

# Managing Political Chaos

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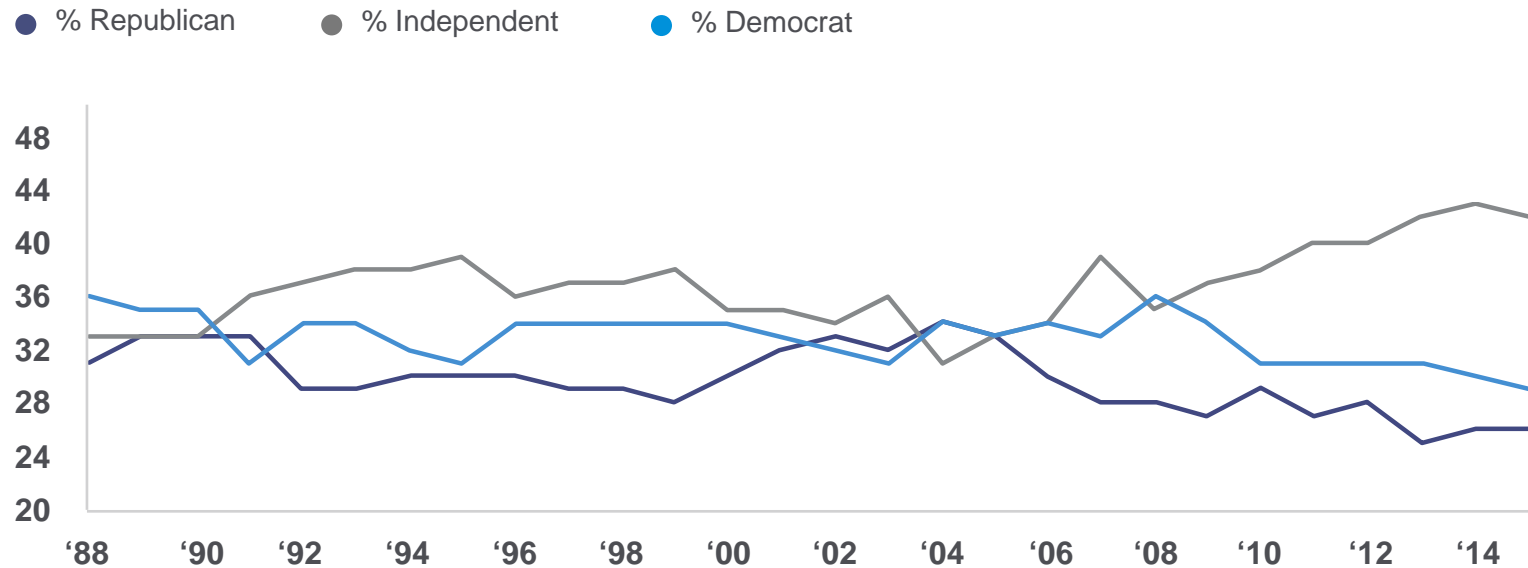
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# American Views of Government



