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## OPENING FOR CHIT CHAT 20121

I think most of you know I have been quite involved in the President's most recent election campaign. Two years ago noting that a 2012 November Chit Chat slot was open- I decided to chart my involvement in that campaign and make this two year history tonight's presentation to the club. I set certain rules- I would keep my notes in the present tense-so during this delivery some of the comments will seem awkward, by that I mean I recorded my notes on the day an event occurred. In several cases that event continued as a top story for more than one day. I also knew some of my initial comments should have been changed as the story evolved, but I kept to the script-no second-guessing after the fact. I would endeavor to be as even handed as I could realizing I had a much closer look on the inside of the Presidents run than I had for the opposition.

For tonight's paper I will try to condense the events that led up to last week's Presidential election between Governor Romney and President Obama. Because the Republican debates took up more than a year of this two-year odyssey, and in order to keep this paper within the Clubs time frame of delivery I will give short shrift to those early debates. I will highlight some of the pertinent aspects of the Republican verbal jousts, because had some some defining moments, but ultimately I want to concentrate on the last six months of the campaign- the time frame where both President Obama and Gov. Romney took center stage. When I started to think about this paper in late 2010 early 2011 – I had no idea how last weeks election would turn out. Did I have

2

preferences? YES. Was I privy to some of the thinking from one party –YES- but the gist of the paper is to show the psychological as well as the real life ups and downs of a present day Presidential election. I did made the decision to write up my conclusion to the paper prior to last weeks vote. I would deliver it based on what I felt would be the outcome. So now History has been made and if, in hindsight I was deficient in judgment with my prognostications, I reserved the right, at the end of this paper and along with your comments to do some post election introspective thinking.

Although I have met the President several times over the past two years, I must tell you none of the meetings were one on one with regards to policy. If I can take credit for influencing any campaign policy issues, I think they relate to advising the senior campaign staff on how to approach different voting populations- specifically older voters and even more specific –older white voters. I did, however, hold several one on one meetings with three Democratic Senators up for election or re-election- Gov. Tim Kaine of Virginia, Sen. John Tester of Montana, and Sen. Claire Mccaskill of Missouri. Some of my suggestions were adopted by them, many of them were not.

3

## CHIT CHAT 2012

Mid January 2011 – a typical drizzly wet foggy night in San Francisco – a few of the old 2007-2008 Obama people have gathered to hear Jim Messina – the new national campaign chairman for President Obama's gives us an overview of the 2012 contest. It is twenty-two months before Nov 6, 2012. Jim tells the President when offered the top job – I will take it under the condition that you understand that we will run it entirely different from the 2008 run. Messina then begins to lay out the differences between the 2008 and the upcoming campaign to the assembled group on that rainy night. In 2008 we had ONE Face Book person on the campaign. Of course it helped that he was the founder of Face Book. No one had heard of Twitter- E Mail was the primary method of communication and or fund raising. Messina then lists – now you must remember this is January 2011- the nine prospective republican candidates. Sarah Palin, Newt Gingrich, Mike Huckabee- Mitt Romney, Tim Pawlenty, Mitch Daniels, John Huntsman, Haley Barbour, Mike Pence and Michelle Bachman. Messina says “WE will pay the registration fee for Palin,” but the two to watch out for are Daniels and Huntsman. Most people in the room are unaware of Huntsman- I knew of his strength because of my 30 years experience in China and he has an excellent reputation. Better be careful here!



The first meaningful head to head competition for the Republican candidates is the Iowa Straw poll in August of 2011-15 months ahead of the November Presidential election. No delegates are picked but it can be a catalyst to jump-starting a thinly funded campaign or kill one where the expectations are set too high. And the results accomplished exactly that. With less than 17,000 total votes cast in the whole state after millions of dollars are spent on the contest, Michelle Bachman is catapulted to the lead with 4,800 votes. Tim Pawlenty- who spent all his funds in a “go for broke” strategy would now at best be on the short list for second spot. Bachman said her win “stunned and humbled her.” I don’t think she used the word HUMBLE ever again in her campaign!

January 2012 a mere 5 months after the Iowa straw poll the first Presidential binding preference of 2012 is held in Iowa. Iowa fight. The importance of the debates leading up to the Iowa caucus was two- fold: the weakness of Bachman and the unpreparedness of Gov. Ric Perry, who in the second debate made even those opposed to him feel sorry for him as he stood in silence trying to remember the fourth cabinet spot he wanted to do away with. It was a campaign killer.

