



# Winning

How Donald Trump Vanquished  
16 Other Candidates and Won the  
2016 Republican Nomination

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**DEMOCRACY IN ACTION**

**WASHINGTON, DC**

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To Mom and Dad.



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# Preface and Acknowledgements

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This book is based on my work covering the 2016 presidential campaign for the Democracy in Action P2016 website. On the website and its predecessors I have sought to provide readers with context and perspective to help them make informed decisions.

2016 was my seventh presidential campaign, and the large Republican field made it a challenging one. Looking back to my first campaign, in 1992, much about presidential campaigns has changed, and much remains the same.

The first-in-the-nation contests in Iowa and New Hampshire still require the candidates, even billionaire candidates, to engage in grassroots politicking, making frequent visits, building organizations, seeking to connect with voters in living rooms, diners, high school cafeterias and American Legion halls, and fielding all manner of questions. Candidates as well must make the rounds at various forums and cattle show events around the country, speaking to specific constituency and interest groups. Behind the candidates are dedicated staffs working long hours and loyal volunteers making calls, knocking on doors and waving signs on street corners or at events.

Interest groups still mount efforts big and small to see that their points of view

are represented during the campaign, whether by holding multi-candidate forums or individual events with the candidates, organizing activists to appear at candidate events and pose questions, putting out scorecards or analyses, or running print, radio, TV and/or online ads. On the Republican side these interests include conservatives, faith-based and pro-life groups, Tea Party activists, limited government advocates, and gun rights activists.

News organizations still devote significant resources to covering the campaigns, but the media universe has seen huge changes since 1992. In the 1992 campaign the big three television networks, ABC, CBS and NBC, along with CNN, PBS and C-SPAN, provided a common frame of reference for news audiences. Many people read actual paper newspapers to get their news. The web had not come into being, and online subscription services such as CompuServe and Prodigy had only limited reach.<sup>1</sup>

Now with the Internet anyone can become a publisher, and the number of media outlets has increased exponentially. There is so much more information and misinformation available to voters; using a phone or other device one can quickly do a search and find out all sorts of details about a

candidate or issue. The downside of this is that people may limit themselves to news sources that tend to confirm their views, with liberals turning to MSNBC, The Huffington Post or Daily Kos and conservatives relying on FOX News, the Drudge Report or Breitbart.

Social media has also had a huge impact. A candidate such as Donald Trump might not have fared so well in the pre-Twitter and Facebook era.

In the 1990s campaigns used to hand out video cassettes that people could take home, put in their VCRs and watch; now campaigns hope for a golden moment that will turn into a viral video.

Back then a voter might seek a handshake and a word with a candidate; now he or she must have a selfie.

Campaigns have changed, but are they better? Are voters better informed?

Looking at the race for the 2016 Republican nomination, one sees areas where campaigns could be improved.

The very long and drawn out nominating process may deter some well qualified potential candidates from getting involved. Candidates must put themselves up for months and months of scrutiny, of soliciting money, and of giving the same speech over and over.

The notion of super PACs running parallel independent expenditure campaigns makes no sense; surely it would be more efficient if contributions went directly to and were controlled by the campaigns, while ensuring clear and immediate disclosure.

As Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1787, “Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to, convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty.” With information and misinformation inundating citizens, there is more than ever a need for civic education and media literacy.

The media can do a better job. In particular, the high-profile televised presidential debates are a weak point. They favor sound bites, talking points and gotcha moments rather than thoughtful discussion. Formats that put the candidates on an equal footing and encourage candidates and voters to delve more into issues than personalities should be encouraged. Explaining issues and candidates’ positions on issues in a way that is interesting to readers is hard. It is much, much easier to report on the latest controversy.

Donald Trump’s unconventional candidacy posed huge challenges

to news organizations. The insults, controversies and misleading statements never stopped. Indeed Trump was beset by controversy from the very day he announced. Even before he entered the race the idea of a Trump candidacy was treated as a joke. Pundits and observers predicted the end of Trump’s campaign countless times. But the political system was so mired in gridlock that Republican primary voters were willing to take a flyer on the man.<sup>2</sup> Despite his inexperience and questions about his character and temperament, maybe a businessman could get things done where mainstream politicians had failed.

During the campaign there were thoughts that if elected Trump might become more presidential. Six months into his administration, reviews are not encouraging, evidenced by a continual stream of controversies, reports of dysfunction, and Trump’s apparent preoccupation with the Russia investigation.

As a reporter it is fascinating and exhausting to cover a presidential campaign. One learns much talking to voters from all sorts of backgrounds in different parts of the country. The early campaign, before most people are paying attention, is a great time to observe democracy in action. As the

first contests get closer, the pace picks up, media swarms descend, and the whole thing becomes a bit of a zoo. It is a challenge to keep up with inbox, to figure out which events to cover and whether it will be possible to get from one event to the next. The activity is relentless and the hours are long.

Many people helped make this work possible. First and foremost thank you to Mom and Dad. Thank you to my professors at The George Washington University for equipping me to understand and analyze campaigns. Thank you to the incorrigible Mike Dec. Thank you to Arnie Alpert and Judy Elliott, as well as Bob Sanders and Sheila Zakre and Eric Zulaski and Elizabeth Ropp in New Hampshire; to Elaine Hites and Julia and Tom Rendon in Iowa; and to Matt Moore in South Carolina. Thank you to those campaign staffers were helpful and understanding.

It is my hope that this book will recall some of the dynamics and key moments of the campaign and help readers understand how Donald Trump emerged as the Republican nominee.

Eric M. Appleman  
Washington, DC  
July 2017

# Republicans Look for a Winner

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**Seventeen hopefuls competed for 2016 Republican presidential nomination, each arguing he or she was best suited to take on likely Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton and bring conservative leadership to the country.**

## THE FIELD OF PLAY

Each presidential campaign occurs in, and is shaped by, a unique historical context. Events, social and economic conditions, cultural tendencies, technology, and rules and laws governing the election process all combine to create a political landscape which may advantage or disadvantage one or another of the candidates. The historical context in which a campaign is waged impacts its substance, pushing various domestic and foreign issues into greater or lesser prominence. Further, since our presidential election campaigns are so long, the terrain can change somewhat even during the course of one election cycle.

### Polarization and Dissatisfaction

In recent years the United States has appeared to be an increasingly polarized nation, divided into “red” and “blue.” Partisan bickering and gridlock seem very much the order of the day; dysfunctional government, where ideologues dominate the discourse and moderates are an endangered species, has meant that critical issues ranging

from the deficit to infrastructure needs to immigration reform remain unresolved. Dysfunction was on full display during the government shutdown that took place from Oct. 1–17, 2013.

There are many plausible explanations for the polarization. An argument can be made that sharp divisions go right back to the early days of the Republic and that gridlock is built into the system. Another line of reasoning points to the fragmented media universe which now enables citizens to get their news and information primarily or exclusively from ideological sources, contributing to rigid and narrow viewpoints.<sup>3</sup> Many argue that big money is distorting our democratic system. The professionalization of politics, from the proliferation of lobbyists to the ubiquitous role of consultants to the attack ads and mailers to the widespread use of polls, may be jamming the works. Sophisticated redistricting practices have led to fewer competitive districts in Congress and state legislatures, reducing the number of moderate voices. Numerous ideas have been put forth to reform Congress and bring the institution

into the 21st century, ranging from biennial budgeting to more interparty communication. Another diagnosis comes from Philip K. Howard, author of *The Rule of Nobody*, who argues, “Rules have replaced leadership in America. Bureaucracy, regulation, and outmoded law tie our hands and confine policy choices.” Howard calls for sunseting and simplification of laws to restore responsibility.<sup>4</sup> Roots of divisiveness can also be traced to the battle over Florida following the 2000 presidential campaign, the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal and even Watergate. Ultimately, much as our nation’s monuments need to be refurbished from time to time, so too thought must be given to updating and modernizing our democratic institutions.

Evidence of dissatisfaction is clear. In recent decades voters increasingly are choosing to register as independents or non-affiliated rather than align with the two major political parties (see political parties). Turnout in primaries is shockingly low. Survey after survey shows the low regard citizens hold for Congress. The Tea Party movement which began in 2009 and the Occupy

Wall Street movement of 2011–12 also show discontent with the system.

### **Campaigns 2016 Style**

There is clearly room for improvement in American election campaigns, including presidential campaigns. Our campaigns, while long and expensive, often fall short in producing substantive discussion of issues. Campaigns seem more geared to scoring points and lining the pockets of consultants than addressing problems facing the country or community. The major parties' processes for choosing their presidential nominees place a premium on the ability to raise money in the year before the election as much as on ideas or experience. Individuals who might make excellent presidents may choose to self-select out rather than enduring the grind of a presidential campaign. One wonders whether an Abraham Lincoln or a Theodore Roosevelt-type candidate would even be electable in the modern era.

### **Technology**

The technologies a campaign can use to reach voters are constantly developing as are the means by which voters receive information. In the past, the whistlestop tour may have been the best way to communicate with voters. More recently the 30-second television spot was the preferred currency. Now the

Internet and social media have assumed an increasingly important role, and more and more people keep in touch with events using their smartphones or other devices.

### **Context and 2016**

The race for the White House in 2016 did not include an incumbent president seeking re-election; this had implications for both parties. On the Democratic side, the question was how to build upon and advance President Obama's legacy. On the Republican side, the question was how to repair the damage inflicted under Obama's presidency.

Excluding Harry Truman and LBJ, who both ascended to the White House following the deaths of the incumbent presidents, the last time a Democrat was elected on his own to succeed another Democrat occurred in 1856 when James Buchanan succeeded Franklin Pierce. For Republicans, Vice President George H.W. Bush was elected to succeed Ronald Reagan in 1988 and Herbert Hoover followed Calvin Coolidge in 1928. In 2016 the pendulum swing would favor the Republican nominee.

Still the Republican Party faced significant challenges. After the 2012 campaign, the RNC launched its Growth and Opportunity Project, which sought to identify and address some

of the deficiencies that contributed to the party's White House and Senate setbacks.<sup>5</sup> Republicans were ascendant at the state and national level following the 2014 mid-term elections, but many observers believed that changing demographics would hurt the party's prospects in the 2016 race for the White House.

The Republican Party of 2016 was very different from that of a couple of decades earlier. *New Yorker* editor David Remnick quotes President Obama observing in the waning days of the 2016 campaign, "Donald Trump is not an outlier; he is a culmination, a logical conclusion of the rhetoric and tactics of the Republican Party for the past ten, fifteen, twenty years."<sup>6</sup> Charles Sykes builds on this theme in his book *How the Right Lost Its Mind*, arguing that "conservatives had long ago replaced rational policy discussions with the politics of lowest-common-denominator angry populism."<sup>7</sup>

### **The Issue Set**

The American economy was much improved compared to when President Obama assumed office, in part due to very low gas prices. According to the U.S. Department of Energy the average annual gasoline pump price in 2015 was \$2.45 per gallon, its lowest point

in constant dollars since 2004.<sup>8</sup> The unemployment rate at the end of 2015 stood at 5.0%, having fallen steadily since 2010.<sup>9</sup> Real GDP increased at 2.4% in both 2014 and 2015,<sup>10</sup> but growth was still seen as lacking.

The economy faced myriad challenges, from a tax system sorely in need of overhaul, to middle class income stagnation, to the \$18.9 trillion national debt,<sup>11</sup> to the future of entitlement programs, to the best approach to addressing poverty.

There were also a whole range of intractable and divisive issues such as the Affordable Care Act/Obamacare, immigration reform, global warming/climate change, and general dissatisfaction with the system.

In the ever more interconnected world, foreign affairs could not be ignored. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, in 2015 there were over 60 million forcibly displaced persons around the world, a record number and the highest level since WWII.<sup>12</sup> From ISIS to Russian military intervention in Ukraine to Chinese expansionism in the South China Sea to North Korea any number of hot spots could flare up. Terror attacks filled the news periodically, whether in Paris, France (Nov. 13, 2015) or San Bernardino, California (Dec. 2, 2015).

Republicans attributed some of the turmoil to a lack of American leadership.

Looking at the issues emphasized by candidates in the 2016 Democratic and Republican presidential primaries one might well imagine that the campaigns occurred in two different countries. Republicans discussed shrinking government, cutting taxes, repealing Obamacare, securing the border, protecting the 2nd Amendment, restoring America's military and standing in the world, reining in the debt, and the dangers posed by likely Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton. Democrats focused on fixing Obamacare, expanding access to education, raising the minimum wage, countering climate change, addressing gun violence, reforming criminal justice (the Black Lives Matter movement), protecting immigrants, and the dangers posed by extreme Republicans.

## **LOOKING FOR A LEADER**

Regardless of party, any candidate brings to the race a particular set of values, experiences, strengths and weaknesses, and leadership style. In addition to assessing a candidate's issue positions, a voter must consider whether the candidate would be able to implement his or her ideas if he or she were elected president. Does

the individual have the skills and temperament to "make it happen?"

One sees many different leadership styles among candidates. Some are charismatic, big-picture visionaries able to deliver a rousing speech, some are skilled managers able to assemble a top notch team of people, and some revel in the details of policy. There are those who tend to surround themselves with aides, advisors and consultants who hold fairly similar views, while others seek out diversity of opinions. Ultimately the objective is not to elect a the best candidate, the one who always looks good on TV, has a soundbite ready to deliver, and is a perfect ideological fit, but the candidate with the temperament, skills and ability to lead the country through what trials and tribulations it may encounter to a better place.

A great deal of research has been done into leadership and there are many different models and theories on what makes for an effective leader and what prompts an individual to gravitate toward one candidate or another.

Some candidates thrive on retail politicking and in small gatherings, other excel in large rallies. Historically, a candidate's physical appearance has had some effect; for example it is recognized that taller candidates may

have an advantage. In the television era, it is important that the candidate have no “edges” that will jar viewers or come across as “too hot.”

A candidate’s record offers a starting point for insights into his or her leadership style and ability. Has he or she demonstrated an ability to get things done or meet difficult challenges in his or her particular realm? A candidate’s character ties in with the leadership question. Questions such as “Do I trust this guy?” and “Is he stable?” weigh into a voter’s decision-making. Traits such as courage, temperament, persistence, and wisdom are attributes linked to leadership. A president must be able set a direction and goals, but also have the ability to move the country in that direction and attain those goals; that may require working with an unfriendly Congress, negotiating with various interests, or tacking in one direction to get to a different direction.

The election campaign itself provides an opportunity to consider leadership. In a campaign there is a lot of chaff, minor controversies that crop up, charges and countercharges, stagecraft, packaging and posturing. A campaign organization is designed to present the candidate in the best possible light, but ultimately the candidate is in charge. Looking carefully at how a candidate organizes

and conducts his campaign one can gain insights into his or her leadership abilities. Is he or she willing to stick to his or her position on a difficult issue, challenge voters or think outside the box, and negotiate when necessary or does he or she cling tightly to party orthodoxy? At the same time, one can also ask if the modern campaign, with its bevy of consultants, emphasis on raising money, and premium on sound bite politics, bears much connection to the type of leadership required from a president.

## A CANDIDATE FOR THE TIMES

The large 2016 field of Republican candidates seemed to have a bit of everything: outsiders and establishment-types, young and old, Senators and governors, current and former office-holders, a women, two Hispanics, and an African-American.

From the field of 17 candidates, Donald Trump, a man who had never run for office and had no experience in public service or the military, emerged to win the 2016 Republican presidential nomination. How did he do it?

On June 15, 2015 when Trump rode down his escalator in Trump Tower to announce his run for president, his

candidacy was viewed as a joke.<sup>13</sup> Some of his opponents had decades of experience in public office, had run numerous campaigns, and were well versed in the issues. Yet in the succeeding months one by one the other Republican hopefuls fell by the wayside.

### The Crowded Field

Had there been just three or four voices competing for the attention of Republican primary voters, Trump’s path to the nomination likely would have been more difficult, but the crowded field allowed Trump to divide and conquer. He stood out from the bunch of typical pols lining the stage. It was not just his business experience but his populist message and brazen assurance that set him apart. Trump’s speech was also different. He used a very high proportion of one syllable words and made strong declarative statements.<sup>14</sup> While Trump’s policy knowledge and connection to the truth seemed tenuous, he projected certainty and confidence. Washington was broken and the politicians didn’t seem to be able to fix it, but maybe a businessman could. (Carly Fiorina and Ben Carson also benefited from outsider appeal). For voters fed up with politicians, Trump provided a ready vehicle to poke the establishment politicians in the eye.

Who else on stage could promise to build a wall and make Mexico pay for it, and keep a straight face? Certainly not former Gov. Jeb Bush (“low energy”), Sen. Marco Rubio (“Little Marco”) or Sen. Ted Cruz (“Lyn’ Ted”).

Establishment, mainstream Republicans and many conservatives were very wary of Trump’s candidacy. Writing in Aug. 2015, veteran political analyst Bill Schneider described Trump’s campaign as “a hostile takeover bid for the Republican Party.”<sup>155</sup> The bid succeeded in part because mainstream Republicans failed to unite behind a single candidate, helping to clear the way for Trump’s ascendance.

### Winning

The last two Republican presidential standard-bearers, Sen. John McCain in 2008 and former Gov. Mitt Romney in 2012, had gone down to defeat in the general election. One view was that those nominating contests had dragged on too long, and that former Gov. Mike Huckabee (2008) and former Sen. Rick Santorum (2012) stayed in the race longer than they should have. At its winter meeting in Jan. 2014 the Republican National Committee adopted “historic” rules changes designed to produce a more compressed primary schedule and ultimately a candidate

who could win in November. Among the changes, early primaries through Mar. 14, 2016 were to be proportional. From Mar. 15 on the primaries could be winner-take-all. According to some analyses this change “encouraged a large early field.”<sup>16</sup>

Certainly Trump offered something very different than the establishment figures McCain and Romney; he was an outsider and a businessman. And, as he liked to say at his rallies, “We’re going to win so much, you’re going to

“We’re going to win,  
win, win. We’re  
going to win so much  
you’re going to get  
sick and tired of it.  
You’re going to say,  
‘Mr. President, we  
can’t take it any more,  
you’re winning too  
much... ’”

get tired of winning...” Even if some Republican primary voters had qualms about Trump’s character or whether he was a true conservative, actually winning the race for the White House was an attractive prospect.

It was the prospect of winning that kept the Republican National Committee, which after all controlled its nominating process, from intervening. The possibility of an independent Trump candidacy, which would surely torpedo any hopes Republicans had of winning the White House in 2016, stymied Republican Party leaders. At the first debate in Cleveland on Aug. 6, 2015, Trump was alone among the ten candidates on stage who would not pledge his support “to the eventual nominee of the Republican party and pledge to not run an independent campaign against that person.” On Sept. 3 Trump reversed the position he had taken at the Cleveland debate and signed an RNC loyalty pledge, but he was so unpredictable no one knew if it would stick. For example on Mar. 29, 2016 at a CNN town hall in Milwaukee, Trump said he would no longer hold to his pledge to support the Republican nominee. “I have been treated very unfairly, I think, by basically the RNC, the Republican Party, the establishment,” he stated.

Participation in presidential primaries in both parties is historically quite limited. Analysis by the Pew Research Center of turnout in the 38 Republican presidential primaries in 2016 found that turnout, at 14.8%, “was the highest primary turnout since at least 1980.”<sup>177</sup> The number seems low but compares favorably to 9.8% in 2012 and 11.0% in 2008. (Further, Pew reports turnout was 16.6% in the 29 competitive primaries through Indiana on May 3, then dipped to 8.4% for the final nine primaries). Trump’s unique candidacy no doubt contributed to the higher turnout.

### **The Media**

Trump played the media like a virtuoso conductor leading an orchestra. His gestures, his Tweets, his outrageous pronouncements—it was almost like a parody or like reality TV. How could a news organization not cover the spectacle? On Mar. 15, 2016 the *New York Times*, citing data from mediaQuant, reported that from Feb. 2015 on Trump had gained \$1.898 billion in free media attention, more than double the amount of the nearest other candidate (Hillary Clinton).<sup>188</sup>

Trump rode a free media and social media wave, while his competitors could only look on in amazement as the backwash submerged them. At the

same time the media’s role in helping to vet the candidates was effectively short-circuited in the case of Trump as he kept them busy with one shiny object—the latest controversy—after another.

As documented by the Pew Research Center, there have been “tectonic shifts” in the news industry over the last two decades driven largely by growth of the Internet.<sup>199</sup> There are more news organizations out there, but many established outlets, particularly in the print realm, have had to significantly pare back on their reporting staffs. This is not without consequences for our democracy. A 2013 report from the Pew Center warned that “at a time of diminishing reporting resources, many newsmakers, in political, public and corporate life, are finding new ways to get their messages to the public—often with little or no journalistic vetting.”<sup>20</sup>

Enter Trump, whose use of Twitter was a central part of his campaign. Voters could go direct to the source; Trump did not need media middlemen.

Social media allows stories, even stories of questionable veracity, to be repeated and re-Tweeted, and to rapidly spread without context, countering information or correction. Modest efforts to thwart the flood are swept aside. In Jan. 2015 Facebook announced “an option for

people to report a story they see in News Feed as false.”<sup>21</sup> After the election Facebook chairman and CEO Mark Zuckerberg acknowledged that “there is more work to be done.”<sup>22</sup>

The fact that Trump was able to get through eleven televised primary debates (he skipped one of the twelve) despite having only the thinnest knowledge of many of the issues facing the country stands as an indictment of the media and the Republican Party that sanctioned those debates. Due to poor standings in the polls some candidates were relegated to the “B” or kiddie table debates or excluded altogether, while Trump, the poll leader, was positioned at or near the center of the stage for all of the debates.<sup>23</sup>

American society today is very much defined by consumer and entertainment culture. The Trump brand is in many ways the epitome of that culture. People want bigger cars and bigger houses and upscale this and luxury that, and the Trump brand represents those attributes.<sup>24</sup> And what could be more fitting than a reality TV star president in a reality TV era.

# The Evolving Field

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## **Pre-Campaign Maneuvering**

The time between the last presidential election and the mid-term elections, is a critical time for potential presidential candidates to determine if they have the requisite fire in the belly to pursue a presidential race, can raise enough funds to put forth a credible effort, and can win or at least shape the debate.

Current and former officials and others to position themselves for possible bids and there is much speculation about who will run. A few prospects actively signal their intentions to run, while the majority remain coy and noncommittal.

Potential candidates typically have or form some kind of vehicle to engage in their political activities and travels. Leadership PACs and 501(c)(4)s are most common. A leadership PAC allows a potential candidate to make contributions to various candidates and party committees, and it may run independent expenditure ads in support of candidates. 501(c)(4) organizations, which allow for nonpartisan education and advocacy on issues, do not permit engaging in campaigning as a primary purpose.

Potential candidates lay the groundwork by such activities as supporting candidate and party committees, visits to the key early states, appearances at

state party conventions and gatherings around the country, speeches to key constituency groups, and writing and touring a book. If the individual holds office he or she can advance policies and proposals that appeal to the party's base.

Some of the presidential prospects have all but made up their minds that they will run. More are likely keeping their options open and waiting to see the shape of the political landscape following the midterm elections. Some may have no intention of running, but enjoy the "potential presidential candidate" label because it draws attention to their ideas or increases their marketability.

## **The Field Takes Shape**

Following the mid-term elections, the political landscape is clearer, and presidential campaign related activity picks up. At the same time, hopefuls generally hold off on formally filing and declaring their candidacies. Once an individual becomes a candidate the spotlight is on and there are FEC requirements to contend with.

Some of the most important campaigning happens before there are any formally declared candidates or there are just a handful of candidates and the rest are likely or exploratory

candidates. "Cattle show" events, where some or many candidates speak to a party, ideological or interest group, allow activists and political reporters to see how the candidates measure up. A good performance or series of performances generates positive "buzz" that can provide a big boost. Among the key events in the first part of 2015 were the Iowa Freedom Summit in Des Moines (Jan. 24), the Conservative Political Action Conference in (Feb. 26–28), the Iowa Ag Summit in Des Moines (Mar. 7), the NH GOP's #FITN Republican Leadership Summit in Nashua (Apr. 17–18), the South Carolina Freedom Summit in Greenville (May 9), the Republican Party of Iowa's Lincoln Dinner in Des Moines (May 16) and Joni's Roast & Ride (June 6).

Eventually hopefuls start "throwing their hats into the ring" as testing the waters, exploratory or full fledged candidates. On Mar. 23, 2015, Sen. Ted Cruz became the first major candidate to formally announce his candidacy; former Gov. Jim Gilmore was the final candidate to enter the race, on June 30.

Every cycle, in addition to the candidates seen as credible by virtue of their experiences and public profiles, a whole cast of obscure and lesser known candidates also run. Given no chance of winning, they are generally

ignored by the media and excluded from the candidate forums. Sometimes a candidate will come close to the line of credibility, but not quite make it; former IRS Commissioner Mark Everson fit in that category.

Many prospects did not run. Former Gov. Jon Huntsman (UT), Sen. Rob Portman (OH), U.S. Rep. Paul Ryan (WI), former Gov. Mitt Romney (MA), Gov. Rick Snyder (MI), former Ambassador John Bolton, and Gov. Mike Pence (IN) all ruled out running. Former Gov. Bob Ehrlich (MD) and U.S. Rep. Peter King (NY) scouted around in New Hampshire but did not run. Former Gov. Sarah Palin (AK) was also mentioned.

The candidates, their campaigns and supportive super PACs set to work raising money, attracting talent, building organizations and staking out positions. Particularly important are the televised presidential debates. On the Republican side a total of twelve debates were held between Aug. 6, 2015 (Cleveland) and Mar. 10, 2016 (Miami). The five Republican debates held in 2015 included five of the six most watched presidential primary debates in history.

### The Field Thins

A total of 2,472 delegates were at stake in 56 contests over four-plus months between Feb. 1 and June 7, 2016.<sup>25</sup> In

## DELEGATES AT STAKE: THE ROAD TO CLEVELAND

	# of Delegates	% of Delegates	Cumulative Percent
<b>February</b>	133	6%	6%
<b>March</b>	1,434	58%	64%
<b>April</b>	403	16%	80%
<b>May</b>	199	8%	88%
<b>June</b>	303	12%	100%

31 states with 1,247 delegates (54.5%) the system was proportional, usually with a threshold of 15% or more. Ten contests with 400 delegates (16.2%) were winner take all. Ten contests with a total of 613 delegates (24.8%) had a hybrid system. In five contests there was no preference poll. The magic number of delegates needed to win the nomination was 1,237.

The large field had prompted considerable speculation in late 2015 and the first part of 2016 that no candidate would achieve the requisite 1,237 delegates. A contested (open, deadlocked or brokered) convention in Cleveland seemed quite possible.

Before any votes were cast, five candidates ended their campaigns: former Gov. Rick Perry (Sept. 11), Gov. Scott Walker (Sept. 21), former Gov. Bobby Jindal (Nov. 17), Sen. Lindsey

Graham (Dec. 21) and former Gov. George Pataki (Dec. 29).

Following the Feb. 1 Iowa caucuses, former Gov. Mike Huckabee, Sen. Rand Paul and former Sen. Rick Santorum bowed out. The Feb. 9 New Hampshire primary further thinned the GOP field, knocking out Gov. Chris Christie and former HP CEO Carly Fiorina (Feb. 10) and former Gov. Jim Gilmore (Feb. 12).

Former Gov. Jeb Bush ended his effort following the Feb. 20 South Carolina primary. Dr. Ben Carson withdrew on Mar. 4 after Super Tuesday. Sen. Marco Rubio pulled out on Mar. 15 after a disappointing finish in his home state of Florida. Sen. Ted Cruz quit on May 3 after the Indiana primary, and Gov. John Kasich followed the next day making Donald Trump the presumptive nominee, although efforts to deny Trump the nomination continued right to the convention.

# Active Candidacies

2015

2016

Perry	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Walker	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Jindal	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Graham	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Pataki	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Huckabee	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Paul	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Santorum	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Christie	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Fiorina	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Gilmore	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Bush	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Carson	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Rubio	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Cruz	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Kasich	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Trump	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.



# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Longest serving Governor of Texas, for 14 years from Dec. 21, 2000–Jan. 20, 2015. Became governor upon the resignation of George W. Bush; elected in 2002 and re-elected in 2006 and 2010.
- Candidate for the 2012 Republican presidential nomination.
- Elected Texas Lieutenant Governor in 1998.
- Elected Texas Commissioner of Agriculture in 1990 and re-elected in 1994.
- Elected to the Texas House in 1984 as a Democrat. Re-elected in 1986 and 1988; switched to the Republican Party in 1989.
- Served in the U.S. Air Force flying C-130s, 1972–77.
- B.S. in animal science from Texas A&M University, 1972.

## PERSONAL

- Born Mar. 4, 1950 in Haskell, TX. His parents were ranchers and he grew up in Paint Creek, TX. [Age on Inauguration Day: 66 years, 10 months]
- Married to Anita Thigpen on Nov. 6, 1982. Two children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on June 4, 2015 at Addison Airport in Addison, TX.
- Suspended campaign on Sept. 11, 2015.
- Campaign Committee—Perry for President, Inc.:  
*Total Receipts: \$ 1,427,251. Total Disbursements: \$1,824,314.*
- Principal Super PAC—Opportunity and Freedom PAC:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$4,120,014. Independent Expenditures: \$1,859,326.*

Rick Perry

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## The former Texas governor touts his record in the Lone Star state and sports a new look but cannot escape the impression left by his 2012 “oops” moment and is the first candidate to bow out.

### A DEFINING MOMENT

For quite a few Americans their most lingering impression of Texas Gov. Rick Perry came from his campaign for the 2012 Republican presidential nomination. His “oops” moment during a Nov. 2011 primary debate crippled his candidacy, and, many believed, his future national prospects. Perry entered that campaign under less than optimal circumstances, having come off major back surgery in July 2011.

### 2013: SIGNS OF INTEREST

In 2013 Perry began to show signs that he might run again. On July 8 he announced he would not seek re-election in 2014. In prepared remarks Perry stated, “Texas works. The jobs prove it. The revenue picture proves it. The number of people moving here proves it. And that hasn’t happened by accident. Texas works because we have less government, less spending, fair regulations, and lower taxes.”

Starting in August, Perry sported a new look: wearing glasses. In September he formed Americans for Economic Freedom, a 501(c)(4). In mid-October, as Washington was enmeshed in the government shutdown, Americans for Economic Freedom ran a campaign-type ad touting the accomplishments of

conservative governors. In November Perry made a two-day trip to Iowa and in December he made a two-day trip to South Carolina.

### 2014: LEAD IN

After a relatively quiet first half of the year, things got busy for Perry. The crisis of thousands of unaccompanied children from Central America arriving at the Southern border put a spotlight on Perry. On July 9 he met with President Obama, and two weeks later on July 21 he ordered deployment of up to 1,000 National Guard troops to the border. Perry’s makeover began to attract serious attention, exemplified by covers of the *Weekly Standard* (July 28—“Rick Perry, Version 2.0”) and *National Journal* (Aug. 2—“The New Rick Perry”).<sup>26</sup>

In mid-August Perry garnered a large dose of attention when a Travis County grand jury indicted him on two counts, abuse of official capacity and coercion of a public official. The charges stemmed from Perry’s June 2013 line item veto of \$7.5 million for the Travis County District Attorney’s public integrity unit following the D.A.’s arrest for drunken driving. Perry treated the indictment as a political attack, stating, “We don’t settle political differences with indictments in this country.” Observers

from across the political spectrum generally supported Perry’s position. Perry’s newly formed political action committee, RickPAC, even put out a T-shirt with Perry’s mug shot and the caption, “Wanted for securing the border and defeating Democrats.”

Perry was thrust into the news again when the first case of Ebola in the U.S. was confirmed in Thomas Eric Duncan at a Dallas hospital on Sept. 30, and a nurse who treated Duncan subsequently came down with the virus as well.

Perry burnished his international credentials, leading economic development trips to Asia in September and to Europe in October.

Perry also put time into visiting early primary states, making a total of 13 visits totaling 24 days in 2013–14 to the three early states of Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina, more than any other 2016 presidential prospect; Iowa in particular was a major focus.

