

# **Charlottesville, VA**

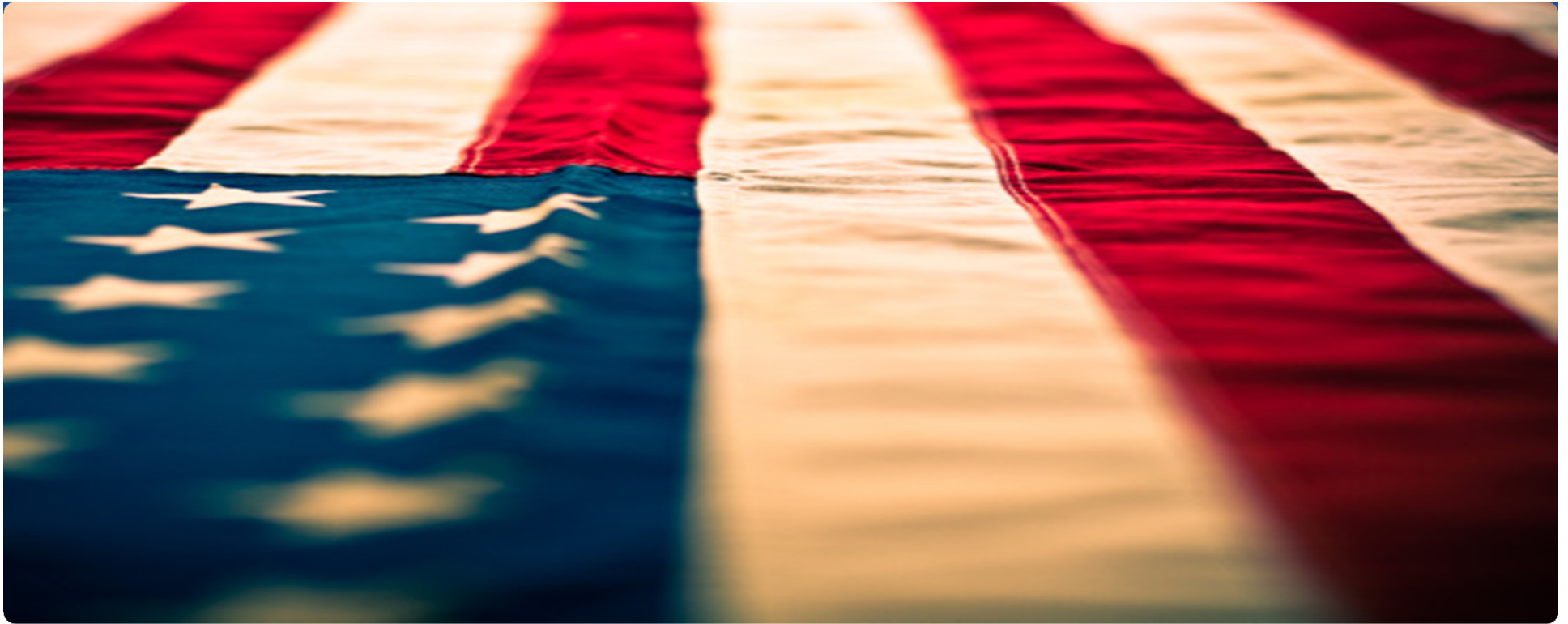
## **December 14, 2016**

---

**Jim Hobart**

**Terry Cooper**





# **First some fun – Two Excellent TV Commercials**

# BERNIE SANDERS' "AMERICA"





# **“PLEASE RE-ELECT GERALD”**









# THE NEW YORKER THE BOROWITZ REPORT

*The news reshuffled.*



BY ANDY BOROWITZ



## Putin Appears with Trump in Flurry of Swing-State Rallies

Infused with a sense of urgency as Election Day nears, the Trump campaign has enlisted President Vladimir Putin, of Russia, to appear with the Republican nominee in a dizzying array of swing-state rallies over the weekend.







# NEW YORK POST

Page  
Six

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 2016 / Breezy, 64° / Weather: P. 22 • • LATE CITY FINAL nypost.com \$1.25

**DICKILEAKS: FBI REOPENS E-MAIL CASE**

# STROKING GUN

**Weiner sext  
probe found  
Hill evidence**

The FBI is looking at new e-mails in the Hillary Clinton private-server case — messages the feds found because they were investigating Anthony Weiner's sexts to a teenager.

**PAGES 4-5**





# THE NEW THE BO REPC

*The news reshuffled.*



BY ANDY B



## Gary Johnson Says His Favorite Foreign Leader Is Obi-Wan Kenobi

“Obi-Wan Kenobi is a Jedi Master,” Johnson said.

“More than anyone else, he taught me that the Force is already strong with me.”

# SOME REACTIONS

- **“I JUST WANT TO TAKE A SHOWER”**



This election is so stressful I've had to double up on my therapy - The Washington Post

**The Washington Post**

Health & Science

# This election is so stressful I've had to double up on my therapy

By Gigi Anders October 30

# OBITUARIES & IN MEMORIAM

## NOLAND, MARY ANNE

posted 6 months ago May 17th, 2016

Print

Font Size:



NOLAND, MARY ANNE

NOLAND, Mary Anne Alfriend. Faced with the prospect of voting for either Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton, Mary Anne Noland of Richmond chose, instead, to pass into the eternal love of God on Sunday, May 15, 2016, at the age of 68. Born in Danville, Va., Mary Anne was a graduate of Douglas Freeman High School (1966) and the University of Virginia School of Nursing (1970). A faithful child of God, Mary Anne devoted her life to sharing the love she received from Christ with all whose lives she touched as a wife,

# THE BOTTOM LINES



- **TRUMP WON THE PRESIDENCY BY WINNING THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE, 306-232**
- **CLINTON WON THE POPULAR VOTE BY 48.2%-46.3%, RECEIVING ABOUT 2.57 MILLION MORE VOTES THAN TRUMP**



# Vote Margins in Battleground States

State	Trump	Clinton	Margin
MI	47.6%	47.3%	0.3%
WI	47.8	47.0	0.8
PA	48.8	47.6	1.2
FL	49.1	47.8	1.3
NC	50.5	46.7	3.8
OH	52.1	43.5	8.6
IA	51.8	42.2	9.6

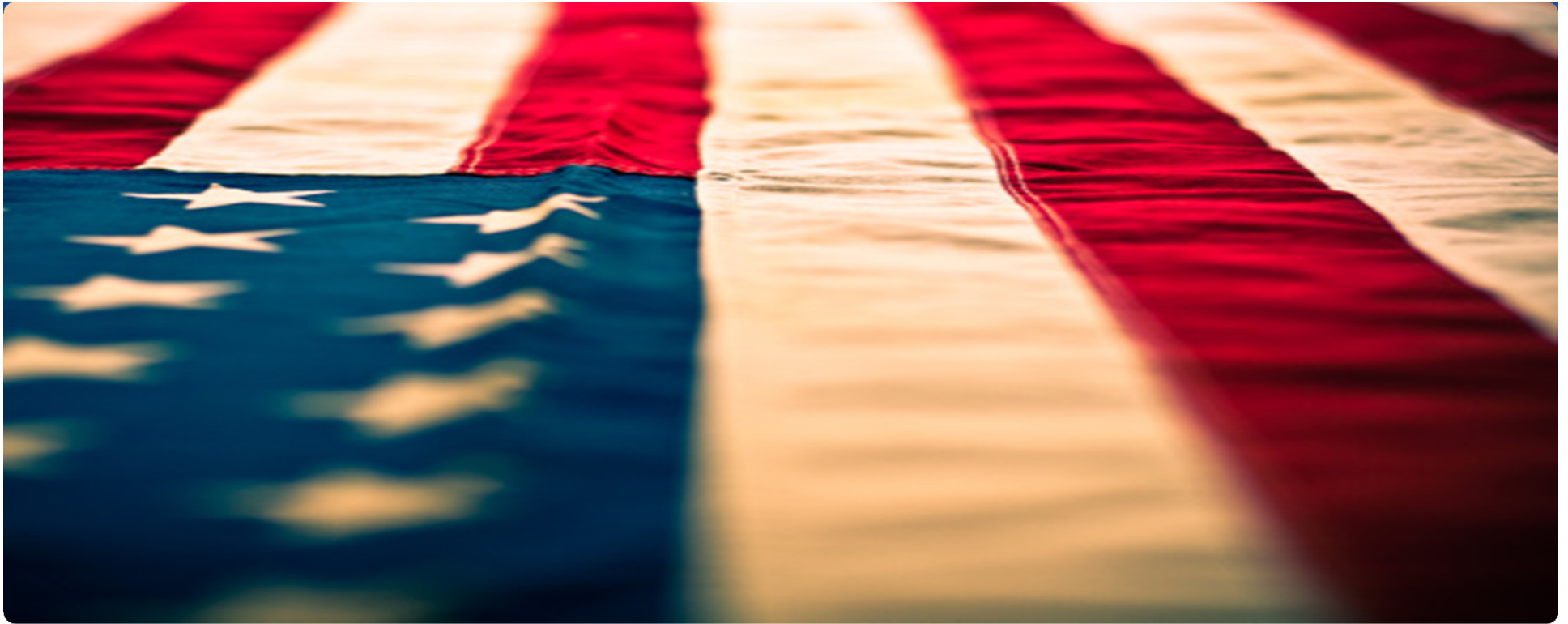
# THE BOTTOM LINES II

- DEMOCRATS PICKED UP TWO U.S. SENATE SEATS AND ARE STILL CONTENDING FOR A THIRD BUT REPUBLICANS WILL RETAIN CONTROL, PROBABLY BY A FILIBUSTERABLE 52-48
- DEMOCRATS PICKED UP A NET OF SIX SEATS IN THE U.S. HOUSE; TWO SEATS ARE UNDECIDED. REPUBLICANS WILL RETAIN NUMERICAL CONTROL (IT'S CURRENTLY 239-194) BUT HAVE TO CONTEND WITH A SOMETIMES UNRULY RANK-AND-FILE

# THE BOTTOM LINES III

- **REPUBLICANS ADDED A NET OF TWO GOVERNORS AND NOW HOLD MORE GOVERNORSHIPS THAN THEY HAVE SINCE 1922**
- **REPUBLICANS GAINED THREE STATE-LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS AND LOST FOUR; THEY CONTROL 68 OF THE 99**





# How we got from “You’re Fired” to “You’re Hired.”

# Five Keys To The Rise of Trump



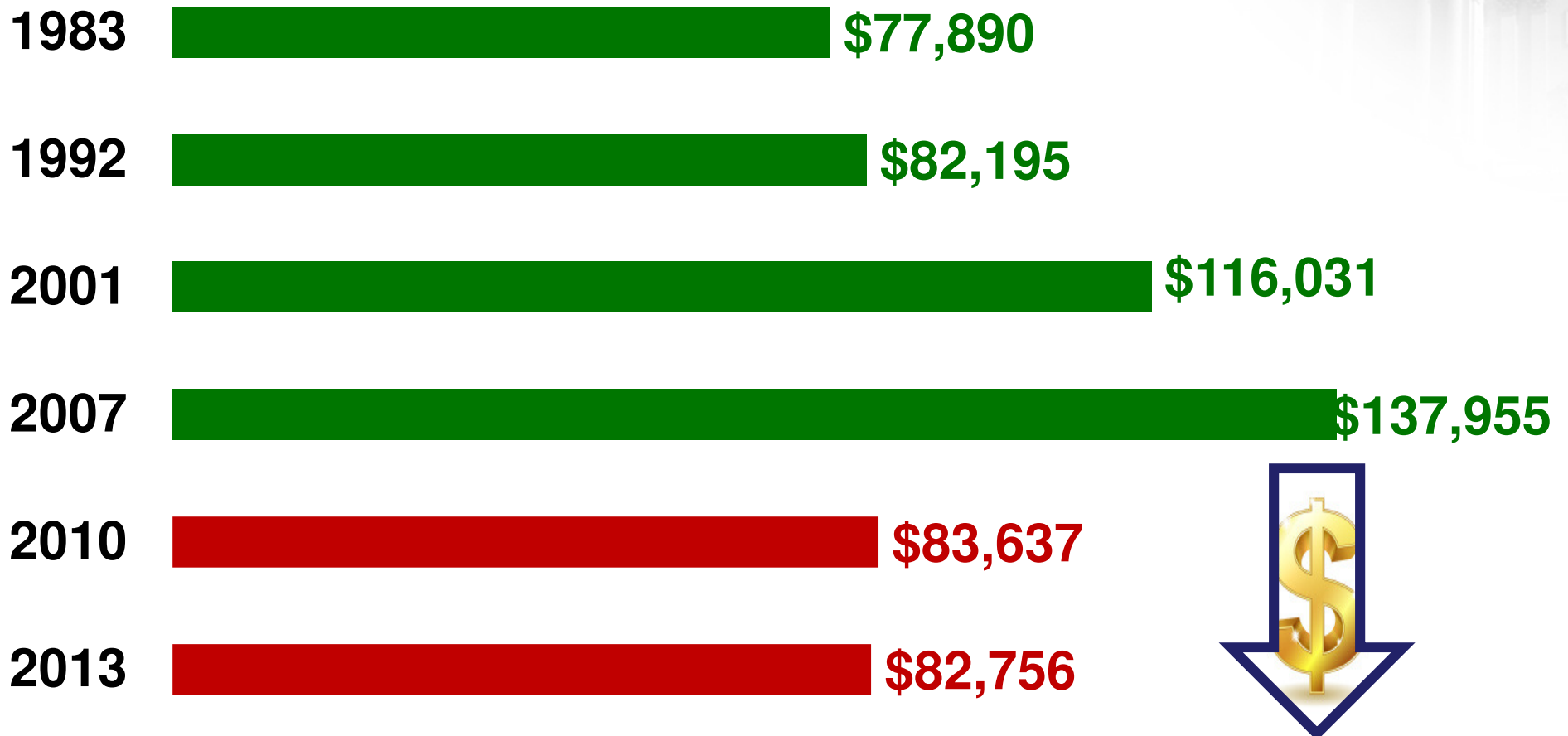
# #1: An Economic Hollowing Out





# The wealth of US families increased from 1983 to 2007, but has fallen sharply since then.

*The median net worth of families, in 2014 dollars.*



Source: PEW Research, 12/9/2015

# #2: An Epic Fail: Loss of Faith In Institutions



# 30 Years of Eroding Confidence in Institutions

	1985	2015	D/S
Military	61%	72%	+11
The Criminal Justice System ('93)	17%	23%	+6
Small Business ('97)	63%	67%	+4
The Medical System ('93)	34%	37%	+3
The Police ('93)	52%	52%	0
News on the Internet ('99 & '14)	21%	19%	-2
Organized Labor	28%	24%	-4
Newspapers	35%	24%	-11
Big Business	32%	21%	-11
US Public Schools	48%	31%	-17
The Presidency ('75)	52%	33%	-19
Banks	51%	28%	-23
The Church/Organized Religion	66%	42%	-24
U.S. Supreme Court	56%	32%	-24
Television News ('93)	46%	21%	-25
US Congress	39%	18%	-21

% of Americans who have "Quite A Lot/A Great Deal" of confidence in the institution.