Over the next four weeks Republican primaries are held in three keys states-New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Florida. New Hampshire is Romney territory. If will have to do well her And he does - coalescing moderate and conservative voters and beating back a concerted one state effort by Jon Huntsman- a third place finisher. Huntsman is finished for this year’s Presidential run! Newt Gingrich- began to run

5

extremely negative ads in New Hampshire-it did not seem to help him but is a precursor to the rest of the primaries.

South Carolina: Like Lazarus, New Gingrich is resurrected from the dead. He is fire and brimstone in the two debates leading up to the vote- and Mitt Romney seems stone cold- he can't explain why he hasn't released his tax returns but does admit to being in the 15% bracket. Many of his financial backers tell him just get the dam things out. Unless of course he is hiding something. South Carolina is made for Newt. The tea party is strong and the conservative right wing Protestant groups do not like the Mormons. It is a silent dislike- but it is there!!! Didn't like them in the 1850's ---didn't like them in 2008 and don't like them now- but no one brings it up. On the other hand both Gingrich and Caine do a lot of book signing and one gets the feeling this is the may be the reason both of them were really in the race-book sales! Cain has never met a Television camera that he did not fall in love with!! It has been brought to the public's attention cameras are not his only love. During the Florida primary a story breaks that he has had a long-term affair with "a Friend" who he has helped over the years and unless that friend can find him a million or more votes in Florida for Caine-he is through!

Jan 31 and Romney has won the Florida primary. Not stunning- win but convincing. The talking heads mentioned that Romney's religion did not play a big part but I was reminded that at least three of the original players- Sarah Palin, Michelle Bachman, and Herman Cain told us that God had called upon them to run for the office. For those of you are baseball fans and into religion- God is ZERO for three-all three are now out!

b)

On February 24th my wife and I host Senators Claire McCaskill and Sen. John Tester in our home. Both are middle of the road and they represent two states that McCain carried in 2008. We have 50+ attendees –many whom have not met a U.S. Senator. Sen. McCaskill gives the best explanation I have heard regarding Middle America's dislike of President Obama. McCaskill, age 55, says that anybody from Missouri her age or older probably grew up in a segregated school system in Missouri. Upon graduation from high School many went to work on small family owned farms and these farms are disappearing and the farmers are out of work. Others went to work in small factories in Missouri and were told if they worked hard and spent their lives in their home towns in these factories they would be able to live a fairly comfortable life These factories are now shut –much of the work moved overseas- and these people over the age of 55 wake up in the morning and turn on the television and they see a black man as President- and they wonder what went wrong. Sen. McCaskill says she is constantly asked whether Pres. Obama is a Muslim and she says this is a code word for Black!! Sen. Tester, a Democrat in a state with two Democratic Senators and a Democratic Governor says the President has a positive rating of 37% in Montana.

Super Tuesday- March 6<sup>th</sup> and Romney had thought it would be all over by now. He is doing well tonight but not well enough to put the competition away for good. My guess is he will now have to run his campaign like it has a rash- just let it run its course and in the end he will get enough delegates and finally be nominated. The talking heads keep coming up with the same comments- he can't get the real conservative vote and he is

7

trying to run away from the Republican establishment but my question is who are the establishment?

ON APRIL 12 2012, HILLARY ROSEN A SURROGATE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY suggests that Ann Romney “Had never worked a day in her life.” Rosen’s comment ignited a mom-cookie culture war. Within 24 hours Rosen was all over the networks doing Mia culpa. Here is it 7 months before the election and the two most talked about issues are Rosen’s Mom a Gate- and Romany’s Etch a sketch. Eight per cent plus unemployment – the middle east in caase- costs of a University education running at two times inflation- and we are worried about cookies and Etch a sketch’s.

June 8<sup>th</sup> and President Obama is back in San Francisco- his forth visit in 40 days- I am concerned that the low hanging fruit is off the vine- but the luncheon is sold out in record time. Prior to his lunch I am in a clutch with 9 or 10 others – a clutch is where the President comes around and shakes or clutch’s your hand and says a few words to you. Willie mays is standing next to me and as the President approaches I say to him-‘Mr. President if I can only have one picture taken is it O.K if I have it with Willie. He says, “You know are not the only one who thinks that way. “ A half hour later Willie introduces the president to the sold out luncheon crowd- and The Presidents opening words are- If it hadn’t been for Jackie Robinson and Willie Mays I would not be standing here today. A hush in the audience as the message sinks in.