At the end of November and through December Perry ramped up preparations for a possible White House run, while stating that he would not make a final decision until May. He held tutorial sessions and briefings with policy experts from various conservative think tanks, polished his media skills and

conducted interviews with national press, and met with potential donors and bundlers.

## 2015: CAMPAIGN

On Jan. 15 Perry delivered his farewell address to a joint session of the legislature, lauding “a Texas of unlimited opportunity” and emphasizing economic growth and job creation. The speech also included a pitch for bipartisanship. “I believe we are at our best when we get beyond our differences and attempt to seek common ground,” Perry stated. On Jan. 20 Perry finished 14 years service as governor of the Lone Star state. A pro-Perry super PAC, Opportunity and Freedom PAC, Inc. formed in early March.

Perry announced his candidacy on June 4 in an airplane hanger in Addison, TX with military heroes and a C-130 behind him. He touted his approach to governing Texas as a model for the nation. “We were the engine of growth because we had a simple formula: control taxes and spending, implement smart regulations, invest in an educated workforce, and stop frivolous lawsuits,” he declared.

In the next several months Perry continued to focus much of his campaigning on the early states of Iowa

“We are just a few good decisions away from unleashing economic growth and reviving the American Dream.”

and South Carolina. He emphasized his record of creating jobs in Texas and the role of smaller government, limited regulations and lower taxes.

Perry also gave several speeches that attracted notice. Perhaps the most significant was on the theme of “Economic Opportunity for All Americans” at the National Press Club on July 2. He stated in his prepared remarks, “If we do these five things—if we create jobs, incentivize work, keep non-violent drug offenders out of prison, reform our schools, and reduce the cost of living—we will have done more for African-Americans than the last three Democratic Administrations combined.” In a July 22 speech, Perry took on Donald Trump, calling the mogul’s candidacy a “cancer on conservatism.”

However, a little more than two months after he formally entered the race, Perry’s campaign had run into serious trouble. First he missed the cut for the

Aug. 6 primetime debate in Cleveland, and days later his campaign, not faring well in fundraising, stopped paying staff. His Iowa campaign chair left for Trump.

It appeared that Perry might try to carry on by focusing on South Carolina. Further, the pro-Perry super PAC still had millions of dollars that could be used to spread his message while he tried to regroup. However, on Sept. 11, Perry announced he was suspending his campaign. “I share this news with no regrets,” Perry told a meeting of Eagle Forum in St. Louis, MO. “It has been a privilege and an honor to travel this country, to speak with the American people about their hopes and dreams, to see a sense of optimism prevalent despite a season of cynical politics.”

At the time of his departure from the race, Perry had spent more time in South Carolina than any candidate with the possible exception of Rick Santorum, and he had put more time into Iowa than all but Santorum and Mike Huckabee. Perry was a much better, more prepared candidate than in his 2011 run, but the impression that race had left in people’s minds weighed against him.

## 2016–17: POSTSCRIPT

Perry endorsed fellow Texan Sen. Ted Cruz on Jan. 25, 2016 and campaigned with Cruz. On May 5 he endorsed Trump despite his earlier harsh words for the New Yorker. On Dec. 14 President-elect Trump announced his intention to nominate Perry as U.S. Secretary of Energy. Perry testified before the U.S. Senate Energy & Natural Resources Committee on Jan. 19, 2017, and the full U.S. Senate confirmed him to the position by a vote of 62–37 on Mar. 2.



# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Elected Governor of Wisconsin in 2010. Won a June 5, 2012 recall election, the first governor to survive a recall in U.S. history. Re-elected in 2014.
- Elected Milwaukee County Executive in a Apr. 2002 special election. Re-elected in 2004 and 2008.
- Elected to the Wisconsin Assembly in a June 1993 special election. Re-elected in 1994, 1996, 1998 and 2000.
- Unsuccessful run for Wisconsin Assembly in 1990.
- Studied at Marquette University, 1986–90, but did not obtain degree.

## PERSONAL

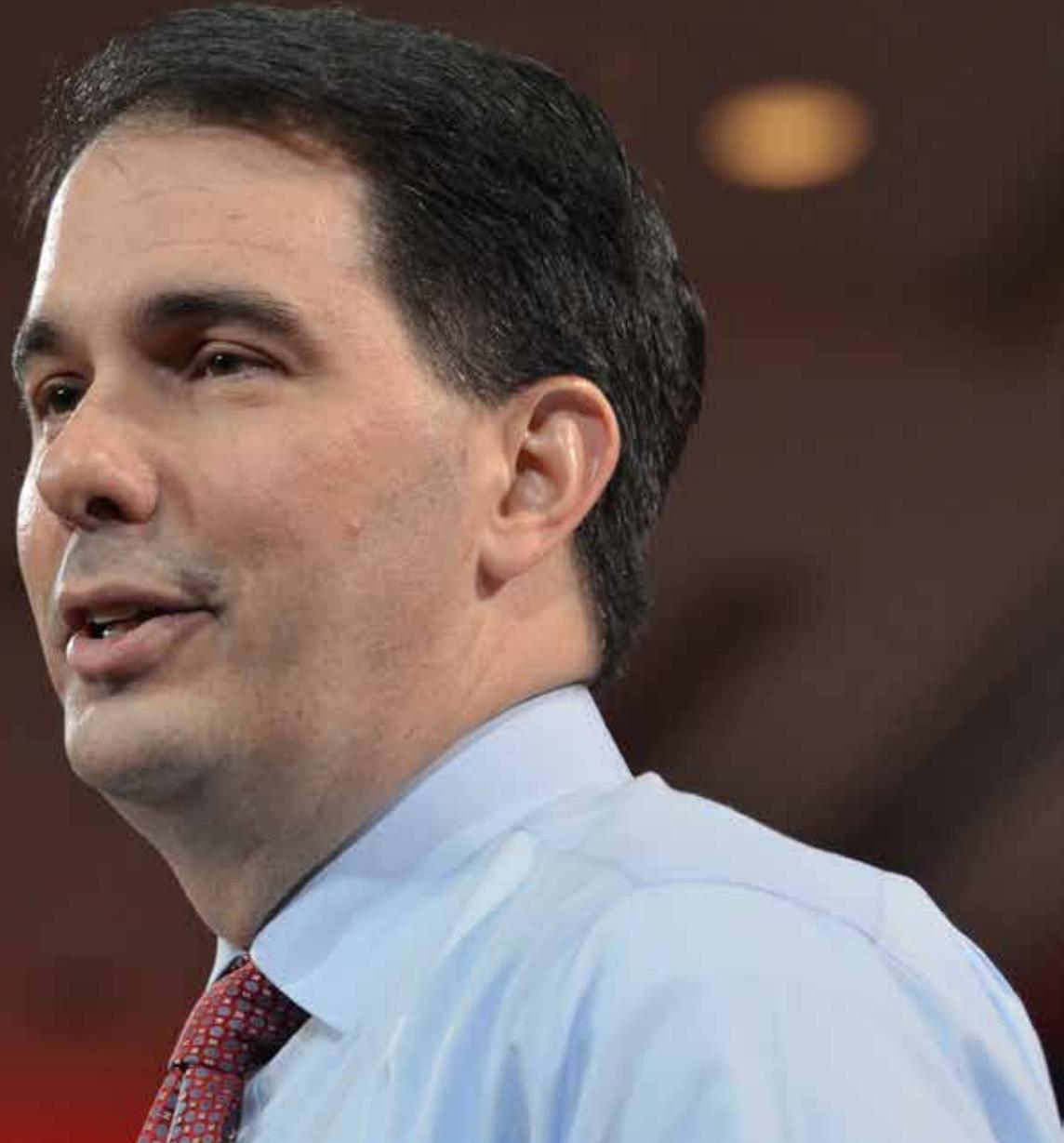
- Born Nov. 2, 1967 in Colorado Springs, CO; his father was a Baptist minister and mother a bookkeeper. [Age on Inauguration Day: 49 years, 2.6 months]
- Married to Tonette Marie Tarantino in Feb. 1993. 2 children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Formed testing the waters committee on June 18, 2015. Announced candidacy on July 13, 2015 at Waukesha County Expo Center in Waukesha, WI.
- Suspended campaign on Sept. 21, 2015.
- Campaign Committee—Scott Walker Inc.:  
*Total Receipts: \$ 8,678,545. Total Disbursements: \$8,599,593.*
- Principal Super PAC—Unintimidated PAC, Inc.:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$24,127,172. Independent Expenditures: \$2,249,021.*

# Scott Walker

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## **The governor of Wisconsin, a conservative hero for standing up to organized labor, looks good at first glance but proves not quite ready for the big stage and leaves the race early.**

### **SURVIVING THE STORM**

Elected in Nov. 2010, Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker started his tenure with a bang, advancing proposals to limit collective bargaining rights for public employees. The result was dramatic protests in the State Capitol in Madison in the first part of 2011. Despite the protests, Walker signed Act 10 on Mar. 11, 2011. Walker's opponents then mobilized enough support to bring about a recall election. Walker won the June 5, 2012 election by a margin of 53.1% to 46.3%. It was the costliest election in Wisconsin history; the Wisconsin Democracy Campaign put total spending in the campaign to recall Walker at \$81 million.<sup>27</sup> Walker emerged from the battle as a hero to conservatives.

### **2013: CONSERVATIVE HERO**

Speaking at CPAC in March 2013, Walker summed up his accomplishments: "We came in and took that deficit, \$3.6 billion and today it's nearly a half a billion dollar surplus. We took a state where taxes had gone up and we not only lowered the overall tax burden for the first time in years, property taxes on a median valued home have actually gone in each of the last two years. And when it comes to jobs,

under my predecessor's term, Wisconsin had lost 133,000 jobs, and back in 2010 a survey of employers in the state showed that just 10%, just 10% of our employers thought we were headed in the right direction. Well today we're gaining jobs and 93% of our employers say Wisconsin is headed in the right direction."

The Wisconsin Democratic Party had a very different view; they maintained Walker had violated his 2010 promise to not raise taxes, and had "raised taxes on working class families to the tune of \$69.3 million—all while giving a massive \$83 million tax cut to his corporate pals."

As 2013 drew to a close the Walker administration conducted a major review of the state's tax code, considering, among other ideas, the possibility of eliminating the state's income tax.

In November, Walker came out with a book, *Unintimidated: A Governor's Story and A Nation's Challenge* (Sentinel HC), co-written with Marc Thiessen.<sup>28</sup> Also during 2013 Walker made one brief visit each to South Carolina and Iowa. First however, Walker looked ahead to his 2014 re-election campaign; he was likely to face former Secretary of Commerce Mary Burke (D).

### **2014: FOCUSING ON RE-ELECTION**

Walker focused on his re-election campaign, eschewing visits to key early states and high-profile national events. As one of his campaign ads stated, "Wisconsin has turned around. The deficit is gone. Taxes are lower. And more people have gone back to work."

Democrats and their allies sought to make much of investigations into Milwaukee County Executive staff doing campaign work during Walker's 2010 campaign, and into coordination with outside groups during the 2012 recall campaign. Walker nonetheless defeated the Democratic challenger Mary Burke by 52.3% to 46.6%.

### **2015: AN EARLY FRONT-RUNNER FLOPS**

Following his re-election Walker moved slowly, steadily toward a presidential campaign. In late 2014 he brought on strategist Rick Wiley, and on Jan. 27, 2015 he launched Our American Revival (OAR), a 527 organization formed to "communicate a vision and work to enact policies that will lead to a more free and prosperous America by restoring power to the state and—more importantly—the people." OAR was the first official group linked to a

potential candidate to open an office in Iowa (the independent Draft Ben Carson and MoveOn's Warren effort had offices earlier), and Walker was first out of the gate with a few legislative and local endorsements.

Walker's performance at one of the first "cattle shows," the Iowa Freedom Summit on Jan. 24, won many favorable reviews and made him a candidate to watch. In his speech he recounted the protests and death threats he had endured, and outlined his accomplishments in Wisconsin; he also talked of using Kohl's cash, a story which would become all too familiar but added a folksy touch. In retrospect it should be remembered that unlike quite a few of the other Republican hopefuls, Walker had done almost no stumping in Iowa and thus was a fresh face.

Perhaps because of his quick rise to a position as one of the frontrunners, Walker received some savage media coverage early on, and not all of it was from the "liberal media." During his trade mission to the United Kingdom from Feb. 9–13, he punted a question about his views on evolution, prompting unfavorable coverage. On Feb. 20 the *Washington Post's* Dana Milbank penned an opinion piece "Scott Walker's cowardice should disqualify him" after Walker stood by while Rudy Giuliani

made remarks questioning whether President Obama loves America.<sup>29</sup> At the Iowa Ag Summit his remarks on the renewable fuel standard were ambiguous, prompting *The Iowa Republican's* Craig Robinson to pen a piece headlined "Walker: The biggest flip flopper you'll ever find?"<sup>30</sup> In a Mar. 19 opinion piece in *The Week*, Michael Brendan Dougherty termed Walker "the gutless wonder of the 2016 presidential race."<sup>31</sup>

In April close aides formed the Unintimidated PAC, a super PAC. On June 18 Walker moved a step closer to formally running, announcing formation of a testing the waters committee. On July 13 in Waukesha he formally announced his candidacy, declaring himself a fighter and a winner. He was the 15th Republican to enter the race and was seen as one of the GOP frontrunners.

Meanwhile the responsibilities of governing continued. In his state of the state address in Jan. 2015, Walker declared, "The Wisconsin comeback is working." Walker pointed to reductions in property taxes and in income and employer taxes. He touted a strong fiscal outlook and hit a couple of hot-button issues, saying he wanted to "eliminate any requirement to use Common Core" and was working "to

“...we need new, fresh leadership; leadership with big, bold ideas from outside of Washington; the kind of leadership that can actually get things done —like we have here in Wisconsin.”

prepare a lawsuit challenging the newly proposed federal energy regulations.” The Democratic Party of Wisconsin responded by pointing to “the state’s staggering” \$2.2 billion deficit” and suggesting that “Wisconsin is in Scott Walker’s rear-view mirror as he begins his campaign for president.” On Feb. 3, Walker presented his 2015–17 biennial budget; a proposed \$300 million cut to the University of Wisconsin system drew particular criticism. Five months later, on July 12, Walker signed the budget declaring, “With this budget, taxpayers come first.” “Wisconsin’s fiscal house is in great shape,” Walker stated. Democrats meanwhile lambasted the budget as “one of the worst budgets for Wisconsin families in our state’s history.”

On July 20 Walker signed legislation banning abortions after 20 weeks unless the mother's life was in danger. Walker also worked on his foreign policy credentials. In April he led a week-long trade mission to Europe, in May he went on a listening tour to Israel, and in June he led a business development mission to Canada.

On Aug. 17 Walker made his first foray into the policy realm as a candidate, announcing "The Day One Patient Freedom Plan: My Plan to Repeal & Replace Obamacare." On Aug. 28 at The Citadel, Walker delivered his first major foreign policy speech, centering on the threats of radical Islamic terrorism.

As summer drew to a close, however, Walker's campaign was seen to be seriously lagging. Observers pointed to a number of gaffes, most notably his difficulty expressing a clear view on birthright citizenship. Walker was further described as bland and compared to Tim Pawlenty, another Midwestern governor who had run unsuccessfully in 2012. Walker had what was seen as an unremarkable performance in the first debate on Aug. 6 in Cleveland. Like the other candidates Walker had difficulty adjusting to Donald Trump's dominance. Another analysis suggested that Walker should have spent more time in Iowa to build on his performance at the Freedom

Summit. Prognosticators painted a fairly dire picture. The *Atlantic's* Molly Ball described Walker's presidential campaign as "in free fall" (Sept. 8)<sup>32</sup> and the *Washington Post's* Jenna Johnson described Walker as "trying desperately to jump-start his campaign" (Sept. 12).<sup>33</sup>

Walker's message became a bit more pugnacious. He announced his "Day One Plan," which he said would "wreak havoc on Washington." On Sept. 14 in Las Vegas, Walker announced a "Power to the People" labor plan which proposed to eliminate the National Labor Relations Board, eliminate federal employee unions, and make every state a right to work state.

There was talk that Walker might refocus his campaign mostly on Iowa, but the money had dried up after the first debate, and his polling numbers had plummeted precipitously. Thus on Sept. 21, little more than two months after he had formally announced, Walker suspended his campaign in a press conference at a Madison hotel. In a thinly veiled jab at Trump, Walker decried a campaign that had "drifted into personal attacks" and stated, "I believe that I am being called to lead by helping to clear the race so that a positive conservative message can rise to the top of the field."

Even with his executive experience and electoral success in Wisconsin, Walker was not quite ready for the big stage. To use an analogy, at first glance he seemed to have a nice head of hair, but then his bald spot became noticeable and he did not appear quite so attractive. One commentator pointed out that Walker was only five years removed from serving as Milwaukee County Executive. In Mar. 2015, when Walker was in his ascendant phase, a local Democratic official from Milwaukee observed of him, "That cake is not baked."

## 2016: POSTSCRIPT

Walker endorsed Sen. Ted Cruz in advance of the Wisconsin primary and even appeared in a TV spot for Cruz.

However, by the time the Republican National Convention rolled around he had endorsed Trump, and on July 20 he was on the stage in Cleveland delivering a speech in which he argued that "America deserves better" than Hillary Clinton.



# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Former two-term Governor of Louisiana. Elected on Oct. 20, 2007 at the age of 36; re-elected on Oct. 20, 2011 and served to Jan. 11, 2016.
- Elected to Congress in Louisiana's 1st CD in Nov. 2004, re-elected in Nov. 2006.
- Defeated in a run-off in 2003 campaign for Governor.
- Assistant Secretary at the U.S. Department of HHS, July 2001–Feb. 2003.
- Secretary of the Louisiana Department of Health and Hospitals (DHH), 1996; executive director of the National Bipartisan Commission on the Future of Medicare, 1998; president of the University of Louisiana, 1999.
- B.S. degrees in biology and public policy from Brown University, 1991. Rhodes scholar—M.Litt. in political science from the University of Oxford, 1994.

## PERSONAL

- Born June 10, 1971 in Baton Rouge, LA, son of immigrants from Punjab, India. [Age on Inauguration Day: 45 years, 7.5 months]
- Married to Supriya Jolly on Oct. 18, 1997. 3 children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Formed a presidential exploratory committee on May 18, 2015. Announced candidacy at the Pontchartrain Center in Kenner, LA on June 24, 2015.
- Suspended campaign on Nov. 17, 2015.
- Campaign Committee—Jindal for President:  
*Total Receipts: \$1,442,463. Total Disbursements: \$1,442,463.*
- Principal Super PAC—Believe Again:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$4,472,589. Independent Expenditures: \$2,634,873.*

Bobby Jindal

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## **The Louisiana governor brings an impressive resume and deep policy experience to the race. He concentrates on Iowa, hoping for a breakout, but is relegated to the “B” team and exits in November.**

### **WHIZ KID**

Former Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal brought to the Republican field a most impressive resume: Rhodes scholar, the youngest president in the history of the University of Louisiana System at age 28, executive director of the National Bipartisan Commission on the Future of Medicare, Assistant Secretary at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, congressman, and elected Governor of Louisiana at age 36. He led the state as Hurricane Gustav hit at the end of August and early September 2008 and through the BP oil spill in 2010. One early appearance on the national stage did not go so well; his response to President Obama’s address to a joint session of Congress in Feb. 2009 was widely panned. Jindal was mentioned as a possible running mate to McCain in 2008 and Romney in 2012. Even given all this experience, Jindal was still the youngest of the major candidates seeking the GOP nomination.

### **2013: BOLD TAX REFORM PLAN STALLS**

Jindal was starting his sixth year as governor when in January he announced a plan to eliminate the corporate income tax, the personal income tax and the franchise tax, while expanding

and raising the sales tax to keep the proposal revenue neutral. The second week of March was a busy time for Jindal. On Mar. 10 he delivered a well received speech at the Gridiron Club and Foundation Dinner in Washington, DC. In Baton Rouge on Mar. 14 he presented details of his tax proposal at a joint meeting of the House Ways & Means Committee and the Senate Revenue & Fiscal Affairs Committee. On Mar. 15 he addressed CPAC, calling on conservatives to “reorientate our way of thinking.” Back in Louisiana, Jindal’s tax reform proposal proved controversial and generated significant opposition and on Apr. 8 he announced his decision to “park” the package.

Through 2013 Jindal served a term as chairman of the Republican Governors Association, being succeeded by Gov. Chris Christie on Nov. 21. In October he announced formation of America Next, a 501(c)(4) based on the premise that “conservatives must be willing to demonstrate that we have the courage of our convictions by going on the offense in the war of ideas.”

### **2014: LOOKING BEYOND LOUISIANA**

Jindal’s 501(c)(4) America Next issued several policy proposals in 2014. In

April he presented “the conservative alternative to Obamacare,” in September “a jobs plan for America’s future” based on affordable American energy, and in October a defense policy vision.

Jindal created a stir with his announcement in June that he would pull Louisiana out of the Common Core standards. He stated, “We won’t let the federal government take over Louisiana’s education standards. We’re very alarmed about choice and local control over curriculum being taken away from parents and educators.”

During the year Jindal made four visits totalling five days each to the key early states of Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina. He formed a leadership PAC in March, but it raised and spent only a modest amount, around a quarter of a million dollars. *The Advocate* (Baton Rouge) reported in Mar. 2015 that Jindal had “spent about 165 days—or 45 percent—of 2014 in places other than Louisiana.”<sup>34</sup>

### **2015: LEAD UP TO LAUNCH**

Jindal was in the news from time to time throughout the first part of the year. From Jan. 11–20 he led an economic development mission to Europe. In London on Jan. 19 he delivered a speech on radical Islam to the Henry

Jackson Society; his remarks on “no-go” zones generated some controversy. On Jan. 24, the same day the Iowa Freedom Summit drew many other Republican prospects to Des Moines, Jindal hosted a large prayer rally in the Pete Maravich Assembly Center at LSU in Baton Rouge. “The Response: A Call to Prayer for a Nation in Crisis,” paid for by the American Family Association, was similar to a rally hosted by Gov. Rick Perry in Houston in Aug. 2011. Jindal made protecting religious liberty a major theme; on May 19 he signed an executive order “to protect religious liberty and prevent the state from discriminating against those with deeply held religious beliefs.” Also on the policy front, on Feb. 9 Jindal’s America Next issued another proposal, this one on education reform. On Mar. 18 Jindal announced “a plan to remove Common Core from Louisiana and replace it with high-quality Louisiana standards.”

Governing Louisiana provided its share of headaches. In late January news came that the state faced mid-year budget cuts of \$103.5 million and a projected budget shortfall for the next year of \$1.6 billion. Part of this was due to falling oil prices. Jindal took a position opposing any tax increase; on Feb. 27 he released his budget plan for FY 2016, proposing a decrease in funding of \$1.2 billion or 4.7 percent

compared to the FY 2015 budget. Two of the biggest elements of the plan were “reduction in expenses on certain refundable tax credits” saving \$526 million and “department-by-department strategic reductions to the existing operating budget” saving approximately \$415 million. The debate over the budget proved very messy, but on June 11 the legislature concluded its session. Jindal claimed success in achieving a balanced budget without a tax increase, but critics said the result merely papered over a structural deficit and amounted to fiscal mismanagement.

While waiting for the legislative session to end, Jindal moved towards a presidential campaign, including travel to the early states and appearances in various “cattle show” events. On Jan. 22 supporters formed a super PAC, Believe Again, chaired by former U.S. Rep. Bob Livingston. In March Jindal formed American Future Project, a section 527 organization.

## **2015: RELEGATED TO THE “B” TEAM**

On May 18 Jindal formed an exploratory committee, and on June 24 at the Pontchartrain Center in Kenner, LA he announced his candidacy. As in many of his speeches, Jindal recounted the experience of his immigrant parents.

Jindal outlined four objectives: securing the borders, replacing Obamacare, growing the economy by shrinking government, and rebuilding America’s defenses. He also continued to emphasize the theme of religious liberty, declaring, “Christianity is under assault today in America.”

“Believe in what we can do. Believe in what America can do.”

Jindal’s campaign made little headway. In one effort to get attention he launched a full throated attack on Donald Trump in a Sept. 10 speech at the National Press Club, describing Trump as “a non-serious carnival act” and “a narcissist and an egomaniac.” On the policy front, on Oct. 7 he introduced a tax reform plan that “flattens the tax code and requires every American to have some skin in the game by paying something.” Jindal also had a new book, *American Will* (Threshold Editions), that came out on Oct. 20.<sup>35</sup> He participated in the first four televised debates but was relegated to the “B” stage in all of them.

All told Jindal’s campaign raised a bit more than \$1.4 million, a modest

amount. At the same time Jindal did have one of the more active super PACs supporting him; Believe Again organized many of his town halls.

Most of those town halls were in Iowa, where Jindal focused much of his campaigning. From his first visit in Aug. 2013 to the end of his campaign in Nov. 2015, he made 27 visits totaling 74 days, ten more days than any other candidate at that time (Rick Santorum's tally then was 64 days). Jindal was on track to achieve the "full Grassley" (visits to all of the state's 99 counties) and had another four-day visit on the calendar when on Nov. 17, 2015 he announced he was suspending his campaign. "This is not my time," he stated.

Back in Louisiana, the campaign to succeed Jindal, who was term-limited, had been progressing and was in its final stages. House Minority Leader John Bel Edwards (D) and U.S. Sen. David Vitter (R) emerged as the top two finishers in the Oct. 24 jungle primary, and Edwards went on to win the Nov. 21 runoff, becoming the first Democrat elected statewide since 2008.

## **2016: POSTSCRIPT**

Jindal served to Jan. 11, 2016, leaving a budget shortfall estimated at \$750

million. On Feb. 15 he endorsed Sen. Marco Rubio. On May 3 he said he would support Trump, telling CNN, "If he is the nominee, I'm going to be supporting my party's nominee. I'm not happy about it ... but I would vote for him over Hillary Clinton."



# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Elected to the U.S. Senate in 2002 and re-elected in 2008 and 2014.
- Elected to Congress in 1994, and re-elected in 1996, 1998 and 2000.
- Member of the South Carolina House of Representatives, 1992–94.
- City attorney for Central, SC, 1990–94. Assistant county attorney in Oconee County, SC, 1988–92.
- Commissioned as an officer and Judge Advocate in the U.S. Air Force and served on active duty 1982–88.
- B.A. in psychology from University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1977; J.D. from University of South Carolina School of Law, 1981.

## PERSONAL

- Born July 9, 1955 in Central (Pickens County), SC. His parents ran a bar/pool hall. [Age on Inauguration Day: 61 years, 6.5 months]
- Not married.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced formation of a testing the waters committee on Jan. 29, 2015. Announced candidacy on June 1, 2015 on Main Street in his home town of Central, SC.
- Suspended campaign on Dec. 21, 2015.
- Campaign Committee—Lindsey Graham 2016:  
*Total Receipts: \$5,832,710. Total Disbursements: \$5,756,054.*
- Principal Super PAC—Security Is Strength PAC:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$4,662,583. Independent Expenditures: \$3,845,387.*

# Lindsey Graham

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## **The South Carolina senator brings hawkish views on national security moderate views on several other key issues, and a much appreciated dash of humor to the race. He focuses his longshot effort on New Hampshire.**

### **MCCAIN SIDEKICK**

South Carolina Sen. Lindsey Graham got a taste of what it is like to run for president as a national co-chairman of Sen. John McCain's presidential campaign in 2007–08. McCain and Graham first met when Graham was in the House serving as a manager for the impeachment of President Clinton. Like McCain, Graham has at times been at odds with his party on issues such as immigration reform and climate change, and like McCain he has earned a reputation as a defense hawk. Also like McCain he is a familiar face on Sunday morning talk shows. The *New York Times* reported in Sept. 2014, based on data collected by American University, that Graham had the second most appearances of any individual on the five Sunday morning talk shows since Jan. 2009, a total of 85, trailing only McCain who had 97.<sup>36</sup>

### **2014: RE-ELECTION**

There was some talk that Graham might be seriously challenged in his re-election primary. He had been at odds with Tea Party activists to the point where several Republican county parties around the state even passed censure resolutions stating that some of Graham's positions were "fundamentally inconsistent with the principles of the South Carolina

Republican Party." Graham built up a campaign organization and war chest that dissuaded strong challengers from entering the race, and in the June primary he garnered 56.4% of the vote while his nearest challenger, state Sen. Lee Bright, managed just 15.4%.

On Nov. 4, South Carolina voters elected Graham to a third term in the U.S. Senate with 54.3% of the vote over Brad Hutto (D), Thomas Ravenel (I) and Victor Kocher (L).

The first mention of a possible Graham presidential run appeared on Oct. 13 in *The Weekly Standard*.<sup>37</sup> In an article on "The Return of the GOP Hawks," Stephen F. Hayes quoted Graham, "If I get through my general election, if nobody steps up in the presidential mix, if nobody's out there talking—me and McCain have been talking—I may just jump in to get to make these arguments" [on foreign policy and national security].

### **2015: CANDIDATE**

On Jan. 29, Graham announced formation of Security Through Strength, a testing the waters committee. Graham was strongly encouraged to consider a presidential run by Sen. McCain; in a Jan. 13 news conference, McCain joked, "My illegitimate son Lindsey Graham is exploring that option."

Graham announced his candidacy on Main Street in his hometown of Central, SC on June 1, becoming the ninth candidate for the Republican nomination. In a heartfelt speech,

**"I'm ready on day one to defend our nation with sound strategy, a strong military, stable alliances, and steady determination."**

Graham touched on his humble beginnings and emphasized national security. "I'm ready on day one to defend our nation with sound strategy, a strong military, stable alliances, and steady determination," Graham declared. On the domestic front, Graham highlighted Social Security and Medicare. "We have to fix entitlement programs to make sure people who need the benefits the most receive them," Graham said. "That's going to require determined presidential leadership."

Graham's hawkish views drew strong critics on the left. Blogger

AZ BlueMeanie described Graham as “a professional fear-monger” and “McCain’s proxy,”<sup>38</sup> and the liberal Media Matters for America described Graham as “Fox News’ Ideal Benghazi Candidate.”<sup>39</sup>

On June 17 Graham released an eBook, “My Story,” which he described as an “impressionistic approach...a glance back at the experiences that most influenced the course of my life for good or ill.”

Graham was a leading critic of the Obama Administration’s nuclear deal with Iran, launching a “No Nukes For Iran” tour on July 20. He was sharply critical of Donald Trump’s remarks questioning Sen. McCain’s status as a war hero, saying Trump was “becoming a jackass.” Graham received a lot of free media attention when Trump released his cell phone number at an event in Bluffton, SC on July 21. He (or a staffer) then tweeted, “Probably getting a new phone. iPhone or Android?” A July 22 video “How to Destroy Your Cell Phone With Sen. Lindsey Graham” by *IJReview* went viral, attracting more than two million views in one week.<sup>40</sup>

Graham placed a major emphasis on New Hampshire, including a number of trips with Sen. McCain. All the travel had a downside; NBC News reported

(Oct. 6) that Graham had missed 48% of votes in the Senate since his announcement on June 1).<sup>41</sup>

Graham’s folksy style drew plaudits, but he never did manage to break out of the lower tier. Of the five televised debates held while he was a candidate, he was on the undercard stage in four and was excluded from one altogether.

On Dec. 21 Graham announced he was suspending his campaign; he highlighted his focus on national security and also on issues such as the debt and the broken immigration system. At the time he suspended his campaign Graham had spent more time in New Hampshire than any other candidate, a total of 66 days; next closest was Gov. Chris Christie at 57 days.

## 2016: POSTSCRIPT

Graham endorsed former Gov. Jeb Bush on Jan. 15, 2016 in advance of the South Carolina primary. His opposition to Donald Trump was such that on Mar. 17 he told CNN he would even back Sen. Ted Cruz as “a reliable conservative that I can support.” In June, following Trump’s remarks about U.S. District Judge Gonzalo Curiel, Graham called on Republicans to drop their endorsements of Trump. Graham said he planned to write in a candidate.