# Political party affiliation

## U.S. party identification, yearly averages, 1988-2015



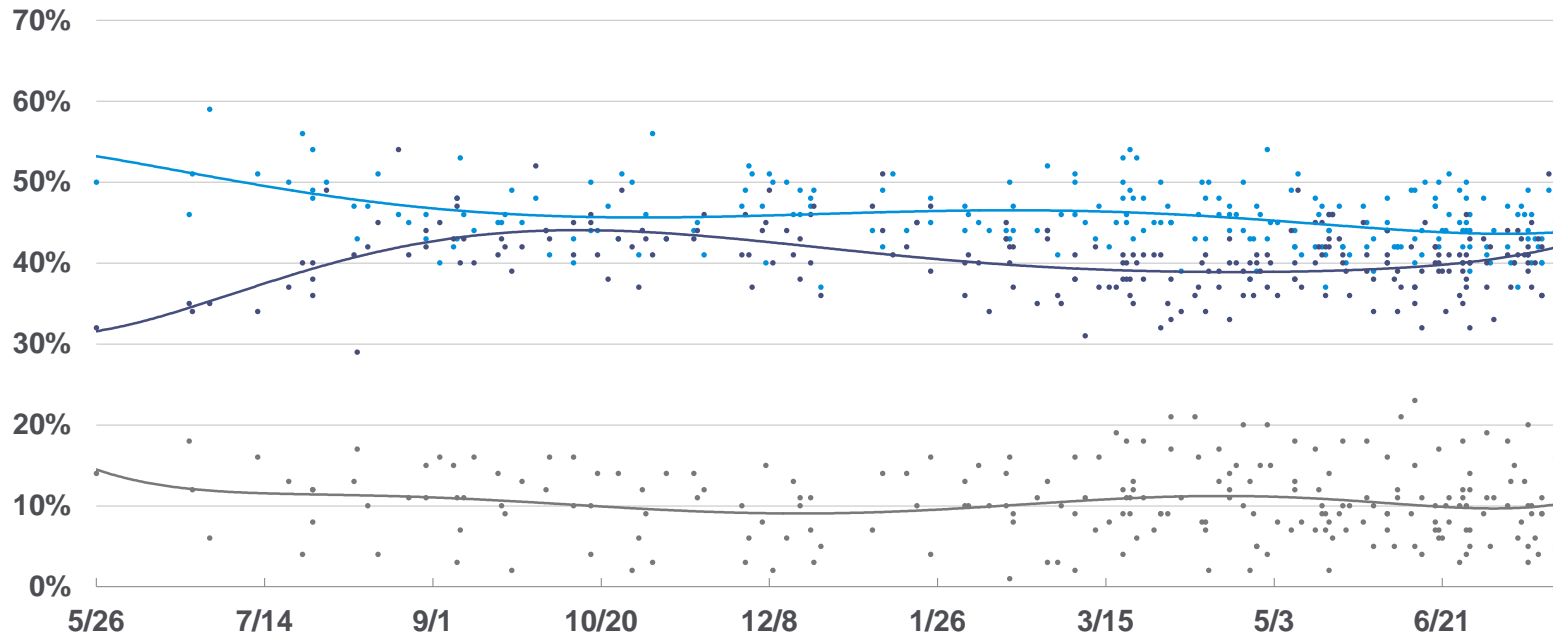
Based on multiple day polls conducted by telephone

# Clinton and Trump have been head-to-head in national polls

May 2015 – July 2016 polling numbers, by candidate

● Clinton ● Trump ● Undecided

Trump has caught up to Clinton in the most recent polls after the DNC



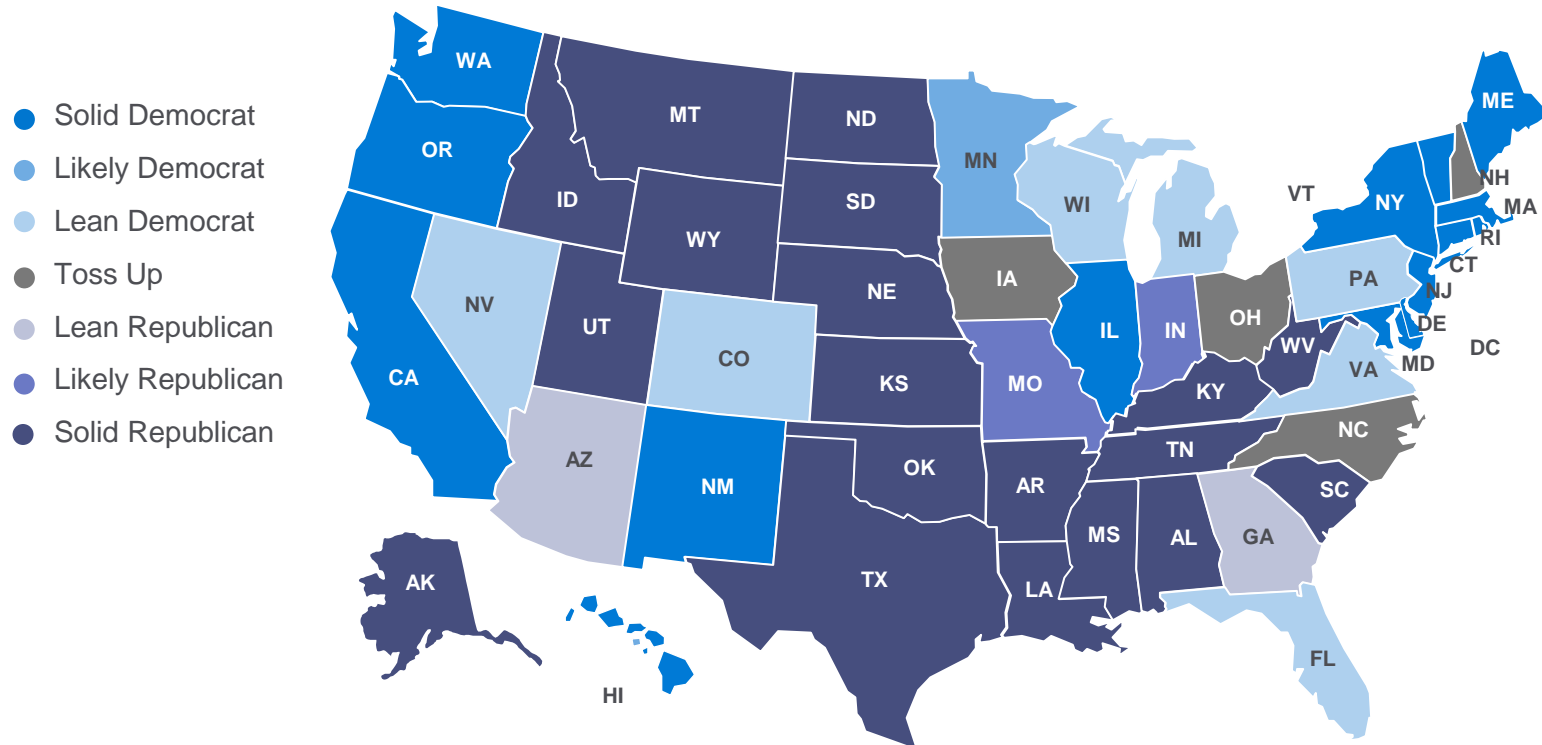
Source: HuffPost Pollster, "Poll Chart: 2016 General Election: Trump vs. Clinton," July 24, 2016.