Governor Tim Kaine is in the city and Kaine a personal friend of mine- or as personal as you can get without thinking somehow the friendship is political. I am often bothered by



that ambiguity. Kaine's Virginia race might well be the #1 highlighted senate campaign in the country and I make mention that both the president and he -Kaine are trailing in support from older- white males. I suggest that why not put on the surrogate trail people like Paul Volker- Bill Clinton- Ed Rendell. Kaine says David Axelrod controls the message decimators and he does not want anyone going off message. I counter - David Axelrod reminds me of a Chicago politician.

It is June 15<sup>th</sup> and president Obama has announced that he is going to permit 800,000 illegal immigrants who came to this country as youngsters to remain in the country without fear of deportation and able to work. The Obama team certainly knows this will be a wedge issue-the other side hops on it immediately. Obama in one fell stroke is able to turn the argument away from the economy and on to social issues. Now if he can FIND 23 more divisive issues --one a week-to keep the talk away from the economy he will win! The 800,000 illegal immigrants cannot vote- but their cousins- Uncles- and friends can!!!

I am in Chicago and it is Thursday June 28<sup>th</sup>. For the past 48 hours the talking heads have been laying out the road that the Executive branch will need to take concerning the Supreme Court's upcoming decision on the Obama Health Care issue. Back in April when I was in a small breakfast gathering in San Francisco, with Jack Lew, The Presidents Chief of staff lays out for the 12 of us the Presidents agenda- someone asked him how will the White House handle the impending Supreme Court decision if the court finds the health care issue un -constitutional. He remarked we have no back up plan



9

because we believe the court will find for the mandate. I think this is awfully naïve on their part. On June 28<sup>th</sup> the court came down on the side of the Obama health care mandate with Chief Justice John Roberts giving the majority opinion. I am writing this two days after the opinion and my take on it is that Roberts will use this as a way to put his stamp on his legacy- I am not the only one saying this- but it does eliminate some of the negativity that has been assigned to the court based on the what the public believes has been an extremely politicized court. nominee, Mitt Romney. Romney is caught between disagreeing with the court, when in fact it verifies much of what he had passed as Governor of Mass and the extreme right. The president has been given a gift- the air waves will concentrate for the next few days on the courts decision and the economy will once again take to the back burner.

It is the week of July 10<sup>th</sup> and two big issues that we are all talking about are the weak employment numbers from June- a real smack down for the President and Romney's refusal to release his tax records for more than the required two years. The Romney campaign says he is following all of the rules with the two-year release. George Will and Mathew Dowd a Republican strategist on the Sunday talk show feel there is something he is hiding. Just get it out because for sure someone somewhere knows what's in there. Sometime between 1998 and 2010 Gov. Romney probably had a banner income year and by that I mean in the \$200 million range. And if that is so then he probably reported that he gave his usual 10% to the Mormon Church. That, my friends will be a negative for the main line protestant voters in the swing states of Virginia- North Carolina and some of the mid western states back- and it is something Romney has to correct.

10

August is a quiet month- so much so that every morning the pundits are gambling on who will be Gov. Romney's running mate. A new prospect jumps up each day but so far no one has suggested Donald Trump. Condoleezza Rice is the new darling, but the party's extreme right would have a difficult time in embracing her. With the polls showing a strong preference for Obama from women voters- Condi might not be a bad choice for Romney. It would take away some African American vote as well as narrow the female gap- and it will give the team a stronger International experience- a deficit Mr. Romney is saddled with. My guess- the extreme right will beat him up if he picks Sec. Rice and he will be more likely to go for Rob Portman or Paul Ryan. It is Aug 12<sup>th</sup> and Paul Ryan is Gov. Romney's choice as a running mate. The pundits are giving him credit for being bold, but some of the POLS are saying what does this do to his chances in the state of Florida where they will be quickly apprised of Rep Ryan's stance on Medic Care

On the morning of Aug 14<sup>th</sup> Sara and I are sitting around the kitchen table and there is a call from Sen. Claire Mccaskill. Senators are not in the habit of calling me unless somebody wants something. Claire is a graduate of the University of Missouri as am I and we have hosted her before in our home. She asks if I will hold a fund raising event for her on Oct 11<sup>th</sup> almost two months away and I agree to. Sara says "cant you say no to anybody!" If there is a god -then it must be a SHE -because she must have known Sen. Mccaskill was in need of help. Seventy two hours later- Sen. Mccaskills Republican opponent Rep. Todd Akin in an interview on a St. Louis TV station- in discussing the abortion issue claims in LEGITIMATE RAPE the women body has a way of taking care

11

of the problem. Congressman Akin's comments turn the race around for Sen. Mccaskill and my guess he will not be able to recover.