Source: Gallup-Confidence in Institutions. June 2-7, 2015.

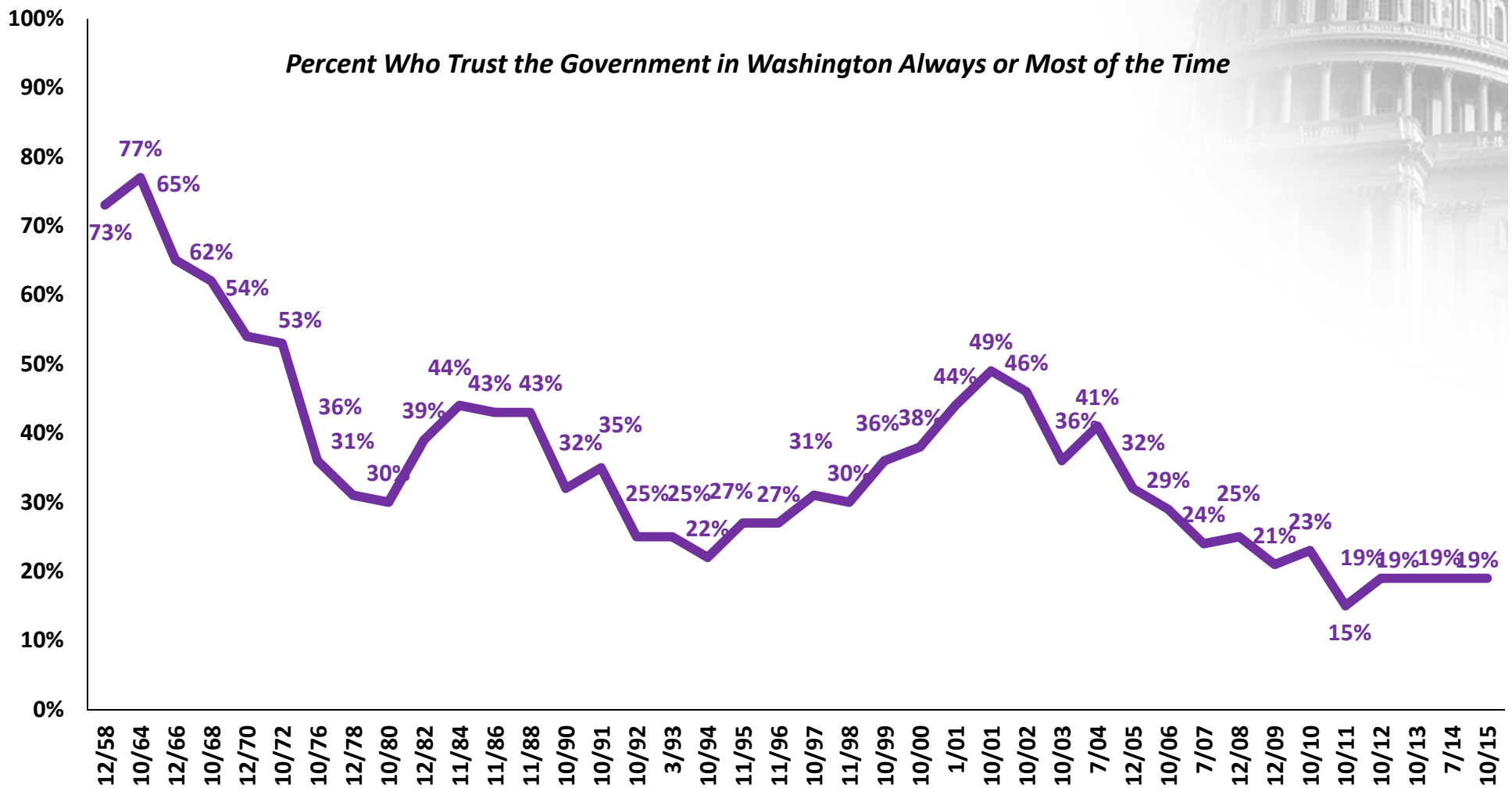


# #3: A Well Earned Anger At Washington



# Public Trust in Government: 1958-2015

*Percent Who Trust the Government in Washington Always or Most of the Time*



*Trend data from Pew Research Center polling of American adults.*

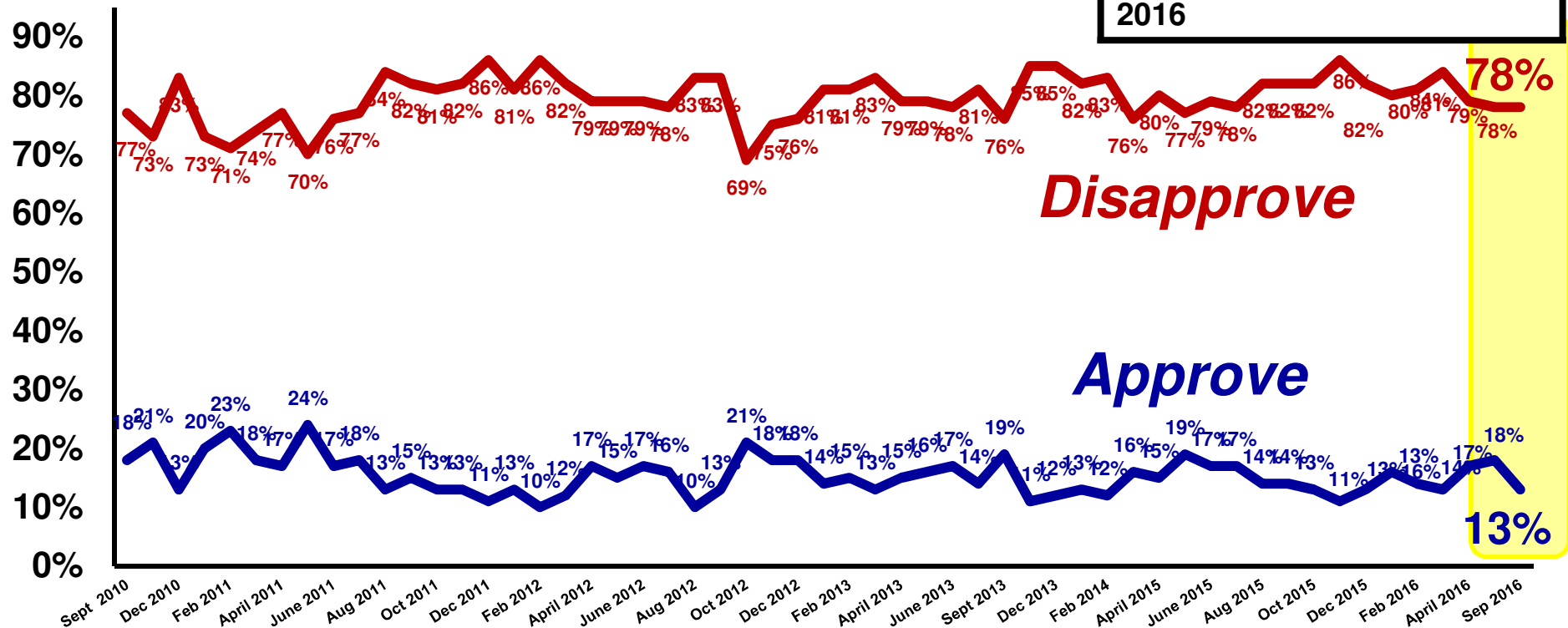
# Congress hit bottom in 2005, and hasn't recovered.

*Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?*

Congressional Job Approval

**Approve 13%**

RCP Average: September 7, 2016



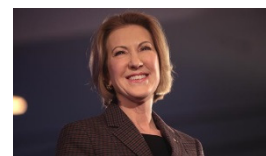
Trend data from monthly Gallup polling of American adults.



# #4: A Seventeen Candidate Republican Field



# “Most talented field ever” --- but Trump on top



# #5: Donald Trump Himself

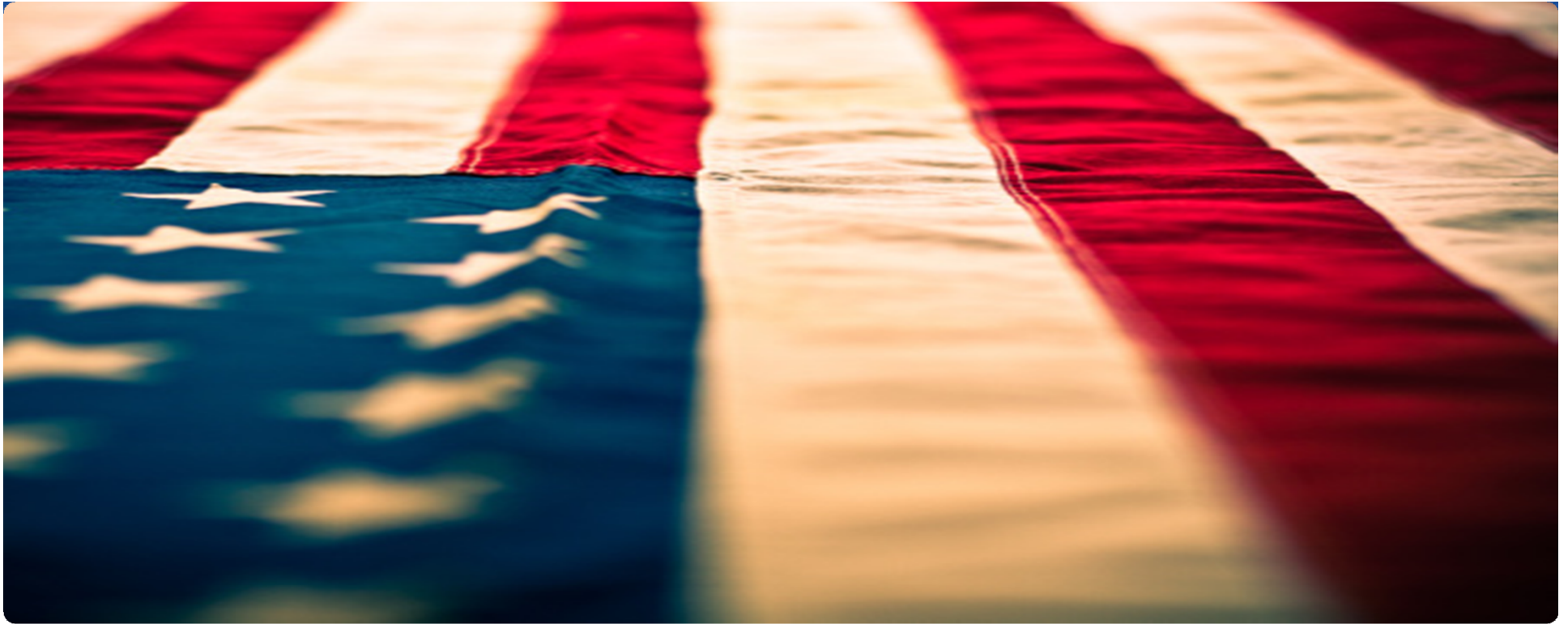




# Trump disrupted the market.

Trump	Rest of Field
Large Rallies	Small Events
Unscripted	Talking Points
Embraced Media	Cautious with Media
Made the Rules	Followed the Rules
Helicopter Rides	Bus Tours

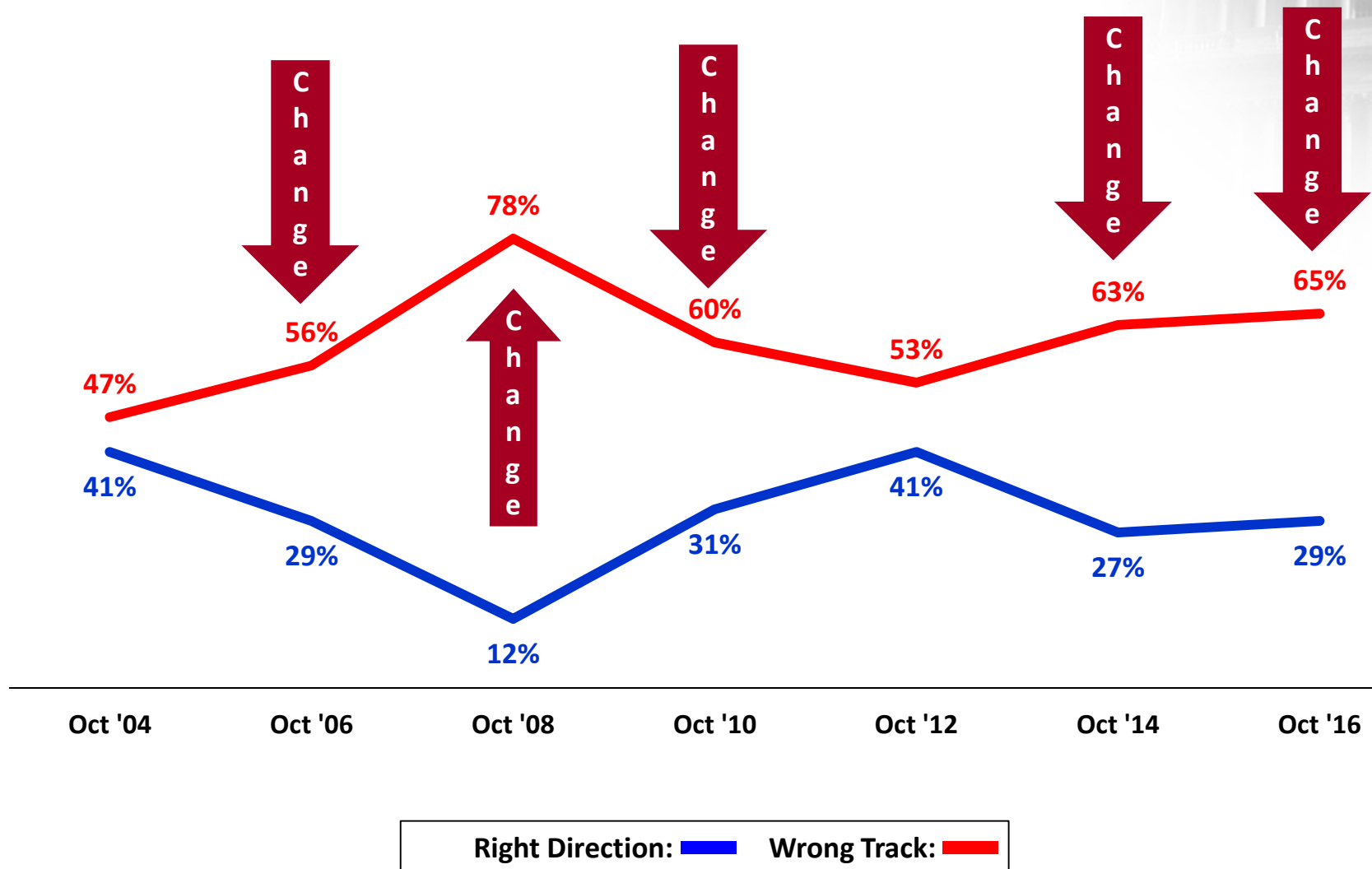




**And, undergirding all of these factors, voters were desperate for change.**

# Mood of country prior to elections: 2004-2016.

*"Would you say that things in the country are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?"*



