +2	Cain +4	Cain +4	Romney +1

**2008 Presidential Election**  
**Democratic Primary Selected Polling Data, 10/12-11/1, 2007**

	ABC/Wash Post 10/29-11/1, 2007	FOX News 10/23-10/24, 2007	LA Times/ Bloomberg 10/19- 10/22, 2007	CBS News 10/12-10/16, 2007	CNN 10/12- 10/14, 2007
Clinton	49	42	48	51	51
Obama	26	25	17	23	21
Edwards	12	13	13	13	15
Richardson	2	2	2	0	4
Kucinich	2	1	1	0	1
Biden	3	2	2	0	1
Dodd	1	1	-	0	1
Gravel	-	-	-	0	1
Gore	-	-	-	2	-
Spread	Clinton +23	Clinton +17	Clinton +31	Clinton +28	Clinton +30

**(2008 Presidential Election) Republican Primary Selected Polling Data 10/12-11/1, 2007**

	ABC/Wash Post 10/29-11/1, 2007	FOX News 10/23-10/24, 2007	LA Times/ Bloomberg 10/19-10/22, 2007	CBS News 10/12-10/16, 2007	CNN 10/12- 10/14, 2007
McCain	19	12	13	18	17
Huckabee	9	5	7	4	5
Paul	3	1	2	-	2
Giuliani	33	31	32	29	27
F.Thompson	16	17	15	21	19
Romney	11	7	11	12	13
Brownback	-	-	-	-	1
D. Hunter	2	3	2	-	3
Tancredo	1	2	2	-	1
Spread	Giuliani +14	Giuliani +14	Giuliani +19	Giuliani +8	Giuliani +8

\* \* \* \* \*

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

The following focuses on fundraising and spending by candidate committees, organized and registered under the Federal Election Commission. (Super PAC fundraising and spending is not included in this analysis since Super PACs only report every six months. Data for the Super PACs through June 20 is in a separate chart below.)

Hillary Clinton raised the most during the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 2015 – \$29.9 million – and the most money since the beginning of the campaign – \$76 million. She also spent the most in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter – \$25.8 million and the most during the campaign – \$43 million. She had \$33 million on hand as of 9/30.

Her only real competitor, Bernie Sanders, has raised \$40 million and spent \$11.2 million since the campaign began, and had \$27 million on hand as of 9/30.

The assumption is that Clinton has invested considerable funds organizing in States that are not immediately on the horizon, with a goal of not making one of the same mistakes her campaign made in the 2008 campaign.

In the Republican primary, Ben Carson raised the most money through September 30<sup>th</sup>, taking in \$31.2 million. Next on the list of money raised was Ted Cruz at \$26.2million. Jeb Bush was next in line at \$24.8 million. The only other Republican who crossed the \$20 million mark was Marco Rubio, at \$21.1 million.

As the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter starts, Cruz has \$13.8 million on hand, Carson has \$11.2 million on hand, Rubio has \$11 million available, and Bush has \$10.3 million. The biggest spender by far was Carson, who apparently spent considerable funds on fundraising.

As for Super PAC fundraising, the clear leader through June 30<sup>th</sup> was the PAC supporting Jeb Bush, which took in \$108.5 million. The next most successful Super PAC is the one supporting Ted Cruz, which took in \$38.4 million, followed by the Super PAC supporting Rubio, which took in \$17.3 million.

**3<sup>rd</sup> Quarter Reports:** On October 15, candidates filed reports with the Federal Election Commission on their finances through Sept. 30, 2015.

	Total Contributions 3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter (7/1-9/30)	Net Contributions thru 9/30	Total Disbursements 3 <sup>RD</sup> quarter (7/1-9/30)	TOTAL Expenditures thru 9/30	End balance 9/30/15
<b>DEMOCRATS</b>					
Clinton	\$29.9 million	\$76 million	\$25.8 million	\$43 million	\$33 million
Sanders	\$26.2 million	\$40 million	\$11.2 million	\$14 million	\$27 million
O'Malley	\$1.2 million	\$3.2 million	\$1.8 million	\$2.4 million	\$805,986
<b>REPUBLICANS</b>					
Bush	\$13.3	\$24.8	\$11.5	\$14.5	\$10.3