The Republican convention is being held in Tampa Florida and they are faced with two hurricanes- one --man made by Todd Akin and a second one natural. The platform has adopted a Far Right plank on social issues. Anne Romney-the Governors wife will give a speech on their family relationship and the caring Mitt that she knows. Chris Christy will aim to give a spellbinder of a Key Note address. I watch these events very closely looking for any political gain or mistakes and my "take" on Christy is he is running for 2016. The second night of the convention highlights Condi Rice and the Nominee for Vice President – Paul Ryan. Condi delivers her talk without Teleprompters –a rare ability today. I admire her for her delivery- it seems so real- she concentrates on foreign affairs and the Romney campaign needs to build up creditability here-however she does not indicate a Romney policy. Paul Ryan gives a good account of himself in his first national exposure I had to admit he was a stronger presence than I realized. On the last night of the convention the headliners are Marco Rubio – a surprise guest and then Gov. Romney he accepting the nomination and giving his acceptance speech. Rubio covers his family's history --. He is effective – and is a gifted orator- I would say the best the Republicans have. One might just get the idea he too is looking ahead to 2016! The surprise guest surprised everyone including the Romney team. Clint Eastwood- does 16 minutes of stand up comedy cutting into the precious time allocated for the Romney big speech. Not only does he take up 11 more minutes than on stage than originally planned- he seems to be fumbling some of the lines as well as looking physically worn. Romney

(12)

follows Mr. Eastwood- – concentrates on his business background and his successes in the commercial world- identifies Russia as our number one international threat –does not mention the Afghan or Iraq war-unfortunately the head lines the next day will concentrate on the Eastwood presentation. It is not what the Heads of the Romney team wanted to have happen.

13

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION is in Charlotte North Carolina. I attended many conventions-both Democrat and Republican-the most memorable -in 1968 held in Chicago -The tear gas and the behavior of Chicago's finest still embedded in my memory. The Charlotte event highlights the Democrats need to galvanize the base. And that they do just that with the first three speakers-Michelle Obama- Mayor Castro of San Antonio-and President Bill Clinton. Michelle's job is to make the President seem more human – she highlights family values- women's rights- and makes a very effective presentation. Mayor Castro-lasers in on his Hispanic background ---- with several references to his mother and grandmother and comes up with one of the most memorable lines I have heard in a long time-"my Grandmother held a mop so I could hold this microphone." But the barnburner is delivered by Ex President Clinton- a speech that was supposed to last 24 minutes but took 49 minutes- not a surprise for Clinton. His delivery was Arkansinian: gerunds be damned. There are no "g's" in Clinton's alphabet at least not tonight. He swayed with the cadence of his own delivery and if you shut your eyes you might have thought he was in church Masterful!!!! On the last night the President gave what I would call a safe speech- asking the nation to give him another four years to finish off what he had tried to accomplish in his first term. The pundits do not find fault with the speech but they did not give him glowing reviews.

We are now into the final 7 weeks of the campaign- the President did get a bounce- he leads in seven of the nine states that everyone feels are the "deciders." On the anniversary of 9-11, our embassy in Tripoli is attacked and we lose our ambassador and two other embassy personnel. At the same time, in Cairo, a fringe group riots outside our embassy blaming a right wing Jewish group in the U.S The Romney campaign jump on

(4)

the issue steering some of the blame towards the President who is trying to calm the winds by assuring that we respect all religions and also respect the right for all to showcase their views. The Romney oblique criticism of the President is that he is not supporting Israel but kowtowing to the Muslims. When the Libyan attack is finally vetted – Romney has to back off on the accusation, but in the interview during his “Step Back” he is at a loss for words. I just don’t understand it- he has to have the ability to project himself in interviews where he has to respond with unscripted answers.