# Americans want a “change” candidate now even more than in 2008.



	<u>2008</u>	<u>2016</u>
Time for a Person Who Will Bring Greater Changes	54%	61%

	<u>2008</u>	<u>2016</u>
Time for a More Experienced and Tested Person	42%	36%





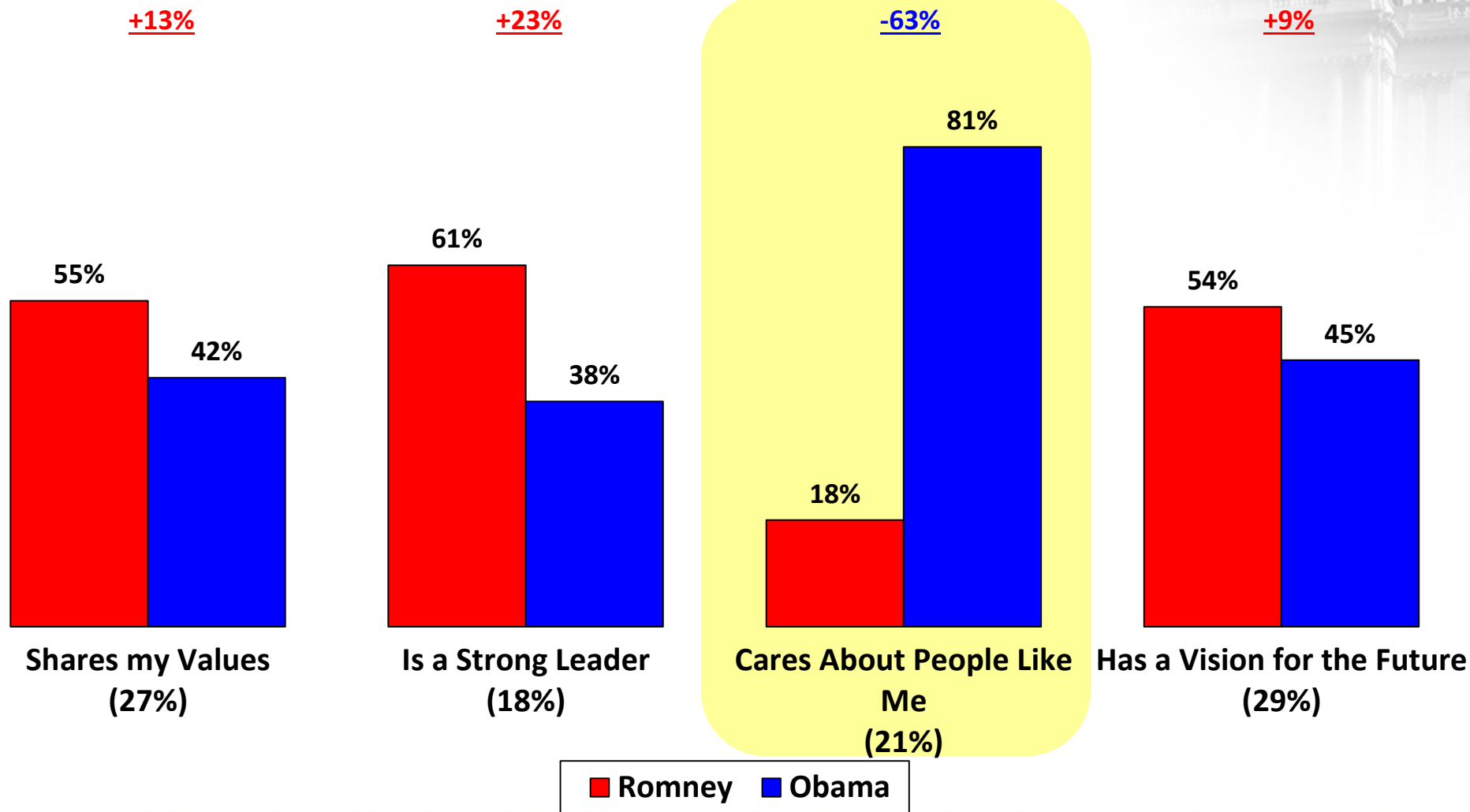
## Voters told us they wanted change, even if not possible to predict the change.

*"In thinking about the next president that we'll be electing, which of the following two statements comes closer to your point of view?"*

	<u>Registered Voters</u>			<u>Likely Voters</u>
	<u>May 2016</u>	<u>July 2016</u>	<u>Sept 2016</u>	<u>Nov 2016</u>
Someone who will bring major changes to the way government operates even if it is not possible to predict what the changes may be	53%	56%	49%	54%
Someone who will bring a steady approach to the way government operates even if it means fewer changes to how things are now	43%	41%	47%	43%

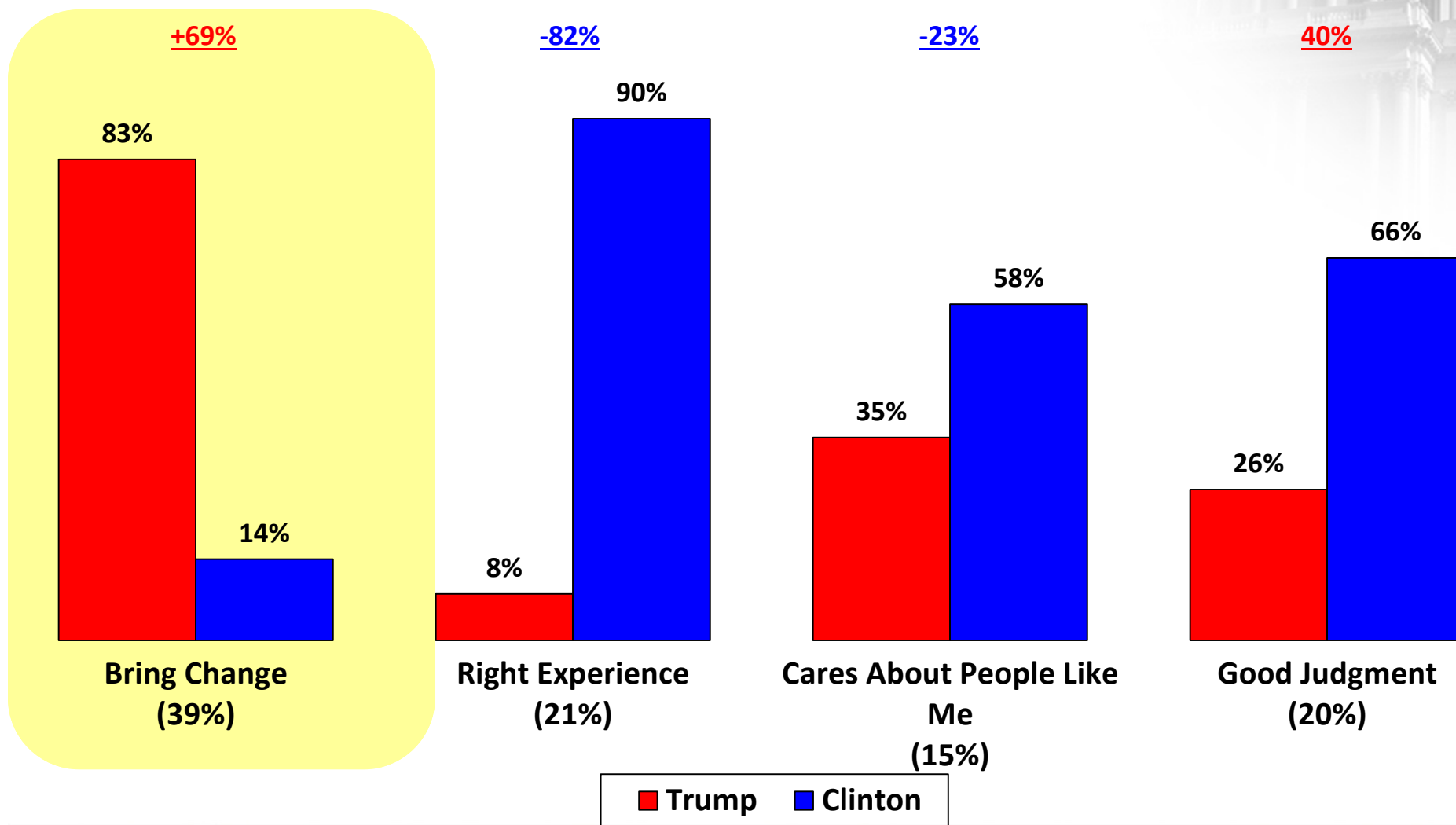
# 2012 Candidate Qualities

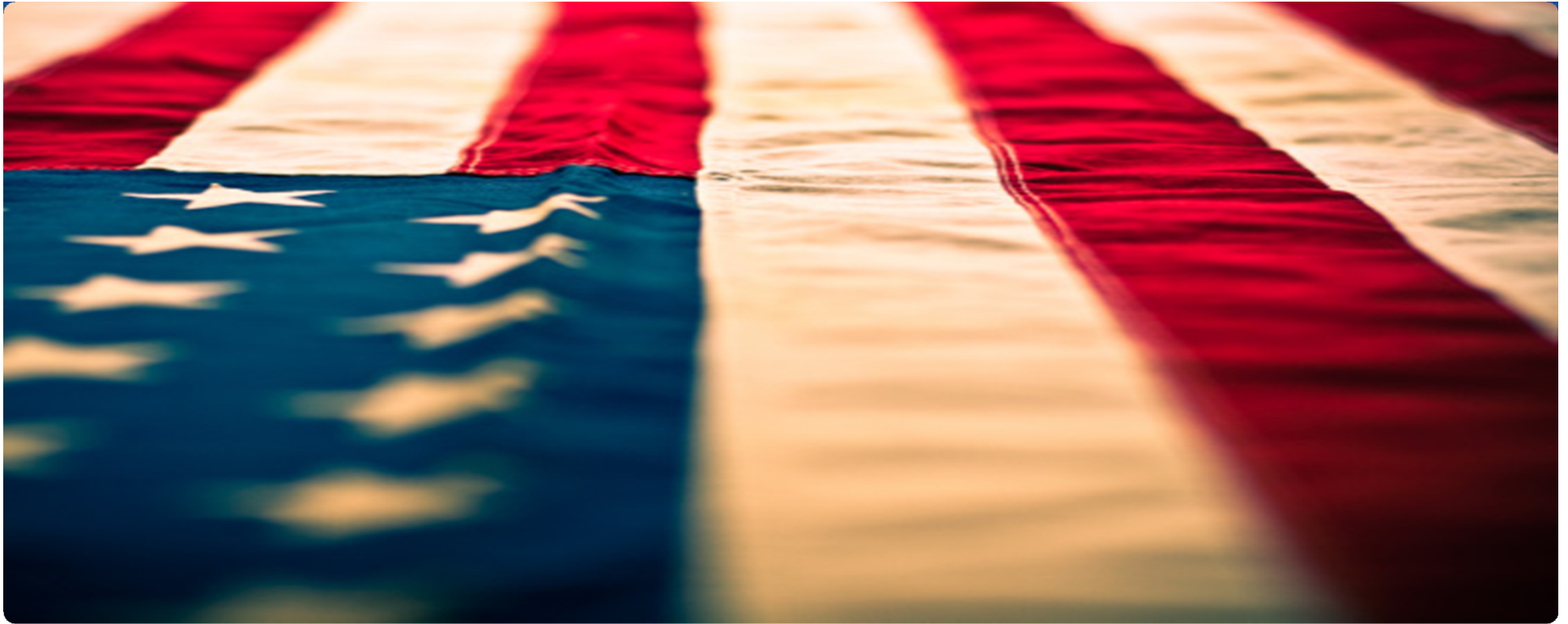
*“Which ONE of these four candidate qualities mattered most in deciding how you voted for President?”*



# 2016 Candidate Qualities

*"Which ONE of these four candidate qualities mattered most in deciding how you voted for President?"*





# The Democratic Nominating Process



# **THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATING PROCESS**

- **INITIAL FIELD OF SIX**
  - **HILLARY CLINTON**
  - **SEN. BERNIE SANDERS (SOCIALIST-VT)**
  - **FORMER GOV. MARTIN O'MALLEY (MD)**
  - **FORMER SEN. JIM WEBB (VA)**
  - **FORMER SEN. AND GOV. LINCOLN CHAFEE (RI)**
  - **HARVARD LAW PROF. LAWRENCE LESSIG**

**QUICKLY WINNOWNED TO TWO**

# THE 2016 DEMOCRATIC FINALISTS

- **BERNIE SANDERS: THE LEFT VIEWED HIM LIKE TRUMP'S SUPPORTERS VIEWED TRUMP: AUTHENTIC, CONCERNED FOR THEM**
- **HILLARY CLINTON: THE CANDIDATE OF THE DEMOCRATIC ESTABLISHMENT**

# **IMPLAUSIBILITIES IN CLINTON'S CANDIDACY**

- **ONE SCANDAL OR QUASI-SCANDAL AFTER ANOTHER FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS**
- **DREADFUL ON THE STUMP**
  - **“DEAD BROKE” ON LEAVING THE WHITE HOUSE**
  - **TRUMP'S SUPPORTERS ARE “DEPLORABLES”**
- **A CORPORATIST IN THE PARTY OF WORKING PEOPLE**
  - **A PROGRESSIVE WITH A SUPERPAC**
- **A HAWK WHEN PEOPLE ARE WAR-WEARY**



**THERE USED TO BE AN  
OLD SAW  
THAT, IN CHOOSING THEIR  
PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES,  
\* DEMOCRATS FALL IN LOVE AND  
\* REPUBLICANS FALL IN LINE  
IT WAS JUST THE OPPOSITE IN 2016**



# THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATING PROCESS

- **NOMINATION REQUIRED WINNING A MAJORITY OF THE DELEGATES**
  - **4,051 CHOSEN IN PRIMARIES AND CAUCUSES**
  - **716 (WITH 712 VOTES)**
    - “SUPERDELEGATES” – PARTY OFFICIALS, ELECTED OFFICIALS, ETC. --, MANY OF WHOM HAD PUBLICLY ENDORSED CLINTON**

# **THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATING PROCESS**

- **THE DNC CHAIR AND STAFF  
SURREPTITIOUSLY AIDED CLINTON**

# **THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATING PROCESS**

- **SANDERS COMBINED AN INDICTMENT OF THE PRESENT WITH A MESSAGE OF HOPE FOR THE FUTURE, GENERATING HUGE RALLIES AND ENTHUSIASM**
- **CLINTON MADE FEW APPEARANCES OTHER THAN BEFORE STAGED PRE-SELECTED AUDIENCES**
- **SHE CRITICIZED SANDERS' MESSAGE AS “UNREALISTIC”**