	million	million	million	million	million
Cruz	\$12.2 million	\$26.2 million	\$7 million	\$12.7 million	\$13.8 million
Rubio	\$5.7 million	\$21.1 million	\$4.6 million	\$13.3 million	\$11 million
Carson	\$20.1 million	\$31.2 million	\$14.2 million	\$20 million	\$11.2 million
Paul	\$2.4 million	\$7.7 million	\$4.5 million	\$7.2 million	\$2.1 million
Graham	\$852,649	\$3 million	\$1.6 million	\$3 million	\$1.6 million
Huckabee	\$1.2 million	\$3.2 million	\$1.4 million	\$2.5 million	\$885,471
Trump	\$3.9 million	\$3.9 million	\$4.2 million	\$5.4 million	\$254,772
Fiorina	\$6.8 million	\$8.4 million	\$2.2 million	\$2.9 million	\$5.5 million
Santorum	\$387,985	\$993,276	\$393,477	\$767,376	\$226,525
Jindal	\$579,438	\$1.2 million	\$832,214	\$897,152	\$4260,939
Pataki	\$133,513	\$389,308	\$347,563	\$395,738	\$13,570
Christie	\$4.2 million	\$4.2 million	\$2.8 million	\$2.8 million	\$1.4 million
Kasich	\$4.4 million	\$4.4 million	\$1.7 million	\$1.7 million	\$2.6 million
Gilmore	\$62,807	\$62,807	\$71,422	\$71,422	\$34,384

### Candidates who have dropped out

	Total Contributions 3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter (7/1-9/30)	Net Contributions thru 9/30	Total Disbursements 3 <sup>RD</sup> quarter (7/1-9/30)	TOTAL Expenditures thru 9/30	End balance 9/30/15
<b>Democrats</b>					
Chafee	\$15,457	\$44,506	\$59,917	\$123,571	\$284,526
Webb	\$696,972	\$696,972	\$380,206	\$370,206	\$316,765
<b>Republicans</b>					
Perry	\$252,199	\$1.3 million	\$1.1 million	\$1.6 million	\$44,553
Walker	\$7.4 million	\$7.4 million	\$6.4 million	\$6.4 million	\$985,213

SOURCE: FEC Reports

**Money Donated to Candidate's PACs thru 6/30/2015**

(These PACs are only required to report twice a year. The next disclosure period began on July 1<sup>st</sup> and ends on December 31<sup>st</sup>.)

	PAC Money thru 6/30 (In millions)
<b>DEMOCRATS</b>	
Clinton	\$20.3
Sanders	0.0
O'Malley	\$0.3
<b>REPUBLICANS</b>	
Bush	\$108.5
Cruz	\$38.4
Rubio	\$17.3
Carson	\$0.2
Paul	\$6.9
Huckabee	\$4.5
Trump	-
Fiorina	\$3.5
Christie	\$14.4
Kasich	-
Graham	\$2.9
Jindal	\$3.7
Santorum	\$0.3
Pataki	\$0.9
Gilmore	-

\* \* \* \* \*

**5. Primary/Caucus dates**

The first caucus in Iowa is 86 days from the date of this issue of the WW. The WW date of issue is 95 days to the first primary in New Hampshire.

The following is a tentative list (subject to change) of the caucuses and primaries.

February

- Feb 1: Iowa caucuses
- Feb 9: New Hampshire primary
- Feb 20: Nevada caucus (Dem), South Carolina primary (GOP)
- Feb. 23: Nevada caucus (GOP)
- Feb 27: South Carolina primary (Dem)

## March

- € March 1 (Super Tuesday): Alabama, Alaska (GOP), Arkansas, Colorado caucuses, Georgia, Massachusetts, Minnesota caucuses, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia,
- € March 5: Kansas caucus, Kentucky (GOP caucus), Louisiana, Nebraska (Dem caucus)
- € March 8: Hawaii (GOP caucus), Mississippi, Michigan
- € March 13: Puerto Rico (GOP)
- € March 15: Florida, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio
- € March 22: Arizona, Utah
- € March 26: Alaska caucus (Dem), Hawaii caucus (Dem)

## April

- April 5: Wisconsin
- April 19: New York
- April 26: Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island

## May

- May 3: Indiana
- May 10: Nebraska (GOP primary), West Virginia
- May 17: Kentucky (Dem primary), Oregon

## June

- June 5: Puerto Rico (Dem)
- June 7: California, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, South Dakota
- June 14: Washington, DC

\*States with no firm dates: North Dakota, Idaho, Maine, Washington, Wyoming

\* \* \* \* \*

## **6. Presidential Primary Debates**

The discussion of how the Presidential primary debates are organized is usually pretty mundane. Every now and then there is a complaint about whether one participant was given a time advantage over another, and a periodic complaint about one of the moderators.