(15)

## CHIT CHAT 47%

It is MID SEPTEMBER and THE SAN FRANCISCO BASED MAGAZINE MOTHER JONES breaks a story with regards to a fund raiser held in Florida in May of 2012 for Gov., Romney. The magazine has an imbedded reporter in the crowd who has both a video and audio of Romney's remarks. The Governor is heard saying that 47 % of the population does not pay taxes and those 47% are not his worry anyway. The 47% comment has to have a negative vibes to those who are part of the 47%- and he needs some support from them if he intends to win. – and the comments reinforce the image this guy just doesn't care about them. The 47% comment permeates the news cycles longer than normal and with less than 50 days left in the campaign every day away from the economy and unemployment is a lost day for Romney.

With 40 days to go there are a number of polls coming out that show Obama widening his lead in several of the swing states. Ohio- Virginia and Florida- two of the three must wins for team Romney are moving in a slow drip to the President. Both sides attribute the move to the 47% video. It is too early to tell but if the Romney team cannot regain traction I think I would say this was the nail in the coffin. But there are 40 days left and having been involved in campaigns in the past where after the lid was closed dead candidates jump out of the coffin and breath fresh air into campaigns.

16

And that is exactly what happens after the first debate. On Oct 3<sup>rd</sup> The coffin lid blew open. The debate turned out not to be just a bump in the road for the President but a crevasse. As we say on the south side of Chicago Mitt Romney took it to him! The President seemed lethargic, tired and dis-interested. For the past four years the Republicans have accused him of being nothing but another "Chicago Politician" Well I can attest to the fact that Mayor Daley THE FIRST – when he had his adversary on the ropes- as Obama did prior to the debate - Daley would have put one foot on his neck and one foot- well you know where. This is the third time I have experienced Obama not going for the jugular. In Spring 2008 – when he had Hillary on the ropes after his Iowa primary victory - and in April 2008 went he went quiet the week before the Ohio and Texas primaries. One win in just one of those primaries would have ended that fight two months earlier than it actually did. There is no question in my mind he is competitive- very competitive- but I also know first hand he does not relish negativity in a campaign. I know that sounds disingenuous – because we have heard nothing but negativity for much of this campaign, but the one time I was taken to the woodshed by one of Obama's lead people in 2008 was when I suggested we go after Hillary with regards to her commodities trading issue –The Obama campaign said the Senator does not like to attack on a personal level.

The president gets a break when two days after his disastrous debate performance the unemployment figures fall below 8% for the first time in almost four years. The news breaks on a Friday morning – normally a good spot for a positive story – it will be carried all weekend as the lead story displacing the poor performance news cycle- but- 70 million



(17)

people saw the debate- a good news weekend cycle might hit 30% of that. My guess is the first polls out after the debate will not be kind to the President.

IT IS OCT 15<sup>TH</sup> and this morning I had breakfast with Tim Kaine- Kaine is running for a hotly contested senate seat in Virginia-arguably the most expensive race in Senatorial history and a seat that the Republicans must grab if they have any chance of controlling the senate. Kaine is running against George Allen- he of macca fame from his senate run in 2006. The breakfast gathering is small – everyone gets a chance to ask questions and of course someone asks if he is still tying his coat tails to the President. The governor answers with an emphatic YES! Kaine – at this point mentions that he is up by about 3-4 % -the President is up 1-2% in Virginia and the Republicans cannot grab hold of the Senate or take the Presidency without Virginia. The last three weeks of this race will see astronomical spending and I think- how many new schools could be built with the money spent on this campaign?? As much as I love being involved in the Art of Politics- I question whether I am adding to the general good

Tuesday night Oct 16<sup>th</sup> the night of the second debate and the President has to be on his game. This past weekend has been non-stop call in to me-people worried about how well the president will do—can I get TO the campaign and Obama and tell them to be more be more presidential- assert aggressiveness. - I wonder whether when the going gets tough the members of the Chit Chat Club who are in the clergy – Alan Jones- Stephen Pearce- Al Jonson- and Cal Rutherford-- do you get calls asking “can’t you somehow get past the guards at the heavenly gate and get to the lead team-? The Town Hall debate style should

(18)

lend itself to the Presidents strength- cerebral thoughts, but he has the habit of hesitating while he forms answers in his mind and to a televised audience this might smack of uncertainty. Twenty-four hours from now we will have our answer.