# **CLINTON CHIEF STRATEGIST JOEL BENENSON**

- **FEB. 2016 E-MAIL TO CAMPAIGN  
CHAIRMAN JOHN PODESTA:**

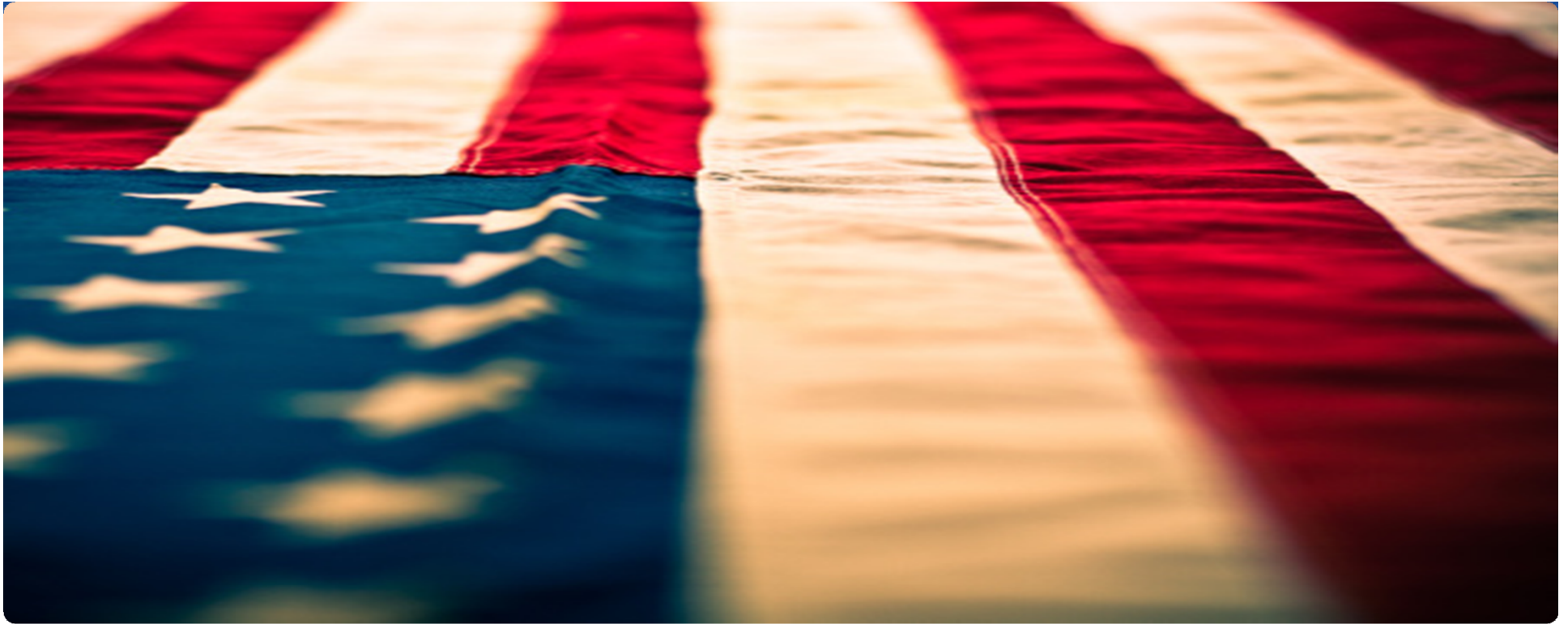
**“DO WE HAVE ANY SENSE FROM  
HER WHAT SHE BELIEVES OR WANTS  
HER CORE MESSAGE TO BE?”**



# THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATING PROCESS



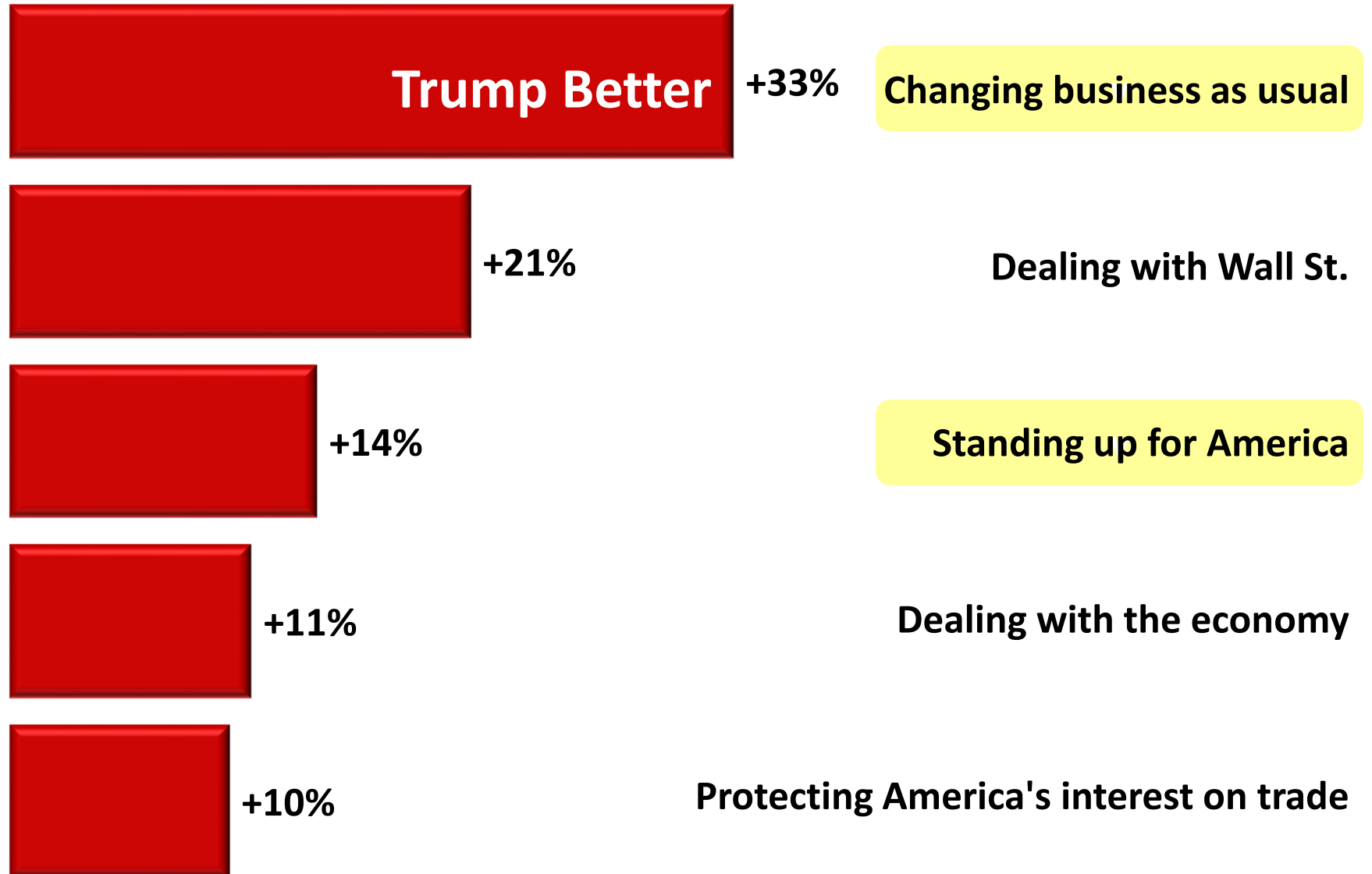
- **CLINTON WON 34 STATES, INCLUDING THE NINE MOST POPULOUS, RECEIVING 16.9 MILLION VOTES**
- **SANDERS WON 23 STATES AND RECEIVED 13.2 MILLION VOTES**
- **HE PERFORMED POORLY IN STATES WITH LARGE MINORITY POPULATIONS**
- **HE CONCEDED BEFORE THE CONVENTION**



# **The General Election – How and Why Trump Won**

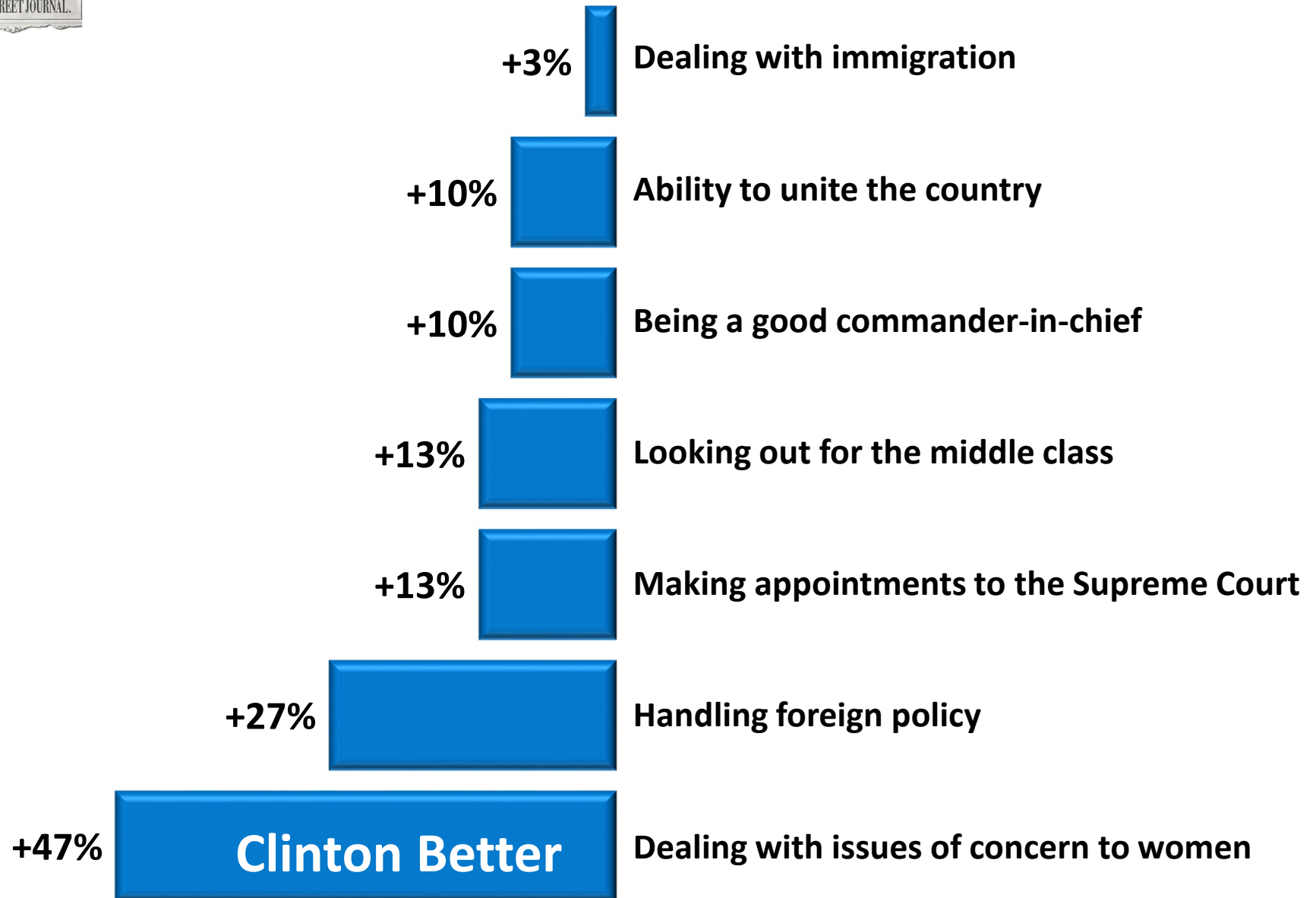


# Clinton vs. Trump Qualities





# Clinton vs. Trump Qualities





# Here's one huge clue from the summer: Don't discount the Trump message. It resonates.

*Now, I'm going to read you some statements you could hear from candidates running for president. After I read each statement, please tell me how well it describes what you think ...  
very well, somewhat well, not too well, not well at all.*

*This is a moment of crisis for our nation. The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life. Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country*

52%



Trump

*Do not let anyone tell you that our country is weak. We are not. Do not let anyone tell you we don't have what it takes. We do. And most of all, do not believe anyone who says they are the only one who can fix it...*

36%

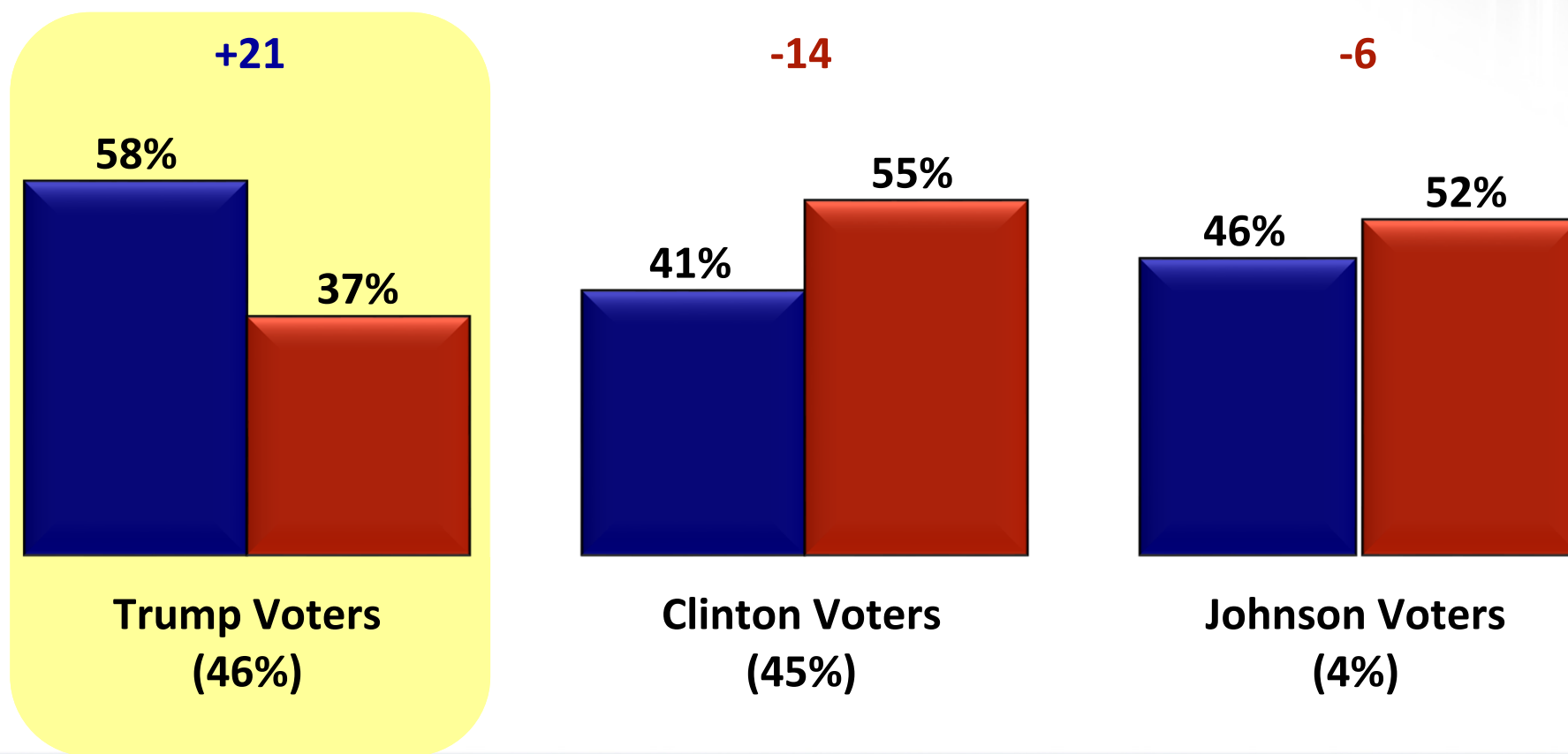


Clinton

*Data from an NBC News/WSJ survey of 800 registered voters nationwide, conducted July 31- August 3, 2016.*