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Principal at the Pataki-Cahill Group, an environmental consulting firm, since Mar. 2007 and attorney at Chadbourne & Parke LLP, also since Mar. 2007.
- Former three-term Governor of New York. Elected in 1994, defeating incumbent Gov. Mario Cuomo (D), and re-elected in 1998 and 2002; did not run in 2006.
- Elected to the State Assembly in 1984; re-elected in 1986, 1988 and 1990. Elected to the State Senate in 1992 after defeating seven-term incumbent Sen. Mary Goodhue (R) in the primary.
- Elected Mayor of Peekskill in 1981, defeating the incumbent; re-elected in 1983.
- Partner at Plunkett & Jaffe, 1974–87. Attorney at Dewey, Ballantine, Busby, Palmer & Wood, 1970–74.
- B.A. in history from Yale University, 1967; J.D. from Columbia Law School, 1970.

## PERSONAL

- Born June 24, 1945 on the family farm in Peekskill, NY.  
[Age on Inauguration Day: 71 years, 6.9 months]
- Married to Elizabeth “Libby” Rowland on July 14, 1973. 4 children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on May 28, 2015 at Exeter Town Hall in Exeter, NH.
- Suspended campaign on Dec. 29, 2015.
- Campaign Committee—Pataki for President Inc:  
*Total Receipts: \$538,783. Total Disbursements: \$524,850.*
- Principal Super PAC—We the People, Not Washington:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$1,547,674. Independent Expenditures: \$118,778.*

# George Pataki

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## **Satisfying a presidential itch, the former New York governor adds a more moderate voice to the race. He focuses on New Hampshire but fails to gain traction.**

### **THE PRESIDENTIAL ITCH**

Former New York Gov. George E. Pataki had flirted with running for president before. In 2005–06, when he was wrapping up three terms as governor of the Empire State, he was one of the most active of the potential Republican presidential candidates, making 10 visits to Iowa, and 11 visits to New Hampshire and building the rudiments of organizations in those states. However, New York Republicans came out of the Nov. 2006 mid-term elections holding no statewide elected offices, dimming Pataki's hopes, and he decided not to enter the race. In 2011 Pataki again looked ready to run but pulled back in August.

### **2014–15: BUILDING TOWARD A CAMPAIGN**

In 2014, serving as spokesman for an entity called Americans for Real Change, Pataki made two trips to New Hampshire (the first on Oct. 19–21 and the second on Nov. 23–14) and a trip to South Carolina (Dec. 1). In October, Americans for Real Change ran an ad featuring Pataki calling for “a new America, with much smaller federal government.”

On Jan. 22, 2015 Pataki announced formation of a super PAC, We the People, Not Washington PAC.

According to its website, the super PAC was formed “to support Governor Pataki’s future agenda to empower the citizens of our great nation, dismantle the perpetual growth and overreach of the federal government and begin reducing the size of the federal government to a more appropriate level.”

The website listed a number of Pataki’s accomplishments as governor including tax cuts, private sector job growth, reduction in the size of government, reduction in welfare roles, and reduction in crime. It noted, “While we are not campaigning to elect a President, it is our hope the Governor will be encouraged by the positive support he hears from you.”

Although the National Draft Ben Carson for President Committee and Run Warren Run efforts opened New Hampshire offices earlier, Pataki’s We the People, Not Washington PAC was in the Granite State early; Pataki did the honors of opening the office on April 16.

### **NEW HAMPSHIRE FOCUS**

On May 28, 2015 at Exeter Town Hall in Exeter, NH Pataki announced that this time it was for real: he was a candidate for president. He described himself as “a solutions guy” and outlined actions he would take “to get

oppressive government off the backs of Americans.” One distinctive idea Pataki advanced was a proposal to ban members of the House or Senate from ever lobbying. A video accompanying Pataki’s announcement recalled his role leading New York during the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

“...working together, with the support of a government dedicated to restoring freedom rather than restraining it, we will once again astonish the world with what we accomplish.”

When Pataki announced in May he had spent more time in New Hampshire than any major potential or declared candidate, and he continued to focus most of his efforts on the Granite State. As the campaign progressed, he emerged as a frequent critic of Donald Trump. He participated in four of the five televised debates held in 2015, but always on the “B” stage. Pataki’s

candidacy failed to gain any traction. He did not even file a delegate slate in New Hampshire, and on Dec. 29 he announced he was suspending his campaign .

Pataki brought impressive credentials to the race, but he had been out of office since the beginning of 2007 and his relatively moderate views, most notably on abortion, did not sit well with many conservatives who viewed him as a Republican in name only (RINO). His low-budget campaign had very little impact on the race.

## **2016: POSTSCRIPT**

On Jan. 26, 2016 Pataki endorsed Sen. Marco Rubio and, after Rubio dropped out, on April 14 he endorsed Gov. John Kasich. Pataki continued to be critical of Trump. Following release of the *Access Hollywood* video in October he tweeted, “@RealDonaldTrump campaign is a poisonous mix of bigotry & ignorance. Enough! He needs to step down.” On Oct. 10 he told Fox Business that Trump was “a horrific candidate, someone who is unfit to be president” and said he would write in Mike Pence for president.<sup>42</sup>

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Host of “Huckabee” on Fox News Channel, Sept. 2008–Jan. 2015.
- Candidate for the Republican nomination for president, 2007–08.
- Became Governor of Arkansas on July 15, 1996 following the resignation of Gov. Jim Guy Tucker (D). Elected to a full term in 1998 and re-elected in 2002.
- Elected Lt. Governor in a Nov. 20, 1993 special election; re-elected in 1994.
- Defeated in 1992 run for U.S. Senate. President of Cambridge Communications.
- Pastor of Immanuel Baptist Church in Pine Bluff, 1980–86; pastor of Beech Street First Baptist Church in Texarkana, 1986–92.
- Bachelor’s degree in religion from Ouachita Baptist University, 1975; attended Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary for one year, 1976–77.

## PERSONAL

- Born Aug. 24, 1955 in Hope, AR. Father a fireman and mechanic and mother an office worker. [Age on Inauguration Day: 61 years, 4.9 months]
- Married to Janet McCain on May 25, 1974. 3 children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on May 5, 2015 at Hempstead Hall in Hope, AR.
- Suspended campaign on Feb. 1, 2016.
- Campaign Committee—Huckabee for President, Inc.:  
*Total Receipts: \$4,326,804. Total Disbursements: \$4,314,705.*
- Principal Super PAC—Pursuing America’s Greatness:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$4,992,303. Independent Expenditures: \$3,517,725.*

# Mike Huckabee

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## **Eight years after his first run, the former Arkansas governor proves less nimble and finds lots of competition for the support of social conservatives. He withdraws after a poor showing in Iowa.**

### **LIGHTENING STRIKES**

Former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee's campaign for the 2008 Republican nomination fared surprisingly well. With communication skills honed as a pastor, in radio work, as an author, and as a Republican governor in a Democratic state, he was able to connect with voters. Despite limited resources, he built off a second place finish in the Republican Party of Iowa's Straw Poll in Aug. 2007, then scored a convincing win in the first-in-the-nation Iowa Republican caucuses and did well in Super Tuesday contests before leaving the race on Mar. 4, 2008. Half a year later, on Sept. 27, 2008 Huckabee started as host of "Huckabee" on FOX News Channel. He considered a 2012 White House run but ruled it out in May 2011.

### **2013: RADIO AND TV HOST**

Huckabee continued to host "Huckabee," which aired on Saturday and Sunday evenings. He also had a nationally syndicated radio show, "The Mike Huckabee Show," which started in Apr. 2012 and was broadcast on over 200 stations in 44 states. On Nov. 27 Huckabee announced he would end the radio show, stating "...the contract was at a decision point for both Cumulus Media and me, and we mutually agreed to conclude." The show ran through

Dec. 12. He continued to promote his various books, including the paperback reprint edition of his most recent book *Dear Chandler, Dear Scarlett: A Grandfather's Thoughts on Faith, Family, and the Things That Matter Most* (Nov. 2012) which came out in Oct. 2013. Huck PAC, which Huckabee formed in 2008, started endorsing candidates for 2014 in November.

Huckabee had been a resident of Florida since 2010, and it seemed unlikely he would forsake home at Blue Mountain Beach for the travails of another presidential campaign. He was not mentioned in presidential speculation until December. On Dec. 13 he told CBN's "The Brody File" "there's a new openness" to a 2016 presidential run.<sup>43</sup> In a Dec. 22 appearance on "FOX News Sunday" he stated, "I would say maybe at this point it is 50-50. I don't know. I don't know that I can put a percentage on it."<sup>44</sup>

### **2014: WOULD HE MAKE ANOTHER RUN?**

Huckabee formed a 501(c)(4) organization, America Takes ACTION, Inc.. Its first major event was a "Stand with Israel Rally" on Oct. 5, which it co-sponsored with Concerned Women for America. While the Huckabee camp insisted ATA was an advocacy group,

critics said its primary purpose was to aid Huckabee in testing the waters for a 2016 presidential campaign.<sup>45</sup>

In November, in coordination with David Lane's American Renewal Project, Huckabee led a group of pastors and leaders from Iowa, New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Nevada on "Mike Huckabee's Reagan, Thatcher, Pope John Paul II Tour." The ten-day tour to Krakow, London and the Reagan Library was to "serve as a stark reminder of what can happen when people look the other way in the face of tyranny." For the 2014 cycle HUCK PAC reported total receipts of \$2.2 million and contributions to committees of about \$150,000. Also by November Huckabee was promoting his upcoming book, *God, Guns, Grits, and Gravy*, due out on Jan. 20, 2015 from St. Martin's Press.<sup>46</sup>

Still it was unclear whether he would launch another presidential campaign. Huckabee had put on considerable weight since his 2008 run (despite his 2005 book *Quit Digging Your Grave with a Knife and Fork*) and he did not appear to be in campaign shape.

### **2015-16: RETREAD OFFERS LESS APPEAL**

Huckabee opened the year announcing on Jan. 3 his departure from FOX News

Channel after six and a half years; he said he would make a decision about running in late Spring. Huckabee's book came out on Jan. 20, and he did a tour for that in the latter part of January and early February. Huckabee also continued his tour guide activities, leading a "Israel Experience With Mike Huckabee" tour from Feb. 14–24, 2015. Huckabee was one of very few of the potential 2016 GOP candidates to skip the Conservative Political Action Conference. In March he resumed his visits to Pizza Ranches in Iowa.

Huckabee pursued his activities as a potential candidate through a couple of organizations: America Takes ACTION, the 501(c)(4), and Prosperity for All Fund, a 527 organization formed in Mar. 2015. On Mar. 11, a pro-Huckabee super PAC, Pursuing America's Greatness, filed with the FEC.

On May 5 Huckabee announced his candidacy at the University of Arkansas Community College in Hope,

“...with your help and  
God's, we will make  
that journey from Hope  
to Higher Ground.”

AR. In a speech titled “From Hope to Higher Ground” he pledged to make “government accountable to the people who pay for it.”

The Club for Growth quickly attacked Huckabee for his record on taxes. He set out his views on taxes and other issues in a “Pledge to the People” he issued on May 14. The list of 17 points began with a pledge to “adhere to the Constitution of the United States,” followed by a vow to “oppose and veto any and all efforts to increase taxes.”

Huckabee's backers pointed to his high favorable ratings, but he proved unable to rekindle the magic of his 2007–08 run. He was now more than eight years removed from his governorship, having been out of office since Jan. 2007. He had moved to Florida and gained a lot of weight. Huckabee was no longer the runner of the 2008 campaign; indeed a knee injury necessitated surgery around Thanksgiving 2015. In the 2016 cycle there was a whole new crop of candidates vying for support of social conservatives, including Dr. Ben Carson and Sen. Ted Cruz. Like former Sen. Rick Santorum, Huckabee suffered from the “re-tread effect” as voters were looking for something new. Although his stint at FOX had kept him in people's minds, it may have also gradually served to make his rhetoric more strident and

ideological; when he had been governor there was the need to negotiate, but now he had grown accustomed to opining. In sum, Huckabee did not seem to be as nimble or to have as broad appeal as when he made his initial run.

Huckabee even managed to inspire a dedicated opposition super PAC, Truth Squad 2016, headed by erstwhile 2012 candidate Fred Karger.

Huckabee was not able to gain traction. He appeared on the main stage for the first three presidential debates, but from the Nov. 10 debate in Milwaukee onward was relegated to the undercard grouping. In Iowa many of the social conservatives and faith leaders who might have supported his candidacy backed Cruz. Despite campaigning extensively in the Hawkeye State, Huckabee finished a distant ninth in the Feb. 1 caucuses, and he suspended his campaign that very night.

## 2016: POSTSCRIPT

Following the May 3 Indiana primary, Huckabee threw his support solidly behind Donald Trump. “I will be all in to help him defeat Hillary Clinton and I call upon all fellow Republicans to unite in defeating Hillary and abandoning and repudiating the hapless “Never Trump” nonsense,” he wrote in May 4 blog post.

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Elected to the U.S. Senate on Nov. 2, 2010, defeating Kentucky Attorney General Jack Conway (D) by 55.73% to 44.25%.
- Active in his father, Dr. Rand Paul's presidential campaign, 2007–08, and also helped on many of his father's earlier campaigns and interned in his congressional office.
- Founder (1994) and chair of the Kentucky Taxpayers Union.
- Ophthalmologist at Downing McPeak Vision Centers in Bowling Green, KY, starting in 1993; later at Graves Gilbert Clinic and in his own practice.
- Attended Baylor University from 1981–84, then left when accepted to medical school; M.D. from Duke University School of Medicine, 1988. General surgery internship at Georgia Baptist Medical Center in Atlanta, GA, and finished his residency at Duke University School of Medicine in 1993.

## PERSONAL

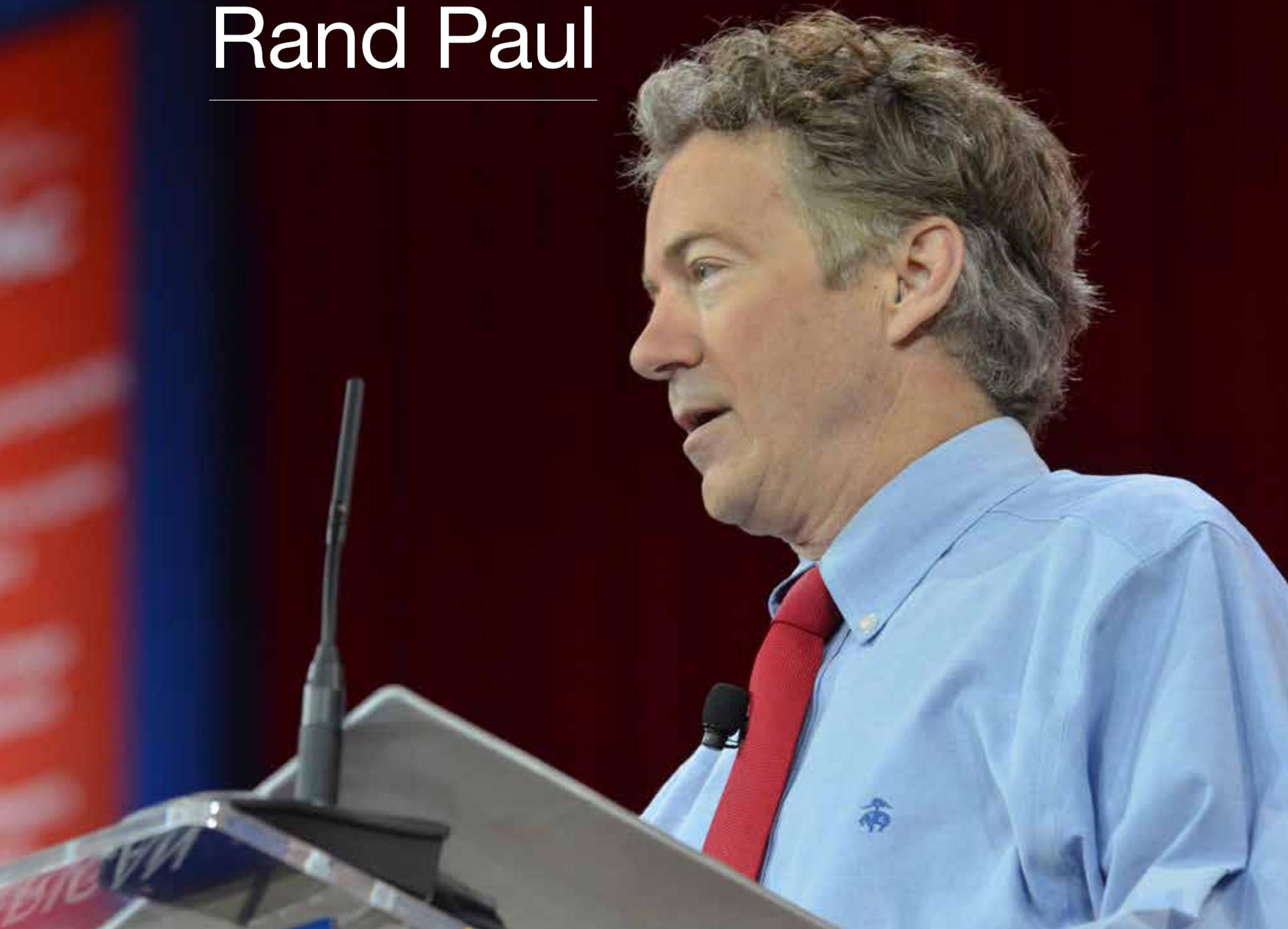
- Born Jan. 7, 1963 in Pittsburgh, PA. Middle of five children of Dr. Ron and Carol Paul. [Age on Inauguration Day: 54 years, 0.5 months]
- Married to Kelley Ashby in 1991. 3 sons.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on Apr. 7, 2015 at the Galt House Hotel in Louisville, KY.
- Suspended campaign on Feb. 3, 2015.
- Campaign Committee—Rand Paul for President, Inc:  
*Total Receipts: \$12,256,255. Total Disbursements: \$12,253,697.*
- Principal Super PAC—America's Liberty PAC:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$5,197,464. Independent Expenditures: \$1,907,308*

# Rand Paul

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## **The Kentucky senator makes a pitch to grow the Republican Party and adds a distinctive libertarian viewpoint to the race but doesn't inspire the dedicated following that his father had.**

### **NEXT GENERATION PAUL**

Kentucky Sen. Rand Paul grew up in a political household. In 1974 at the age of 11 he helped with door to door campaigning on his father Ron Paul's unsuccessful run for Congress. When his father was later elected, Rand interned in his congressional office. More recently, as a freshman senator he served as a surrogate on his father's 2012 presidential campaign. Commentators wondered if Paul would be able to tap into his father's base of supporters. He did have some success in that, but Ron Paul did not figure much in the younger Paul's campaign. Paul had served in the Senate for most of one term and was setting his own course.

### **2013: USING THE SENATE AS A PLATFORM ON DRONES AND NSA SURVEILLANCE**

At 11:47 a.m. on Mar. 6, 2013 Paul began what would turn out to be a 12-hour, 52-minute filibuster of the nomination of John Brennan to be director of the CIA, in an attempt to draw attention to the Obama administration's obfuscation on the question of whether it viewed drone strikes on U.S. soil as permissible. Thousands of people supported the effort; #standwithrand

was a top trending topic on Twitter for hours.

A week later Paul received an enthusiastic welcome at the 40th CPAC joking, "Now I was told I've got ten measly minutes, but just in case I've got thirteen hours of information." In his speech Paul addressed a topic much on Republicans' minds, how to grow the party. He stated, "The GOP of old has grown stale and moss-covered—I don't think we need to name any names here, do we? Our party is encumbered by an inconsistent approach to freedom. The new GOP will need to embrace liberty in both the economic and personal sphere." Paul finished first in CPAC straw poll, backed by 25-percent of the 2,930 participants, ahead of his colleague Sen. Marco Rubio who finished at 23-percent.

The revelation via Edward Snowden and *The Guardian* in June that National Security Agency surveillance was collecting billions of emails and phone calls drew Paul's attention as "an extraordinary invasion of privacy." The issue set off a tiff between Paul and Gov. Chris Christie. Speaking at the Aspen Institute on July 25, Christie warned, "I just want us to be really cautious because this strain of libertarianism going through both parties now and making big headlines I think is a very

dangerous thought." Christie went on to refer to "the widows and the orphans" of 9/11.<sup>47</sup> Paul responded with a tweet, "Christie worries about the dangers of freedom. I worry about the danger of losing that freedom. Spying without warrants is unconstitutional." Paul and Christie exchanged barbs over much of the rest of the year. Paul advanced the idea of a class action lawsuit on the NSA surveillance, and for the latter part of 2013 his RAND PAC (Reinventing a New Direction PAC) website featured a "Stand With Rand: Join the Class Action Lawsuit" banner, prompting hundreds of thousands of potential plaintiffs to sign up.

At the end of October a potentially damaging situation arose for Paul. MSNBC's Rachel Maddow reported that he appeared to have plagiarized from Wikipedia in a recent speech.<sup>48</sup> In the week that followed, news organizations uncovered a number of other examples of plagiarized passages in Paul's writings and speeches. Paul announced that he was changing the "approval process" in his office, which he conceded had been "sloppy," and he accepted responsibility, telling CNN's Wolf Blitzer, "Ultimately I'm the boss, and things go out under my name, and so it is my fault."<sup>49</sup> This appeared to defuse the problem.

On Dec. 6, in a speech at the Detroit Economic Club, Paul introduced his proposal for Economic Freedom Zones, under which there would be reduced taxes and red tape in impoverished areas. Paul introduced the bill, S.1852, on Dec. 18, with Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell as co-sponsor.

At the end of the Detroit speech a questioner asked, “What are your plans for running for president in 2016?” Paul responded, “Where is my cell phone? Can I call my wife? ...There’s two votes in my family; my wife has both of them and both of them are no votes right now. So if I’m a very able politician, I’ll tell in a year whether I’m able to persuade my wife.”

Of all the potential candidates, Paul made the most visits to the early primary states in 2013 (two visits to Iowa, one to New Hampshire and four to South Carolina).

## 2014: TOP TIER PROSPECT

Critics on both sides of the aisle focused on Paul’s foreign policy views. In a July 11 op-ed in the *Washington Post*, “Isolationist policies make the threat of terrorism even greater,” Gov. Rick Perry wrote that, “Paul seems curiously blind” to the “profound threat that the group now calling itself the Islamic State poses

to the United States and the world.”<sup>50</sup> Paul issued a sharply worded response in *Politico Magazine* on July 14. He wrote, “On foreign policy, Perry couldn’t be more stuck in the past, doubling down on formulas that haven’t worked, parroting rhetoric that doesn’t make sense and reinforcing petulant attitudes that have cost our nation a great deal.”<sup>51</sup> For Paul, it was a constitutional issue in that the Constitution assigns Congress the power to declare war. On Nov. 24, in an effort to get Congress to act upon its responsibilities, Paul announced he would introduce a Declaration of War resolution against the Islamic State; Paul even tried to attach the resolution to a water bill.

Some questioned Paul’s support for Israel. Paul said he had raised concerns about foreign aid generally in view of budget realities, and was not targeting Israel. In April Paul introduced the Stand with Israel Act of 2014 “to make all future aid to the Palestinian government conditional upon the new unity government putting itself on the record recognizing the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state and agreeing to a lasting peace.”

*Time* magazine dubbed Paul “The Most Interesting Man in Politics” in an Oct. 27, 2014 cover story.<sup>52</sup> In August Paul attracted attention when

he joined a team conducting charitable eye surgeries in a remote region of Guatemala, a trip organized by the University of Utah Health Care’s Moran Eye Center. On Nov. 20 Paul did something few Republicans would do, meeting with Rev. Al Sharpton, at Sharpton’s request, to discuss criminal justice issues.

Paul kept up a fairly busy fall travel schedule, stumping for a number of candidates in the midterm elections. In a Nov. 6 interview with the *Lexington Herald-Leader*, incoming Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell said Paul could count on him for “whatever he decides to do,” including a run for president.<sup>53</sup> On Dec. 2, Paul announced he would seek re-election to the Senate in 2016, stating he hoped “to continue together in the task of repairing and revitalizing our great nation.”

Paul seemed certain as well to run for president in 2016, and was positioned in the top tier of potential candidates. In 2013–14 he spent more total days in the key early states of Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina (21 days in the three states) than any other potential candidate except Gov. Rick Perry.

## 2015: CANDIDATE

Paul launched his campaign on April 7 at the Galt House Hotel in Louisville, KY. In a pre-launch video, Paul billed himself as “a different kind of Republican” able to “defeat the Washington Machine and unleash the American Dream.” In his speech he vowed to bring “a message of liberty,

“The message of liberty, opportunity and justice is for all Americans, whether you wear a suit, a uniform or overalls, whether you’re white or black, rich or poor.”

justice and personal responsibility” coast to coast. Paul followed his announcement with a early state tour to New Hampshire, South Carolina, Iowa and Nevada.

On June 18 Paul proposed the “Fair and Flat Tax,” one 14.5% rate for all individuals and businesses, billing it as “the largest tax cut in American

history.” In a July 21 video, “How Would You Kill the Tax Code?” Paul burned, woodchipped and chainsawed papers representing the code to draw attention to the proposal.

Paul’s activity in the Senate in the first part of 2015 helped keep him in the spotlight. On Jan. 7 he introduced S.34, the Defend Israel by Defunding Palestinian Foreign Aid Act of 2015, in response to the Palestinian Authority’s request to join the International Criminal Court. On Mar. 12 he re-introduced his “Read the Bills” bill. Paul went counter to his image on Mar. 25, proposing an amendment to increase defense spending by about \$190 billion over FY 2016 and 2017 with corresponding offsets from HUD, foreign assistance, the Department of Education and other areas. On May 21 Paul held the floor for over ten hours in a filibuster-style effort to block renewal of the Patriot Act, and on May 31 he blocked, at least temporarily, provisions authorizing bulk data collection of phone records by the NSA.

Paul also highlighted his efforts to work across the aisle. On Jan. 8 he joined Sens. Ron Wyden (D-OR) and Jeff Merkley (D-OR) in introducing the Industrial Hemp Farming Act of 2015. On Feb. 11 he re-introduced bipartisan legislation to restore voting rights for

non-violent ex-offenders, the Civil Rights Voting Restoration Act of 2015. On Mar. 10 he teamed with Sens. Cory Booker (D-NJ) and Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) to introduce a medical marijuana bill. On May 19 he and Sen. Mark Warner (D-VA) introduced the Bonuses for Cost-Cutters Act of 2015. On May 21 he and Sen. Brian Schatz (D-HI) introduced the Stop Militarizing Our Law Enforcement Act of 2015. Not coincidentally, Paul’s book, *Taking a Stand: Moving Beyond Partisan Politics to Unite America* (Center Street), came out on May 26.<sup>54</sup>

Politically, Paul continued to show an independent streak, for example by giving a miss to two early “cattle show” events in Iowa, the Iowa Freedom Summit and the Iowa Ag Summit. He was one of only two major candidates to skip the Iowa State Fair, instead he went on a mission to Haiti to perform eye surgeries. In fact Paul did not really seem to enjoy campaigning.

On the tactical front, the Paul camp successfully advanced a proposal for the Kentucky Republican Party to hold a presidential caucus in Mar. 2016 instead of the presidential preference primary in May 2016.

Paul’s wife Kelley chipped in too; in January she did a tour to preview

her book, *True and Constant Friends* (Center Street, Apr. 7, 2015).<sup>55</sup> Paul came out with another book as well; *Our Presidents and Their Prayers*, (Center Street) written with James Randall Robison, was published in October.<sup>56</sup>

Paul made a bit of a splash in the opening minutes of the the first debate in Cleveland on Aug. 6. When Donald Trump declined to pledge to support the nominee, Paul leaped in, stating, “This is what’s wrong... He buys and sells politicians of all stripes...he’s already hedging his bet on the Clintons, okay. So if he doesn’t run as a Republican maybe he supports Clinton or maybe he runs as an independent, but I’d say that he’s already hedging his bets because he’s used to buying politicians.”

The first debate also saw the continuation of Paul’s heated exchanges with Christie over NSA data collection. Christie charged Paul with “sitting in a subcommittee blowing hot air about this” while Paul urged, “Use the Fourth Amendment!” and “Get a judge to sign the warrant!”

By the end of the third quarter some commentators were suggesting that Paul’s campaign was “on the ropes” and he might drop out. In an Oct. 15 memo, the campaign pushed back, claiming

that Paul had “the best organization in America.”

## 2016: CAMPAIGN COMES TO A QUICK END

Paul participated in all five televised debates in 2015, but, based on poll results, he was excluded from the main stage for the first debate of 2016, the Jan. 14 FOX Business Network debate in North Charleston, SC; he declined to participate in the “B” debate. His campaign issued a statement, “By any reasonable criteria Senator Paul has a top-tier campaign and has qualified for the stage.” The statement continued, “He is on the ballot in every state. He has over 1000 precinct captains in Iowa and a huge 500 person leadership team in New Hampshire.”

The super PACs supporting Paul, America’s Liberty PAC and Concerned American Voters (CAV), were also at work. The first did some advertising. CAV focused on Iowa, targeting registered and likely Republican caucus goers. Field staff made 603,846 phone calls (14.4% of surveys completed) and knocked on 504,001 doors (29.7% of surveys completed); this was followed by “a targeted online ad program to reinforce and persuade ‘likely’ and ‘possible’ Rand voters.”

Paul pressed on, but finished fifth in the Feb. 1 Iowa caucuses. He attracted the support of 8,481 caucus-goers (4.5%); by comparison the winner, Sen. Ted Cruz, had 51,666 (27.6%). Paul suspended his campaign a few days later stating, “It has been a privilege to give voice to the liberty movement in this race and I believe we have broadened the debate by being part of it.”

Reasons advanced to explain Paul’s relatively early exit include the inherent tension between libertarians and conservatives on issues such as national security, the suggestion that Paul had gone too far to appeal “mainstream” conservatives, and Paul’s impatience with campaigning. In an Oct. 2015 analysis in *Politico Magazine*, Paul Lind wrote that “the libertarian moment he [Paul] symbolized is over. To be more precise, it never existed.”<sup>57</sup>

## POSTSCRIPT

Paul stuck with the RNC loyalty pledge and endorsed Donald Trump in May after Trump secured the nomination, but he did not attend the Republican National Convention or offer other support. On Nov. 8 he was elected to a second term in the U.S. Senate, defeating Lexington Mayor Jim Gray (D) by 57.3% to 42.7%.

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- CEO of Echolight Studios, a faith-based film company, from June 2013.
- Candidate for Republican nomination for president, finishing second, 2011–12.
- Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1994, defeating incumbent Sen. Harris Wofford (D). Re-elected to the Senate in 2000. Defeated in 2006 re-election bid.
- Elected to Congress from Pennsylvania's 18th CD in 1990 at age 32, upsetting a seven-term incumbent Democrat; re-elected in 1992.
- Attorney at Kirkpatrick & Lockhart, 1986-90.
- Administrative assistant to Pennsylvania State Sen. J. Doyle Corman, 1981–86.
- B.A. in political science from Penn State University, 1980; M.B.A. from University of Pittsburgh, 1981; J.D. from Dickinson School of Law, 1986.

## PERSONAL

- Born May 10, 1958 in Winchester, VA. Parents worked for the VA. [Age on Inauguration Day: 58 years, 8.4 months]
- Married to Karen Garver in 1990. 8 children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on May 27, 2015 at Penn United in Cabot, PA.
- Suspended campaign on Feb. 3, 2016.
- Campaign Committee—Santorum for President, Inc.:  
*Total Receipts: \$1,418,158. Total Disbursements: \$1,405,988.*
- Principal Super PAC—Working Again PAC:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$359,207. Independent Expenditures: \$161,208.*

Rick Santorum



## **After a surprisingly strong showing in 2012, the former Pennsylvania senator tries to recapture the magic in Iowa, but finds much competition for social conservatives and garners little support.**

### **BUILDING ON 2012 RUN**

Former Sen. Rick Santorum did surprisingly well in his campaign for the 2012 Republican presidential nomination, winning Iowa and ten other states, tallying about four million votes, and finishing second to former Gov. Mitt Romney. It seemed likely he would make another run for the White House in 2016.