We got the answer. I can put away my scalpel, which I had by the side of my bed.--Like he has done in the past --with his back to the wall, he is able to have a stellar performance. From the opening comments, the President takes command of the debate. Neither side offers anything new but the President is able to hammer Romney on his past stands and the Gov. is on the defensive. The key strategy to the Obama performance was to re invigorate his base- and hopefully stop the bleeding. There is no question that between the first and second debates the President began to lose strength within certain population demographics- specifically educated white women- women who vote in the suburbs of Philadelphia- Denver- Northern Virginia and other swing areas. The first few days after this second debate, the Obama campaign hops on Romney's misstep in using the term "women in binders- the campaign spend millions of dollars on Television ads covering this quote, but not millions of dollars on what Obama plans to do in the next four years if re elected.

With two weeks to go we have the final debate supposedly centered on International and Foreign affairs. I have, however, come to the conclusion that the final outcome of the election will not hinge on the evening's event- unless one or the other really makes a misstep. The outcome of the elections will be decided on narrow issues tailored by state and aimed at a small group of voters in each state. Take Florida for an example- Romney and the President can talk all they want to about the auto bail out- but we are going to

18

find out whether the Gov. was able to wean away a small slice of the Jewish vote with his tough stand on Israel and Iran. If he can take away just – 10-15% of the Jewish vote vs. the 2008 number then he will carry Florida. The Presidents strategy in carrying Florida- a three pronged approach- hold the Jewish vote, get the Hispanic vote out and reassure the older voting populating that he will protect Social Security and Medicare. Forget everything else in Florida –they do want to hear about the bank bailouts. In Ohio- it is all about the auto bailout. That's #1 and my guess Obama will push that until the last moment of the campaign. Look at Virginia, a key state and a state I am going to travel to and work for both the President and Tim Kaine. As of today, two weeks ahead of the election, polls show Obama and Kaine ahead by two to three points. The issue in Virginia, how will each candidate for President protect the Military? Obama's thesis is to keep us out of conflict and take care of the veterans. Gov. Romney and George Allen, Kaines opponent are both pushing for the removal of the military cuts in the sequester. There are a tremendous number of retired military personnel in both Northern VA and around the Tidewater Basin and even though in the same state- the two geographical areas take different approaches to the support of the Military. Obama and Kaine will do well in the North, Romney and Allen probably will succeed around the Naval bases in the South. As Tip O'Neal said "All politics is Local."

(20)

## LAST TWO WEEKS

In the last debate the President comes out swinging. He is again in command during the verbal exchanges and with his physical presence on stage. Both sides have a strategy they are trying to project in this last debate and my guess is – it is a strategy they intend to carry forward through the last two weeks of the campaign. The Democrat base needs to feel comfortable that the President is forceful- The Romney strategy is to showcase him as a caring and thoughtful person- taking on the mantle of “Father in Chief” as well as Commander in Chief. He needs to wean away some of the women’s vote. The flash polls declare Obama the winner of the debate, but the Romney team is happy with his performance. He comes across as caring and moves to the center, no I should say RACES to the center. For the first few days after the debate, the Obama team highlights Romney’s switch from his previous stands on Immigration, no tax cuts, Obama Care as well as women’s choice. The Romney thinking: we will not lose our conservative base – they just want to beat the President and they will live with whatever we say for now in order to win. It may prove to be skillful thinking.

For those of you who subscribe to the New Yorker, the Oct 29- Nov 5 issue has an article written by Ryan Lizza- ‘The Campaign Trail- The final Push- Inside Obama’s ground game.’ Rizza has interviewed Jim Messina- remember him- he is the Obama campaign chief and the person addressing us on that rainy night in San Francisco two years ago. The piece is quite interesting because it goes into the philosophy and psychology of how the campaign has been run up to this point and then the strategic plans for the last part of

21

this two-year odyssey. I come from the old world Chicago politics of voting early and often and sometimes cemeteries. The article covers the Obama teams PUSH-or REFINEMENT in their way to get voters to the polls. I am going to quote from the article. "Everything a MODERN campaign does to garner votes falls into two categories: persuasion and mobilization. I will Paraphrase -- "For decades campaigns attached flyers to your front door- have used television as a way to get messages across to voters - dominant methods of persuasion-but TV ads tend to lose their message within 48-72 hours-flyers get thrown away. As the electorate has become more polarized the tacticians have focused on getting out their OWN voters as opposed to persuading others to change their allegiance. In 1972, 30 per cent of the voters in this county split their tickets-by 1992 it was down to 19% and my guess now close to 10%. However that 10% is movable. In the 2008 campaign they voted heavily for Obama -- in the mid term election of 2010 they reversed course and voted into office a heavily Republican congress. A major strategy employed by the Obama team besides social media in this election cycle is early voting. If you are able to identify your voters either through new registrations-thus first time voters / or in either of the traditional or social networking techniques and you can get them to the polls in early voting you can IDENTIFY how well you are doing in that venue. Example -- in Ohio- on Oct 12 the Obama team knows that in Ohio they hold an almost 3-1 advantage of early voters. Besides getting them to the polls- in my mind these people no longer can be swayed by campaign ending tsunamis.