# Our post-election data shows Trump voters felt things were stacked against them.

*Do you agree or disagree with the following statement -  
"The economic and political systems in the country are stacked against people like me."*



# The Message Trump Voters Sent

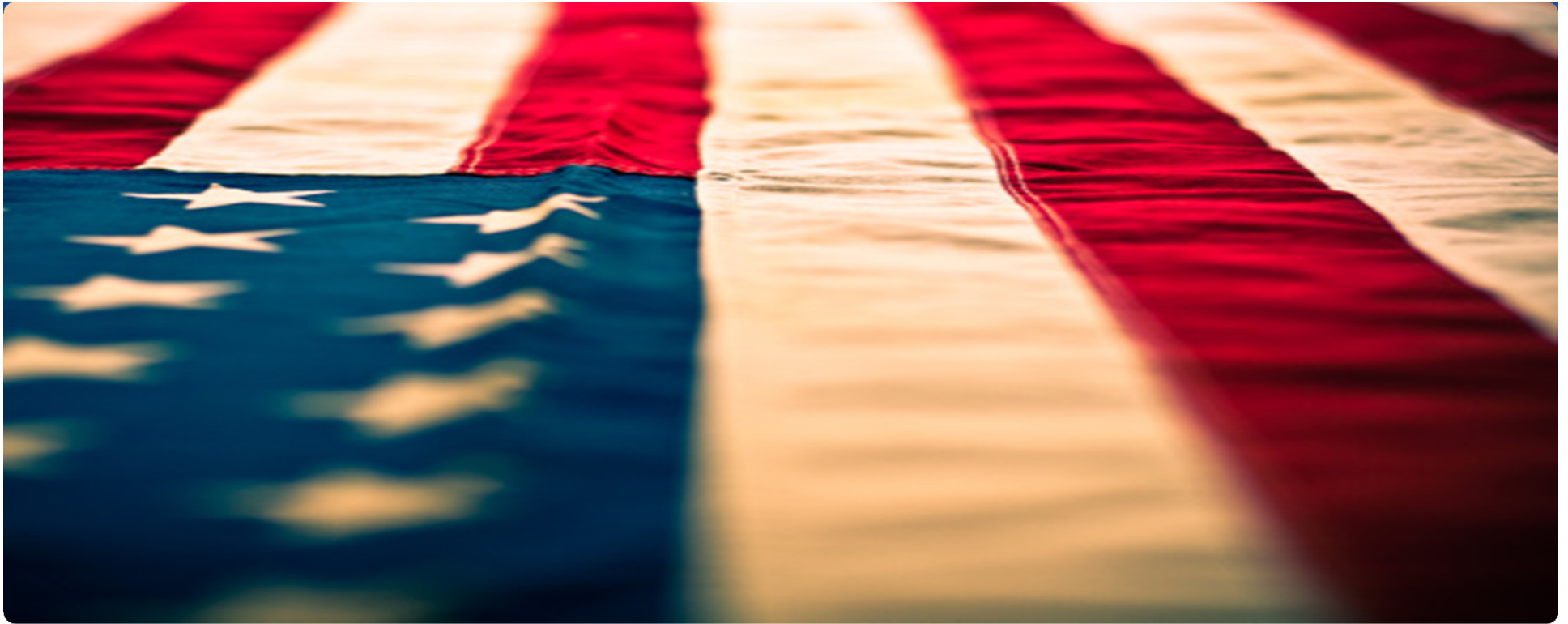
*"Borrowed" from Peter Hart*

- ✓ **Security** - we live in a country that cannot secure its borders; the war against terrorism is never-ending, and it has come ashore.
- ✓ **Anger with the Elite** - Journalists mock us; comedians make fun of us; the rich use us, we're not going to take it anymore.
- ✓ **The Economy** - we're still in debt; wages are not growing and our standard of living is declining; student loans are killing us; ObamaCare may work for some, but not us.
- ✓ **Understand Us** - we go to 7-11, not Starbucks, we don't listen to NPR or vacation in Hawaii; we care more about high school sports, we eat at KFC, shop at Walmart, fish and hunt.

**We want our country back!**

***Key Point: You can not  
win on turnout when  
you have lost on  
message.***

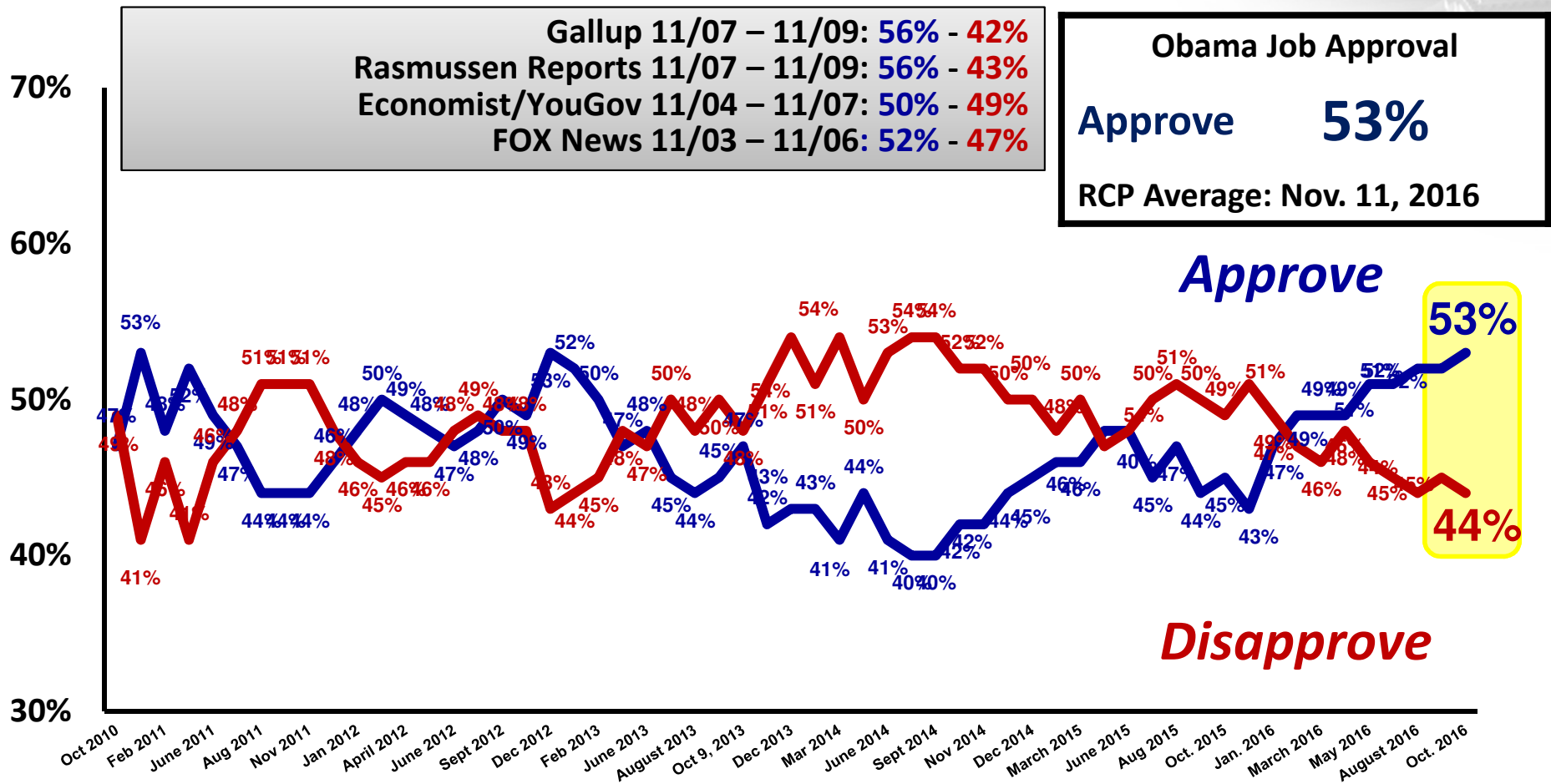




# Keys to Understanding the 2016 Election

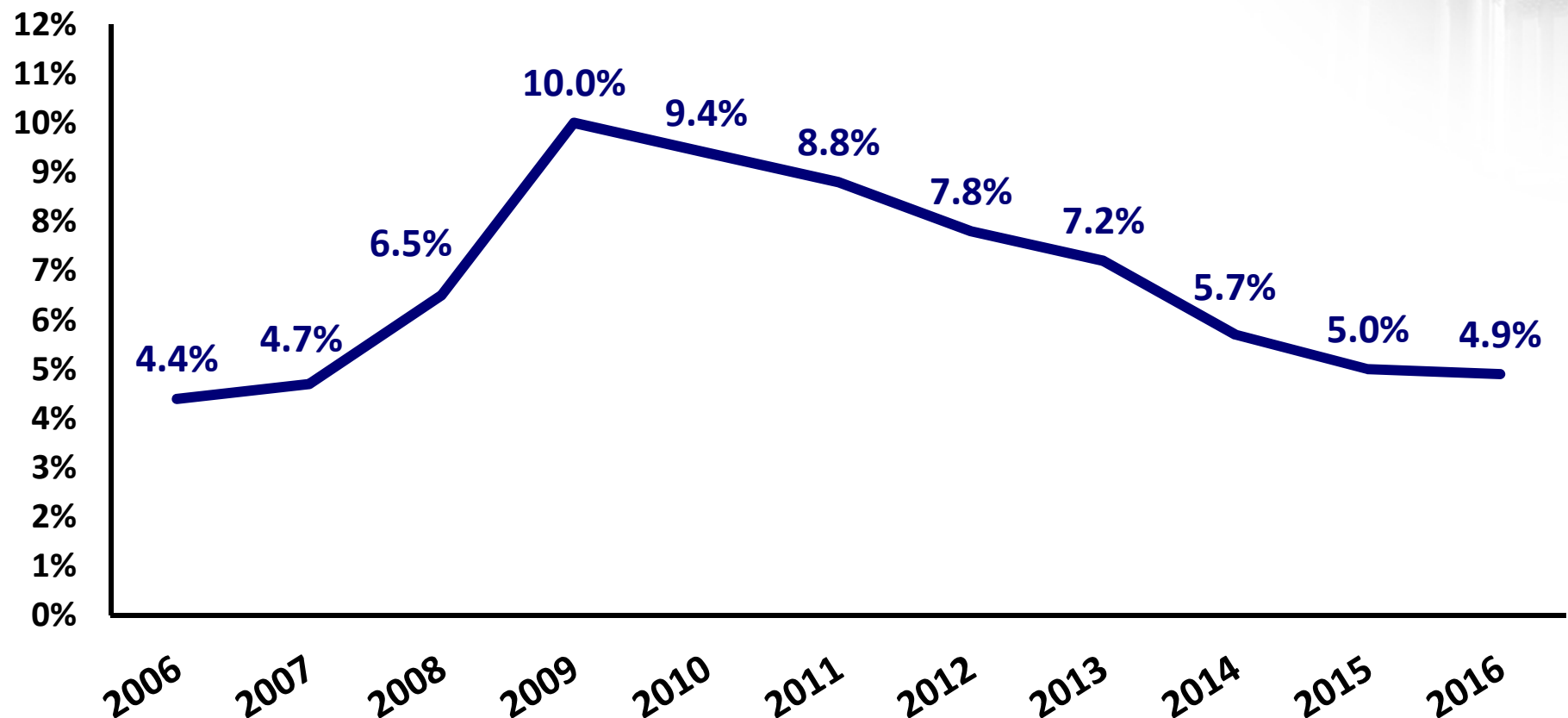
# Despite President Obama's recently improving approval scores...