On June 8, 2012 Santorum announced formation of Patriot Voices, a 501(c)(4) that served as main vehicle for connecting to supporters. There was also a Patriot Voices PAC. During 2013, Santorum made a couple of visits each to Iowa and South Carolina, in addition to delivering speeches at events such as CPAC and the Values Voter Summit.

In June 2013 Santorum assumed the position as CEO of EchoLight Studios, which described itself as “America’s Fastest Growing Faith & Family Film Company.” By the end of the year he was busy promoting the studio’s film “The Christmas Candle.”

### **2014: BLUE COLLAR DEMOCRATS**

Santorum carved out a distinctive message in the field of potential Republican candidates, arguing that

the party had focused too much of its message on businesses and job creators and not enough on the “vast number of people in America, the 70-percent of Americans who don’t have a college degree, the 90-percent of Americans who work for a living for somebody else instead of owning a business.” He set out that vision in his book *Blue Collar Conservatives* (Regnery, April 2014).<sup>58</sup>

Santorum also presented a cogent argument for controlling legal immigration that set him apart from many other Republicans who simply took a hard line on illegal immigration and securing the border. In an Aug. 2014 speech at the FAMiLY Leadership Summit in Des Moines he stated, “In the last 14 years since 2000 there have been more people who have come to this country legally than any 14-year period in American history and that includes the great wave.” “One of the reasons that we see labor markets in such distress and wages not going anywhere is because there’s a flood of labor coming in,” Santorum said.

In June Santorum addressed the March for Marriage, declaring, “Marriage is the union of a man and a woman—it is the union between a man and a woman for the purpose of taking two people as one, a unity, and secondly to have and raise children.”

At EchoLight Studios, Santorum was at work on a documentary “One Generation Away: the Erosion of Religious Liberty;” a trailer for the film appeared as early as May 26, he screened it at the Heritage Foundation on July 31, and it premiered in churches and universities from Sept. 1–Nov. 15.

Also of note, In August Santorum led a solidarity delegation to Israel.

### **2015–16: THE RETREAD PROBLEM**

The Santorums’ book *Bella’s Gift*, about their special needs daughter Bella, came out on Feb. 10, 2015 (Thomas Nelson).<sup>59</sup>

Santorum formed a testing the waters committee on April 9 and announced his candidacy in Butler County, PA on May 27. “I’ll offer a bold vision for America, one that’s clear and conservative, that

“From day one, we will work to bring back America and put Americans back to work.”

has plans to reform and has a proven track record that I have in my time in service,” Santorum said. “Step one in taking back America, step one, let’s scrap the corrupt federal tax code and the IRS that goes with it.” Santorum touted his accomplishments in the Senate, including welfare reform, introducing health savings accounts and putting an end partial birth abortion.

Santorum focused his campaign on Iowa, where he celebrated completion of his second “Full Grassley” (visits to each of Iowa’s 99 counties in 2015) at Island Park in Rock Rapids on Sept. 1. By the end of 2015 he had made 30 visits totalling 74 days to the Hawkeye State, and by the end of the caucus campaign he had made 33 visits and 94 days. At the end of 2015 Santorum had also made more visits to South Carolina than any other candidate; two of his sons were attending The Citadel, so he visited fairly frequently.

However, Santorum faced a steep climb; a number of candidates were vying for the social conservative vote including Sen. Ted Cruz, Dr. Ben Carson and former Gov. Mike Huckabee. Further, quite a few key figures from his 2012 effort had moved on to other campaigns. Like Huckabee, Santorum suffered from the retread phenomenon. Unlike in 2012, when a well-funded pro-Santorum

super PAC helped him go deep in the primaries, this cycle the pro-Santorum Working America PAC reported total receipts of just under \$360,000.

Santorum participated in all seven of the presidential debates held while he was a candidate but never was able to move beyond the undercard stage. He finished a distant eleventh in the Feb. 1 Iowa caucuses. On Feb. 3 on Fox News’ “On the Record with Greta Van Susteren” he announced he was suspending his campaign and endorsing Sen. Marco Rubio. Santorum suffered an embarrassing moment the next morning on MSNBC’s “Morning Joe” when he could not name any of Rubio’s accomplishments in the Senate.<sup>60</sup> On May 24 Santorum endorsed Donald Trump, citing in particular Trump’s list of possible nominees for the U.S. Supreme Court.

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Elected Governor of New Jersey in 2009, defeating Gov. Jon Corzine (D). Re-elected in 2013 , defeating State Sen. Barbara Buono (D).
- U.S. Attorney for the District of New Jersey, appointed by President George W. Bush, served Jan. 2002–Dec. 2008.
- Early electoral activity: Attempted to challenge State Sen. John Dorsey (R) but failed to gain enough signatures, 1993. Elected to the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Morris County, 1994. Unsuccessful candidate for the General Assembly, 1995. Lost primary in bid for re-election as freeholder, 1997.
- Attorney at the law firm of Dughi, Hewit & Palatucci starting in 1987; made partner in 1993.
- B.A. in political science from the University of Delaware, 1984; J.D. from Seton Hall University School of Law, 1987.

## PERSONAL

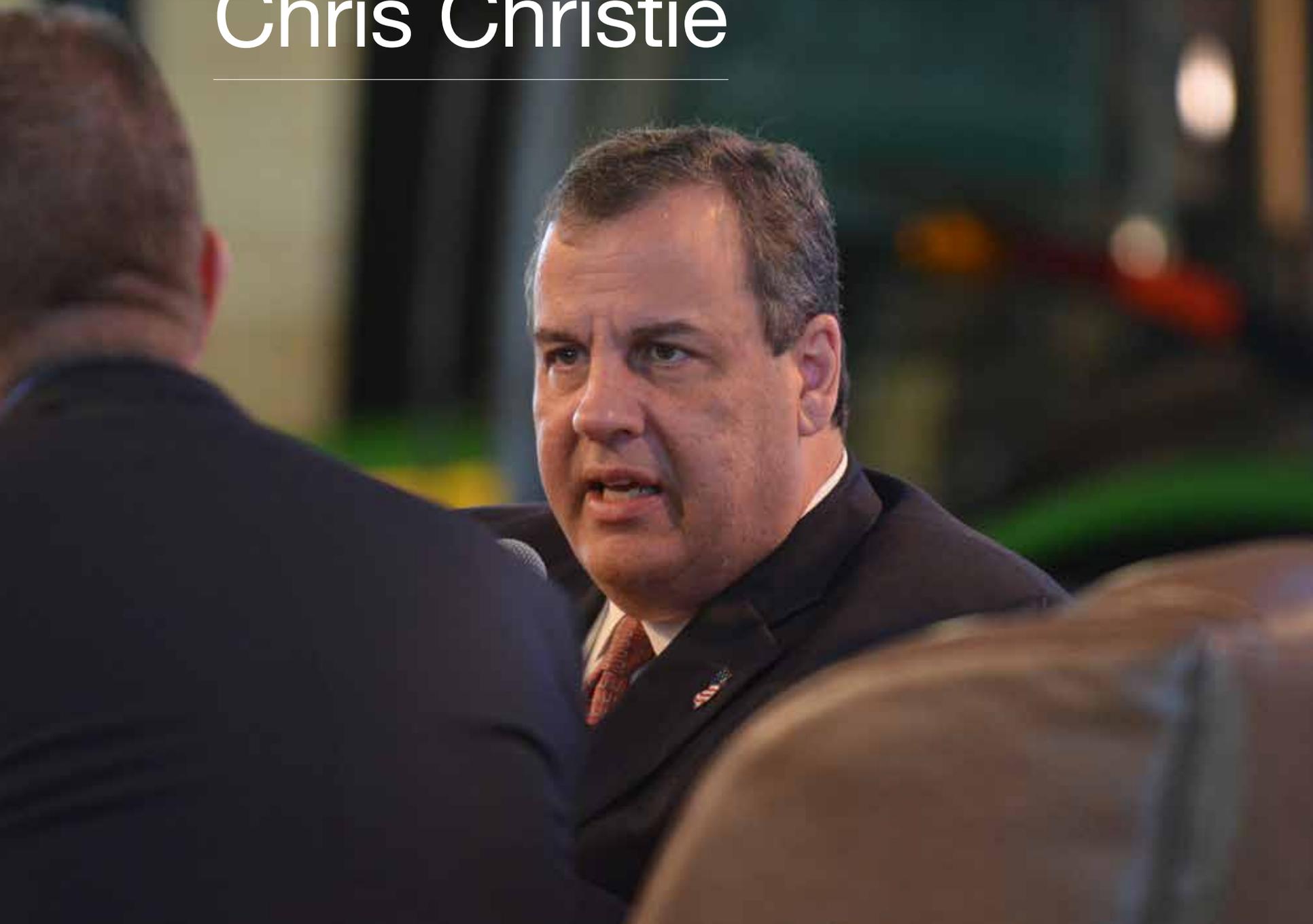
- Born Month Sept. 6, 1962 in Newark, NJ. [Age on Inauguration Day: 54 years, 4.5 months]
- Married to Mary Pat Foster on March 8, 1986. 4 children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on June 30, 2015 at Livingston High School in NJ.
- Suspended campaign on Feb. 10, 2016.
- Campaign Committee—Chris Christie for President, Inc.:  
*Total Receipts: \$8,766,139. Disbursements: \$8,726,870.*
- Principal Super PAC—America Leads:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$20,315,625. Independent Expenditures: \$18,579,149.*

# Chris Christie

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## Perhaps the best retail campaigner in the field, the New Jersey governor is hamstrung from the start by the Bridgewater scandal and his state's sour economy.

### 2012: ON THE NATIONAL STAGE

As a straight-talking conservative elected in a Democratic state, New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie was seen as a possible candidate for the 2012 Republican presidential nomination. He denied interest and ruled out a run on Oct. 4, 2011. Christie endorsed former Gov. Mitt Romney shortly thereafter, campaigned actively for him, and was considered as a possible running mate. On Aug. 28, 2012 Christie delivered the keynote address at the Republican National Convention in Tampa Bay, heralding "this new era of truth-telling."

On Oct. 29, Superstorm Sandy struck New Jersey with devastating force. When President Obama arrived at Atlantic City Airport to tour Sandy damage on Oct. 31, Christie was there, giving him a warm greeting and handshake. This was six days before Election Day, and despite Christie's earlier work as an active surrogate for Romney, some conservatives believed the "tarmac moment," may have helped Obama defeat the Republican nominee.

### 2013: SANDY RECOVERY AND RE-ELECTION

Christie made the recovery effort from Sandy a major focus; indeed he

described it as his mission. "[T]hat mission is to make sure that everyone, everyone in New Jersey who's affected by Sandy is returned to normalcy in their life," Christie declared in his re-election victory speech on Nov. 5, 2013. "And I want to promise you tonight, I will not let anyone, anything, any political party, any governmental entity or any force get in between me and the completion of my mission."

In addition to the "tarmac moment," conservatives had other gripes with Christie. He was not invited to address the 40th annual CPAC held Mar. 14–16, 2013; according to one news account his positions on guns did not sit well with the conference organizers. He also fell afoul of social conservatives on Oct. 21 when he dropped the state's appeal to the New Jersey Supreme Court on the issue of gay marriage. The Family Research Council issued a statement which concluded, "...Combined with his signing of a radical bill to outlaw even voluntary sexual orientation change efforts with minors, today's action has given conservatives serious pause about Gov. Christie's reliability." The release of the 2012 campaign tome *Double Down* at the beginning of Nov. 2013 generated another bit of news; according to the book the Romney campaign's vetting of Christie as a possible running mate produced a generally unfavorable view.<sup>61</sup>

Nonetheless on Nov. 5 Christie was resoundingly re-elected to a second term, defeating state Sen. Barbara Buono (D) by 60.4% to 38.1%, and carrying all but two of the state's 21 counties. The win came although Democrats enjoyed a voter registration advantage of more than 700,000 in New Jersey (Democrats 33.1%, Republicans 19.8% and unaffiliated 47.0%). According to CNN exit poll results, Christie carried 51% of the Latino vote. In his victory speech Christie declared, "I did not seek a second term to do small things, I sought a second term to finish the job. Now watch me do it." Touting his success, he said that "maybe the folks in Washington, DC should tune in their TVs right now to see how it's done."

The convincing win established Christie as something of a very early frontrunner among the 2016 GOP presidential prospects. A Ready for Christie PAC launched "to encourage and rally support for New Jersey Governor Chris Christie to run for President in 2016." Further, on Nov. 21 Christie became chairman of the Republican Governors Association, a key position as gubernatorial elections were to be held in 36 states in 2014. Christie also sported a leaner look. In February, he secretly underwent lap band surgery to

address his obesity; this was not known publicly until reported on May 7.

However, 2013 ended on a controversial note for Christie as “Bridgegate” unfolded over several weeks in late December. During his re-election campaign, at least 60 Democratic elected officials had endorsed Christie, but Fort Lee’s Democratic Mayor Mark Sokolich was not one of those officials. In September, Christie appointees at the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey ordered lane closures on the George Washington Bridge for a mysterious traffic study, leading to four days of traffic gridlock in Fort Lee. Christie’s critics saw this as an example of “petty bullying tactics,” but at year’s end it was unclear whether the episode was a damaging scandal or a tempest in a teapot.

## **2014: DOUBLE WHAMMY BRIDGEGATE AND A SOUR ECONOMY**

The first part of Christie’s year was consumed with the Bridgegate scandal, which, it appeared, might well dash any national ambitions. Christie sought to weather the storm and put the controversy behind him, while critics and political cartoonists had a field day. On Jan. 9, Christie held a press conference to apologize for the bridge lane closures.

On Mar. 28 he released the findings of an internal investigation; the report was met with considerable skepticism. On Apr. 4 ABC News broke the news that the U.S. Attorney in New Jersey had convened a grand jury to look into a criminal investigation.<sup>62</sup> The New Jersey Legislative Select Committee on Investigation worked throughout the year, meeting nine times from Jan. 27 to July 17 and releasing an interim report on Dec. 8.

Equally or perhaps more serious for Christie was a string of bad news on New Jersey’s economy. The state experienced an \$800 million revenue shortfall which Christie addressed in part by delaying pension payments. On Sept. 5 Fitch Ratings hit the state with a seventh credit downgrade under Christie’s tenure. On a more concrete level, in Atlantic City four casinos closed in 2014 (Atlantic Club in Jan. 13, Showboat on Aug. 31, Revel on Sept. 1 and Trump Plaza on Sept. 16), costing thousands of jobs, and the Trump Taj Mahal came close to closing.

Despite the difficulties, Christie maintained an active travel schedule as chairman of the RGA. The RGA reported Christie spent more than 70 days on the road in 2014 attending RGA events in 37 states; he also raised \$102 million during his time as chair. His travels

also took him to Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina. In those states he encountered a preview of possible 2016 attacks in the form of ads run by the Judicial Crisis Network accusing him of being liberal on judges.

Christie also managed to fit in a couple of trade missions during the year,, traveling to Mexico in September and Canada in December.

## **2015: A ROUGH START**

Christie had perhaps the most difficult first four months of the year of any of the potential candidates, to the point where some observers questioned whether he would even be a candidate.

The state of the New Jersey economy posed a very serious threat to Christie’s presidential ambitions. As critics pointed to a lagging economy, pension fund shortfall and eight credit rating downgrades, Christie delivered his fifth state of the state address on Jan. 13. “New Jersey is better off than it was last year at this time, and it is certainly far better off than it was just five years ago,” Christie declared, pointing to a formula of “cutting spending, shrinking government, and fundamentally reforming the way government operates.” He asked legislators to “make 2015 the year we finish the job,”

addressing “\$90 billion unfunded liability for pensions and health benefits.”

Meanwhile, U.S. Attorney Paul Fishman continued his investigation into Christie over Bridgegate and other matters. On Jan. 7 the *Wall Street Journal* reported that subpoenas had been issued to Christie’s re-election campaign.<sup>633</sup> On May 1, Fishman held a press conference in which he announced a guilty plea by David Wildstein in the “Bridge Scheme” and charges against Bridget Kelly and Bill Baroni. Christie tweeted, “Today’s charges make clear that what I said from day one is true. I had no knowledge or involvement in the planning or executive of this act.”

There were other bits of bad news. Christie started out the year with a flap over his acceptance of free travel and tickets to attend the Dallas Cowboys’ Jan. 4 playoff game. Critics raised ethics questions, and images of Christie in an orange sweater celebrating in Cowboys’ owner Jerry Jones’ sky box received quite a bit of coverage.

Christie’s official mission to the United Kingdom on Feb. 1–3 seemed designed to add to his foreign policy credentials. In addition to his meetings with officials and executives, the itinerary was packed with other stops. He started the trip attending an Arsenal vs. Aston Villa soccer match and also made a visit to

Hope House, which provides transitional housing for women recovering from addiction. But a remark about vaccinations, a front-page *New York Times* story about Christie’s “fondness for luxury benefits,”<sup>64</sup> and cancelled media appearances generated a tide of unfavorable press.

One other bit of bad news came on April 20 when news organizations reported that state Sen. Joseph M. Kyrillos, who chaired Christie’s 2009 campaign, was backing former Gov. Jeb Bush.

## 2015–16: PRESSING ON

Despite all this, Christie continued to move forward on the political front. In Jan. 2015 he embarked on an inauguration tour, attending inaugurations of five Republican governors. On Jan. 23 Christie’s leadership PAC, Leadership Matters for America PAC, filed with the Federal Election Commission. On Feb. 23 a pro-Christie super PAC, America Leads, filed.

An Apr. 14–15 trip to New Hampshire showed the potential appeal of a Christie campaign. Speaking at the New Hampshire Institute of Politics, Christie delivered a major speech on entitlement reform calling for “an honest conversation about Social Security,

Medicare and Medicaid with the people of our country.” The next day Christie held his first town hall in the Granite State. In the Londonderry Lions Club, speaking in front of a banner reading “Tell It Like It Is,” Christie comfortably fielded a broad range of questions, calling to mind Sen. John McCain’s success with the town hall format.

Christie appeared to be focusing most of his efforts on New Hampshire. On May 12 he delivered another major policy speech, outlining a “Five-Point Plan for Four Percent Growth” at UNH Manchester and on May 18 he spoke on America’s role in the world at Prescott Park in Portsmouth.

And still he was not a candidate. Finally, on June 26 Christie signed “a responsible, balanced budget” of close to \$34 billion. With that out of the way he announced his candidacy on June 30 in the gymnasium of his alma mater, Livingston High School.

“We are going to tell it like it is today so that we can create greater opportunity for every American tomorrow.”

Over the next months Christie put extensive time into New Hampshire, holding numerous “Telling It Like It Is” town hall meetings. He excelled in these forums, directly responding to questions from Granite Staters. By the time of the New Hampshire primary he had spent more time in the state than any other candidate, making 37 trips totalling 77 days since his first outing of the cycle in June 2014. The pro-Christie super PAC America Leads ran a fairly steady series of TV spots in the Granite State starting in July 2015; most were based on clips from Christie’s town halls.

One of Christie’s signature issues was fighting the scourge of drug addiction; he had focused on the problem in New Jersey and spoke very effectively about it. In early Nov. 2015, a six-minute video clip of Christie speaking about drug addiction at a town hall in Belmont went viral, attracting millions of views. “I’m pro-life, and I think that if you’re pro-life that means that you’ve got to be pro-life for the whole life,” he stated. “The 16-year old teenage girl on the floor of the county lock-up addicted to heroin, I’m pro-life for her too.” He movingly recounted how one of his law school friends had become addicted to Percocet, lost everything and died.

On Nov. 28 Christie received the endorsement of the state’s biggest newspaper, the *Union Leader*. Publisher

Joe McQuaid wrote in the endorsement, “Chris Christie is a solid, pro-life conservative who has managed to govern in liberal New Jersey, face down the big public unions, and win a second term.”<sup>65</sup>

Christie participated in all eight of the televised debates held while he was a candidate, although for the fourth debate in Milwaukee on Nov. 10, 2015 he was demoted to the “B” group. He had one of the more memorable exchanges of the primary debates in the ABC News debate in Manchester, NH on Feb. 6 when he directly challenged Sen. Marco Rubio, “You have not been involved in a consequential decision where you had to be held accountable, you just simply haven’t.” After Rubio became flustered, repeating himself, Christie pointed out, “There it is, the memorized 25-second speech.” The exchange continued, proving damaging for Rubio, but it did not help Christie

A problem for Christie as the New Hampshire primary campaign drew to a close was that he faced two other candidates running on the “governor track,” former Gov. Jeb Bush and Gov. John Kasich. When the votes were counted on Feb. 9 he finished behind both of them, coming in sixth with just 7.4% of the vote. Christie suspended his campaign the next day.

## POSTSCRIPT

On Feb. 26 Christie endorsed Donald Trump in a joint appearance in Fort Worth, TX, becoming the first governor and one of just a handful of elected officials to back the New Yorker. Days later a clip of Christie standing behind Trump at Trump’s victory press conference at the Mar-A-Lago Club on Super Tuesday evening drew a lot of comment, with some describing it as “Christie’s hostage face.”

On May 9 Trump announced Christie as chairman of his transition team. In his speech at the Republican National Convention on July 22, Christie served the role of prosecutor of Hillary Clinton, running through charge after charge as the audience responded “Guilty.” “The facts of her life and career disqualify her,” Christie declared.

On Nov. 11 President-elect Trump replaced Christie as transition chair, announcing Vice President-elect Mike Pence for the position and setting the rumor mill to work on what had happened, including speculation that Trump son-in-law Jared Kushner was settling a score with Christie. Christie continued to serve as governor in 2017, but his popularity hit record lows. The June 6 primary set up a race between Lt. Gov. Kim Guadagno (R) and Goldman Sachs executive Phil Murphy (D).

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Activities incl. chairman of the board of Good360 and chair of ACU Foundation.
- Republican nominee for U.S. Senate in California on May 4, 2010, losing to Sen. Barbara Boxer (D) by 52.2% to 42.2%.
- Joined Hewlett-Packard as CEO in July 1999 and oversaw controversial merger with Compaq in 2002; forced to resign in Feb. 2005.
- Started at AT&T as a management trainee in 1980, and by 1995 was in charge of North American sales for AT&T's Network Systems Group. Led the spinoff of Lucent Technologies from AT&T; president of Lucent's consumer products business; president of Lucent's Global Service Provider Business, 1998-99.
- B.A. in philosophy and medieval history from Stanford University, 1976; M.B.A. from Univ. of Maryland, College Park, 1980; M.S. in management from MIT, 1989.

## PERSONAL

- Born Sept. 6, 1954 in Austin, TX; father was a professor of law and mother was a painter. [Age on Inauguration Day: 62 years, 4.5 months]
- Married to Todd Bartlem in 1977; they divorced in 1984. Married Frank Fiorina in 1985. One stepdaughter.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on May 4, 2015 by video.
- Suspended campaign on Feb. 10, 2016.
- Campaign Committee—Carly for President:  
*Total Receipts:* \$12,119,567. *Disbursements:* \$11,254,591.
- Principal Super PAC—CARLY for America:  
*Total Fed. Receipts:* \$14,339,490. *Independent Expenditures:* \$3,837,604.

# Carly Fiorina

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## **Running as an outsider, the former HP executive stands out as the only female candidate in the GOP field. She takes on the political class and emphasizes her leadership abilities.**

### **AFTER THE SENATE CAMPAIGN**

After losing in her 2010 run for U.S. Senate in California, former Hewlett-Packard CEO Carly Fiorina took on a number of roles. In the 2011–12 election cycle she served as vice chair of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. In April 2012 she was named chairman of the board of Good360, whose mission is “to fulfill the needs of nonprofits with corporate product donations.” She also served as global chairman of Opportunity International, which supports local microfinance organizations. Further, Fiorina started as chairman of American Conservative Union Foundation in Oct. 2013.

### **2014: UNLOCKING POTENTIAL**

In March 2014 Fiorina joined the advisory board of Americans for Economic Freedom, Gov. Rick Perry’s 501(c)(4). In June 2014 she formed her own entity, the Unlocking Potential PAC. (“The UP Project engages women at the grassroots level to help conservatives close the gender and technology gap.”) This gave her a niche, countering Democrats’ “war on women” rhetoric, and she managed visits to Iowa (2), New

Hampshire (4) and South Carolina (1). The PAC led to speculation on Fiorina as a possible 2016 candidate, and by mid-Dec. 2014 *National Journal* reported that she was hiring for a presidential campaign.<sup>66</sup> Additionally, Fiorina had a book coming out in May 2015.

### **2015: EARLY PERFORMANCES DRAW PRAISE**

In January Fiorina cleared away one issue that had been generating a bit of unfavorable press, repaying close to \$500,000 in debt from her 2010 Senate campaign.

Fiorina’s position in the field of GOP prospects was boosted by a series of strong performances in the first part of 2015. Her speech at Iowa Freedom Summit in Des Moines on Jan. 24 was seen as among the best of the potential candidates to appear there. She sharply contrasted liberal and conservative philosophies and made the case that, “Our government must be fundamentally reformed.” Fiorina stated, “Ours was always intended to be a citizen government. Our founders actually never envisioned a professional political class.” Fiorina included a few zingers for likely Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton, knocking her travels

as Secretary of State, “You see Mrs. Clinton, flying is not an accomplishment, it is an activity.”

Fiorina also received good reviews for her performances at the NH GOP’s #FITN in Nashua on April 18, and at the Iowa Faith & Freedom Coalition Spring Kickoff in Waukee on April 25.

On May 4 Fiorina made a low-key announcement of her candidacy by video, in which she challenged citizens “to stand up to the political class.”

“Our founders never intended for us to have a professional political class. They believed that citizens and leaders needed to step forward.”

Fiorina’s second book, *Rising to the Challenge: My Leadership Journey* (Sentinel), came out on May 5.<sup>67</sup> She discussed her ouster at HP, the loss of her stepdaughter to a drug overdose, her Senate campaign, her battle with

breast cancer, and her efforts to mobilize women in the GOP.

Fiorina advanced a number of distinctive ideas including using technology to reimagine government and engage citizens, zero-based budgeting, and challenging the seniority system in government (“the seniority system which does not reward performance or merit or hard work, but rewards instead time in grade; the seniority system which disadvantages women...”).

Although consigned by FOX News to the B-list or “kiddie table” for the first televised debate in Cleveland, OH on Aug. 6, her performance there earned widespread plaudits among commentators, and by the time of the second debate in Simi Valley, CA on Sept. 16 Fiorina was included on the main stage as the eleventh candidate after CNN revised its requirements.

*Rolling Stone* had recently run a profile of Trump, quoting him as saying of Fiorina, “Look at that face! Would anyone vote for that? Can you imagine that, the face of our next president?!” After the interview came out, Trump explained that he was speaking of Fiorina’s persona. When the matter came up in the second debate Fiorina stated, “I think women all over this country heard very clearly what Mr.

Trump said.” Fiorina also delivered an impassioned condemnation of Planned Parenthood based on Center for Medical Progress videos that were much in the news. Most observers opined that Fiorina had done quite well.

## 2016: HOMESTRETCH

The question was whether she had the organization to build upon such strong performances. Fiorina ceded an unusual share of campaign-related activity to the supportive super PAC, CARLY for America, while her official campaign committee, Carly for President, was a relatively thin organization. For example the super PAC ran her field effort.

Fiorina really worked the early states. She made 22 visits to Iowa, starting with a trip on Sept. 27, 2014 for an Unlocking Potential Project event and finishing with eight straight days for a total of 62 days, more than any of the GOP hopefuls except the three Iowa-or-bust candidates Santorum, Huckabee and Jindal. Starting with a speech at the Northeast Republican Leadership Conference on Mar. 15, 2014 she made 24 visits to New Hampshire totalling 63 days, more than all except Christie, Kasich and Graham.

In the Iowa caucuses, Fiorina finished a disappointing seventh, garnering

support of 3,485 (1.9%) of the 186,932 caucus-participants. In New Hampshire the result was similar, a distant seventh place finish with 11,774 votes (4.2%) out of 282,979 votes tallied in the Republican primary. She suspended her campaign the next day, on Feb. 10.

## RUNNING MATE FOR A WEEK

On Mar. 9 Fiorina endorsed Sen. Ted Cruz at a rally in Florida, stating, “The only guy who can beat Donald Trump is Ted Cruz.” On Apr. 27 at a rally in Indianapolis Cruz made a surprise announcement, naming Fiorina as his running mate. Cruz lauded her as “one who has never been afraid to stand up to the insider status quo.” Fiorina in turn praised Cruz as a constitutional conservative and warned that, “Donald Trump’s nomination would be a disaster for conservatives.” The Cruz-Fiorina ticket lasted only about a week; after finishing behind Trump in the May 3 Indiana primary, Cruz suspended his campaign.

In September Fiorina indicated that she would back Trump over Clinton, but she did not make a formal endorsement. Following release of the *Access Hollywood* tape she called on Trump to step aside and be replaced by Mike Pence as the nominee.

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- After a brief campaign for president in 2007, Gilmore ran for U.S. Senate in 2008 but was defeated by former Gov. Mark Warner (D) in Nov. by 65.0% to 33.7%.
- Elected Governor of Virginia in Nov. 1997, defeating Lt. Gov. Don Beyer (D) by 55.8% to 42.6%; served to Jan. 2002. Also chairman of the RNC, 2001–02.
- Elected Attorney General of Virginia in Nov. 1993, and served to June 1997.
- Elected Commonwealth’s Attorney in Henrico County in 1987 and re-elected in 1991.
- Attorney at Benedetti, Gilmore, Warthen and Dalton starting in 1983.
- B.A. in foreign affairs from University of Virginia, 1971. U.S. Army counterintelligence agent in West Germany, 1971–74. J.D. from University of Virginia School of Law, 1977.

## PERSONAL

- Born Oct. 6, 1949 in Richmond, VA. [Age on Inauguration Day: 67 years, 3.5 months]
- Married to Roxane Gatling in 1977. 2 children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on July 30, 2015 via video.
- Suspended campaign on Feb. 12, 2016.
- Campaign Committee—Gilmore for America, LLC:  
*Total Receipts: \$387,261. Total Disbursements: \$385,654.*
- Principal Super PAC—Growth PAC:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$433,082. Independent Expenditures: none.*

Jim Gilmore

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## The former Virginia governor's longshot campaign is largely invisible.

### A SECOND RUN

In 2007 former Virginia Governor Jim Gilmore waged a short-lived and little-noticed campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. He announced his candidacy on Apr. 29, 2007 but withdrew on July 14 citing “the combination of my late start, and the front loaded nature of the primary schedule.” Following that campaign Gilmore made an unsuccessful run for U.S. Senate in 2008, winning the nomination, but losing to former Gov. Mark Warner (D) by a 65.0% to 33.7% margin.

Such a sizeable defeat in his home state surely did not auger well for Gilmore's prospects on the national stage. Gilmore served as governor during the Sept. 11 attack on the Pentagon but had been out of office for over a decade. His signature accomplishment as governor, repeal of the car tax, had been only a partial success due to subsequent actions by the legislature. His tenure as RNC chair from 2001–02 was not particularly remarkable.

Still Gilmore had the itch. In Sept. 2014 he formed Growth PAC, a leadership PAC which was active in several races, and between Mar. 2014 and July 2015 he made ten trips to New Hampshire.

On July 29, 2015, Gilmore filed with the Federal Election Commission to establish a presidential campaign committee, becoming the 17th Republican candidate to enter the race. He announced by a video on July 30, emphasizing national security themes. Gilmore also proposed reforming the tax code, including a simple unified 15% rate on all business income and tax rates of 10%, 15% and 25% on individual income.

“...restoring our national defense, cutting taxes and limiting the power of the government will get our nation back on track and begin the process of protecting the future of all Americans.”

Gilmore focused his campaign on the New Hampshire, even sending out almost 500,000 pieces of persuasion mail. However his efforts had little

noticeable effect. As he stated later, “When I campaigned in New Hampshire, I didn't get the feeling that the voters were rejecting my message of economic growth, jobs, wage increases, experience, and national security. The voters never heard my message or were even aware I was there.”<sup>68</sup>

Gilmore's campaign committee reported contributions of just \$106,396, which he supplemented with loans of \$279,075.