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# Map of Cook Political Report's Electoral College Ratings

Several swing states lean Democrat giving Democrats an even greater advantage in presidential election



Source: Cook Political Report Electoral College Ratings, May 27, 2016.

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# Cook Political Report: Electoral College Ratings

## Cook Ratings favor Democrats in presidential election

Solid D	Likely D	Lean D	Toss Up	Lean R	Likely R	Solid R
16 states	1 states*	7 states	4 states*	2 states	2 states	19 states
California (55) Connecticut (7) Delaware (3) D.C. (3) Hawaii (4) Illinois (20) Maine-AL (2) Maine-01 (1) Maryland (10) Massachusetts (11) New Mexico (5) New Jersey (14) New York (29) Oregon (7) Rhode Island (4) Vermont (3) Washington (12)	Maine-02 (1) Minnesota (10)	Colorado (9) Florida (29) Nevada (6) Pennsylvania (20) Virginia (13) Wisconsin (10) Michigan (16)	Iowa (6) North Carolina (15) Ohio (18) Nebraska-02 (1) New Hampshire (4)	Arizona (11) Georgia (16)	Indiana (11) Missouri (10)	Alabama (9) Alaska (3) Arkansas (6) Idaho (4) Kansas (6) Kentucky (8) Louisiana (8) Mississippi (6) Montana (3) Nebraska-AL (2) Nebraska-01 (1) Nebraska-03 (1) North Dakota (3) Oklahoma (7) South Carolina (9) South Dakota (3) Tennessee (11) Texas (38) Utah (6) West Virginia (5) Wyoming (3)
190 EV	27 EV	87 EV	44 EV	27 EV	21 EV	142 EV

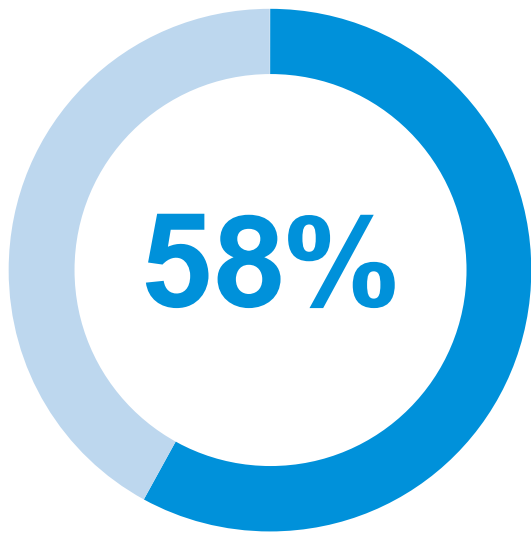
\*Maine and Nebraska split their electoral votes

Source: Cook Political Report Electoral College Ratings, May 27, 2016.