## Barack Obama: Job Approval



## And the nation's receding unemployment rate...

### *Unemployment Rate*



*Data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics*

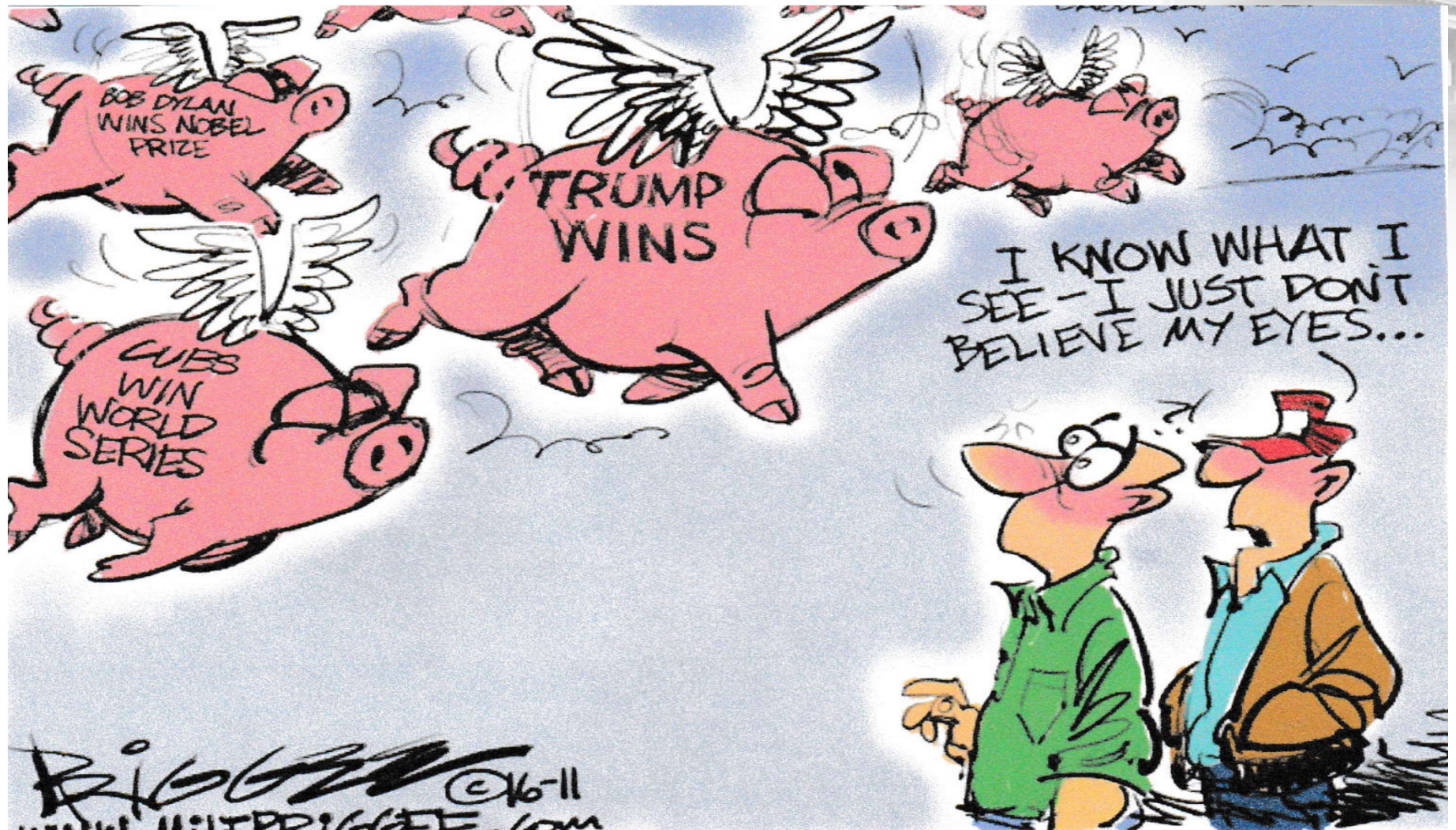




*On November 8...*



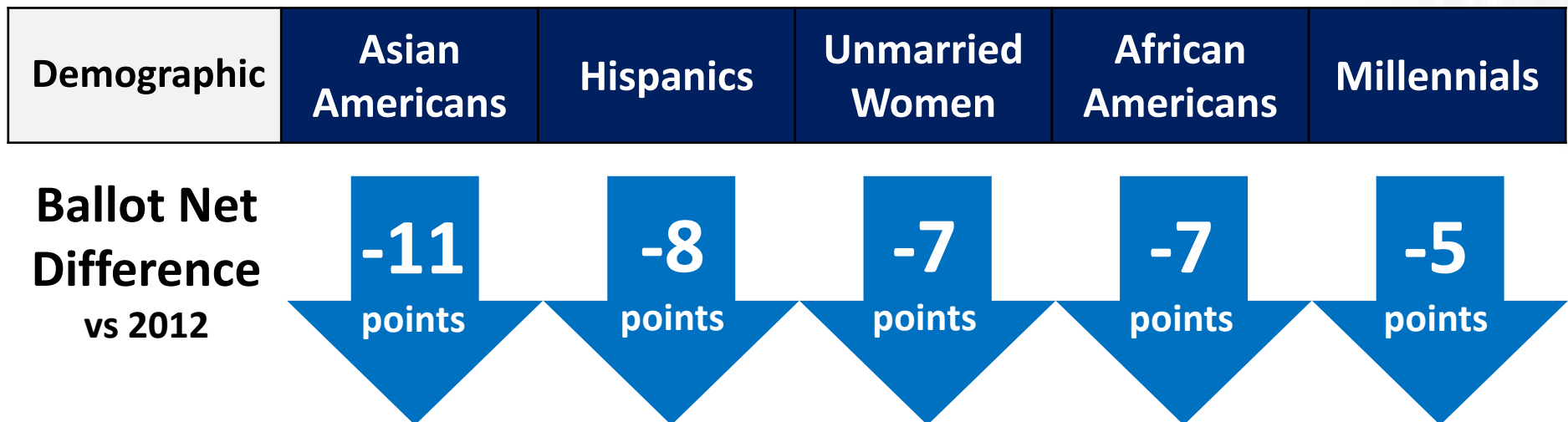






# Obama Coalition Less Committed

*"DEM Voters" Less Pro-DEM in 2016 than 2012*



Source: National Exit Polls | \*Estimated

MEHLMAN CASTAGNETTI  
— ROSEN & THOMAS —

# The Trump margins went up with core parts of the Republican coalition.

*"GOP Voters" More Pro-GOP in 2016 than 2012*

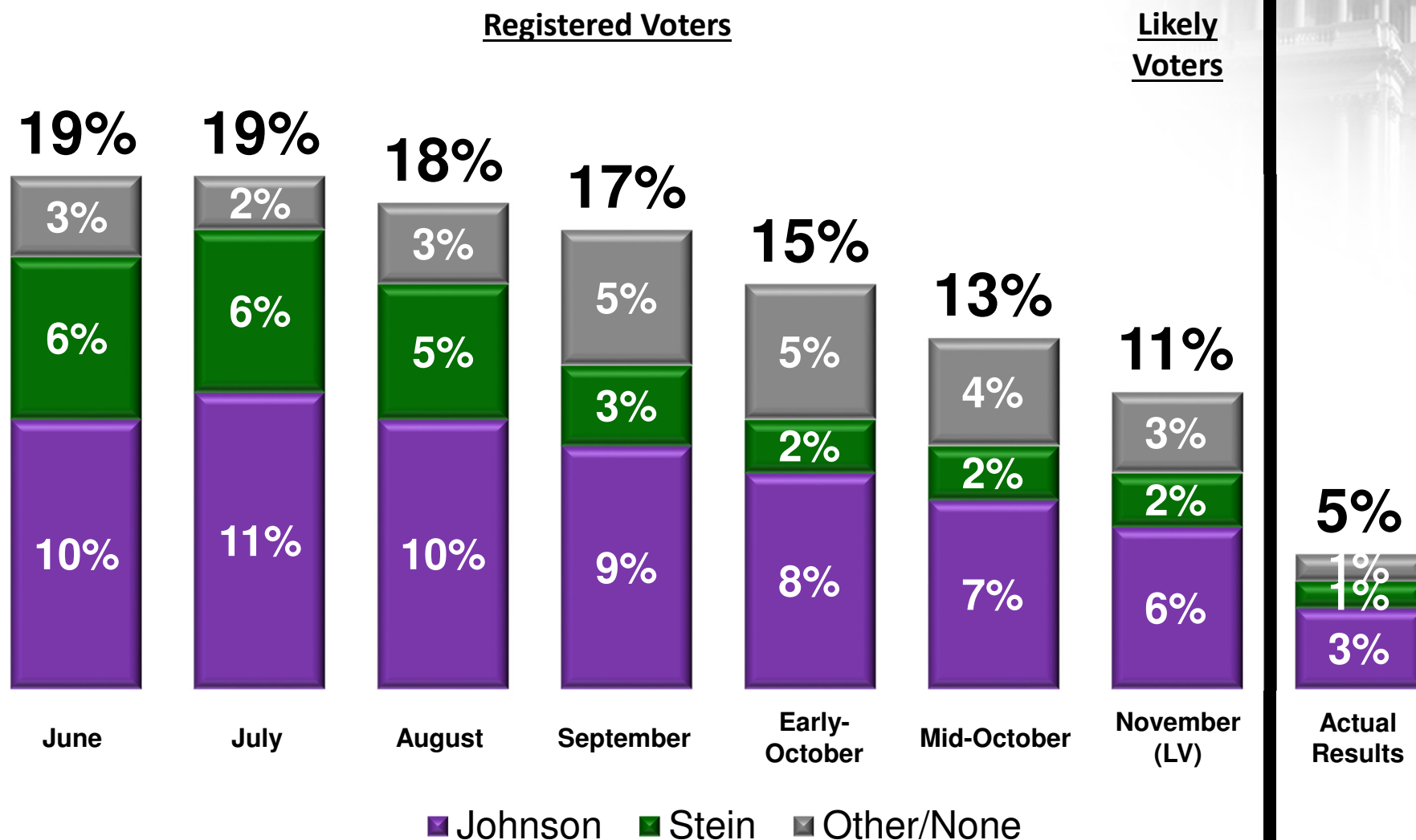


Demographic	Non-College Whites	Small City or Rural	Evangelical Christians	Men
Ballot Net Difference vs 2012	+14 points	+8 points	+8 points	+5 points

Source: National Exit Polls

MEHLMAN CASTAGNETTI  
— ROSEN & THOMAS —

# Drop in total third party support helped move net votes to Trump.





# Education is the New Cultural Divide

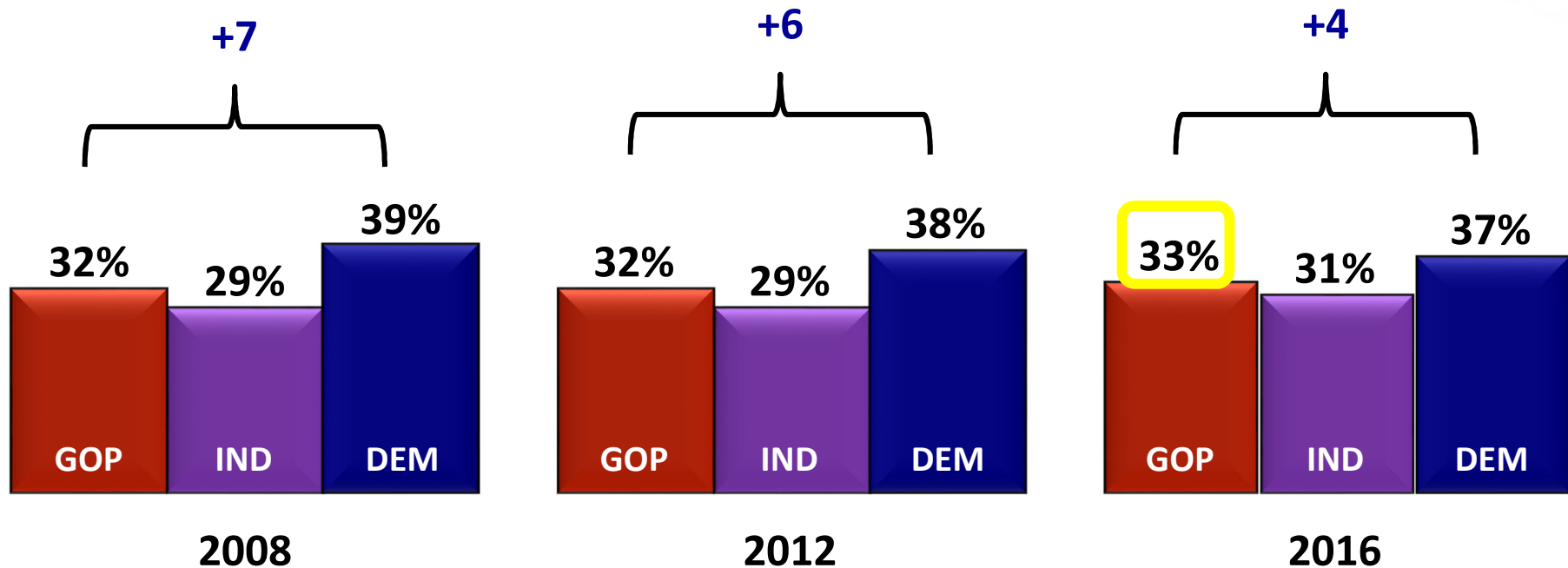
*States Where More Voters Have Advanced Degrees Go DEM, Fewer GOP*

State	% Advanced degree	Rank
District of Columbia	28.00%	
Massachusetts	16.40%	1
Maryland	16.00%	2
Connecticut	15.50%	3
Virginia	14.10%	4
New York	14.00%	5
Vermont	13.30%	6
New Jersey	12.90%	7
Colorado	12.70%	8
Illinois	11.70%	9
Rhode Island	11.70%	10
Delaware	11.40%	11
New Hampshire	11.20%	12
Washington	11.10%	13
California	10.70%	14
Oregon	10.40%	15
New Mexico	10.40%	16
Minnesota	10.30%	17
United States Average	10.30%	--
Kansas	10.20%	18
Pennsylvania	10.20%	19
Hawaii	9.90%	21
Georgia	9.90%	21
Maine	9.60%	23
Missouri	9.50%	24
Michigan	9.40%	25

State	% Advanced degree	Rank
Arizona	9.30%	26
Utah	9.10%	27
Alaska	9.00%	28
Florida	9.00%	28
Nebraska	8.80%	30
North Carolina	8.80%	31
Ohio	8.80%	32
Texas	8.50%	33
Kentucky	8.50%	33
Wisconsin	8.40%	35
South Carolina	8.40%	35
Montana	8.30%	37
Indiana	8.10%	38
Wyoming	7.90%	39
Tennessee	7.90%	39
Alabama	7.70%	40
Nevada	7.60%	41
Idaho	7.50%	42
Iowa	7.40%	43
Oklahoma	7.40%	43
South Dakota	7.30%	45
Mississippi	7.10%	46
Louisiana	6.90%	47
North Dakota	6.70%	48
West Virginia	6.70%	48
Arkansas	6.10%	50

The '16 electorate was less tilted Hillary's direction.

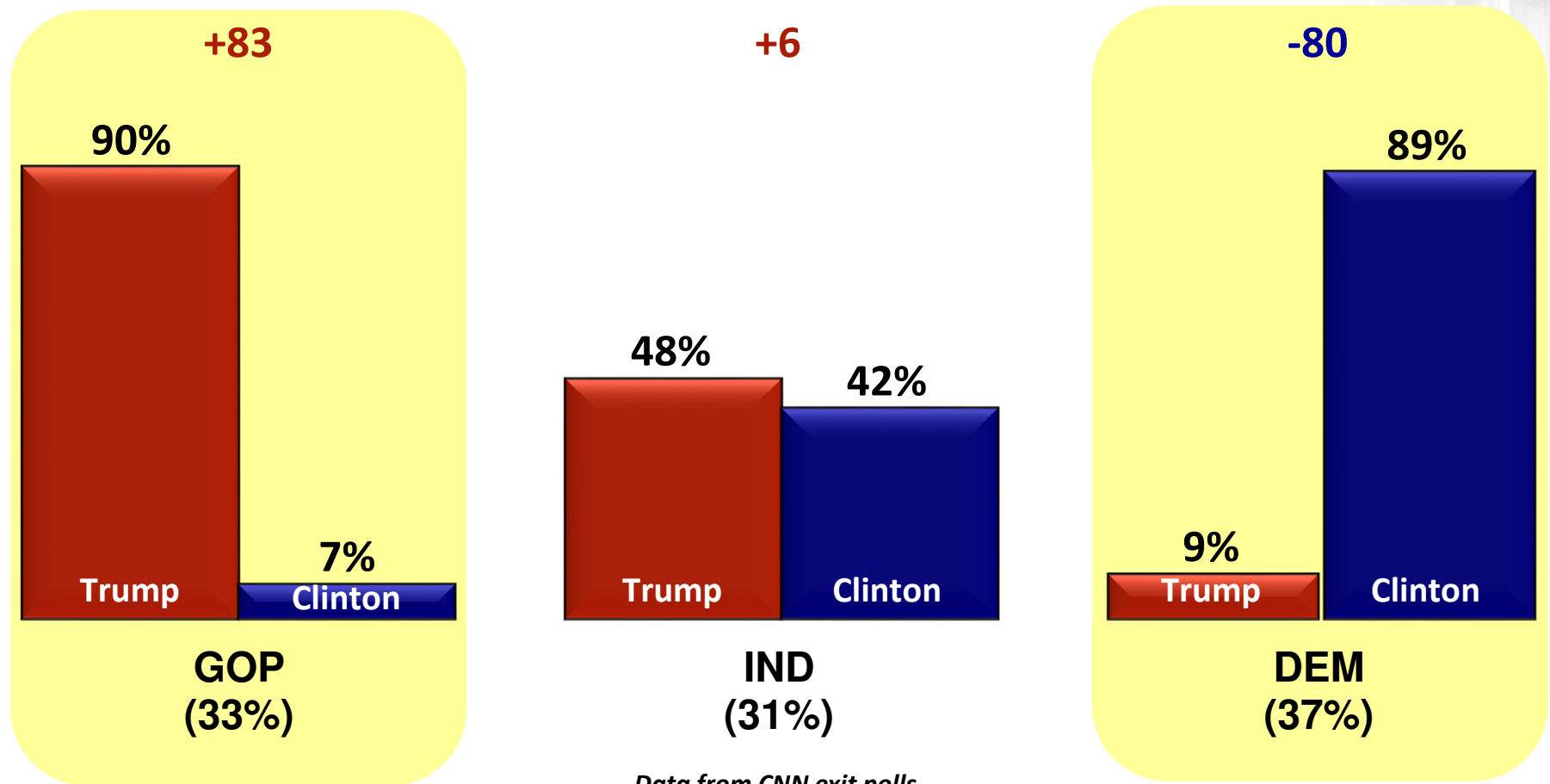
### *Makeup of Electorate*



*Data from CNN exit polls.*

And, despite the fracturing of the GOP, Trump did better with R's than HRC did with D's.