Gilmore was highly critical of the way the primary debates were organized. He made it into only two of the undercard forums (Aug. 6 in Cleveland and Jan. 28 in Des Moines). Gilmore charged that the RNC “outsourced the nomination process to the television networks by granting them the authority to conduct the debates and set the criteria for admission to the debate stage.”<sup>69</sup>

After obtaining a scant 134 votes in the New Hampshire primary, Gilmore ended his campaign on Feb. 12, 2016; he was the 11th GOP candidate to exit the race.



# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Founder of the Foundation for Excellence in Education, Jeb Bush & Assoc., LLC.
- Elected Governor of Florida in 1998, def. Lt. Gov. Buddy McKay (D). Re-elected in 2002, def. attorney Bill McBride (D). Served to Jan. 1, 2007.
- Republican nominee for Governor of Florida in 1994, losing to Gov. Lawton Chiles (D) by 50.8% to 49.2%.
- Appointed Florida Commerce Secretary, served Jan. 1987–Sept. 1988.
- Joined real estate company with Armando Codina, 1981.
- Worked on his father's presidential campaigns in 1979-80 and in 1988.
- Worked in the international division of Texas Commerce Bank, 1974–79.
- B.A. in Latin American studies from University of Texas at Austin, 1973.

## PERSONAL

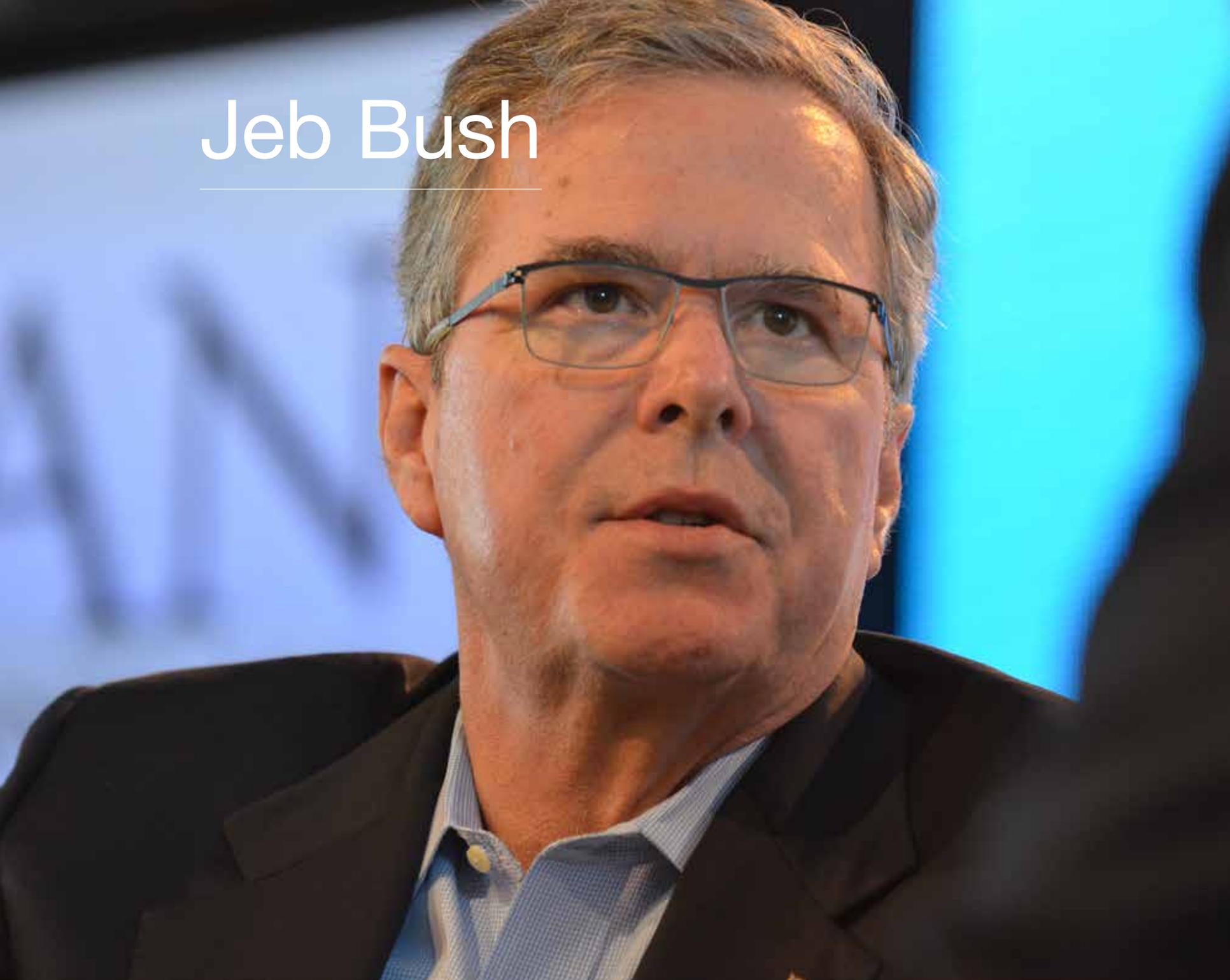
- Born Feb. 11, 1953 in Midland, TX to George H.W. and Barbara Bush.  
[Age on Inauguration Day: 63 years, 11 months]
- Married to Columba Garnica Gallo on Feb. 23, 1974. 3 children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on June 15, 2015 at Miami Dade College – Kendall Campus in Miami, FL.
- Suspended campaign on Feb. 20, 2016.
- Campaign Committee—Jeb 2016, Inc.:  
*Total Receipts: \$35,415,733. Disbursements: \$35,409,278.*
- Principal Super PAC—Right to Rise USA:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$121,695,224. Independent Expenditures: \$86,817,478.*

Jeb Bush

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## **The Bush name proves a mixed blessing for the former Florida governor. He starts as a heavyweight prospect, but conservatives strongly oppose several of his positions and voters have concerns about a dynasty.**

### **STEEPED IN POLITICS**

Having worked on his father George H.W. Bush's presidential campaigns, and having seen his younger brother George W. Bush elected president as well, former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush had a fair idea of what a run for the White House entailed. He would start out with significant advantages, including solid name ID and the ability to raise lots of money. At the same time after two President Bushes, conservatives were wary of the Bush brand. Bush was seen as an establishment figure, and two straight presidential nominees from the establishment wing of the GOP had gone down to defeat. Additionally the notion of a Bush dynasty did not sit well with many voters.

Bush sat out a run in 2012, but as thoughts turned to 2016 he was seen as possible candidate, indeed as a heavyweight among the field of Republican prospects.

### **2013: BUSINESSMAN**

Upon finishing his tenure as governor in 2007, Bush returned to the business world, starting up Jeb Bush & Associates, LLC. He also founded and served as chairman of the board of the Foundation for Excellence in Education, a 501(c)(3) which sought "to build an

American education system that equips every child to achieve his or her God-given potential."

In March Bush came out with a book, *Immigration Wars: Forging an American Solution* (Threshold Editions), which he co-authored with Clint Bolick.<sup>70</sup> They presented a six-point strategy to achieve immigration reform, including such ideas as a doubling of work visas and a guest worker program; they did not go so far as advocating citizenship for those who arrived in the country illegally except for DREAMers.

On Mar. 15, Bush delivered the keynote address at CPAC's Ronald Reagan Dinner, outlining for the conservative audience how to get the Republican party "in the front again." He did not make much news during the rest of 2013.

Bush said several times during the year that he was deferring consideration of a possible 2016 bid until the proper time. In April his mother, former First Lady Barbara Bush, said on NBC's *Today* show that, "He's by far the best qualified man." She then added, "There are other people out there that are very qualified and we've had enough Bushes."<sup>71</sup>

### **2014: A LOW PROFILE**

Bush kept a relatively low profile for much of 2014. For example he made no trips to the early states of Iowa and New Hampshire. During the midterm elections he was not overly active; he appeared in a handful of rallies, held some fundraisers, and cut a few ads.

He did weigh in on policy from time to time, but several of his positions did not sit well with conservatives.

Bush had a long record of advocating for more choice and high standards in education. Education was a subject he was passionate about and active on through the Foundation for Excellence in Education. Bush defended Common Core standards as "the right thing to do for our country." During an event at the George Bush Presidential Library and Museum on April 6, he explained that Common Core did not require a national curriculum. "The point is to have one higher, lofty expectation and a thousand different means by which you deliver the content to achieve it," Bush said. "The idea that it's a federal program is just not true," Bush said.

At the same event, on the subject of illegal immigration, he stated in part, "Yes, they broke the law, but it's not a felony. It's an act of love. It's an act of commitment to your family." In response to President Obama's

executive actions on immigration announced on Nov. 20, Bush put up a Facebook post that stated in part, “President Obama’s ill-advised unilateral action on illegal immigration undermines all efforts to forge a permanent solution to this crisis. Action must come in the form of bipartisan comprehensive reform passed through Congress.” Words such as “bipartisan comprehensive reform” raised red flags for conservatives. Bush had not run for office since his 2002 re-election campaign, and such statements showed that his political instincts may have become somewhat rusty.

Bush started making a lot of news in Dec. 2014. A Dec. 4 report from *Real Clear Politics* had “Jeb Bush Putting Out Feelers in New Hampshire.”<sup>72</sup> During a wide-ranging Dec. 14 interview with WPLG-TV in Miami, Bush said he would release 250,000 emails from his time as governor, and that he was working on an e-book.<sup>73</sup> On Dec. 15 he delivered the winter commencement address to graduates at the University of South Carolina.

On Dec. 16 Bush announced via Facebook and Twitter, “I have decided to actively explore the possibility of running for President of the United States.” He wrote that in January he would establish a leadership PAC “to help me facilitate conversations with

citizens across America to discuss the most critical challenges facing our exceptional nation. The PAC’s purpose will be to support leaders, ideas and policies that will expand opportunity and prosperity for all Americans.” Bush said if he ran he would offer “no more Kindergarten attack politics” but rather “a substantive campaign that will present the fresh conservative ideas and meaningful reforms.”

Conservative icon Phyllis Schlafly, in a Nov. 13 interview with *TownHall.com*, stated, “We don’t want the candidate who is picked by the elitists, the globalists, the internationalists, the RINOs and I can tell you their number one choice is Jeb Bush.”<sup>74</sup> Potential candidate Donald Trump tweeted on Dec. 16 (all caps), “The last thing this country needs is another Bush!”

As the year drew to a close Bush moved to clear up some of his business ties; the *Washington Post* reported on Dec. 31 that Bush had resigned from corporate boards and the two foundations he chaired.<sup>75</sup>

## 2015: EARLY FRONTRUNNER

Bush’s pre-campaign vehicle was the Right to Rise PAC, a leadership PAC which he launched on Jan. 6 “to support

candidates who share our optimistic, conservative, positive vision for helping every American get ahead.” A Right to Rise Super PAC was also formed. On Jan. 7, Bush kicked off an aggressive fundraising effort, holding his first fundraiser in Greenwich, CT. Bush spokeswoman Kristy Campbell denied a Jan. 9 Bloomberg Politics report that Bush’s allies aimed to raise \$100 million in the first quarter of 2015,<sup>76</sup> but Bush’s early activity and intense fundraising seemed intended to dissuade other candidates from getting in the race.

Bush also began to outline his policy views. In a Feb. 4 speech to the Detroit Economic Club Bush stated, “The opportunity gap is the defining issue of our time.” Bush called for “growth above all” and said that he planned to set out “a mix of smart policies and reforms to tap our resources and capacity to innovate, whether in energy, manufacturing, health care or technology.” “Let’s deliver real conservative success,” Bush declared. On Feb. 18, speaking to the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, Bush discussed foreign policy. He talked about his own international experience, and declared, “I’m my own man and my views are shaped by my own thinking and my own experiences.” Bush also followed through on his earlier pledge to post emails from his governorship,

putting them up on Feb. 10 “in the spirit of transparency.”

Suspicion among conservatives remained. An entity called Constitutional Rights PAC launched End Jeb 2016, terming Bush “a dyed-in-the-wool establishment Republican and an advocate of big government.” Their petition stated, “He supports amnesty, increased taxation, and wants D.C. bureaucrats in every public school classroom across the country.” ForAmerica, chaired by L. Brent Bozell, was a persistent critic, for example issuing a video on Feb. 19 labeling Bush “unelectable.”

In May Bush got himself into a bit of hot water when he told FOX News’ Megyn Kelly in an interview that he would have authorized the invasion of Iraq in 2003. He then spent subsequent days clarifying what he meant.

## **2015: FORMER FRONTRUNNER**

As more candidates engaged, the Bush as frontrunner scenario dissipated. Shortly before he announced his candidacy, there was a bit of a shakeup in the Bush team, which led to headlines such as “How Jeb Bush’s campaign ran off course before it even began” (*Washington Post*)<sup>77</sup> and “A

Shaky Start Compels Bush To Refine Tone” (*New York Times*).<sup>78</sup> In advance of his announcement Bush also made a trip to Germany, Poland and Estonia.

A pre-launch video, “Making a Difference,” featured testimonials from several Floridians to illustrate “that Jeb Bush knows how to fix the problems facing Americans, because he’s done it.” On June 15 after six months of actively exploring, Bush formally announced his candidacy at Miami Dade College’s Kendall Campus in Miami, emphasizing a goal of achieving 4% growth in the economy.

“We need a president willing to challenge and disrupt the whole culture in our nation’s capital. ...I will be that president because I was a reforming governor, not just another member of the club.”

Bush continued his transparency theme, releasing 33 years of tax returns on June 30. On July 9 the pro-Bush Right to Rise USA super PAC announced it had raised over \$100 million and had over \$98 million in cash on hand. In August Donald Trump began describing Bush as “low energy.” The label stuck.

As the Fall progressed Bush rolled out policies geared toward achieving his 4% growth rate objective. On Sept. 9 in Garner, NC he delivered an economic policy address focused on tax reform. “We need to jump-start our economy, and we can do that by fixing our broken tax code,” Bush stated. “My plan works whether you’re on Main Street or Wall Street. No special favors. No special breaks,” he said. On Sept. 29 he outlined his energy plan in Canonsburg, PA, emphasizing cheaper energy. On Oct. 13 Bush announced “The Conservative Plan for 21st Century Health,” setting out three objectives: promoting innovation, lowering costs and returning power to the states. On Oct. 27 he addressed Medicare and Social Security, stating, “Unless we make changes to Medicare and Social Security, the trust funds will be exhausted and benefits will be cut.”

There was a fair bit of chatter about Bush’s failure to lock up

establishment support. In an Oct. 15 memo, campaign manager Danny Diaz pushed back, pointing out the campaign's strength in areas ranging from fundraising to the ground game to endorsements.<sup>79</sup> However, on Oct. 23 Bloomberg Politics reported the campaign was making across the board pay cuts and cutting other expenses.<sup>80</sup>

The third debate on Oct. 28 in Boulder, CO did not help matters. Bush confronted Sen. Marco Rubio for missing votes in the Senate, but Rubio effectively rebuffed Bush's attack.

At the end of October Bush's book *Reply All: A Governor's Story 1999–2007* came out in paperback; it told the story of Bush's governorship through emails.<sup>81</sup> In early November Bush launched a "Jeb Can Fix It" tour; it was not clear whether the slogan referred to his campaign or the country.

The Dec. 15 debate in Las Vegas, NV saw intense exchanges between Bush and Trump. Bush interrupted Trump several times, but Trump dismissed him, stating, "You're trying to build up your energy Jeb, but it's not working very well."

## **2016: A PRECARIOUS POSITION**

2016 began with Bush's candidacy in a very precarious position. Donald Trump had thoroughly tarred him with the "low energy" label and Bush's campaign had not figured out how to adjust to the media-grabbing frontrunner. Hard-line conservatives remained skeptical and other voters could not "get over" the prospect of another Bush as president.

Bush focused on New Hampshire, hoping that slow and steady progress would carry the day. He came across as very solid, if not flashy, in his events. Meanwhile, the pro-Bush Right to Rise USA super PAC was pouring tens of millions of dollars into advertising and persuasion mail. The Wesleyan Media Project estimated that by the end of the campaign Right to Rise USA had spent \$62.4 million on television advertising, the most of any group on the presidential race.<sup>82</sup>

Bush also brought in some outside help in the form of his mother, former First Lady Barbara Bush. In a Jan. 22 video, she said, "When push comes to shove, people are going to realize Jeb has real solutions...rather than talking about how popular they are, how great they are." On Feb. 4 she appeared with Jeb on CBS' *This Morning* and did a town hall with him in Derry.

In the Feb. 9 New Hampshire primary Bush finished fourth behind Trump, Kasich and Cruz, tallying 11.1% of the vote. He deemed this showing enough to continue on to the Feb. 20 South Carolina primary. Sen. Lindsey Graham had endorsed Bush in January. Former President George W. Bush and Laura Bush joined Jeb for a rally in North Charleston on Feb. 15. Their efforts did not help as he finished fourth with 7.8% of the vote and ended his campaign.

## **POSTSCRIPT**

In a Mar. 23 statement Bush endorsed Sen. Ted Cruz, describing him as "a consistent, principled conservative." After Trump became the presumptive nominee by winning the May 3 Indiana primary, Bush issued a statement outlining why he could not support Trump's candidacy. "Donald Trump has not demonstrated that temperament or strength of character. He has not displayed a respect for the Constitution. And, he is not a consistent conservative," Bush wrote. "In November, I will not vote for Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton, but I will support principled conservatives at the state and federal levels, just as I have done my entire life."

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Distinguished medical career, started as a resident at Johns Hopkins University in 1977; chief resident in neurosurgery at Johns Hopkins from 1982; director of pediatric neurosurgery at Johns Hopkins from 1985; retired June 30, 2013.
- Co-founded the Carson Scholars Fund with his wife Candy in 1994.
- Bachelor's degree in psychology from Yale University, 1973. M.D. from University of Michigan, 1977.

## PERSONAL

- Born Sept. 18, 1951 in Detroit, MI. [Age on Inauguration Day: 65 years, 4 months]
- Married to Lacrema "Candy" Rustin in 1975. 3 sons.

## CAMPAIGN

- Formed presidential exploratory committee on Mar. 2, 2015. Announced candidacy on May 4, 2015 at the Music Hall Center for the Performing Arts in Detroit, MI.
- Suspended campaign on Mar. 4, 2016.
- Campaign Committee—Carson America:  
*Total Receipts:* \$64,243,961. *Disbursements:* \$62,510,068.
- Principal Super PAC—The 2016 Committee:  
*Total Fed. Receipts:* \$15,020,143. *Independent Expenditures:* \$6,167,228.

A close-up portrait of Ben Carson, an African American man with short, graying hair, wearing glasses, a dark pinstriped suit jacket, a light blue dress shirt, and a striped tie. He is looking slightly to the right of the camera with a neutral expression. The background is dark and out of focus.

Ben Carson

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## **The retired neurosurgeon is drawn into the race by a grassroots movement. Challenging political correctness, he runs an outsider campaign and enjoys some success, until his inexperience becomes apparent.**

### **A BREAKOUT SPEECH**

At the President's National Prayer Breakfast on Feb. 7, 2013, Dr. Ben Carson issued a call to "speak up for what we believe," challenging political correctness and observing that "the PC police are out in force at all times." "We've reached a point where people are afraid to actually talk about what they want to say because somebody might be offended," Carson said. Carson stated that it was not his attention to offend anyone, and he urged respect. "What we need to start thinking about is how do we solve problems," Carson said. As President Obama sat a few feet away, Carson addressed some of those problems, ranging from education to the national debt. He also made a strong pitch for health savings accounts, all with Obama sitting right there, appearing none too pleased at times. Following the speech the *Atlantic* magazine described Carson as "the New Conservative Folk Hero."<sup>83</sup>

At the time of his speech Carson was approaching the end of a distinguished decades-long medical career as a pediatric neurosurgeon. After retiring in June 2013, he kept busy with speaking engagements (represented by the Washington Speakers Bureau) and with the work of the Carson Scholars Fund, an organization which he co-founded

with his wife Candy in 1994. The Fund had granted over 5,700 scholarships for "superior academic performance and demonstration of humanitarian qualities." The author of five books, most recently *America the Beautiful* (Zondervan, Jan. 2012), Carson was working on another book, *One Nation*, scheduled for release May 2014.

Carson gave a number of political speeches in 2013, including at CPAC in March, not long after the Prayer Breakfast speech. He talked about common sense and the importance of education, including an educated electorate. "We are responsible," he said. "This is a country that is for of and by the people." At one point he remarked, "Let's say you magically put me into the White House," prompting cheers. Despite his soft-spoken manner, Carson did set off occasional controversies. In his speech at the Values Voter Summit in October, for example, he stated, "Obamacare is really, I think, the worst thing to happen to the nation since slavery." In October Carson joined FOX News as a contributor.

Carson's willingness to speak his mind and his inspirational life story—he grew up in poverty in a single parent home in Detroit and did poorly in school, yet rose to become a neurosurgeon—offered the

makings of an attractive candidate.<sup>84</sup> Supporters tried to persuade Carson to seek elective office; one petition sought to draft him to run for U.S. Senate in his home state of Michigan. In August the National Draft Ben Carson for President Committee, an independent group co-founded by John Phillip Sousa IV and Vernon Robinson, formed. The super PAC aimed to convince Carson to run for president and worked to build a grassroots organization that could take him to the White House. On Dec. 3 the committee announced it had raised more than \$1 million.

Carson responded to such initiatives stating on his website that "...as of today it is not my intention to seek public office. Instead I will continue to strive very hard to not only expose what is happening in our nation, but also to suggest ways to regain a direction that will lead our nation towards freedom and justice for all."

### **2014: DRAFT COMMITTEE LEADS GRASSROOTS EFFORT**

The National Draft Ben Carson for President Committee proved to be a significant force during 2014, and its "clamorings" helped propel Carson towards a becoming a candidate.<sup>855</sup> According to the FEC post-election

report (through Nov. 24), the super PAC raised more than \$12.2 million dollars, which was more than the pro-Clinton Ready for Hillary super PAC had raised. While Ready for Hillary had a substantial staff, the draft Carson effort relied heavily on volunteers and grassroots enthusiasm. Draft Carson reported some impressive accomplishments such as announcing 99 county chairs in Iowa (Oct. 20), and opening offices in Iowa and New Hampshire in December.

Meanwhile, the object of all this work kept up a busy schedule. A big change for Carson in 2014 was his move from Maryland to West Palm Beach, FL; he cited Maryland's high taxes as one reason. At the end of May, Carson launched his book tour for *One Nation* (Sentinel HC).<sup>86</sup> He continued delivering speeches to conservative groups including CPAC in March and the Western Conservative Summit in Denver in July.

The *Washington Times* reported on Aug. 1 that following two days of meetings with supporters in Palm Beach, FL, Carson had "selected Houston businessman Terry Giles to be his 2016 campaign chairman should he run."<sup>87</sup> Carson formed a PAC, the USA First PAC, which filed with the FEC on Aug. 26 and which he formally launched on Sept. 10. The PAC did not have much

of an impact, however. On Nov. 4, the *Washington Times* reported that on Election Day Carson had changed his registration from Independence Party of Florida to Republican.<sup>88</sup> Carson's business manager Armstrong Williams pushed matters along, producing and paying for a documentary on Carson, "A Breath of Fresh Air: A New Prescription for America," that ran on about three dozen local stations in 22 states and DC on Nov. 8–9. The running of the ad prompted FOX News to end its paid contributor relationship with Carson. In December Carson made his first trip to Israel, organized by The Face of Israel.

## 2015: CANDIDATE

2015 started with a potentially damaging story, as *BuzzFeed News* reported on Jan. 6 that Carson plagiarized sections of his 2012 book *America the Beautiful* from various sources;<sup>89</sup> however this did not seem to have much effect. On Mar. 2 Carson established a presidential exploratory committee. In a Mar. 3 announcement Carson explained, "While I don't claim to have all the answers to every question that plagues us, I do have a passion to reach out, listen, and build common sense solutions to the problems that are holding us back as a nation."

After a two-month exploratory period Carson announced his candidacy on May 4 at Music Hall Center for the Performing Arts in Detroit, MI. The event included a gospel choir and slick video. "I think it's time for the people to rise up and take the government back," Carson declared. The campaign had a distinctive slogan, "Heal. Inspire. Revive."

"I don't have a lot of experience busting budgets and doing the kinds of things that I've gotten us into all the trouble that we're in now, but I do have a lot of experience in solving problems..."

Meanwhile the National Draft Ben Carson for President Committee, the super PAC which propelled Carson to become an candidate, reformulated as The 2016 Committee; "Run Ben Run!" became "Win Ben Win!" The 2016

Committee had ambitious plans and very active operations on the ground in Iowa and New Hampshire. One of their projects in 2015 was distributing copies of a small paperback book, *Ben Carson Rx for America*, by chairman John Philip Sousa IV,

In October Carson came out with another book of his own, *A More Perfect Union* (Sentinel HC).<sup>90</sup> Further spreading Carson's message was his campaign bus, dubbed the Healer Hauler (@healerhauler). In late October Carson's campaign started some TV advertising; in one ad he stated, "Together we can drain the swamp and protect our children's future."

Carson's outsider status suited the Republican electorate and for a time he was vying with Donald Trump for the position of frontrunner in the GOP field. For the second televised presidential debate on Sept. 16 through the fifth televised debate on Dec. 15, Carson was, based on polling results, positioned next to Trump in the center of the stage.

However, November proved to be a difficult month. First Carson endured ridicule when his assertion that the pyramids in Egypt were built to store grain came to light (*Buzzfeed* on Nov. 4 reported on the clip of Carson speaking at a 1998 commencement).<sup>91</sup> News

organizations raised doubts about several aspects of Carson's biography. Trump, who in September had questioned Carson's faith, escalated his attack on Nov. 12, pointing to a passage from Carson's 1990 autobiography *Gifted Hands*, in which Carson referred to his "pathological temper" as a youth. "You don't cure that," Trump said, citing the example of child molesting.

But perhaps the most damaging was Carson's lack of foreign policy experience, highlighted in a Nov. 17 *New York Times* article headlined "Ben Carson Is Struggling to Grasp Foreign Policy, Advisors Say."<sup>92</sup> The Nov. 13 terrorist bombings in Paris significantly elevated the importance of national security, and Carson's inexperience put him at a big disadvantage. Seeking to counter foreign policy doubts, Carson visited Syrian refugee camps in Jordan at the end of November. Carson's speech at the Republican Jewish Coalition on Dec. 3 was a stilted affair, and he drew ridicule for pronouncing Hamas as "hummus." Carson announced plans to visit Africa at the end of December but then cancelled that trip.

On Dec. 8 the campaign came out with one of the most effective TV ads of the primary cycle. "These Hands" showed a series of close-up shots of

Americans holding their palms to the camera, concluding with Carson. While the ad did not address Carson's recent difficulties in the foreign policy realm, it was upbeat, almost poetic, and it went to Carson's core appeal as someone who could potentially heal America.

Following the pyramids story, *Salon.com*'s Amanda Marcotte had described Carson as "basically, this cycle's version of Michele Bachmann."<sup>93</sup> In 2011 the Minnesota congresswoman had won the Iowa Straw Poll and briefly enjoyed frontrunner status, but by Jan. 2012 she was out of the race. Carson had a much larger and better organized base of supporters than did Bachmann, including The 2016 Committee super PAC. However, on Dec. 31 Carson's campaign manager and communications director resigned, and the next day Reuters reported that 20 staff had quit,<sup>94</sup> leaving Carson's prospects for continuing very much in doubt.

## 2016: CAMPAIGN PRESSES FORWARD

Carson made some additions and adjustments to his campaign team, and rolled out several major policy announcements. On Jan. 4 he announced a plan to scrap the current tax code and replace it with a 14.9%

flat tax, and on Jan. 8 he announced his education plan. However, more bad news came on Jan. 11 when WMUR-TV reported that New Hampshire staff of The 2016 Committee, the independent super PAC supporting Carson, had quit in favor of volunteering for Ted Cruz.<sup>95</sup>

Carson's results in the early states were unremarkable; he finished fourth in Iowa, eighth in New Hampshire, sixth in South Carolina and fourth in Nevada. Following meager showings in the Mar. 1 Super Tuesday contests, Carson issued a statement on Mar. 2 saying he did not “see a political path forward.” On Mar. 4, speaking at CPAC, he suspended his campaign. Carson outlined criteria for backing a candidate, but did not, as had been expected, make an endorsement. That came a week later, on Mar. 11, when he surprised many observers by endorsing Donald Trump. In a statement posted on Facebook, he and his wife cited Trump's experience as a businessman.

## POSTSCRIPT

Carson emerged as an advisor to and surrogate for Trump, although his pronouncements were not always helpful.<sup>966</sup> In a May 4 *New York Times* interview Trump mentioned Carson as a likely member of his vice presidential

search committee,<sup>97</sup> but Carson did not end up playing a role in the process. Carson was a key figure in Trump's June 21 meeting with 1,000 Evangelical Christian leaders—“A Conversation About America's Future with Donald Trump and Ben Carson”—in New York City. He addressed the Republican National Convention on July 19, the second day, decrying political correctness and the secular progressive agenda. After critiquing Hillary Clinton and her “role model” Saul Alinsky and lauding Donald Trump, Carson concluded, “Now is the time for us to rise up and take America back.” On Sept. 3 Trump and Carson visited Carson's old neighborhood in Detroit.

On Nov. 11 President-elect Trump announced Carson as a vice chair of his presidential transition team, and on Dec. 5 he announced Carson as his choice for Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. The full Senate confirmed Carson to the position in a 58–41 vote on Mar. 2, 2017.

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Elected to the U.S. Senate in Nov. 2010, defeating Charlie Crist (I) and Kendrick Meek (D) by 48.9% to 29.7% and 20.2.
- Attorney at Marco Rubio, N.A. and principal at Rubio Consulting, Inc., 2008–11.
- Elected to the House in Florida's 111th House District in a special election in Jan. 2000; re-elected in 2004; served as House Speaker in 2006–07; term-limited in 2008.
- Elected to West Miami City Commission in 1998; left after a year for House bid.
- Attorney at Ruden McClosky, 1998–2001, Becker & Poliakoff, 2001–04, Haggard Parks P.A., 2004, and Broad and Cassel, 2004–08.
- B.S. in political science from University of Florida, 1993 (earlier attended Tarkio College in Missouri on football scholarship); J.D. from University of Miami, 1996.