This is not the case this cycle however. There has been a major complaint by the Republican candidates, based principally on the debate run by CNBC on October 28<sup>th</sup>.

Representatives from most of the Republican candidates/campaigns met recently, without any staff from the Republican National committee, to discuss the debates going forward. It is clear that the candidates want more say in the structure and operation of the debates.

Items discussed include the length of the debates, opening and closing statements, equality of time given to each candidate, and a variety of other matters, including controlling of the temperature in the debate room. 67 degrees is apparently the preferred temperature.

It is likely that the candidates will end up with greater responsibility for negotiations with individual debate sponsors about the format.

There is in circulation among the campaigns a letter that will be sent to debate sponsors, noting the desires of the candidates. As if to prove once more that Trump marches to his own drummer, his campaign is intending to negotiate with the networks on its own, regardless of what the other campaigns do.

Subsequent to this meeting, at least Kasich and Christie have announced that they have no interest in signing such a letter regardless of the content.

The impact of each debate on the election is shown in charts below, reflecting the results of polling before and after each debate, as well as the number of viewers for each debate.

#### Republicans:

The Republican National Committee is currently planning to sanction at least nine Presidential primary debates. They started in August in Ohio and continue through March 2016, with the potential to add three more.

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

1. Fox News, August 6, 2015, Ohio – Done
2. CNN, September 16, 2015, California- Done
3. CNBC, October 28, 2015, Colorado - Done
4. Fox Business, November 10, 2015, Wisconsin
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. NCB/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 Republican Debates

	Pre-Debate Fox News 7/30-8/2	1 <sup>st</sup> GOP Debate- FOX NEWS: 8/6/15	Post-Debate Fox News 8/11-8/13	Pre-Debate CBS/NY Times 9/9-9/13	2 <sup>nd</sup> GOP Debate- CNN: 9/16/15	Post-Debate CNN/ORC 9/17-9/19	Pre-Debate CBS/NY Times 10/21-10/25	3 <sup>rd</sup> GOP Debate- CNBC: 10/28/15	Post-Debate Quinnipiac 10/29-11/2
Trump	26		25	27		24	22		24
Carson	7		12	23		14	26		23
Rubio	5		4	6		11	8		14
Bush	15		9	6		9	7		4
Cruz	6		10	5		6	4		13
Fiorina	2		5	4		15	7		3
Huckabee	6		6	6		6	4		1
Paul	5		3	3		4	4		2
Kasich	3		4	3		2	4		3
Christie	3		3	1		3	1		3
Graham	0		0	0		0	2		0
Santorum	2		1	1		1	1		1
Jindal	1		1	0		0	0		0
Pataki	0		1	0		0	0		0
Spread	Trump +11		Trump +13	Trump +4		Trump +9	Carson +4		Trump +1

### Democrats:

There will be six Presidential primary debates. They will be held in Iowa, Nevada, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Florida and Wisconsin. The first debate was held by CNN October 13<sup>th</sup>.

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

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

### **Polling before and after the first Democratic Debate**

	<b>Pre-Debate</b> Fox News 10/10-10/12	<b>1<sup>st</sup> DEM Debate- CNN:</b> 10/13/15	<b>Post-Debate</b> CNN/ORC 10/14-10/17	<b>Pre-Debate</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> DEM Debate- CBS:</b> 11/15/15	<b>Post-Debate</b>
Clinton	45		45			
Sanders	25		29			
Biden	19		18			
O'Malley	1		1			
Webb	0		0			
Chafee	0		0			
Spread	Clinton +20		Clinton +16			

The size of the audience for each debate follows.

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

## 7. The Conventions

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

## 8. General Election

Early polls are generally meaningless, so the following should be taken with a whole bag of “grains of salt.”

Quinnipiac - 10/29 – 11/2 , 2015

Clinton 46	Trump 43	Sanders 46	Trump 43
Clinton 40	Carson 50	Sanders 39	Carson
Clinton 41	Rubio 46	Sanders 41	Rubio 47
Clinton 43	Cruz 46	Sanders 44	Cruz 44
Clinton 41	Christie 46	Sanders 42	Christie 45

NBC/WSJ 10/25 – 29, 2015

Clinton 50	Trump 42	Sanders 50	Trump 41
Clinton 47	Carson 47	Sanders 46	Rubio 41
Clinton 47	Rubio 44		
Clinton 47	Bush 43		

*Mike*

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

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