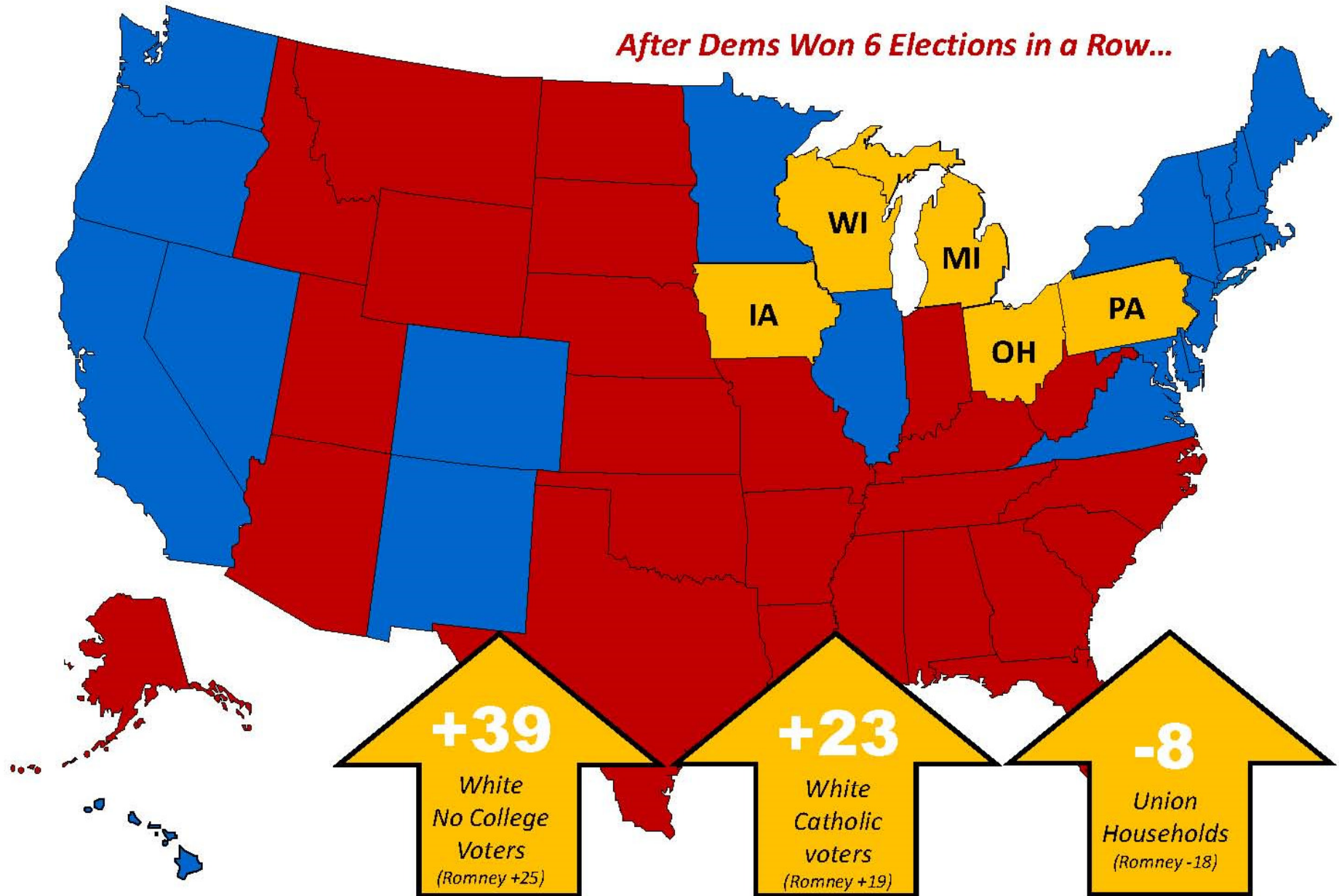
### *Presidential Vote by Party*



*Data from CNN exit polls.*

#### ***#4. Trump Coalition Breached “Big Blue Wall”***

### ***After Dems Won 6 Elections in a Row...***





# 2016 Presidential Vote by Region

## Overall Percent of Popular Vote

Trump	46.4%
Clinton	48.1%

## Great Lakes (18%)

Trump	47.4%
Clinton	47.2%

## New England (5%)

Trump	38.0%
Clinton	56.0%

## Mountains (7%)

Trump	47.4%
Clinton	42.4%

## Farm Belt (5%)

Trump	56.9%
Clinton	37.2%

## Outer South (18%)

Trump	53.1%
Clinton	42.3%

## Deep South (17%)

Trump	53.1%
Clinton	43.5%

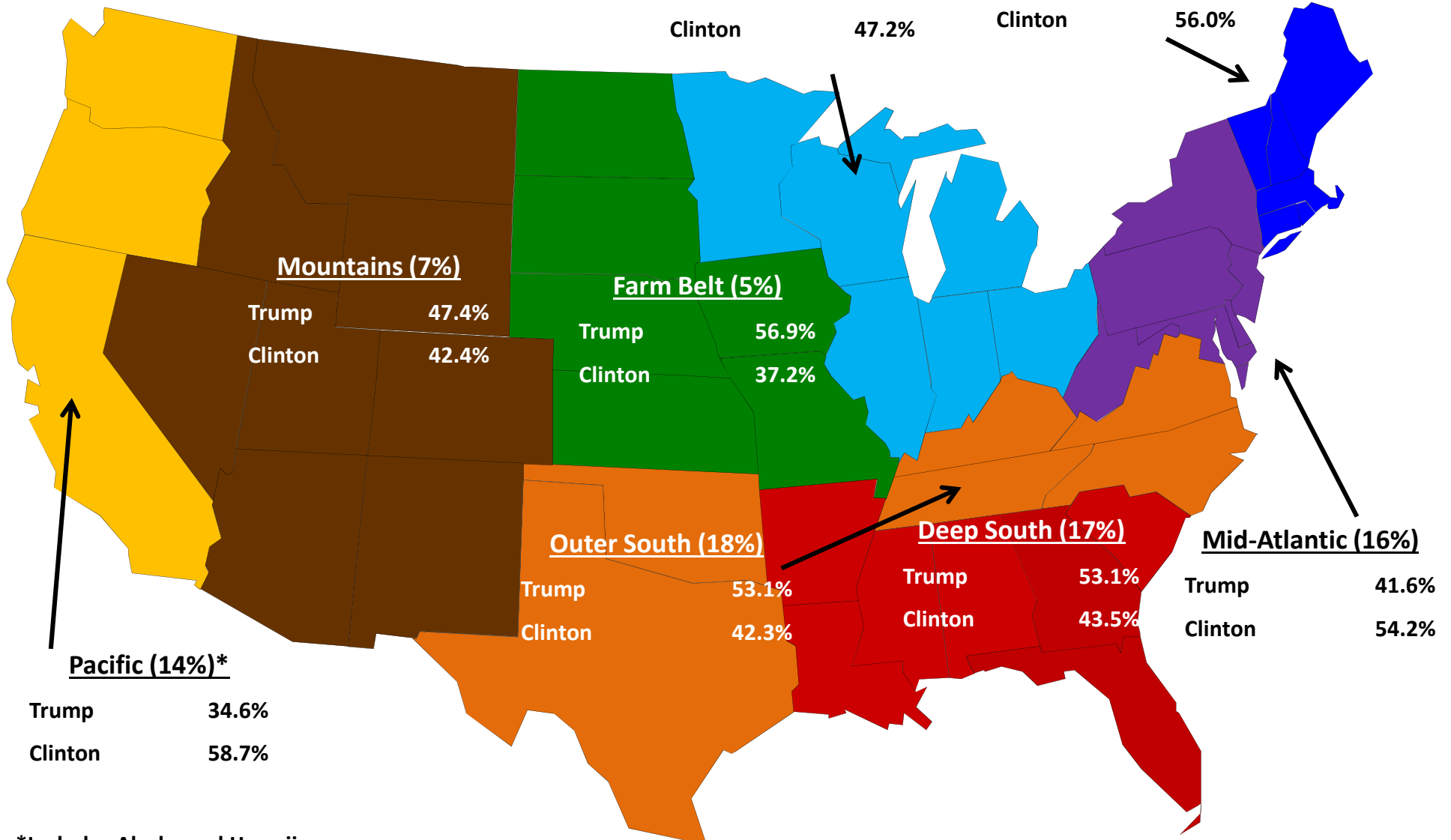
## Mid-Atlantic (16%)

Trump	41.6%
Clinton	54.2%

## Pacific (14%)\*

Trump	34.6%
Clinton	58.7%

\*Includes Alaska and Hawaii





# WHY CLINTON LOST

## *5 Reasons*

# Too Much Baggage



# FBI



**61%**  
say Clinton not  
"honest &  
trustworthy"  
(though Trump was 63%)

# Americans Don't Like "Third Terms"

*After 8 Years Americans Usually Seek a Rebalancing*

Incumbent President	Year	Election Eve Incumbent Approval	Intended Successor's Fate
Truman	1952	32%	Lost
Eisenhower	1960	58%	Lost
Johnson	1968	42%	Lost
Reagan	1988	51%	Won
Clinton	2000	57%	Lost
George W Bush	2008	25%	Lost
Obama	2016	56%	Lost



## Trump Message Clearer



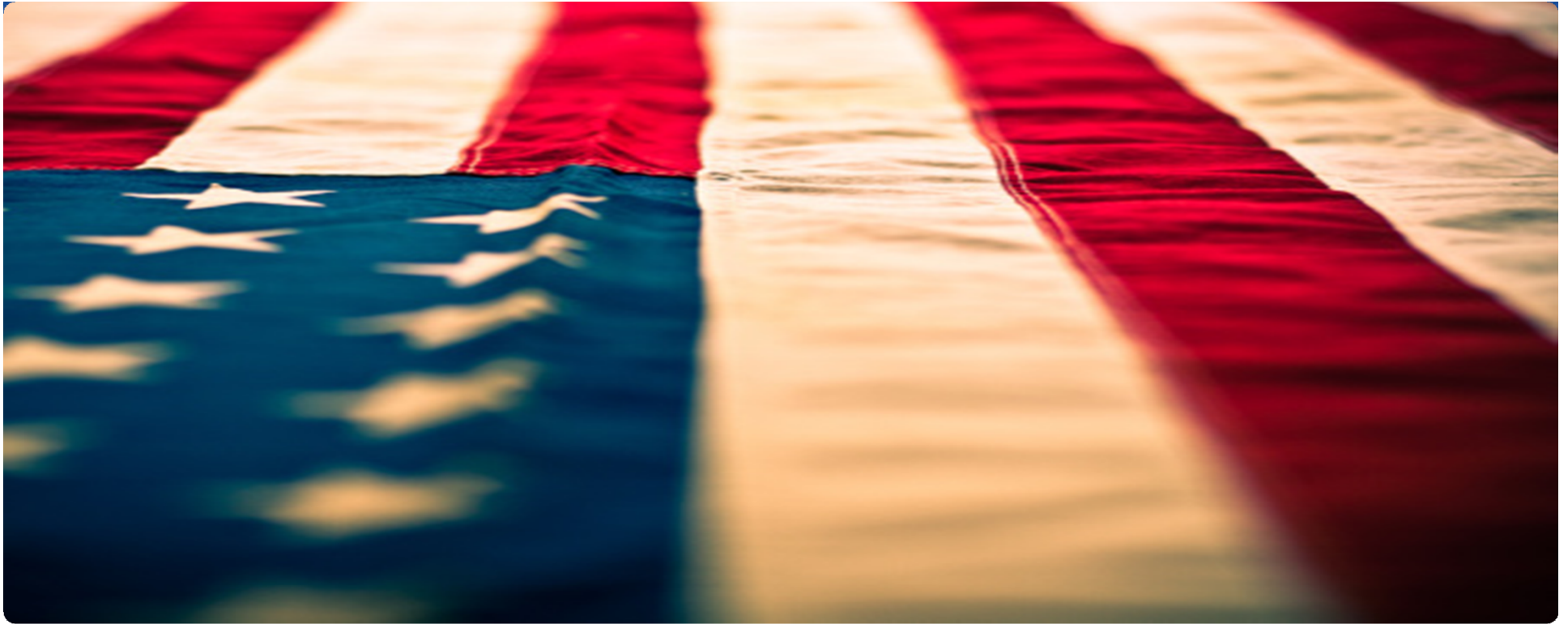
*In the campaign's closing weeks of ads...*

**10.2%**

*of **Trump** ads  
featured **Clinton***

**100%**

*of **Clinton** ads  
featured **Trump***



# Where Do We Go From Here?

# **WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?**

## **1. GOVERNANCE**

- **93% OF AMERICANS WANT THE PARTIES TO WORK TOGETHER**
- **BUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS SPLIT AMONG TRADITIONAL CONSERVATIVES, ESTABLISHMENTARIANS, “REFORMICONS” AND TRUMPIAN POPULISTS**
- **AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS SPLIT BETWEEN THE BERNIECRATS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT**

# GOVERNANCE II



- **TRUMP DOESN'T HAVE A HONEYMOON  
BUT A PROBATIONARY PERIOD**
  - **49% OF TRUMP VOTERS HAD  
RESERVATIONS ABOUT VOTING FOR HIM**



# **NOBODY ASKED ME BUT . . . . MY THOUGHTS FOR A WAY FORWARD**

- **ESCHEW ALL TALK OF “MANDATES”**
- **RENOUNCE ALL FIRST-100-DAYS MEASUREMENTS**
  - **HASTE BRINGS OUT ALL THE WORST INSTINCTS OF CONGRESS**
    - **“CHRISTMAS TREES”**
    - **NO TIME TO STUDY OR EVEN READ**
- **EMBARGO MENTIONS OF A “CONSERVATIVE AGENDA”**
- **NEVER SPEAK OF “THE NUCLEAR OPTION”**
- **END ALL INVESTIGATIONS OF CLINTON, COMEY, BENGHAZI, ETC.**




# **NOBODY ASKED ME BUT . . . . MY THOUGHTS FOR A WAY FORWARD II**

- **ANNOUNCE THE GOVERNANCE AGENDA AS “CORRECTIVES ON WHICH WE CAN AGREE”**
- **STIPULATE THAT THE PROCESS WILL BE OPEN AS LONG AS IT’S NOT ABUSED**
- **BUILD TRUST IN THE INTEGRITY OF THE PROCESS**