With twelve days to go The Chicago Obama team is relying heavily on its Get Out the voter identification philosophy. In the Rizza article Jeremy Bird- the Obama inside guru of ground game makes the following statement. "Robo calls generate one change in 900

(20)

calls- flyers attached to your front door and E Mails are close to being useless. The best way to mobilize voters- SHAME-the psychologists have discover that if you tell a voter that his neighbor has voted- or that researchers now had a way to see if you have voted- the increase in voting participation is 8 points. That is huge! Many non-voters will vote if they think others are watching.” The campaign is employing social science skills as well as what Obama learned as a community organizer –taking the motivation theories learned in the mid 1980’s. My background with -on the ground game -was to just get as many workers out there and blanket the neighborhood. The Obama team knows that putting together a small team and keeping the team together over time –targeting known positive voters is the MOST effective way of winning a close race.

— The advent and usage of social media in elections is going to have a major impact on ‘Turn Out’ and thus in the final days will as a prime strategy used by both campaigns. Social media will augment in many instances the old –going door to door on election day- pounding the ground the last 24 hours – The Twitter- texting-Facebook strategy will contact voters who have NOT shown up or voted and remind them on an hourly basis to go vote- and even more important it will go viral- a term we used to attach to disease but which the younger set attaches to the ability of getting a message across to multiple people with just one push of a button. If you know whom your voters are- and that is the first test after 18 months on the ground -if you have identified YOUR voters- then beginning 72 hours in advance of Election Day you remind your voters via the social networks to go vote. It will be interesting to see what kind of turnout effect ” social networking will have on the vote totals. We will know by the time I deliver this paper.

23

On a last week call in to the Obama Chicago H.Q. I listen to a discussion of polls- the way they are conducted and what screens-the word SCREENS is a term used to identify methodology in conducting polls. Different screens produce different outcomes.

Example- robo calls really do not identify anyone --you take a list and begin to go up and own that list and you have NO IDEA if those people have voted in the past. The #1 predictor of people who will cast a vote in this election is whether they have voted consistently in the past or even randomly voted in the past. Polls DO NOT cover anyone who has been recently registered because in most cases polling groups do not have these names or contacts. The discrepancies we all are seeing in these last weeks' numbers are governed by the methodology of the polltakers. But we all sneak a peek early every morning to see what they are saying. I think I am Paranoid but in politics only the paranoid survive.

The week before the election a wrench is thrown into the plans of both parties. A tremendous hurricane hits the East Coast. Three of the targeted swing states will be directly hit by the weather, but the effect will also have bearings on travel plans by candidates and surrogates for the inland Midwestern swing states. Altered travel means altered last minute ad buys. The President, looking presidential heads back to Washington and suspends his campaign for 48 hours. Romney at first continues to campaign in the Midwest but later cuts back his schedule. FEMA, never thought, as one of the get out the vote strategies --in my estimation will play an outsized part of the last weeks campaigning. I hope FEMA produces. Romney in the Republican primary debates said, "He would close FEMA down. Return the decision making to the states." Like all

24

of those who have been involved in this campaign we worry about what will be the BIG unknown that could cause a seismic shift in the last week of a campaign- and this years BIG unknown is really BIG - a 350-pound governor from New Jersey. Chris Christie- the Republican Key Note speaker heaps 350 pounds of praise on the Presidents handling of Hurricane Sandy- and then is seen travelling with him throughout the state- travelling on the President's helicopter and relishing the T.V. exposure both of them are getting. And this might be the start of another storm. The next day, Mayor Michael Bloomberg of New York comes out and endorses the President with his explanation that the President understands the effects of science-code work for global warming- and just maybe the tide is turning.