## PERSONAL

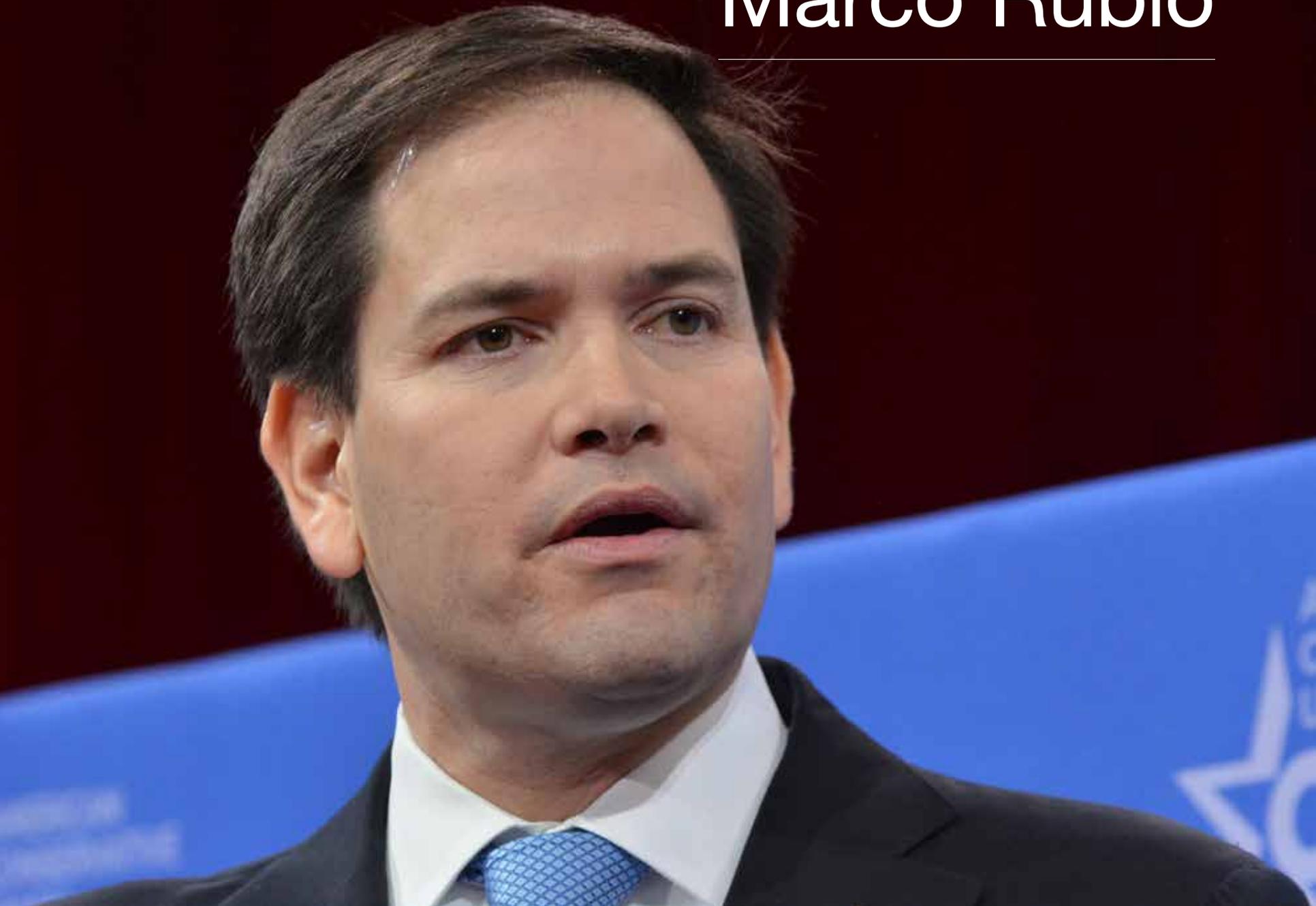
- Born May 28, 1971 in Miami, FL to Cuban-born parents [Age on Inauguration Day: 45 years, 8.8 months]
- Married to Jeanette Dousdebés in 1998. 4 children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on Apr. 13, 2015 at Freedom Tower in Miami, FL.
- Suspended campaign on Mar. 15, 2016.
- Campaign Committee—Marco Rubio for President:  
*Total Receipts:* \$57,444,140. *Disbursements:* \$57,856,812.
- Principal Super PAC—Conservative Solutions PAC:  
*Total Fed. Receipts:* \$60,564,219. *Independent Expenditures:* \$55,443,629.

Marco Rubio

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## **Presenting himself as a leader for a new generation, the Florida senator attracts significant financial support and endorsements but has less success at the ballot box.**

### **2012: YOUNG MAN IN A HURRY**

Elected to the U.S. Senate in 2010 with Tea Party support at the age of 39, U.S. Sen. Marco Rubio was vetted for vice president by presumptive GOP nominee Mitt Romney's campaign in 2012. Around that time Rubio came out with his memoir *An American Son* (Sentinel HC, June 2012). While Romney did not choose Rubio as his running mate, Rubio did introduce him at the Republican National Convention in Tampa in Aug. 2012.

### **2013: LEADERSHIP ON IMMIGRATION REFORM**

On Jan. 28, 2013 a bipartisan group of eight senators including Florida Sen. Marco Rubio unveiled the "Bipartisan Framework or Comprehensive Immigration Reform." Three and a half months later, on April 17, the group (Republicans Graham, McCain, Rubio and Flake and Democrats Bennet, Durbin, Menendez and Schumer) formally introduced the Border Security, Economic Opportunity & Immigration Modernization Act of 2013. S. 744 weighed in at 844 pages.

Conservatives did not like the bill. On his Senate website Rubio posted an extensive myth-busting section to

counter some of the misinformation around the legislation. For example, one of the myths was, "The immigration bill will give free cell phones to immigrants with work visas." These were dubbed "amnesty phones" or even "MarcoPhones." Although the Senate passed the bill, which as amended totalled 1,197 pages, on June 27 on a 68–32 vote, immigration reform did not advance in the House. Rubio's involvement in the immigration reform bill, a good faith effort to address a difficult issue, cost him severely among conservatives.

In early 2013 Rubio was seen as one of the leading potential Republican candidates for president in 2016. Not only did the immigration debate boost Rubio's profile, but on Feb. 12 he delivered the response to President Obama's State of the Union Address (actually two responses, one taped in Spanish and one in English); many viewers recall not what Rubio said but that he paused to take a sip of water. *Time* magazine heralded Rubio on the cover of its Feb. 18 issue as "The Republican Savior."<sup>98</sup> In March he finished second to Rand Paul in CPAC's straw poll.

In the latter part of the year, Rubio, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Select Committee on

Intelligence, burnished his foreign policy credentials. On Nov. 20 he delivered a speech "Restoring principle: A foreign policy worth of the American dream" at the American Enterprise Institute, charging that the Obama administration "lacks a clear strategic foreign policy." In December he made a three-day visit to London, meeting with government officials and delivering a major speech on the Transatlantic Alliance.

One place Rubio was not visiting was early primary or caucus states. He did make the first appearance by a potential candidate in Iowa in Nov. 2012 for Gov. Terry Branstad's birthday fundraiser but made no visits to early presidential primary states in 2013.

### **2014: DETAILED POLICY SPEECHES BUILD A FOUNDATION**

In an Apr. 1, 2014 interview with Reuters, Rubio said he would make a decision on 2016 "around this time next year."<sup>99</sup> In fact he was engaging in all the activities that suggested a White House run was likely. Rubio's leadership PAC Reclaim America PAC formed in Aug. 2011 ("electing conservatives to the United States Senate") was now a classic pre-campaign organization run by veteran politicians. Although he did only a modest amount of travel to the

early states, he was engaged in the midterms, for example supporting Joni Ernst in the U.S. Senate primary in Iowa. Rubio's most noteworthy work may have been on the policy side. As the year progressed he delivered a series of detailed policy speeches that drew considerable attention. Building on the speeches, he had a book due out in Jan. 2015.

Rubio's likelihood of mounting a presidential campaign was seen as being linked to whether fellow Floridian Jeb Bush would run. Bush announced on Dec. 16 that he had "decided to actively explore the possibility of running." Rubio spokesman Alex Conant responded with a statement that said in part, "Marco's decision on whether to run for President or re-election will be based on where he can best achieve his agenda to restore the American Dream—not on who else might be running." However, a Jeb Bush candidacy would clearly have some effect Rubio's support in Florida and fundraising ability. (*New Republic's* Danny Vinik even penned an article "Jeb Bush Just Flushed Marco Rubio's 2016 Hopes Down the Toilet").<sup>100</sup>

As member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the ranking member of the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Rubio spoke out on

problem areas such as Iran, Venezuela and Russian intervention in Ukraine, generally staking out hawkish positions. He outlined his views in detail in a Sept. 17 speech "American Strength: Building 21st Century Defense Capabilities." When President Obama announced major changes to Cuba policy on Dec. 17, Rubio emerged as a leading critic, vowing "to make every effort to block this dangerous and desperate attempt by the President to burnish his legacy at the Cuban people's expense."

## 2015: IN THE RACE, BUSH OR NO BUSH

Early in the year Rubio did a tour for his book *American Dreams* (Sentinel HC)<sup>101</sup> that took him to the key early states (Des Moines, IA – Feb. 13, Las Vegas, NV – Feb. 18, Greenville, SC – Feb. 19, and Manchester, NH – Feb. 23). Several news organizations reported on a lesser known aspect of Rubio's activities, the fact that he co-taught a political science class at Florida International University.<sup>102</sup> Rubio and Sen. Mike Lee (R-UT) made a bit of news on Mar. 4 when they announced the Economic Growth and Family Fairness Tax Reform Plan, which won rave reviews from many conservatives, and critical reviews from those on the left.

Rubio announced his candidacy on Apr. 13 at the Freedom Tower in Miami, saying he would forego a 2016 Senate re-election campaign and instead run for the White House. He talked of his parents, who immigrated from Cuba in 1956 and came "to the one place on earth where the aspirations of people like them could be more than just dreams." Rubio presented the election as "a generational choice about what kind of country we will be," and declared that "we have it within our power to make our time another American Century."

"...while our people and economy are pushing the boundaries of the 21st century, too many of our leaders and their ideas are stuck in the twentieth century."

A pro-Rubio super PAC, Conservative Solutions PAC launched to boost Rubio's candidacy, and there was as well a related nonprofit, the Conservative Solutions Project.

Rubio faced the challenge of balancing campaign and official duties. On Sept. 10 *USA Today* reported that he had missed 77 of 263 roll call votes, “more than any other senator.”<sup>103</sup> The *Sun Sentinel* (Broward and Palm Beach) ran an editorial on Oct. 27 headlined “Marco Rubio should resign, not rip us off.”<sup>104</sup>

Although Rubio was making visits to the key early states, he was not putting in as much time as many of the other candidates were. What he was doing was quietly planting the seeds of a national campaign organization, identifying state chairs and leadership in more states than any other Republican candidate. The state leaders included quite a few young elected officials such as the Missouri House Speaker, the state attorney general in Arizona, and the state controller in Idaho.

Rubio’s performance in the Oct. 28 debate in Boulder gave him a significant boost. He rebuffed Jeb Bush’s attack on his Senate attendance record, and conservatives loved his statement that, “The Democrats have the ultimate super PAC. It’s called the mainstream media.” National support for Rubio seemed to build; on three successive days in early November he secured endorsements of U.S. Senators. During this time a line of attack against Rubio focused on his use of a Republican Party of Florida credit card when he was Speaker-designate

and Speaker of the Florida House. On Nov. 7 his campaign released a “full accounting” of the matter. Rubio was also compared (favorably and unfavorably) to Barack Obama, who had also run as a freshman senator.

## 2016: IN PLAY

On Jan. 11 Rubio’s campaign became the first to announce statewide leadership in all 50 states.

Rubio’s campaign started its TV advertising on Nov. 24. The first ad, “A Civilizational Struggle,” featured Rubio in suit and tie talking to the camera following the terrorist attack in Paris. In “Safe,” an ad from Jan. 5, Rubio challenged President Obama’s leadership on foreign policy and declared “America needs a real commander in chief and a president who will keep us safe.” One ad which drew a fair bit of notice, “Faith,” ran in Iowa in January. Rubio spoke in unusually direct terms about his Christian faith, stating, “Our goal is eternity, the ability to live alongside our Creator for all time, to accept the free gift of salvation offered to us by Jesus Christ.” An attendee at one town hall asked Rubio if he were “running for Commander in Chief or Pastor in Chief.”<sup>105</sup>

One thread that ran throughout Rubio’s campaign was his love of football. He played the game in high school and for a year on a college scholarship. A pre-campaign video from his Reclaim America leadership PAC, “Coach Marco” (Jan. 2014), showed footage of Rubio helping to coach his son’s Pee Wee football team in Fall 2013. In Aug. 2015 a video clip of Rubio accidentally hitting a little boy in the face with a well thrown pass during a event in Iowa was widely commented on. His campaign also produced a football themed TV ad that ran in Jan. 2016 during the NFL playoffs.

Right to Rise USA, the pro-Bush super PAC, ran many TV ads bolstered by persuasion mailings attacking Rubio. “Briefing” from Dec. 29 charged, “Over the last three years Rubio has missed important national security hearings and missed more total votes than any other Senator.” “Vane” from Jan. 11 depicted Rubio as a weather vane and “just another Washington politician we can’t trust.” Other ads hit him on immigration and his use of the Republican Party credit card. The pro-Rubio Conservative Solutions PAC hit back. For example, one ad, “Train Wreck” from Jan. 14, attacked Bush, “After spending millions on his train wreck campaign, he’s fallen to throwing mud at Marco Rubio.”

Rubio’s third place showing (23.1%) in the Feb. 1 Iowa precinct caucuses

was good enough to keep him solidly in the mix. His roughest moment of the campaign came several days later on Feb. 6 during the debate in Manchester, NH when, challenged by Gov. Chris Christie, he repeated himself four times in what was described as a “robotic” performance. This put a damper on any momentum out of Iowa, and Rubio finished fifth in New Hampshire with just 10.6% of the vote.

The next contest, the South Carolina primary, provided a minimal boost. Rubio rode the endorsements of Gov. Nikki Haley, Sen. Tim Scott and Rep. Trey Gowdy to a second place finish. He had hoped for first, his share of the vote, 22.5%, was not overly impressive, and he won no delegates in the winner-take-all primary, but he did edge just ahead of Ted Cruz, who had also waged a strong campaign in South Carolina. Jeb Bush withdrew on Feb. 20, and Rubio seemed to consolidate establishment support, announcing a raft of endorsements. Rubio’s campaign sought to portray a three-person race, but there remained doubters. Following a second place finish in the Feb. 23 Nevada caucuses (23.9%), Rubio had not won any of the four early contests.

A key turning point for Rubio was the debate in Houston, TX on Feb. 25 where he forcefully and directly challenged

Donald Trump, appearing to shake the frontrunner. Rubio was also on the attack at the March 3 debate in Detroit. Many observers believe Rubio’s aggressive approach backfired, hurting him by getting him down in the mud and making him seem un-presidential. Trump, ever the counterpuncher, did not let Rubio’s attacks go by unanswered; it was during this time at a rally in Ohio on March 1, that he introduced the “Little Marco” moniker which Rubio never was able to shake.

Rubio continued to underperform in the electoral arena, winning only in Minnesota on Super Tuesday, despite endorsements including from Gov. Asa Hutchinson (AR) and Gov. Bill Haslam (TN). At CPAC, he was well received and filled the ballroom. Rubio did not win any of the contests on Mar. 5 or Mar. 8, although on Mar. 6 he easily won the Puerto Rico primary.

The survival of Rubio’s campaign came to depend on the winner-take-all Mar. 15 primary in his home state of Florida. He finished with just 27.04%, well behind frontrunner Donald Trump (45.72%) and suspended his campaign that evening. Rubio nonetheless garnered over 11% of the vote in the Mar. 22 Arizona primary, finishing ahead of still active candidate John Kasich; the surprising result was due to early votes.

Rubio and supporting groups spent the most of any of the Republican field on television advertising. According to the Wesleyan Media Project they poured an estimated \$72.7 million into 59,275 ad airings, 40.6% by the campaign and 59.4% by supportive groups.<sup>106</sup>

## POSTSCRIPT

In May Rubio said he would support Trump despite his reservations, stating, “I’ve signed a pledge that said I’d support the Republican nominee and I intend to continue to do that.” He ruled out the vice presidential nomination or serving as a surrogate.

On June 22, Rubio reversed course on seeking re-election to the Senate. “No matter who wins the White House, we need a strong group of principled, persuasive leaders in Congress who will not only advance limited government, free enterprise and a strong national defense, but also explain to Americans how it makes life better for them and their families,” he stated. Several leading GOP candidates who had been running for the Senate nomination ended their campaigns, and Rubio easily won the Aug. 30 primary. He went on to defeat U.S. Rep. Patrick Murphy (D) in the general election by 52.0% to 44.3% in the fourth most expensive Senate race in the country in 2016.

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Elected to the U.S. Senate in 2012 defeating Paul Sadler (D), 56.6%–40.5%.
- Partner at Morgan, Lewis & Bockius LLP in Houston, May 2008–Jan. 2013.
- Solicitor General of Texas, Jan. 2003–May 2008.
- Associate Deputy AG at the U.S. Department of Justice, Jan.–June 2001.  
Director of the Office of Policy Planning at the FTC, July 2001–Jan. 2003.
- Domestic policy advisor at Bush-Cheney 2000, July 1999–Nov. 2000.
- Associate at Cooper, Carvin & Rosenthal, Aug. 1997–June 1999.
- Law clerk to U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist, 1996–97.
- A.B. in public policy from Princeton University, 1992; J.D. from Harvard University, 1995.

## PERSONAL

- Born Dec. 22, 1970 in Calgary, Alberta. [Age on Inauguration Day: 46 years, 1 month]
- Married to Heidi Suzanne Nelson on May 27, 2001. 2 daughters.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on Mar. 23, 2015 at Liberty University in Lynchburg, VA.
- Suspended campaign on May 3, 2016.
- Campaign Committee—Cruz for President:  
*Total Receipts: \$92,625,351. Disbursements: \$86,285,611.*
- Multiple Super PACs—Keep the Promise PACs and Trusted Leadership PAC:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$61.6 million. Independent Expenditures: \$21.9 million.*

Ted Cruz

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## The abrasive Tea Party-aligned freshman senator from Texas makes a strong pitch to unite conservatives and appeal to faith voters. He goes deep into the primaries.

### FRESHMAN SENATOR FIGHTING OBAMACARE

Elected in Nov. 2012, Texas Sen. Ted Cruz quickly made his mark as a Tea Party ideologue with a confrontational style. Cruz's Facebook page described him as a "passionate fighter for limited government, economic growth, and the Constitution." He was also called a "wacko bird" (by Sen. John McCain, who later apologized), a "right-wing nut job" (by former Gov. Howard Dean) and a "Texas hothead" (by the *Washington Post's* Dana Milbank)<sup>107</sup> and portrayed as the Mad Hatter (on the cover of *Bloomberg Businessweek*).<sup>108</sup> Slate columnist John Dickerson opined that "it's likely that no senator has created as many enemies in his party in as short a time as the junior senator from Texas."<sup>109</sup> Editorial cartoonists had a field day caricaturing the 43-year old Senator from Houston.

Target number one for Cruz was the Affordable Care Act; he was one of the fiercest critics of Obamacare and pushed relentlessly for full repeal of the law. On Sept. 24–25 he spoke for 21 hours and 19 minutes on the Senate floor—a talkathon, technically not a filibuster—in opposition to Obamacare, including a reading of Dr. Suess' *Green Eggs and Ham*. He was one of the leaders in the strategy to

defund Obamacare as a condition for funding the government (the continuing resolution), which led to a 16-day government shutdown starting on Oct. 1. Finally, on the evening of Oct. 16, hours before the U.S. government reached its debt limit, the Senate achieved a deal, the House approved it, and after midnight President Obama signed it into law. The shutdown was seen as doing significant damage to the Republican brand, but Cruz was unapologetic.

In March Cruz delivered the keynote address at the 40th annual CPAC. In October he won the Values Voter Summit presidential straw poll with 42% of the vote. Capping off the year, in December the *U.S. Senator "Ted" Cruz to the Future Comic Coloring Activity Book* (Really Big Coloring Books®, Inc.)<sup>110</sup> achieved #1 bestseller status in the Children's Coloring Book category on Amazon; it was, after all, "approved by teachers and educators."

Cruz was also one of four runners up to Pope Francis as *Time* magazine's 2013 Person of the Year. Cruz gave every indication that he intended to make a presidential bid. In Nov. 2012, a week after he was elected, he established a leadership PAC, the Jobs, Growth and Freedom Fund; and in March 2013 he established the Cruz Victory Committee,

a joint fundraising committee with his Senate campaign committee. At year's end the story emerged that Cruz was taking steps to renounce his dual Canadian citizenship.

### 2014: POISED FOR A WHITE HOUSE RUN

In 2013–14 Cruz was the most frequent traveller of the Republican prospects to the three early states of IA, NH and SC (16 total trips), although he spent less time in these states than Rick Perry and Rand Paul (20 days to 24 and 21). Unlike some other 2016 hopefuls, Cruz maintained a relatively low profile in mid-term general election races. His PAC reported total receipts of \$2.1 million. He did some rallies, for example with Senate candidates including Pat Roberts (KS), David Perdue (GA) and Dan Sullivan (AK), but he did not cut a bunch of ads or headline rallies in many of the really tight races.

An independent Draft Ted Cruz for President super PAC, formed in Jan. 2014, posted an online petition that managed to attract only 18,805 signatures by Dec. 30. Another super PAC, Stand for Principle PAC, formed to support Cruz immediately after the midterm elections, but had limited impact. Cruz rounded out the year picking up an early endorsement; in

a Dec. 30 letter Saul Anuzis, former chairman of the Michigan Republican Party, cited Cruz's "ability to build and attract a coalition that will be vibrant beyond just expanding our grassroots conservative turnout."

Meanwhile, in the Senate Cruz continued to irritate some of his colleagues. Cruz had condemned President Obama's "lawlessness" for his Nov. 20 executive actions on immigration, and sought to drive home the point. On Dec. 13 as the Senate was attempting to finish work on the \$1.1 trillion omnibus spending bill, Cruz attempted to raise a "constitutional point of order to defund President Obama's illegal executive amnesty." The move did not work.

## 2015: FIRST IN

New for Cruz in the 114th Congress was chairmanship of Senate Commerce Subcommittee on Science, Space, and Competitiveness. Cruz remained one of the leading critics of Obamacare, and on Mar. 3 he introduced the Health Care Choice Act to "remove Obamacare's costly insurance mandates and allow residents in one state the option to purchase a health insurance plan of their choice in any other state."

On Mar. 23 Cruz became the first major candidate to officially announce for president. In his announcement speech at a convocation at Liberty University in Lynchburg, VA, he appealed to "courageous conservatives" and people of faith. Cruz declared, "It is a time for truth. It is a time for liberty. It is a time to reclaim the Constitution of the United States." In a campaign launch video

"The answer will not come from Washington; it will come only from the men and women across this country, from men and women, from people of faith, from lovers of liberty, from people who respect the Constitution."

Cruz offered "real conservative change and a proven record." A campaign press release stated, "Opting to forgo what has become known as the 'explore

phase' of a presidential campaign, Senator Cruz is signaling his confidence in having both the grassroots support and the financial resources necessary to win the Republican nomination."

Many observers wondered if such an ideological figure could really win in a general election. The Democratic-aligned American Bridge 21st Century PAC summed up the case against Cruz thusly: "Ted Cruz shut down the government in a tantrum, opposes marriage equality, denies climate change, and opposes a woman's right to choose even in cases of rape or incest. He's everything voters hate about the modern Republican Party in one candidate."<sup>11</sup> But conservative icon Richard Viguerie lauded Cruz for "his ability to unite all three elements of the old Reagan coalition; national defense conservatives, economic conservatives and social conservatives with the new fourth leg of the 21st century's winning conservative coalition—the constitutional conservatives of the Tea Party movement."<sup>12</sup>

Cruz's pitch to faith voters seemed to go over well. Kevin R. Baird, D.Min., a pastor in North Charleston, South Carolina, who served as executive director of the South Carolina Pastors Alliance, observed shortly after Cruz's announcement, "He is not ashamed

to hang out with people like me. This also sent the secularist, liberal elite into a frenzy. I like that too. I want a candidate who is willing to withstand the onslaught of the secular left.” Baird emphasized that he was not then endorsing a candidate. Cruz’s father, Pastor Rafael Cruz, played an active role in outreach to the faith community. Cruz held large rallies for religious liberty on Aug. 21 in Des Moines, IA and Nov. 14 in Greenville, SC. On Nov. 19 Cruz announced formation of a national prayer team to launch on Dec. 1, and on Nov. 20 he reported that his Faith Leadership Team comprised more than 200 faith leaders.

Cruz made a strong early impression on the fundraising front. He reported raising about \$4 million in the eight days following his announcement. On Apr. 8 the Keep the Promise network of four pro-Cruz super PACs announced they would “collect and deposit contributions in excess of \$31 million this week.” However, the huge sum did not discourage other social conservatives such as former Sen. Rick Santorum and former Gov. Mike Huckabee from entering the race.

In addition to money, the Cruz campaign was hard at work organizing in the early states. By mid-May it had announced leadership teams in Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina. On

Nov. 17 the campaign announced it had coordinators in all 163 congressional districts in the 24 states that were to have a presidential primary or caucus prior to Mar. 15; it also said it had county chairs in all 171 counties in the first four states, and had over 100,000 volunteers signed up. The campaign also touted its “Cruz Crew” campaign app.

Cruz’s memoir *A Time for Truth* (Broadside Books) came out at the end of June.<sup>113</sup> On July 24, he added to his unpopularity in the Senate, taking to the floor to accuse Majority Leader Mitch McConnell of telling a “flat-out lie.” On a lighter note, in August the *IJReview* website released a video “Making Machine-Gun Bacon with Ted Cruz” that attracted a fair bit of attention.<sup>114</sup>

On Oct. 28 Cruz announced a major tax plan in an op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal*.<sup>115</sup> The plan would dramatically simplify the tax code, allowing Americans to file on a post card. Key elements included a 10% flat tax on individual income, no taxes on a family of four earning \$36,000, a standard deduction of \$10,000, repealing most itemized deductions, eliminating the estate/death tax, Obamacare taxes and the alternative minimum tax. The corporate income tax and payroll tax would be replaced by a 16% business flat tax, which some described as a value added tax. On Nov. 12 Cruz

announced a “Five for Freedom” plan to “reduce federal spending by \$500 billion dollars and eliminate four executive branch departments, the Internal Revenue Service, and 25 different programs.”

Cruz, who had been a member of the Princeton debate team, had strong moments in many of the debates. For example during third debate on Oct. 28 in Boulder, Cruz took the opportunity to criticize the media, earning applause from the audience. “The questions that have been asked so far in this debate illustrate why the American people don’t trust the media,” Cruz said. “This is not a cage match... How about talking about the substantive issues the people care about?”

After a scattering of early ads, Cruz’s campaign started steady advertising in Iowa in mid-November. The first ads featured clips from debates; on the closing screen was the word “TrusTed.” Other ads featured Cruz talking to the camera, and there were also occasional edgy, limited run ads that generated a lot of buzz.<sup>116</sup> The first of these, an infomercial parody “Cruz Christmas Classics,” ran in Iowa on Dec. 19. Despite ample resources, the pro-Cruz Keep the Promise super PACs did not mount a very effective ad campaign, although they did develop a bit of a ground game. Cruz supporters

formed other super PACs to support him including Courageous Conservatives PAC and Stand for Truth, Inc..

## **2016: STARTING WITH A WIN IN IOWA**

Cruz's strong focus on Iowa paid off as he won the Feb. 1 Iowa caucuses with 51,666 votes (27.6%) to Donald Trump's 45,427 (24.3%). Cruz did better than expected in the Feb. 9 New Hampshire primary, finishing third (11.75%).

South Carolina, holding its Republican primary on Feb. 20, was seen as ideal territory for Cruz's social conservative message. However, attack ads and charges of lying and dirty tricks took a toll on Cruz. In the days leading up to the primary Trump hit hard on the theme of Cruz as a liar. When the votes were tallied Cruz finished third, well behind Trump and narrowly trailing Marco Rubio; it was a significant setback.

Cruz's campaign had envisaged that strong showings in the Mar. 1 SEC primaries would propel him to the nomination. Trump's ascendance disrupted those plans, and Cruz only managed wins in his home state of Texas, in Oklahoma, and in Alaska.

Cruz won the CPAC straw poll in early March, gaining support of 40%

of participants to 30% for Rubio and 15% for Trump. As Rubio appeared to be faltering, Cruz sought to frame the race as a Trump-Cruz contest. Rubio dropped out on Mar. 15, but Gov. John Kasich remained in the race and continued to challenge both Cruz's and Trump's electability.

Heading into the Apr. 5 Wisconsin primary, attacks flew back and forth among the surviving candidates, and the campaign did get personal. On Mar. 22, Trump tweeted, "Be careful, Lyin' Ted, or I will spill the beans on your wife!" and the next day he retweeted an unflattering photo of Heidi Cruz. This prompted an angry retort from Cruz, "Donald, you're a sniveling coward and leave Heidi the hell alone." "Nose," a Mar. 31 ad from the pro-Kasich New Day Independent Media Committee Inc., built on Trump's "lyin' Ted" theme by showing Cruz's nose growing and wrapping around his neck.

Cruz sought to portray his win in the Apr. 5 Wisconsin primary as a "turning point." "Hillary, get ready, here we come," he declared. Cruz's campaign proved adept at outmanoeuvring the Trump campaign in a number of states as their delegate selection processes progressed. Then came the Apr. 19 New York primary, in which Cruz managed just 14.5% of the vote. Five more primaries in Northeastern

states followed on April 26. Cruz was trounced; his best showing was 21.6% in Pennsylvania, and he fell to about 400 delegates behind Trump.

Cruz's campaign seized upon the May 3 primary in Indiana as its last best hope. On Apr. 24 the Cruz and Kasich camps announced an agreement wherein Cruz would focus on Indiana and Kasich would compete in Oregon and New Mexico. On Apr. 27 he made a surprise move, naming former HP CEO Carly Fiorina as his running mate. He also gained the endorsement of Gov. Mike Pence. After Trump referenced a tabloid report linking Cruz's father Rafael Cruz to Lee Harvey Oswald, Cruz said Trump was a "pathological liar" and "utterly amoral." Cruz finished well behind Trump, 53.25% to 36.64%, and he suspended his campaign that night.

## **POSTSCRIPT**

Cruz addressed the Republican National Convention in Cleveland on July 20, but he declined to endorse Trump, drawing a chorus of boos and jeers. On Sept. 23 Cruz reversed course and endorsed Trump. In a Facebook post he wrote, "After many months of careful consideration, of prayer and searching my own conscience, I have decided that on Election Day, I will vote for the Republican nominee, Donald Trump."

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Elected Governor of Ohio in 2010, defeating Gov. Ted Strickland (D); re-elected in 2014, defeating Cuyahoga County Exec. Ed FitzGerald (D).
- A managing director at Lehman Brothers, 2001–08. Joined Fox News in 2001.
- Elected to Congress in Ohio's 12th CD in 1982 at age 30, defeating incumbent Rep. Bob Shamansky (D) by 50% to 47%. Re-elected eight times, and served as chairman of the House Budget Committee. Exploratory candidate for president, Feb.-July 1999, and did not seek re-election in 2000.
- Elected to the Ohio Senate in 1978 at age 26, defeating incumbent Democrat.
- Aide in the Ohio Senate, 1975–78.
- Bachelor's degree in political science from Ohio State University, 1974.

## PERSONAL

- Born May 13, 1952 in McKees Rocks, PA; son of a mailman and postal worker. [Age on Inauguration Day: 64 years, 8.3 months]
- Married to Karen Waldbillig on Mar. 22, 1997. 2 daughters. Previously married to Mary Lee Griffith in 1975; amicable divorce in 1980.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced candidacy on July 21, 2015 in the Ohio Union at The Ohio State University in Columbus, OH.
- Suspended campaign on May 4, 2016.
- Campaign Committee—Kasich for America:  
*Total Receipts: \$19,447,019. Disbursements: \$19,335,914.*
- Principal Super PACs—New Day for America, New Day Indep. Media Comm.:  
*Total Fed. Receipts: \$17,977,290. Independent Expenditures: \$15,701,597.*

# John Kasich

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## **The Ohio governor and former congressman promotes his experience, record of getting things done, and a positive message. He does well in New Hampshire but is seen as out of step with the conservative base of the GOP.**

### **A SECOND RUN?**

In another era, back in 1999, then U.S. Rep. John Kasich, a veteran congressman from Ohio and chairman of the U.S. House Budget Committee, waged an exploratory campaign for the 2000 Republican nomination. For five months he travelled around the country speaking to groups large and small, before ending his effort on July 14, 1999 and announcing he would not seek re-election to the House. Sixteen years later, Gov. John Kasich, now with considerably more experience, including seven years as an executive at Lehman Brothers and a stint as a FOX News commentator, looked like he might make another presidential run.

### **2013: FOCUSING ON OHIO**

In 2013 Kasich gave no overt signs that he was interested in running for president. He did not visit key early primary states or set up a leadership PAC. Instead, his first priority was to get re-elected in Nov. 2014; he had been elected by just two percentage points (49.04% to 47.04%) in 2010. Matt Carle, who served as Kasich's director of legislative affairs, started as campaign manager in Aug. 2013.