# **NOBODY ASKED ME BUT . . . . MY THOUGHTS FOR A WAY FORWARD III**

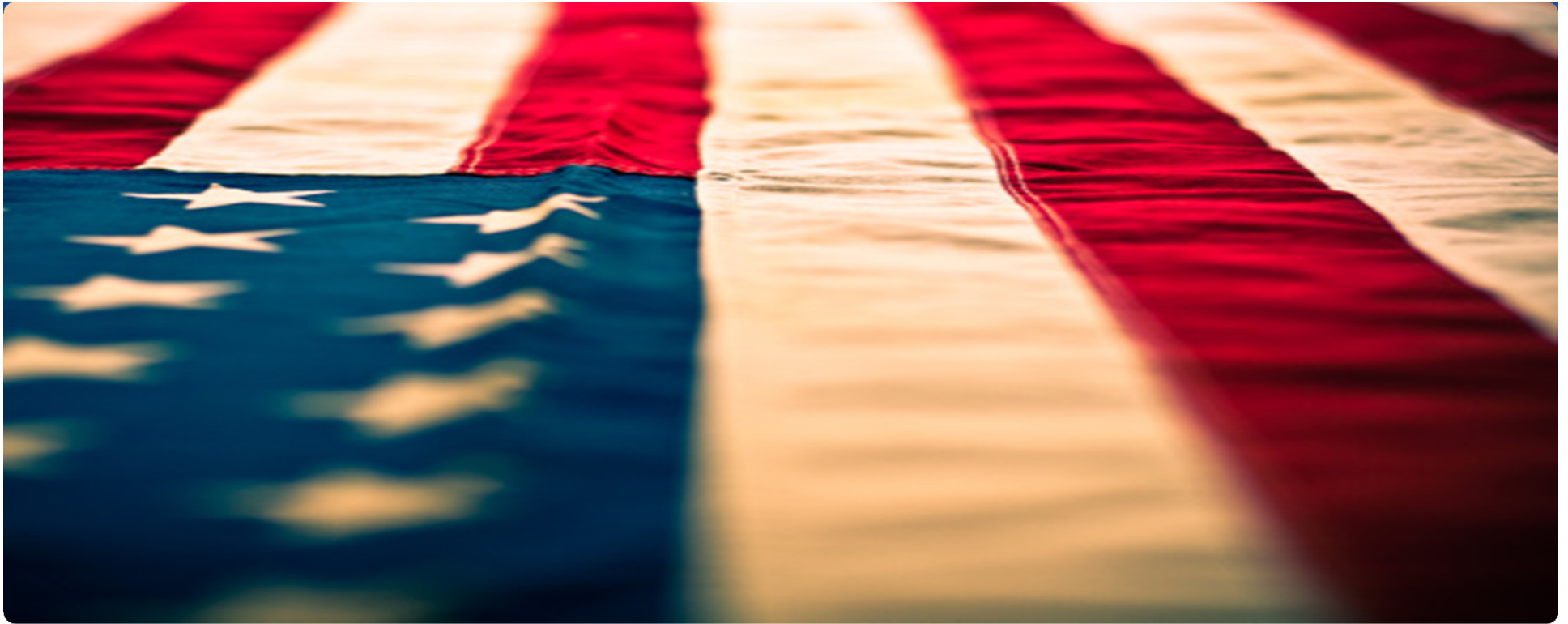
- **BEGIN WITH TOPICS ON WHICH NEARLY EVERYONE AGREES MAJOR CHANGE IS REQUIRED (THOUGH THEY MAY NOT AGREE ON WHICH CHANGES) SUCH AS**
  - **CREATING GOOD JOBS**
  - **INCENTIVIZING BUSINESSES TO INVEST AND CREATE JOBS HERE**
  - **ENDING TOO BIG TO FAIL**
  - **FIXING THE DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS**
  - **ENDING THE CARRIED INTEREST TAX BREAK**



# **MORE CANDIDATES FOR EARLY ACTION**

- **INFRASTRUCTURE REPAIR AND IMPROVEMENT**
- **IMPROVING THE HEALTH-INSURANCE SYSTEM**
- **MAKING COLLEGE MORE AFFORDABLE**
- **SCHOOL CHOICE**

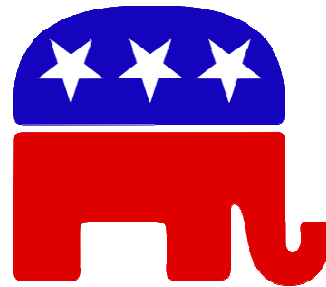




# What's next for Republicans?

# There has been little change in the feeling towards the Republican Party since 2008.

*Feelings Toward GOP*



	Positive	Negative	Net Difference
2008	38%	44%	-6%
2016	38%	42%	-4%

## Word or Short Phrase that Best Describes the Republican Party





# Trump Regulatory Agenda = Reversing Obama Regs+

*Live by the Phone & Pen, Die by the Phone & Pen*

## OBAMA ACTIONS AT RISK

- ✓ **ENERGY & CLIMATE**
  - ✓ Paris Climate Accords
  - ✓ EPA Clean Power Initiative
  - ✓ Keystone pipeline
- ✓ **TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES**
  - ✓ Treasury §385 regulations
  - ✓ Fiduciary Rule
  - ✓ Volker Rule
- ✓ **LABOR**
  - ✓ NLRB /DOL – Overtime Rule
  - ✓ Joint Employer Liability Standard
  - ✓ Persuader Rule
  - ✓ Contractor disclosure
- ✓ **HEALTH CARE**
  - ✓ ACA implementation delays
- ✓ **TELECOM & TECH**
  - ✓ Net Neutrality
  - ✓ Business Data Services re-regulation
- ✓ **OTHER**
  - ✓ DHS enforcement & deportations
  - ✓ Gun control
  - ✓ LGBT rights

## TRUMP ACTIONS EXPECTED

- ✓ **TRADE**
  - ✓ Import tariffs
  - ✓ New thresholds for countervailing & anti-dumping duties via
  - ✓ Declare currency manipulation
- ✓ **IMMIGRATION**
  - ✓ Accelerate deportations ~2x (to 500k)
  - ✓ Cut-off fed'l grants to sanctuary cities
  - ✓ Slow pace of legal visas
  - ✓ Increase prevailing wage via new formula
- ✓ **HEALTH CARE**
  - ✓ Move towards premium support model, possibly thru CMMI authority
  - ✓ Expedite state Medicaid waivers
- ✓ **ENERGY & CLIMATE**
  - ✓ Expedite leasing on fed'l lands
  - ✓ Reform RFS
- ✓ **TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES**
  - ✓ Overturn Estate Tax regulations
  - ✓ Replace CFPB director; change in enforcement

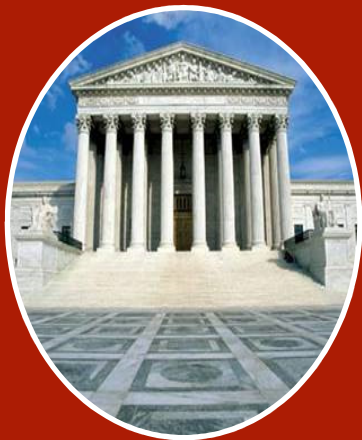


*The GOP “owns” the government.*



Now what do I do?

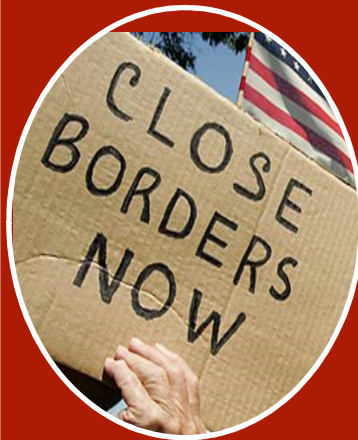




**Supreme  
Court  
Appoint-  
ment**



**Obama  
Care –  
Repeal/  
Replace**



**Immigration**



**Tax Reform**



**Trade  
Enforce-  
ment**



# ***This Ain't Your Father's GOP***

## ***Trump Changing the GOP Agenda***

***Leftward***

***within GOP mainstream***

***Rightward***

### ***Oppose Trade Deals***



### ***Broad Tax Cuts***



### ***Crack Down on Immigration***



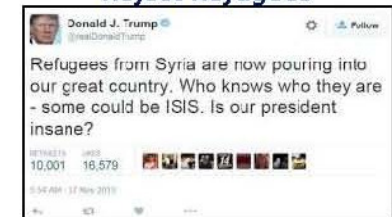
### ***Punish Wall Street***



### ***Unfettered 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment***



### ***Reject Refugees***



### ***Reject Entitlement Reforms***



### ***Muscular Military***



### ***Resist Criminal Justice Reforms***





# *First Two Years Are Critical*



**Crime Bill; Brady Bill; Assault Weapons Ban; 100,000 cops**

**NAFTA; GATT**

**Reinventing Gov't Initiative**

**Deficit Reduction Bill (tax hike)**

**AmeriCorps**

**Family & Medical Leave Act**



**No Child Left Behind**

**2001 Tax Cuts (10-year cuts)**

**Patriot Act; DHS Bill**

**US-Russia Nuclear Arms deal**

**FTAs launched/concluded:  
Singapore, Chile, Australia,  
Morocco, CAFTA**



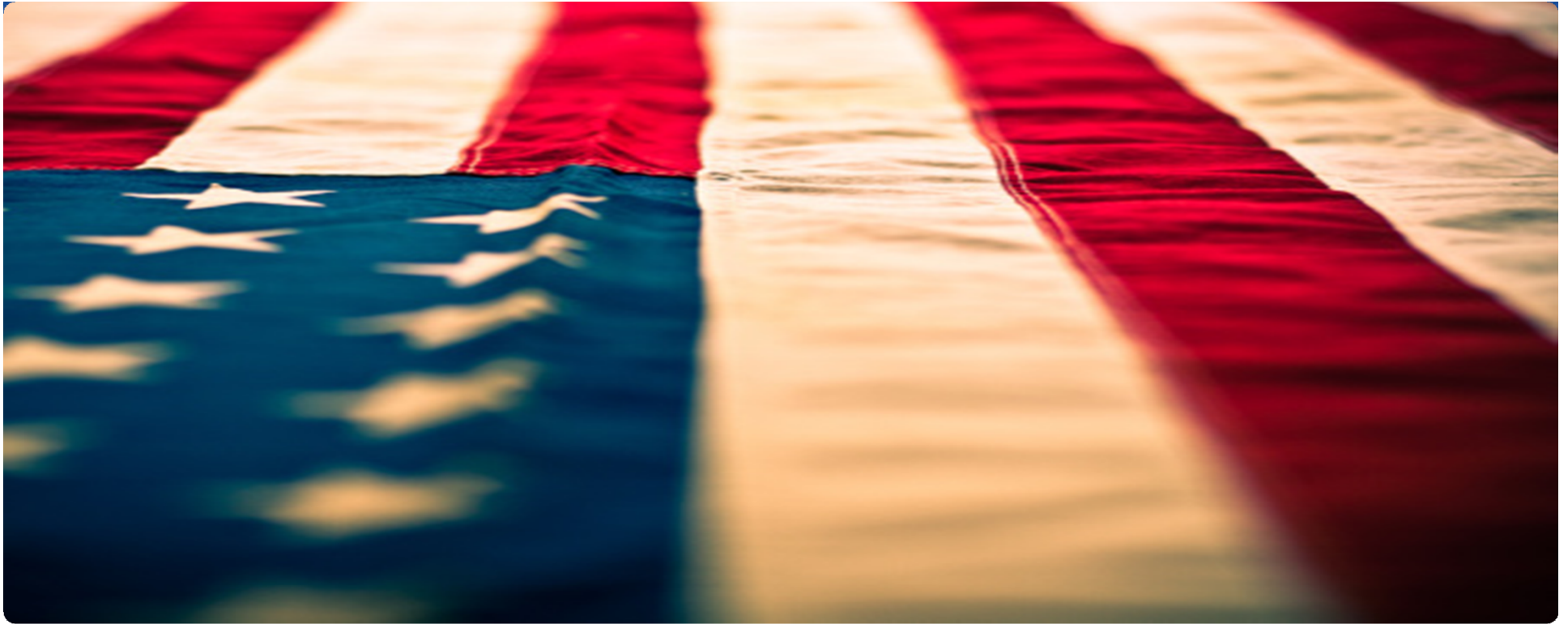
**\$787B Stimulus package**

**Affordable Care Act**

**Dodd-Frank**

**2010 Tax Deal**

**Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Act**



# What's next for Democrats?



# **WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

- **THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE (THE 2018 ELECTIONS) DOESN'T LOOK GOOD**
  - **TURNOUT AMONG DEMOCRATIC VOTERS TYPICALLY DECLINES PRECIPITOUSLY IN MID-TERM ELECTIONS**
  - **IN 2018 DEMOCRATS WILL HAVE TO DEFEND 23 SEATS PLUS 2 OF NON-DEMOCRATS WHO CAUCUS WITH THEM; REPUBLICANS ARE DEFENDING 8**
  - **TEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC-HELD SEATS ARE IN STATES TRUMP WON**
  - **INCOMPLETE INFORMATION: THERE ARE MORE DEMOCRATIC HOUSE MEMBERS REPRESENTING DISTRICTS TRUMP WON THAN REPUBLICANS REPRESENTING DISTRICTS CLINTON WON**

# THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY II

- **THE PROGRESSIVES ARE FURIOUS: THEY BLAME TRUMP'S VICTORY ON THE CORPORATIST DEMOCRATS**
- **THEY WANT A GREATER SAY IN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP**
  - **A LITTLE-KNOWN CHALLENGER TO HOUSE MINORITY LEADER PELOSI RECEIVED A THIRD OF THE VOTE**
  - **IN RESPONSE TO PRESSURE FROM PROGRESSIVES, SENATE MINORITY LEADER SCHUMER GAVE SANDERS AND WARREN LEADERSHIP POSTS**



# THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY III

- **THE PROGRESSIVES WANT PURGES**
  - **OF THE DNC**
  - **OF INCUMBENT CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS IN 2018 PRIMARIES**
    - **SANDERS HAS ENDORSED THIS**
- **THEY'RE WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH TRUMP ON COMMON GOALS**

# THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IV

- **THE ESTABLISHMENT WING WILL FIGHT BACK**
- **THEY'RE TOTALLY IN DENIAL**
- **SOME PROGRESSIVES ARE ADVOCATING LEAVING THE PARTY IF THEY DON'T GET THE CHANGES THEY SEEK**

# THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY V

- **WILL IT STICK WITH IDENTITY POLITICS?**

# **WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?**

## **THE BLUE-COLLAR UNIONS**

- **THERE'S A FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR GOALS AND THE GOALS OF THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS**
- **THERE'S ALSO A FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR GOALS AND THE PRINCIPLES OF CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANISM**
  - **RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS**
  - **PREVAILING-WAGE LAWS**
  - **USE OF COMPULSORY UNION DUES FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES**



# **THE BLUE-COLLAR UNIONS**

## **II**

- **THEIR CHOICE IS BETWEEN**
  - **BEING TREATED AS MINOR ROYALTY BY DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES AND PARTY OFFICIALS**
  - **AND RETAINING THE ALLEGIANCE OF THEIR MEMBERS**
- **WILL TRUMP ACTIVELY COURT THEM?**

---

# Questions?

---