25

## VIRGINIA

ON NOV 3, four days before election day I am in In Richmond Va. working out of the combined Obama-Tim Kaine offices. It is a true boots on the ground operation and very well organized. LOCATED IN A STRIP MALL, at least 50 people are in the office taking instruction on how to either go door to door or make phone contacts. They recommend only two or four hour shifts- no more as they feel workers become less effective after four hours. I am given a precinct where I go door to door and encourage positive identified voters to vote. I ask for and get a predominantly African American neighborhood, single-family homes, clearly middle class or upper middle class. Lots of Obama signs on the lawns- I feel cannot miss with these types of voters. My first stop-a middle age African American woman answers, three teenagers behind her saying they are voting too. I ask her if I can count on her vote for Kaine and Obama and she says Kaine yes-I am not sure about Obama. I can't believe it and she tells me that although she is of color, Obama believes in same sex marriage and she is a Christian and begins to recite chapter and verse from the Bible - which says this is a sin. She asks me if I have read that part of the scriptures and the only thing on my mind is how do I get off this front porch -I am in way over my head. Finally I convince her that Obama will not take her teen-age sons into war and mention other Obama talking points. She seems to relent. The Romney TV ads are knocking the Obama stance on gay marriage day and night.

Our second day out -door to door- we are assigned to an area that encompasses public housing as well as lower middle class small homes. White and black living on the same street -it is an eye opener as to how the 47% lives. We knock on doors, upstairs and down and have some success. People say they want to vote-they just need prodding to go

(26)

out and do it. A drug addict, several homes with just women registered, color of skin is not the determinant. The Obama teams early canvassing is evident. Many plus voters have already been contacted personally or by phone and we remind the identified Plus voters where to vote- what I.D. to bring and ask if they need rides to the polls. A very well organized ground game.

Tuesday Feb 6<sup>th</sup>-election day – this is it-we go door to door from 10 A.M. until after 4. We are in a predominately African American neighborhood and where they are home, they welcome us and tell us YES we have voted or YES we are going to go vote. In the city of Richmond, population 800,000- about the same size as San Francisco the Obama team has 6 satellite offices and 62 off site centers. I see no Romney activity-a few yard signs but no one walking the streets and knocking on doors. At 6 P.M we head over to the Kaine / Obama party head quarters- those who have been working on the campaign begin to trickle in and we await the results. The early network calls some of the early east coast states, but not the three everyone are waiting for, Florida, New Hampshire and Virginia. The early votes in Virginia show a neck and neck race for both Obama and Kaine- they are unfiltered votes- just numbers but the Obama teams boiler room, next door to where we are decipher the votes street by street and within an hour tell us both Obama and Tim Kaine will carry Virginia by close to 200,000 votes. And they are right, but we won't be told until 10:45 that night. And then it comes- swing state by swing state- first New Hampshire- then Iowa- then Ohio- then Colorado-interspersed with the last chance saloon states for Romney- Wisconsin- Minnesota. and Pennsylvania The noise in the room is deafening- each time a network declares one of the above for the Obama team the gathered let out a howl- Whites, Latino's, Asian and Black, young

52

Volunteers- they hug oldies like us -their 18 month or weekend odyssey ending in a hard fought victory. I will say this: after spending a few days with teen agers, twenty and thirty something's – students taking off a semester or a weekend from Georgetown, Harvard or U VA, I do not worry about the next generation's commitment to democracy.

Unlike Nate Silver I missed a bit on my predictions; I thought Florida and Colorado would go to Romney. Virginia was just to close for me to call prior to my closing of this paper. Once I started working the streets my gut said give it to Obama. If you have paid attention to this paper I am sure you can see where else I erred. I thought the Mormon Issue would play a much bigger issue than it did. The good news, a chosen faith will no longer be a reason to keep someone off the ticket. Initially I thought the Ryan choice was a good one for the Republicans, in the end he cost them Florida, and my guess New Hampshire. Between June and early October I thought the President was going to be unbeatable then came the disastrous first debate. I underestimated the strength of Santorum and over estimated the strength of the super Pacs. And of course in Mid October when things looked bleakest for the president, I was not privy to Hurricane Sandy's planned arrival. However the one arena in which I was right- the idea that a well-organized ground game would trump-Oh how I like to use that word- would trump millions of dollars of television campaigning. The downside of presenting this paper a week after the election is that all of you have had time to digest the outcome and parse the information that both printed and visual news media have offered. So, in order to preempt the press here are my predictions for 2016. Both parties will start organizing their ground game no later than late tonight –if not already started. The Republican party

2f

will have moved to the center – the Democrats will run a women in one of the two top spots and Arizona will go Democratic!!!! And --I will not give a paper on that election!