Kasich pointed to an array of accomplishments in the first three

years of his administration; at the top of the list was turning a \$7.7 billion budget deficit into a surplus, and filling the state's rainy day fund to a record \$1.48 billion. In "A Year in Review" video, Kasich highlighted 2013 accomplishments, first of which was, "We cut taxes by \$2.7 billion, more than any other state, by cutting income taxes 10% for all Ohioans and by cutting taxes for virtually every small business in half." Not mentioned, the state sales tax rate increased from 5.5% to 5.75% on Sept. 1 and new property taxes were coming into effect. Kasich also stated Ohio was investing "\$1.6 billion in new money in education, the largest increase in a decade." And he stated, "We found an innovative and a creative way to tackle Ohio's most pressing transportation needs."

In a surprising move in October, Kasich went against Republicans in the General Assembly and pushed through expansion of Medicaid; the state would accept \$2.5 billion provided for by the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare).

Ohio Democrats pointed to reports that Ohio's economy was lagging behind the national economy. They were also critical of Kasich's JobsOhio, "a private, nonprofit organization that promotes job creation and economic development for Ohio."

### **2014: RE-ELECTED**

Kasich focused on governing and on his re-election campaign. On Aug. 8, he received a boost when the Republican National Committee announced Cleveland as its choice to host the 2016 Republican National Convention. Kasich had no trouble with his re-election, as the campaign of his Democratic challenger, Cuyahoga County Executive Ed FitzGerald (D), imploded. Kasich defeated FitzGerald and Anita Rios (G) by 63.6% to 33.0% and 3.3%, carrying 86 of 88 counties (all except Athens and Monroe).

As of Election Day it was still unclear if Kasich had any interest in running for president. In late November he did launch Balanced Budget Forever, a 501(c)(4) which sought "the passage of state resolutions calling for a constitutional convention the purpose of which is passing a balanced budget amendment." He started a tour to highlight the issue, making the first stop in Arizona on Dec. 11.

### **2015: IN THE RACE**

During the first quarter Kasich made his first forays to early states, travelling to South Carolina on Feb. 18-19 and New Hampshire on Mar. 23-24. On Apr. 18 he addressed the New

Hampshire GOP's #FITN Republican Leadership Summit, and a couple of days later on Apr. 20, Kasich announced creation of New Day for America, a 527 organization, "to start talking about how we can come together as Americans to make this great idea called America work better for us all." On June 30 he signed the Ohio FY2016–17 budget, clearing the way his campaign.

Kasich announced his candidacy at Ohio State University in Columbus on July 21 in a forty-plus minute speech described as "meandering," "rambling," "unfocused" and even "painful."

“...we are going to take the lessons of the Heartland and straighten out Washington, D.C. and fix our country.”

Among those heading Kasich's efforts were senior advisor John Weaver and media consultant Fred Davis, both of whom had helped lead former Gov. Jon Huntsman's 2012 presidential campaign, and campaign manager Beth Hansen,

who moved over from her position as chief of staff in the Governor's Office.

Kasich focused most of his attention on New Hampshire. The pro-Kasich super PAC New Day for America ran significant advertising in New Hampshire starting in July, providing an early boost. Kasich's campaign and the pro-Kasich super PAC built solid organizations in the Granite State.

On Oct. 15 in Nashua, NH Kasich set out his Kasich Action Plan, vowing to send Congress within his first 100 days as President "a comprehensive plan that creates the climate for job creation by balancing the budget in eight years, cutting taxes for families and businesses, reining in federal regulations, tearing down barriers to increased energy production, and returning major federal responsibilities back to our states and communities where they can be performed more efficiently and responsively to serve Americans." As an example, on Nov. 2 he proposed eliminating the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Kasich participated in all five televised debates held in 2015, always on the main stage. (His polling numbers were high enough to get him on that stage, but relatively and consistently low, so that in eleven of the twelve primary

debates, all except for the Sept. 16 debate in Simi Valley, Kasich was positioned at the edge of the stage on the end of the line of candidates). At the Nov. 10 FOX Business Network debate in Milwaukee, Kasich drew notice for interrupting his way to more time.

Kasich did not fare well in endorsements from current elected officials. By the end of 2015 he had secured the backing of just one of his fellow governors, Robert Bentley of Alabama, a congressman from Mississippi, U.S. Sen. Rob Portman, four Ohio congressmen and other elected officials from Ohio.

Part of the problem may have been Kasich's personality. In an Apr. 2015 profile in *The Atlantic*, Molly Ball described him as "kind of a jerk," which a Kasich aide tried to adjust to "prickly."<sup>11717</sup>

## 2016: HEADING TO THE POLLS

Ultimately, Kasich held over one hundred town halls in New Hampshire; he celebrated his 100th town hall in Bedford on Feb. 5. The pro-Kasich New Day for America had a well organized ground game in the state, and the super PAC and the campaign ran lots of advertising. Super PAC ads highlighted Kasich's experience ("a hard-charging

congressman named John Kasich led both sides of the aisle and ground out the first balanced budget in decades.”). One ad termed Kasich “an impatient rascal” and another compared Trump to a hippo (“One bellows. One bellows malarkey.”) Kasich generally stuck to a positive message. A banner at Kasich’s rallies read “America Never Gives Up,” and campaign ads had the tag line, “America, Never. Give. Up.”

Kasich was seen as competing in the “governor slot” with former Gov. Jeb Bush and Gov. Chris Christie. The super PACs supporting Bush and Christie ran ads attacking Kasich. A Right to Rise USA (pro-Bush) ad charged Kasich “forced Obamacare expansion in Ohio,” voted for “massive defense cuts,”<sup>118</sup> and “had the worst rating on spending of any governor.” America Leads (pro-Christie) portrayed him as “Washington insider. Wall Street banker.” The unaligned 501(c)(4) American Future Fund weighed in with an ad labelling Kasich an “Obama Republican.”

On Feb. 9 Kasich’s work paid off as he achieved a second place finish in New Hampshire at 15.88%, far behind first place finisher Donald Trump (35.60% of the vote), but a ticket forward nonetheless.

Kasich’s campaign and New Day for America had organized in South

Carolina. There was a memorable moment during a town hall at Clemson University on Feb. 18 where a young man from Georgia described recent difficulties he had faced, and said, “I found hope and I found it in the Lord and in my friends and now I’ve found it in my presidential candidate I support. And I would really appreciate one of those hugs you’ve been talking about.” Kasich obliged, went to him and gave him a hug. Kasich finished fifth of six candidates in South Carolina.

After South Carolina, some pundits sought to portray the campaign as a three-person race: Trump, Rubio and Cruz. A Rubio campaign memo dismissively stated, “John Kasich has no path to the nomination.” The memo said, “He hasn’t shown any ability to appeal to voters outside the very small moderate/liberal subset of the Republican primary electorate.”

Super Tuesday proved a bit of a wash for Kasich. His strategy was to try to pick up some delegates in carefully targeted areas while looking ahead to later contests in the Midwest. He scored seven fifth-place finishes, two fourths, and second-place finishes in Vermont and Massachusetts; he also did well in Northern Virginia.

Michigan’s Mar. 8 primary looked like a promising target. Like Ohio, which it

borders, Michigan is a large industrial state and it faces many of the same challenges. The Kasich campaign went “all-in” in Michigan, and came out with not quite enough—a strong third place finish, at 24.26% of the vote, behind Trump (36.55%) and just behind Cruz (24.68%).

Kasich’s strategy was predicated on winning Ohio on Mar. 15, after which his campaign maintained that “the electoral map shifts significantly in our favor, with the delegate-rich states fitting Governor Kasich’s profile.” Kasich did win Ohio, his first victory, obtaining 46.95% to 35.87% for Trump.

Kasich’s base included large numbers of former elected officials and far fewer current and future leaders. In state after state, the campaign’s leadership team announcements listed officials who had been out of office for a decade or more—names from the past—but very few “rising stars” or present day officeholders. Kasich did do well in newspaper endorsements, and a fair number of Democrats expressed favorable views.<sup>119</sup> The pro-Kasich super PACs continued to bolster Kasich’s campaign with on-the-ground efforts and advertising in targeted states.

On Apr. 12, speaking to the Women’s National Republican Club, Kasich delivered a speech on the “two paths”

facing America. He recounted being on the debate stage as candidates “wallowed in the mud,” and he called for “leadership that serves, helping us look up, not down.”

Although Kasich’s backers advocated for him as “presidential” and “the only adult in the room” when compared to Cruz and Trump, and although he certainly had extensive relevant experience, Kasich was not especially dynamic and was somewhat unfocused. While he advocated for solidly conservative positions on smaller government, cutting taxes and balancing the budget, his expansion of Medicaid did not go over well with conservatives. In state after state Kasich fell short at the ballot box, and Ohio proved to be his only victory. He never did manage to get traction.

It became clear that Kasich could not obtain the necessary number of delegates to win the nomination and his hopes rested on a contested convention. The campaign argued that “Gov. Kasich is the key to our Party’s hope of stopping Donald Trump” and that Kasich “is the candidate best positioned to defeat Hillary Clinton in November.”

A 7.57% showing in the May 3 Indiana primary appeared to be just another in a list of sub-par finishes for Kasich; his campaign stated he would “remain in

the race unless a candidate reaches 1,237 bound delegates before the Convention.” However, after Cruz withdrew RNC chairman Reince Priebus tweeted that Trump was the presumptive nominee. Kasich, still in the race however tenuously, was “angry—furious actually” at Priebus,<sup>12020</sup> but the next day he headed to Columbus and announced that he was suspending his effort. In one of the more heartfelt speeches of the campaign, he stated, “We need to live a life a little bit bigger than ourselves. We need to reach out to help lift someone else, because, you know what, it comes to us naturally if we let it.”

## POSTSCRIPT

Kasich declined to endorse Trump. In July delegates gathered in Cleveland for the Republican National Convention. Kasich had hoped that he might be the one on that stage accepting the nomination; instead he kept his distance. As the Republican governor of the host state one might have expected him to welcome the delegates, but he did not put in an appearance at Quicken Loans Arena.

Kasich stuck to his position as the general election progressed, refusing to endorse Trump; this made for an awkward situation given Ohio’s

importance as a battleground state. Ultimately, Kasich said he wrote in Sen. John McCain as his choice for president, but Trump went on to carry the state’s 18 electoral votes by a larger than expected margin.

Kasich’s name popped up following the general election. As a last ditch effort to deny Trump the presidency machinations were afoot to persuade 37 Republican electors to shift away from Trump in the lead up to the meeting of the electors on Dec. 19. The suggestion was that Republican electors should unify behind an alternative such as Kasich, but he rejected the idea and had nothing to do with the maneuvering. (One Texas elector did vote for Kasich).

In Feb. 2017 Kasich supporters launched an organization, Two Paths America, to support “the best and highest policy ideas.” On Apr. 25 Kasich came out with his book *Two Paths: America Divided or United* (Thomas Dunne Books), which provides a very useful first-hand account of the campaign. There was speculation that he might challenge President Trump in the 2020 Republican primaries, but he dismissed such talk.

# At A Glance

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## CAREER & EDUCATION

- Has led the Trump Organization for over four decades. Real estate holdings include at least 20 major domestic residential, hotel and commercial properties, international holdings, and 17 golf courses. Started working for his father's firm in the late 1960's; given control in 1971 and renamed it the Trump Organization.
- Other Trump enterprises include the Donald J. Trump Collection of clothing and accessories, Trump Natural Spring Water, and Success by Trump, the fragrance.
- Trump businesses have also included casinos (multiple bankruptcies), Trump Airlines, Trump Steaks, Trump Vodka, and Trump University.
- Host of NBC's "The Apprentice," 2004–15 .
- Author of numerous books starting with *The Art of the Deal* in 1987.
- B.S. from University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, 1968.
- Born June 14, 1946 in Queens, NY.  
[Age on Inauguration Day: 70 years, 7.3 months]
- Married to Melania Knauss on Jan. 22, 2005. Two previous marriages ended in divorce—Marla Maples, 1993–99 and Ivana Zelníčková, 1977–92. 5 children.

## CAMPAIGN

- Announced exploratory committee on Mar. 18, 2015; announced candidacy on June 16, 2015 at Trump Tower in New York, NY.
- Accepted the nomination on July 21, 2016 at the Republican National Convention at Quicken Loans Arena in Cleveland, OH.
- Campaign Committee—Donald J. Trump for President, Inc.:  
*Total Receipts:* \$91,298,110. *Disbursements:* \$71,087,145.
- Principal Super PAC—Make America Great Again:  
Formed in June 2015 but shut down in Oct. 2015.

# Donald Trump

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## **Despite no experience in public service or the military and despite never having run for office, the billionaire businessman rides a wave of free media and social media, vanquishing 16 other hopefuls to become the nominee.**

### **PREVIOUS FLIRTATIONS**

Donald Trump had considered running for president before. In the 2000 cycle he looked into seeking the Reform Party nomination, joining the party in Oct. 1999 and coming out with a policy book, *The America We Deserve* (Jan. 2000). In Feb. 2000 he dropped the effort, declaring the Reform Party “a total mess.”

In late 2010 and the first part of 2011 Trump looked like he might seek the Republican nomination. He told FOX News on Oct. 5, 2010 that he was thinking about running for president. Associates launched a “Should Trump Run?” website, and Trump spent several months “unofficially campaigning,” including waging a successful effort to get President Obama to release his long-form birth certificate on Apr. 27. On May 16 he ruled out a campaign, announcing that, “Ultimately, however, business is my greatest passion and I am not ready to leave the private sector.”

In Dec. 2011 Trump issued another policy book, *Time to Get Tough* (Regnery). He ended up endorsing Mitt Romney in Feb. 2012. In Oct. 2012 Trump made a more news with his “major announcement” that if President Obama released his college and passport records he would give to a

charity or charities of Obama’s choice a check for \$5 million.

### **2013-14: EARLY MANEUVERING**

In 2013 and 2014 Trump was not on the radar as a likely 2016 candidate, but he was already starting to maneuver and to express themes that would later become very familiar. Even in 2012, on Nov. 11, he applied for a trademark of the phrase “Make America Great Again.”<sup>121</sup> He was speaking to key constituencies. In Mar. 2013 he delivered a rambling speech at CPAC, noting at one point that, “We have to make America strong again and make America great again.” In Aug. 2013 he addressed the FAMILY Leadership Summit in Iowa, hitting issues such as trade, illegal immigration and Obamacare. “We need leadership that’s smart,” he declared. “Our country is in serious trouble” Trump said. In April 2014 Trump spoke at the inaugural “Freedom Summit” organized by Citizens United and Americans for Prosperity Foundation in New Hampshire.

In late 2013 and early 2014 Trump also looked into the possibility of challenging Gov. Andrew Cuomo (D-NY), who was up for re-election, as a step toward a presidential run; he decided against it

when state Republican leaders would not clear the field for him.<sup>121</sup>

### **2015: GEARING UP**

By early 2015 Trump was more open about his interest in running. On Jan. 24 at the Iowa Freedom Summit Trump stated, “So if I run for president and if I win, I would totally succeed in: creating jobs; defeating ISIS and stopping the Islamic terrorists—and you have to do that; reducing the budget deficit—so important, have to do it; securing our Southern border—and I mean seriously securing it; stopping nuclear weapons in Iran and elsewhere; saving Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid...”

In the first three months of 2015 Trump started hiring political staff. Corey Lewandowski, an operative with Americans for Prosperity, signed on as senior political advisor. On Mar. 18 Trump announced he was forming an exploratory committee. He also opted not to renew the contract for his reality TV show “Apprentice.”

Looking at Trump’s Twitter stream one saw dozens of re-Tweets daily of supportive comments such as “A Trump presidency would MAKE U.S GREAT AGAIN, MAKE MADE IN USA #1 , put more \$\$\$ in pocket of EVERY AMERICAN” ... “You are the best choice

to turn around the country.” ... “Please save America! The country has over \$18 trillion in debt!...” ... “Mr. Trump IS ‘Mr. NYC’ Let’s make him ‘Mr. President’ I am ready to work-it to get you in.”

## CAMPAIGN AND CONTROVERSIES BEGIN

On June 16, 2015, Trump and wife Melania descended the escalator at Trump Tower, and he announced his candidacy, vowing to “make America great again.” “I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created,” Trump declared. Trump portrayed himself as a

“Sadly the American Dream is dead, but if I am elected president, I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever and we will make America great again.”

tough negotiator who could get things done. In a theatrical touch at one point

he held up a financial statement that put his net worth at \$8.7 billion.

In the weeks following Trump’s entry it was his remarks on Mexicans (“They’re bringing drugs, they’re bringing crime, they’re rapists, and some, I assume are good people...”), which reverberated throughout the political arena, creating a full-scale mini-drama. Univision, NBC and Macy’s cut ties with Trump. Ever litigious, Trump responded with a \$500 million lawsuit against Univision.

On July 15, Trump filed his personal financial disclosure statement with the FEC, a move which some naysayers had doubted would happen. A campaign press release noted, “This report was not designed for a man of Mr. Trump’s massive wealth.”

Trump’s next big kerfuffle came at the FAMILY Leader Summit in Ames on July 18 when he remarked of Sen. John McCain, “He’s not a war hero. He’s a war hero because he was captured? I like people who weren’t captured.”

On July 21 during an event in Bluffton, SC, Trump again made news as he gave out Sen. Lindsey Graham’s cell phone number. Trump also made a high profile visit to the U.S.-Mexico border in Laredo, TX on July 23. (This event marked Trump’s first appearance

wearing a Make America Great Again hat, a white one).

The *Huffington Post* on July 17, terming Trump’s campaign “a sideshow,” wrote “we have decided we won’t report on Trump’s campaign as part of The Huffington Post’s political coverage. Instead, we will cover his campaign as part of our Entertainment section.”<sup>121</sup>

Heading into the first debate in Cleveland on Aug. 6, Trump was the center of attention. By virtue of his poll numbers, he was positioned in the middle of the stage. The moderators seemed to have it in for him. Brett Baier’s first question to the candidates was, “Is there anyone on stage, and can I see hands, who is unwilling tonight to pledge your support to the eventual nominee of the Republican Party and pledge to not run an independent campaign against that person.” Trump was the only one to raise his hand, drawing boos from the audience.

However it was a later exchange and its after effects which seemed more damaging. When Megyn Kelly asked about Trump’s remarks on women, Trump joked about actress Rosie O’Donnell, then explained, “I don’t frankly have time for total political correctness” and “oftentimes it’s fun, it’s kidding.” In an subsequent interview

on CNN Trump made a statement about Kelly that drew more criticism and prompted Erick Erickson, editor of RedState, to disinvite him from the RedState Gathering.

Trump's theatrical touch was on display during his visit to the Iowa State Fair on Aug. 15, as he provided free helicopter rides for kids. On a more serious note, the next day Trump's campaign issued its first policy statement, offering a plan for "immigration reform that will make America great again." On Sept. 3 Trump reversed his position taken at the Cleveland debate and signed an RNC loyalty pledge.

Controversies continued to pop up. In an Aug. 26 press conference, Univision's Jorge Ramos shouted a question at Trump, who told him to sit down because he hadn't been called upon; Ramos continued to talk and security escorted him out. In a *Rolling Stone* cover story, the reporter quoted Trump as saying of Carly Fiorina, "Look at that face! Would anyone vote for that?"<sup>124</sup> Trump took some hits during the Sept. 16 debate at Reagan Library, but, thanks in large measure to his presence on the stage, that debate produced the biggest ratings in CNN history. Trump next took heat for not pushing back against an anti-Muslim questioner at a town hall in Rochester, NH on Sept. 17. Meanwhile Trump's insults<sup>125</sup> continued to flow;

at the Value Voters Summit he termed Marco Rubio a "clown," drawing boos from the audience. On Nov. 21 at a rally in Birmingham, AL he claimed to have seen people celebrating in Jersey City following the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. On Nov. 24 at rally in South Carolina Trump appeared to mock a disabled reporter, prompting more criticism. On Dec. 7 he called for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on."

Trump's fellow candidates took varying approaches to dealing with the pugnacious billionaire. Former Gov. Rick Perry delivered a speech on "Defending Conservatism Against the Cancer of Trump-ism" on July 22. Former Gov. Jeb Bush was a frequent Trump target and never was able to escape from Trump's characterization of him as "low energy." Sen. Ted Cruz initially tried a positive approach, appearing with Trump at a Tea Party Patriots rally against the Iran nuclear deal at the Capitol on Sept. 9. On Sept. 10 Gov. Bobby Jindal delivered a broadside against Trump, terming him a narcissist. In an interview with NPR's "Morning Edition" that aired on Sept. 28 Sen. Marco Rubio said he did not want to be "a member or a part of his [Trump's] freak show."<sup>126</sup> In late November, Gov. John Kasich entered

the fray. As Trump visited Ohio, Kasich's campaign organized a conference call and released a couple of videos. One showed prominent presidents from George Washington to Ronald Reagan and asked, "Is someone like Donald Trump really worthy of following in their footsteps?" The second video highlighted Trump's attacks on Muslims, Hispanic immigrants, black protesters and journalists, featuring a veteran paraphrasing German pastor Martin Niemöller's famous quote about the Nazis ("First they came...").

Trump's detractors were quick to dismiss his candidacy, even before he entered the race. They predicted the end of his campaign many, many times, but he kept plowing forward. On Sept. 28 he announced "tax reform that will make America great again." Trump came out with a new book, *Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again* (Threshold Editions, Oct. 27), which featured a photo of a glowering Trump on the cover.<sup>128</sup> As winter started Trump remained the frontrunner in national polls, but there was also a huge undercurrent of skepticism that he could ever actually become the GOP nominee.

## 2016: PATH TO THE NOMINATION

Trump started out his electoral path with a second place finish in Iowa, gaining support of 24.3% of caucus goers to 27.6% for Sen. Ted Cruz. He then won the New Hampshire primary by almost 20 points, 35.6% to 15.9%, achieving more than double the number of votes of his nearest challenger, Gov. John Kasich. Wins in the South Carolina primary and the Nevada caucuses followed. After victories in three of the first four contests Trump could no longer be dismissed.

At the Feb. 25, 2016 debate in Houston, Rubio and Cruz went after Trump, and their direct and forceful attacks appeared to shake him. Trump dismissed them as “lightweight Rubio” and “Lying Ted.”

After a slow start, conservative and Republican critics were piling the attacks on Trump.<sup>128</sup> In January *National Review* ran a special “Against Trump” issue.<sup>1299</sup> Outside groups such as Our Principles PAC, formed by Katie Packer, Make America Awesome, headed by Liz Mair, Club for Growth Action, and American Future Fund ran many hard-hitting ads. In a Mar. 3 speech 2012 Republican nominee Mitt Romney weighed in, labeling Trump a “fraud.” Trump had been scheduled to address CPAC on the morning of Mar. 5, but pulled out the day before. In addition to his conservative

critics, Trump also faced protests from the left.

On Super Tuesday, Mar. 1, Trump won in seven of 11 states (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Vermont and Virginia). On Mar. 15, Trump trounced Sen. Marco Rubio in Rubio’s home state of Florida, forcing him to exit the race and leaving only Cruz and Kasich to challenge him.

All this was accomplished with a rickety campaign organization, a message that stuck to a few endlessly repeated points (build the wall, undo bad trade deals, bomb ISIS...), and huge amounts of free media.

Trump endured a particularly rough patch at the end of March and the first half of April, and the foundations of his campaign appeared very shaky. On Mar. 29 Trump’s campaign manager Corey Lewandowski was charged with battery over an incident involving reporter Michelle Fields earlier in the month at a Florida event. [Lewandowski was cleared on Apr. 13]. In a Mar. 30 town hall with MSNBC’s Chris Matthews, Trump suggested that if abortion became illegal, “There has to be some form of punishment” (for the woman);<sup>130</sup> his campaign issued a clarification, but he clearly had not thought through the issue. A CNN headline declared “3

positions on abortion in 3 hours.”<sup>1311</sup> On Apr. 5 Trump lost the Wisconsin primary by a 13-point margin; Ted Cruz sought to portray the win as a major turning point in the campaign.

Deficiencies in Trump’s campaign organization were becoming apparent. “Multiple staffers and advisors left the campaign last month in protest of the way its management was treating its staff,” *Politico* reported on Apr. 5.<sup>132</sup>

The poll numbers that Trump loved to cite looked great, but the basics of building organizations in later states, lining up support, reaching out to mainstream Republicans, and tracking delegates appeared to have been neglected. While the many negative ads had been driving up Trump’s negatives, his campaign had not put out countering messages, relying instead on free media. Several articles even questioned whether Trump actually wanted to be president.<sup>133</sup>

Trump brought on a couple of veteran political operatives, Paul Manafort (announced Mar. 29 as convention manager and given an expanded role on delegate operations soon thereafter) and Rick Wiley (announced Apr. 13 as political director, but left in May). He secured a solid win in the Apr. 19 primary in his home state of New York

and swept the Apr. 26 contests in Northeast states.

The \$64,000 question in March and April was whether Trump would be able to achieve the 1,237 delegates needed to secure the nomination. The prospect of a contested convention seemed quite possible, even probable, and Trump did not appear to be well positioned to emerge as the nominee. Although skeptics and the #NeverTrump forces continued to doubt and deny that Trump could get to 1,237 and that he could ever actually be the GOP nominee, by the end of April Trump was proclaiming himself the presumptive nominee, and his win in the May 3 Indiana primary made it official.

All told during the primary season Trump garnered just over 14 million total votes, winning 37 contests including the final 16 contests, all primaries. Cruz, his nearest competitor, garnered 7.8 million votes, winning 11 contests.

Throughout, Trump continued getting into controversies. In a Feb. 28 interview on CNN he seemed to equivocate about renouncing support of former KKK grand wizard David Duke. In the Mar. 3 debate he talked about his hand size. In late March he was involved in an unseemly spat with Ted Cruz over their wives. There were concerns that Trump's campaign was creating an atmosphere

of not only division, but of violence. At a Mar. 9 rally in Fayetteville, NC a Trump supporter punched a protester. The scene at a rally planned for Chicago on the evening of Mar. 11 grew so contentious that Trump canceled the event. On Mar. 29 at a CNN town hall in Milwaukee, Trump said he would no longer hold to his pledge to support the Republican nominee. "I have been treated very unfairly, I think, by basically the RNC, the Republican Party, the establishment," he stated. In April as the Cruz campaign outmaneuvered him and picked up delegates in a number of states Trump argued that the Republican system was rigged.

As disconcerting as some of Trump's statements were, questions about his policy chops raised red flags as well. Ideas such as Trump's signature wall, his oft-repeated pledge that the United States should "take the oil" in the Mideast, his threat of 45-percent tariffs on Chinese goods, and his proposed ban on Muslims all had potentially huge downsides. Foreign policy was an area of particular concern. In a March interview with "Morning Joe," Trump stated, "I speak to a lot of people, but my primary consultant is myself, and I have a good instinct for this stuff."<sup>134</sup> A week or so later Trump released the names of some of his foreign policy advisors and the response among

experts was dismissive. On Apr. 27 Trump delivered a major foreign policy address in Washington, DC, and reactions were decidedly mixed.

## PRESUMPTIVE NOMINEE

Trump's big challenge as presumptive nominee was to unify the Republican Party. During the primaries he gained just a handful of endorsements from top elected officials, most notably a timely endorsement from Gov. Chris Christie on Feb 26, and the backing of U.S. Sen. Jeff Sessions from Alabama on Feb. 28.<sup>135</sup> Former challenger Ben Carson endorsed him on Mar. 11.

As the Trump reality set in, skeptics weighed their options. Some Republicans talked about sitting out the presidential race and focusing on saving the Senate and the House. Several prominent conservatives including Erick Erickson and Bill Kristol looked into the possibility of running a third party candidate. Others even considered supporting Hillary Clinton.

Republicans worried about the effects Trump's candidacy could have on down ticket races, while Democrats painted rosy scenarios. DNC chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz declared that one targeted congressman would be "wearing Donald Trump's candidacy

around his neck like an albatross.” A New Hampshire Democratic Party memo made the case that “Donald Trump will drag down NH Republicans this November.” Clinton campaign press releases highlighted many Republican elected officials and conservatives who would not commit to supporting Trump, making the point that “Trump is too big a risk for America.”

## JITTERS

Controversies continued to crop up. For example, on May 12 Trump spent half a day in Washington; he met with Speaker Paul Ryan, who had not yet endorsed him, with Republican House leaders at RNC headquarters, with Sen. Mitch McConnell and top Republican Senators at the NRSC, and he made a stop at Jones Day, the law firm of his campaign counsel. Trump tweeted, “Great day in D.C. with @SpeakerRyan and Republican leadership. Things working out really well!” But the same day the news was filled with stories that a longtime former butler to Trump had made death threats to President Obama, and other stories questioning Trump’s refusal to release his tax returns. Critics sought to make a major issue of the tax returns, but Trump did not budge, citing an ongoing audit and then declaring, “It’s none of your business.” Trump filed

a personal financial disclosure form with the FEC, noting it is “the largest in the history of the FEC.”

Another Trump-related media flurry from May revolved around Trump posing as his own spokesman in 1980s using the names John Barron or John Miller. Violence by anti-Trump protesters marred Trump’s June 2 rally in San Jose, California. In late May and early June, Trump railed against U.S. District Judge Gonzalo Curiel, who was overseeing a case on Trump University, setting off another frenzy. Although Curiel was born in Indiana, Trump held that his Mexican heritage posed a conflict. Trump’s speech on June 13 in response to the mass shooting in Orlando was seen as self-centered and was poorly received. Also on June 13 Trump announced that he was “revoking the press credentials of the phony and dishonest *Washington Post*.” A July 2 tweet “Crooked Hillary—Makes History!” showing a six-pointed star and stacks of money, raised charges of anti-Semitism; Trump countered by tweeting, “Dishonest media is trying their absolute best to depict a star in a tweet as the Star of David rather than a Sheriff’s Star, or plain star!”

Regardless of the controversies that kept popping up, there were questions about whether Trump would be

able to mount a competitive general election campaign. As June began his campaign organization appeared tiny and ramshackle compared to the large, sophisticated and well-tuned Clinton organization. *Politico* reported that as of the end of April the Clinton campaign had ten times more staff than the Trump campaign.<sup>1366</sup> In a June 13 tweet, *Politico*’s Glenn Thrush quipped that Trump had “the organizational support and policy infrastructure of a food truck.” There was considerable tension between Paul Manafort, who had risen to campaign chairman and chief strategist, and campaign manager Corey Lewandowski. On June 20 Trump finally fired the controversial Lewandowski. FEC reports that came out the next day showed Trump’s campaign had just \$1.3 million in cash on hand as June began compared to more than \$42 million for the Clinton campaign. While several super PACs supporting Trump had formed, it was unclear which, if any, were sanctioned, potentially undermining those efforts. As June progressed, the Trump campaign did bring on additional staff and significantly ramped up its fundraising.

Meanwhile the general election anti-Trump ad barrage began on May 17 when the pro-Clinton super PAC Priorities USA Action launched a couple of spots in four battleground states.

“Speak” featured a series of women repeating misogynistic quotes Trump had made. Democrats and their allies had numerous possible lines of attack on Trump, some of which had been tried by his opponents during the primaries. A 200-plus page DNC opposition research file on Trump surfaced in mid-June, after the DNC’s computer network was hacked. The report detailed such narratives as “Trump has no core,” “Divisive and offensive campaign,” “bad businessman,” and “dangerous and irresponsible policies.” ABC News reported that in June the Clinton campaign its allies, particularly Priorities USA Action, spent a total of \$20 million more on TV advertising than the Trump campaign and its allies.<sup>1377</sup>

Trump sought to strengthen his appeal to conservatives. On May 18 he released a list of 11 people he would consider as potential Supreme Court nominees. In June he addressed the Faith & Freedom Coalition’s “Road To Majority” conference and spoke to faith leaders. Trump gained support from some former critics. Former Gov. Rick Perry endorsed him on May 5. In late May Sen. Marco Rubio signalled he would vote for Trump. Speaker Paul Ryan endorsed him on June 2. However, there was also a steady trickle of conservatives who said they could not support Trump (George Will and former

RNC chair Marc Racicot, for example) and quite a few Republican governors declined to endorse Trump. Trump’s selection of Gov. Mike Pence as his running mate, announced in a July 15 tweet, was welcomed by conservatives.

Still there was talk of a “convention coup.” Trump opponents organized efforts to persuade the RNC Rules Committee to “unbind” the delegates and allow them to vote their consciences. North Dakota RNC committeeman Curly Haugland had long argued that under party rules delegates were not bound to vote for a specific candidate. Kendal Unruh and Regina Thomson, delegates from Colorado, came to the fore in mid-June with their effort to “Free the Delegates.” “Delegates Unbound,” a 501(c)(4), ran ads on national cable TV in late June contrasting President Reagan and Donald Trump and urging delegates to “choose your values...follow your conscience.”

Attention focused on the Convention Rules Committee. The 112 members, consisting of one male and one female delegate from each state, territory and DC, would meet in Cleveland on July 14, days before the start of the Convention.



# Primary and Caucus Results

Feb. 1	c	Iowa	30	<b>Cruz 51,666 (27.6%)</b> Trump 45,429 (24.3%) Rubio 43,228 (23.1%) Carson 17,394 (9.3%) Paul 8,481 Bush 5,238 (2.8%) Fiorina 3,485 (1.9%) Kasich 3,474 (1.9%) Huckabee 3,345 (1.8%) Christie 3,284 (1.8%) Santorum 1,778 (0.95%) Others 117 Gilmore 12 ...Total: 186,932.
Feb. 9	p	New Hampshire	23	<b>Trump 100,735 (35.60%)</b> Kasich 44,932 (15.88%) Cruz 33,244 (11.75%) Bush 31,341 (11.08%) Rubio 30,071 (10.63%) Christie 21,089 (7.45%) Fiorina 11,774 (4.18%) Carson 6,527 (2.31%) More [22] 3,266 (1.15%) ...Total: 282,979.
Feb 20	p	South Carolina	50	<b>Trump 240,882 (32.51%)</b> Rubio 166,565 (22.48%) Cruz 165,417 (22.33%) Bush 58,056 (7.84%) Kasich 56,410 (7.61%) Carson 53,551 (7.23%) ...Total: 740,881.
Feb. 23	c	Nevada	30	<b>Trump 34,531 (45.91%)</b> Rubio 17,940 (23.85%) Cruz 16,079 (21.38%) Carson 3,619 (4.81%) Kasich 2,709 (3.60%) More [6] 338 (0.44%) ...Total: 75,216.
Mar. 1	p	Alabama	50	<b>Trump 373,721 (43.42%)</b> Cruz 181,479 (21.09%) Rubio 160,606 (18.66%) Carson 88,094 (10.24%) Kasich 38,119 (4.43%) Uncommitted 7,953 (0.92%) More [7] 10,680 (1.24%) ...Total: 860,652.
	c	Alaska	28	<b>Cruz 8,369 (36.38%)</b> Trump 7,740 (33.64%) Rubio 3,488 (15.16%) Carson 2,492 (10.83%) Kasich 918 (3.99%) ...Total: 23,007.
	p	Arkansas	40	<b>Trump 134,744 (32.79%)</b> Cruz 125,340 (30.50%) Rubio 101,910 (24.80%) Carson 23,521 (5.72%) Kasich 15,305 (3.72%) More [8] 10,100 (2.46%) ...Total: 410,920.
	p	Georgia	76	<b>Trump 502,994 (38.81%)</b> Rubio 316,836 (24.45%) Cruz 305,846 (23.60%) Carson 80,723 (6.23%) Kasich 72,508 (5.59%) More [8] 17,056 (1.32%) ...Total: 1,295,963.
	p	Massachusetts	42	<b>Trump 312,425 (49.10%)</b> Kasich 114,434 (17.99%) Rubio 113,170 (17.79%) Cruz 60,592 (9.52%) Carson 16,360 (2.57%) More [8+others] 16,062 (2.52%) No Pref. 3,220 (0.51%) ...Total: 636,263.
	p	Minnesota	38	<b>Rubio 41,184 (36.2%)</b> Cruz 33,142 (29.1%) Trump 24,433 (21.5%) Carson 8,407 (7.4%) Kasich 6,531 (5.7%) Write In 208 (0.2%) ...Total: 113,905.

	p	Oklahoma	43	<b>Cruz 157,078 (34.37%)</b> Trump 130,267 (28.32%) Rubio 119,633 (26.01%) Carson 28,601 (6.22%) Kasich 16,524 (3.59%) More [7] 16,062 (2.52%) ... <i>Total</i> : 459,922.
	p	Tennessee	58	<b>Trump 333,180 (38.94%)</b> Cruz 211,471 (24.71%) Rubio 181,274 (21.18%) Carson 64,951 (7.59%) Kasich 45,301 (5.29%) More [9] 17,714 (2.07%) Uncommitted 1,849 (0.22%) ... <i>Total</i> : 873,443.
	p	Texas	155	<b>Cruz 1,241,118 (43.76%)</b> Trump 758,762 (26.75%) Rubio 503,055 (17.74%) Kasich 120,473 (4.25%) Carson 117,969 (4.16%) More [8] 65,502 (2.31%) Uncommitted 29,609 (1.04%) ... <i>Total</i> : 2,836,488.
	p	Vermont	16	<b>Trump 19,974 (32.52%)</b> Kasich 18,534 (30.17%) Rubio 11,781 (19.18%) Cruz 5,932 (9.66%) Carson 2,551 (4.15%) More [5 + write-ins] 2,656 (4.32%) ... <i>Total</i> : 61,428.
	p	Virginia	49	<b>Trump 356,840 (34.80%)</b> Rubio 327,918 (31.98%) Cruz 171,150 (16.69%) Kasich 97,784 (9.54%) Carson 60,228 (5.87%) More [8] 11,532 (1.12%) <i>Total</i> : 1,025,452.
Mar. 5	c	Kansas	40	<b>Cruz 37,510 (47.49%)</b> Trump 18,443 (23.35%) Rubio 13,295 (16.83%) Kasich 8,741 (11.07%) Others [3] 708 ... <i>Total</i> : 78,978.
	p	Kentucky	46	<b>Trump 82,492 (35.92%)</b> Cruz 72,503 (31.57%) Rubio 37,579 (16.36%) Kasich 33,134 (14.43%) Uncommitted 496 (0.22%) More [7] 3,462 (1.51%) ... <i>Total</i> : 229,667.
	p	Louisiana	46	<b>Trump 124,854 (41.45%)</b> Cruz 113,968 (37.83%) Rubio 33,813 (11.22%) Kasich 19,359 (6.43%) Carson 4,544 (1.51%) More [9] 4,703 (1.56%) <i>Total</i> : 301,241.
	c	Maine	23	<b>Cruz 8,550 (45.84%)</b> Trump 6,070 (32.55%) Kasich 2,270 (12.17%) Rubio 1,492 (8.00%) More [5] 245 (1.44%) ... <i>Total</i> : 18,627.
Mar. 6	p	Puerto Rico	23	<b>Rubio 27,277 (70.94%)</b> Trump 5,014 (13.04%) Cruz 3,320 (8.63%) Kasich 517 (1.34%) More [8] 849 (2.29%) <i>Total</i> : 36,977.
Mar. 8	c	Hawaii	19	<b>Trump 6,805 (43.42%)</b> Cruz 5,063 (32.31%) Rubio 2,068 (13.20%) Kasich 1,566 (9.99%) More [2] 170 (1.08%) <i>Total</i> : 15,672.
	p	Idaho	32	<b>Cruz 100,889 (45.4%)</b> Trump 62,413 (28.1%) Rubio 35,290 (15.9%) Kasich 16,514 (7.4%) More [9] 6,898 (3.2%) <i>Total</i> : 222,004.

Mar. 8	p	Michigan	59	<b>Trump 483,753 (36.55%)</b> Cruz 326,627 (24.68%) Kasich 321,115 (24.26%) Rubio 123,587 (9.34%) More [9] 45,693 (3.45%) Uncommitted 22,824 (1.72%) <i>Total: 1,323,599.</i>
	p	Mississippi	40	<b>Trump 196,659 (47.24%)</b> Cruz 150,364 (36.12%) Kasich 36,795 (8.84%) Rubio 21,885 (5.26%) More [9] 10,567 (2.54%) <i>Total: 416,270.</i>
Mar. 10	c	U.S. Virgin Islands	9	
Mar. 12	c	Dist. of Columbia	19	<b>Rubio 37.30%</b> Kasich 35.54% Trump 13.77% Cruz 12.36% <i>...Total: 2,839.</i>
	c	Guam	9	
	c	Wyoming	29	<b>Cruz 1,128</b> Rubio 231 Trump 112 Kasich 42 Undeclared 75 <i>...Total: 1,590.</i>
Mar. 15	p	Florida	99	<b>Trump 1,079,870 (45.72%)</b> Rubio 638,661 (27.04%) Cruz 404,891 (17.14%) Kasich 159,976 (6.77%) More [9] 78,385 (3.32%) <i>...Total: 2,361,805.</i>
	p	Illinois	69	<b>Trump 562,464 (38.80%)</b> Cruz 438,235 (30.23%) Kasich 286,118 (19.74%) Rubio 126,681 (8.74%) More [8] 36,250 (2.50%) <i>...Total: 1,449,748.</i>
	p	Missouri	52	<b>Trump 383,631 (40.84%)</b> Cruz 381,666 (40.63%) Kasich 94,857 (10.10%) Rubio 57,244 (6.10%) More [8] 18,647 (1.99%) Uncommitted 3,225 (0.34%) <i>...Total: 939,270.</i>
	p	North Carolina	72	<b>Trump 462,413 (40.23%)</b> Cruz 422,611 (36.76%) Kasich 145,659 (12.67%) Rubio 88,907 (7.73%) More [8] 23,849 (2.07%) No Preference 6,081 (0.53%) <i>...Total: 1,149,520.</i>
	c	Northern Marianas	9	<b>Trump 343</b> Cruz 113 Kasich 10 Rubio 5 <i>...Total: 471.</i>
	p	Ohio	66	<b>Kasich 933,886 (46.95%)</b> Trump 713,404 (35.87%) Cruz 264,640 (13.31%) Rubio 46,478 (2.34%) More [6] 30,552 (1.54%) <i>...Total: 1,988,960.</i>
Mar. 22	c	American Samoa	9	
	p	Arizona	58	<b>Trump 286,743 (45.95%)</b> Cruz 172,294 (27.61%) Rubio 72,304 (11.59%) Kasich 65,965 (10.57%) More [10] 26,733 (4.28%) <i>...Total: 624,039.</i>
	c	Utah	40	<b>Cruz 122,567 (69.17%)</b> Kasich 29,773 (16.80%) Trump 24,864 (14.03%) <i>...Total: 177,204.*</i>

Apr. 1-3	c	North Dakota	28	convention...delegates unbound..
Apr. 5	p	Wisconsin	42	<b>Cruz 533,079 (48.26%)</b> Trump 387,295 (35.06%) Kasich 155,902 (14.11%) More [9+write ins] 26,006 (2.35%) Uninstructed 2,281 (0.21%) ... <i>Total: 1,104,563.</i>
Apr. 8-9	c	Colorado	37	process culminated in state convention... <b>Cruz</b> won all delegates.
Apr. 19	p	New York	95	<b>Trump 554,522 (60.16%)</b> Kasich 231,166 (25.08%) Cruz 136,083 (14.76%) <i>Total: 921,771.</i>
Apr. 26	p	Connecticut	28	<b>Trump 123,523 (57.86%)</b> Kasich 60,522 (28.35%) Cruz 24,987 (11.79%) Carson 1,733 (0.81%) Uncommitted 2,728 (1.28%) ... <i>Total: 213,493.</i>
	p	Delaware	16	<b>Trump 42,472 (60.80%)</b> Kasich 14,225 (20.35%) Cruz 11,110 (15.89%) More [3] 2,085 ... <i>Total: 69,892.</i>
	p	Maryland	38	<b>Trump 248,343 (54.10%)</b> Kasich 106,614 (23.22%) Cruz 87,093 (18.97%) More [8] 17,016 (3.71%) ... <i>Total: 459,066.</i>
	p	Pennsylvania	71	<b>Trump 902,593 (56.61%)</b> Cruz 345,506 (21.67%) Kasich 310,003 (19.44%) More [3] 36,373 (2.28%) ... <i>Total: 1,594,475.</i>
	p	Rhode Island	19	<b>Trump 39,221 (63.66%)</b> Kasich 14,963 (24.29%) Cruz 6,416 (10.41%) More [Rubio, Uncomm., w/in] 1,014 (1.65%) ... <i>Total: 61,614.</i>
May 3	p	Indiana	57	<b>Trump 590,170 (53.25%)</b> Cruz 406,060 (36.64%) Kasich 83,919 (7.57%) More [6] 28,058 (2.53%) ... <i>Total: 1,108,207.</i>

Donald Trump became the presumptive nominee with his win in the May 3 Indiana primary. Sen. Ted Cruz dropped out on the evening of May 3 and Gov. John Kasich bowed out the next day. There were still nine more primaries (445 delegates). Trump won all of the contests handily.

May 10 – Nebraska (36): Trump 122,327 of 198,988 (61.43%). West Virginia (34): Trump 157,238 of 204,161 (77.05%).

May 17 – Oregon (28): Trump 252,748 of 393,920 (64.16%).

May 24 – Washington (44): Trump 455,023 of 602,988 (74.46%).

June 7 – California (172): Trump 1,665,135 of 2,227,306 (74.8%). Montana (27): 115,594 of 156,888 (73.68%). New Jersey (51): 360,212 of 447,952 (80.41%). New Mexico (24): 73,908 of 104,627 (70.64%). South Dakota (29): 44,867 of 66,879 (67.09%).

# Campaign Finance

## RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES

Candidate Committee	Total Contrib.	Cand. Loans	Transfers	Total Receipts	Disbursements
<b>Donald J. Trump for Pres Inc.</b>	39,402,053	47,508,505		91,298,110	71,087,145
<b>Cruz for President</b>	92,212,158		250,013	92,624,351	86,285,611
<b>Carson America</b>	63,466,991			64,243,961	62,510,068
<b>Marco Rubio for President</b>	53,205,766		2,700,162	57,344,140	57,856,812
<b>Jeb 2016, Inc.</b>	34,365,075	250,000		35,415,733	35,409,278
<b>Kasich for America</b>	19,329,856			19,447,019	19,335,914
<b>Rand Paul for President, Inc.</b>	10,276,493		1,735,263	12,256,255	12,253,697
<b>Carly for President</b>	12,066,763			12,119,567	11,254,591
<b>Chris Christie for President</b>	8,572,919			8,766,138	8,726,870
<b>Scott Walker Inc</b>	8,263,290			8,678,545	8,599,593
<b>Lindsey Graham 2016</b>	3,813,187		1,975,000	5,832,710	5,756,054
<b>Huckabee for President, Inc.</b>	4,318,304			4,326,804	4,314,705
<b>Jindal for President</b>	1,442,464			1,442,463	1,442,463
<b>Perry for President Inc.</b>	1,336,316			1,427,251	1,824,314
<b>Santorum for President 2016</b>	1,370,662	24,000		1,418,158	1,405,988
<b>Pataki for President, Inc.</b>	502,847	20,000		538,783	524,850
<b>Gilmore for America LLC</b>	106,395	279,075		387,261	385,654

Notes. Table is based on July 2016 FEC reports (through June 30). This coincides roughly with the end of the primary period, although campaign committees often continue to raise and spend some money after the candidate quits. Figures are rounded to the nearest dollar.

Total contributions is line 17e from the FEC reports. Included in total contributions are contributions by the candidate. Several candidates made such contributions: Trump \$2,442,137.97; Bush \$545,703.65; Huckabee \$21,700.00. Not included in the table is Mark Everson; his committee reported contributions of \$190,203 of which he contributed \$138,681. He also loaned \$237,000, and, in total, spent \$430,737.

Loans received from or guaranteed by candidate is line 19a; in some cases these loans are later forgiven, becoming contributions.

## RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY SUPER PACS (INDEP. EXPENDITURE ONLY)

Super PAC		Support	Fed. Receipts	Op.Expend.	Indep.Expend.	Contrib.Refund
<b>Right to Rise USA</b>	01/06/15	Bush	121,695,224	17,531,287	86,817,478	13,928,095
<b>The 2016 Committee</b>	10/23/14	Carson	15,020,143	8,542,586	6,167,228	52,524
<b>America Leads</b>	02/23/15	Christie	20,315,625	1,677,815	18,579,149	—
<b>Keep the Promise PAC</b>	04/07/15	Cruz	5,188,867	3,676,695	1,295,580	5040
<b>Keep the Promise I</b>	04/06/15	Cruz	20,737,584	2,503,957	13,432,442	—
<b>Keep the Promise II</b>	04/07/15	Cruz	10,000,000	1,033,533	—	8,966,466
<b>Keep the Promise III</b>	04/07/15	Cruz	17,245,944	6,538,516	2,273,769	8,233,658
<b>Trusted Leadership PAC</b>	02/19/16	Cruz	8,433,319	1,484,726	4,881,853	110,000
<b>CARLY for America</b>	02/25/15	Fiorina	14,339,490	9,657,146	3,837,604	6,158
<b>Growth PAC</b>	09/22/14	Gilmore	433,082	296,524	—	50
<b>Security Is Strength PAC</b>	03/03/15	Graham	4,662,583	493,284	3,845,387	25,000
<b>Pursuing America's Greatness</b>	03/11/15	Huckabee	4,992,303	1,410,938	3,517,725	90
<b>Believe Again</b>	01/22/15	Jindal	4,472,589	1,837,716	2,634,873	—
<b>New Day for America</b>	07/23/15	Kasich	15,596,477	9,961,619	11,189,337	250,000
<b>New Day Indep. Media Comm.</b>	08/06/15	Kasich	2,380,813	149,805	4,512,260	—
<b>We the People, Not Washington</b>	01/05/15	Pataki	1,547,674	1,428,896	118,778	—
<b>America's Liberty PAC</b>	10/16/12	Paul	5,197,463	3,139,659	1,907,308	1,000
<b>Concerned American Voters</b>	06/12/15	Paul	5,475,118	—	3,301,805	140,232
<b>Opportunity and Freedom PAC</b>	03/04/15	Perry	4,120,014	1,745,688	1,859,326	515,000
<b>Conservative Solutions PAC</b>	02/04/13	Rubio	60,564,219	2,950,005	55,443,629	30,000
<b>Working Again PAC</b>	07/01/15	Santorum	359,207	173,999	161,208	—
<b>Make America Great Again</b>	06/30/15	Trump	1,742,684	555,616	—	1,033,000
<b>Unintimidated PAC</b>	04/16/15	Walker	24,127,172	3,478,795	2,249,021	18,397,960

Source: FEC two-year reports.

## PRE-CAMPAIGN VEHICLES

Most potential presidential candidates have or form some kind of vehicle to engage in their political activities and travels in the pre-campaign period. Leadership PACs and 501(c)(4)s are the most common entities. A leadership PAC allows a potential candidate to make contributions to various candidates and party committees, and it may run independent expenditure ads in support of candidates; in addition to national PACs some prospects may establish state PACs. 501(c)(4) organizations, which allow for nonpartisan education and advocacy on issues, do not permit engaging in campaigning as a primary purpose.

## THE MONEY PRIMARY

Before the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary, before they even announce their candidacies, presidential hopefuls are thrust into “the money primary” in which they must woo big donors and build a fundraising operation.

Early money is particularly important as it brings credibility and may serve to deter other candidates from entering the race. There are two major kinds of money. Money raised by the campaign committees is subject to contribution

limits of \$2,700 per individual, which is very constraining. Super PACs can raise money and spend unlimited amounts in support of a candidate, but the funds must be used for independent expenditures and there can be no coordination with the campaign.

Another category is dark money, exemplified by some 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations. For example, one such group, American Future Fund, ran ads against Kasich, Cruz and Trump during the Republican primary campaign.

Observers paid close attention to second quarter 2015 FEC reports from the campaign committees and mid-year reports from the super PACs for an early indication of how the candidates were faring.

Press releases from July 2015 told the tale as the campaigns and super PACs sought to put the best possible spin on their fundraising numbers: “Cruz Supporters Combine to Raise Over \$51 million for Presidential Bid,” “New Day for America Raises Over \$11.5 Million,” “Opportunity and Freedom PAC Raised Nearly \$17 Million,” “Marco Rubio raises \$13.2m in hard dollars” and “Unintimated PAC Announces Top-Tier Fundraising Haul.” The most impressive numbers came from Right to Rise USA, the super PAC supporting Jeb Bush,

which reported total receipts of \$103.1 million and cash on hand of \$97.7 million. Third quarter and year-end reports were likewise closely watched. In addition to considering how much a campaign has raised, it is also important to look at its “burn rate,” or how much it is spending.

Campaigns bring in money by soliciting donations at receptions, dinners and other events, by making calls, by direct mail solicitations, and through email and online appeals. Merchandise also brings in a bit of money. Sitting Senators or congressmen can start with a fundraising advantage for they have the ability to convert funds from their re-election committees to their presidential campaign committees. A wealthy candidate can also boost his or her campaign through contributions and loans. For example, though mid-2016 Donald Trump’s campaign reported \$2.4 million in contributions as well as \$49.9 million in loans received from or guaranteed by the candidate. Finally, a voluntary system of partial public financing was still in place for the 2016 campaign, but none of the Republican candidates opted to participate in it.

Considering the primary period, the Center for Responsive Politics found that through May 31, 2016 Republican presidential candidate committees spent

“This committee intends to make independent expenditures, and consistent with the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit decision in *SpeechNow v. FEC*, it therefore intends to raise funds in unlimited amounts. This committee will not use those funds to make contributions, whether direct, in-kind, or via coordinated communications, to federal candidates or committees.”

a total of \$319.4 million while outside money groups spent \$273.6 million on the Republican primary during the same period. (Through June 30, 2016 campaign committees spent a total of \$372.7 million, while outside money group spending remained virtually unchanged at \$273.6 million). Outside groups comprised 49 super PACs and 48 other committees; the overwhelming majority of outside spending, about 93%, was done by super PACs.<sup>138</sup>

Candidates raise all this money to hire talent, open offices, sustain their organizations, spread their messages and, of course buy ads. Super PACs and other outside groups have a much greater focus on ads. On May 12, 2016 the Wesleyan Media Project reported Republican candidates and Republican-leaning groups spent a total of \$270.5 million on television advertising from Jan. 1, 2015 to May 8, 2016, an estimated \$64.14 million by the campaigns and \$206.35 million from outside groups.<sup>139</sup>

### **THE SUPER PAC ELECTION: A PARALLEL UNIVERSE**

Super PACs closely aligned with potential presidential candidates sprouted up following the 2014 midterms and in early 2015, in many

cases getting a head start on the campaigns themselves. Super PACs are nominally independent and are forbidden from directly coordinating with the campaigns, but there are inevitably connections through staff and advisors. For example, Mike Murphy, the strategist for the pro-Bush Right to Rise USA, had known Bush since 1997 when he worked on Bush’s 1998 campaign for governor; Murphy also served as strategist for Bush’s leadership PAC before Bush announced his candidacy.<sup>140</sup> Likewise, the executive director of the CARLY for America super PAC served as political director of Fiorina’s Unlocking Potential in the lead-up to the campaign. Once an individual formally enters the race and becomes a candidate, the wall between the candidate and the super PAC must be clear. Also, note that in addition to the “officially sanctioned” super PACs, there were many other independent super PACs formed by activists operating on a smaller or much smaller scale.

Super PACs arose following the *SpeechNow v. FEC* decision in 2010 and first had an impact in 2012, starting in the Republican primaries. In 2016 many of the super PACs were better funded than the candidates’ official campaigns. The super PACs essentially waged the campaign in a parallel universe, engaging in a variety

of activities from TV advertising and persuasion mail to field offices with volunteers making calls. Indeed, one of the most interesting aspects of the 2016 Republican primary campaign was seeing the range of activities undertaken by the official campaign committees on the one hand and the respective super PACs on the other.

In addition to the money that went into independent expenditures in support of the preferred candidate (or against opponents), a share of super PAC funds went into operating expenses and, when candidates dropped out of the race, some went into refunds. Super PACs ranged from lean operations to others where consultants no doubt padded their pockets. It is worth considering which of the 2015–16 crop of super PACs were most effective and whether all that money made a difference.

- **Right to Rise USA (pro-Bush)**

famously raised over \$100 million—just under \$121.7 million to be precise. The Wesleyan Media Project estimated that Right to Rise USA spent \$62.4 million on TV advertising, the most of any group in the presidential race.<sup>14041</sup> It also put a lot into digital advertising and persuasion mail. One piece, mimicking a “Godfather” movie poster, portrayed Bush as “Veto Corleone.” An ad showed Marco Rubio as a weather vane. A billboard in New

Hampshire read, “Donald Trump is unhinged.” —Jeb Bush.”

- **The 2016 Committee (pro-Carson)**

started as the National Draft Ben Carson for President Committee in Aug. 2013. In 2014 it ran a thoroughly grassroots effort that helped propel Dr. Carson into the race. According to its 2014 post-election report filed with the FEC (through Nov. 24), the super PAC raised more than \$12.2 million dollars. Draft Carson announced 99 county chairs in Iowa on Oct. 20, 2014, and opened offices in Iowa and New Hampshire in Dec. 2014. Unlike most of the other super PACs which had a big money emphasis, The 2016 Committee focused on small donations through direct mail. The 2016 Committee printed 1.4 million copies of a small paperback book, *Ben Carson Rx for America*, by the PAC’s chairman John Philip Sousa IV, and volunteers distributed most of them. (Another pro-Carson super PAC, Our Children’s Future PAC formed on May 4, 2015. It was to focus on large-dollar fundraising and collaborate with The 2016 Committee, but failed to take off).

- **America Leads (pro-Christie)** spent an estimated \$14.2 million on TV ads, accounting for over 90% of pro-Christie ad airings.<sup>14242</sup> The campaign concentrated on New Hampshire, and

many of the ads were based on clips of Christie in town halls.

- **Keep the Promise (pro-Cruz):**

Supporters of Cruz launched the network of four affiliated super PACs—Keep the Promise PAC, Keep the Promise I, Keep the Promise II and Keep the Promise III)—in April 2015. (Keep the Promise I later changed its name to Make America Number 1).

Six big donors contributed just over \$36 million to these pro-Cruz super PACs:

Keep the Promise I – \$11,000,000 from Robert Mercer, co-CEO of Renaissance Technologies, a hedge fund.

Keep the Promise II – \$10,000,000 from Toby Neugebauer, co-founder of Quantum Energy Partners, a Houston private equity firm. (Most of this was later refunded).

Keep the Promise III – \$15,000,000 from the Wilks family: \$5,000,000 each from Farris and Jo Ann Wilks, and \$2,500,000 each from Daniel and Staci Wilks. Farris and Daniel Wilks are brothers, based in Texas, who founded Frac Tech.

In Feb. 2016 the pro-Cruz super

PACs underwent a reconfiguration, and Trusted Leadership PAC was formed as an umbrella group to open up fundraising. Activities of the pro-Cruz super PACs included field organizations in a number of states and advertising.

Also of note, some Cruz supporters were dissatisfied with the efforts of the “sanctioned” super PACs. Other groups including Stand for Truth, Inc. and Courageous Conservatives PAC formed and did some advertising.

- **CARLY for America (pro-Fiorina):** More than any of the candidates, Fiorina devolved a significant share of campaign activity to the supportive super PAC, CARLY for America, while the official campaign committee, Carly for President, was a relatively thin organization. The Fiorina field effort was run by the super PAC.

This super PAC was originally called Carly for America, providing ample opportunity for confusion with the official campaign committee Carly for President. On June 16, 2015, after receiving a letter of reprimand from the Federal Election Commission, the super PAC filed to change the name to Conservative, Authentic, Responsive Leadership for You and for America (CARLY for America).

- **Security Is Strength PAC (pro-Graham)** spent most of its funds on TV and cable advertising.
- **Pursuing America's Greatness (pro-Huckabee):** The Huckabee camp's TV advertising came in the form of three spots from Pursuing America's Greatness run in Iowa in Dec. 2015 and Jan. 2016. All told the super PAC spent \$2.7 million on advertising and \$80,000 on radio advertising. About \$715,000 went into direct mail postage and production.
- **Believe Again (Jindal)** raised three times as much as Jindal's campaign committee. Believe Again organized many town halls in Iowa, and did a small amount of advertising.
- **New Day for America (pro-Kasich)** started as a 527 organization on April 20, 2015. The super PAC launched on July 23 with \$6,580,209 in cash on hand. New Day for America had an extensive field operation, the biggest of any of the super PACs. It opened six offices in New Hampshire, six in South Carolina, and reported more than 50 staff and 14 offices operating in 12 of the March primary states. **New Day Independent Media Committee**, also supporting Kasich, also started as a 527. It focused on media, producing more than two dozen different TV

spots that ran from Aug. 2015 to late April 2016.

- **America's Liberty PAC and Concerned American Voters (pro-Paul):** America's Liberty PAC focused its resources on TV advertising as well as some direct mail and radio and digital advertising. Concerned American Voters launched in June 2015 claiming “40 full-time staff in Iowa.” It focused on voter contact and also did some work in Nevada. In Iowa CAV targeted registered and likely Republican caucus goers. Field staff made 603,846 phone calls (14.4% of surveys completed) and knocked on 504,001 doors (29.7% of surveys completed); this was followed by a targeted online ad program. Concerned American Voters was an example of a hybrid PAC (Carey committee) which functions as both a traditional PAC, for making contributions in federal elections subject to limitations, and a super PAC, which can take in unlimited contributions and make independent expenditures. These committees must maintain separate bank accounts for each activity.
- **Opportunity and Freedom PAC (pro-Perry):** This super PAC raised a modest \$4.1 million; most of its independent expenditures went into

media, including a \$1 million national buy on Fox News for July 16–25. Also formed to support Perry was **Opportunity and Freedom I**, which reported two contributions from Texas billionaires: \$5 million from retired tech executive Darwin Deason and \$5 million from Energy Transfer Partners chairman Kelcy Warren. Opportunity and Freedom I never engaged; of the \$10 million, \$1.1 million was transferred and \$8.88 million refunded.

- **Conservative Solutions PAC (pro-Rubio)** was the second biggest super PAC on the Republican side after the pro-Bush Right to Rise USA, raising \$60.5 million. It spent an estimated \$50.9 million on TV advertising,<sup>14343</sup> the second most of any group, and put a lot into negative advertising, including ads attacking Bush, Christie and Cruz and later Trump. Note that there was also **Conservative Solutions Project, Inc.**, a 501(c)(4), which shared the address and staff with the super PAC and spent at least \$5.5 million on Rubio-promoting ads. This was one of the “dark money” groups and was subject of a complaint filed with the FEC. (In Dec. 2016 the FEC divided in a 3–3 vote on the matter and the file was closed).<sup>1444</sup>
- **Unintimidated PAC (pro-Walker)** ended up refunding \$18.3 million

of \$24.1 raised after Walker’s early departure from the race.

- **Make America Great Again (pro-Trump)** formed at the end of June 2015 but shut down in October after the *Washington Post* raised questions about whether it was coordinating with the campaign.<sup>1455</sup>

Part of Trump’s appeal as a primary candidate was the premise that as a self-funding candidate he was not beholden to big money exemplified by the super PACs. During the primary period (through June 30) Trump’s campaign reported \$2.4 million in contributions from the candidate and close to \$50 million in loans received from or guaranteed by the candidate. Trump’s campaign took in contributions totaling \$39.4 million during this period.

- **Our Principles PAC** formed specifically to oppose Trump’s candidacy. The super PAC filed rather late in the game, on Jan. 14, 2016; it reported total federal receipts of \$19.0 million and independent expenditures of \$18.3 million. The Wesleyan Media Project reported it “aired 7,000 ads attacking Donald Trump...the fourth highest number of ads” of the outside groups, at an estimated cost of \$8.4 million.<sup>1466</sup>

# Notes

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## THE EVOLVING FIELD

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## APPENDIX I: PRIMARY AND CAUCUS RESULTS

Results compiled from secretaries of state and state parties. For more detailed results and background see: “2016 Republican Calendar—The Road to Cleveland” at <http://www.p2016.org/chrnothp/calendar16r.html>.

## APPENDIX II: CAMPAIGN FINANCE

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