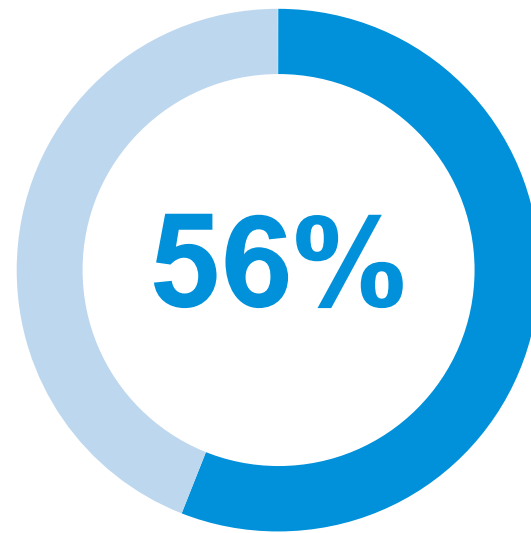
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# Trump and Clinton Equally Disliked



Trump



Clinton

# Major third party candidates in 2016

## Third party challengers prepare their campaigns for 2016, Libertarian ticket may be attractive to voters



### Gary Johnson

Libertarian

#### Last political position held:

Governor of New Mexico  
(1995-2003)

#### Vice President:

William Weld, Former  
Gov. of Massachusetts

### Analysis

- The Johnson-Weld ticket was confirmed on May 29 and became **the first ticket of any party to consist of two governors since the 1948 election cycle.**
- Gary Johnson is running on a platform that is socially liberal and fiscally conservative, **a political ideology that currently resonates well in the Mountain West and the Northeast:** two regions in which both candidates have political experience.
- **Johnson was shown to be polling at 13% in the state of Utah,** a historically Republican state that largely refuses to back Donald Trump. **Nationally, he has hovered around 7%.**
- The ticket is currently on the ballot in 37 states and working on access in all 50 states.



### Jill Stein

Green Party

#### Last political position held:

Lexington, MA Town Meeting  
Member (1995-2011)

#### Vice President:

TBD

### Analysis

- **Jill Stein has yet to be officially awarded the Green Party nomination,** however she is seen as the presumptive nominee after winning nominating contests in 29 states.
- Stein has committed to running on **a platform that very much resembles Bernie Sanders'** policy goals but Stein's approach has been called slightly **"more pacifist" and "more ambitious."**
- Stein has been polling nationally around 5% but has failed to show a promising regional appeal from which she could make an impact on the electoral college vote.
- The Green Party is expected to have ballot access in 47 states as 3 states' petition processes have given the party trouble.

Sources: Julia Azari, "The States that Love (and Hate) Third-Party Candidates," FiveThirtyEight, July 6, 2016; Libertarian Party, "2016 Presidential Ballot Access Map,"; Bernie Quigley. "Gary Johnson and William Weld Could Bring a Libertarian Awakening," The Hill, May 23, 2016; Nora Kelly "Gary Johnson is Having a Good Day," The Atlantic, May 24, 2016; Lindsay Castleberry, "Right Down the Middle: Gary Johnson Sticks to the Issues," Fox Business, July 6, 2016; Bill Scher, "Think You've got it Locked, Hillary? Meet Jill Stein," Politico, June 19, 2016; Jill 2016, "Dr. Jill Stein Secures Green Presidential Nomination," June 15, 2016.

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# Managing the Process

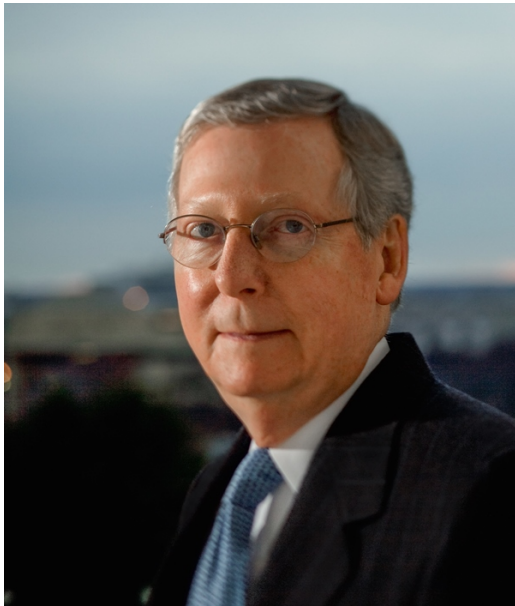
	Bills introduced	Average no. of bills introduced per member	Became Law
110 <sup>th</sup> (2007-2008)	7,441	17.1	460
111 <sup>th</sup> (2009-2010)	6,677	15.3	385
112 <sup>th</sup> (2011-2012)	6,845	15.7	284
113 <sup>th</sup> (2013-2014)	15,922	29.8	296
114 <sup>th</sup> (2015-2016)	12,363	28.4	118

Source: Congress.gov

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# Managing the Majority



Senate Majority Leader  
Mitch McConnell

- 2014 Election
- Regular Order
- Ryan's Challenge
- Empowering Pelosi
- Reaching 60 Votes



House Speaker Paul Ryan

# Democratic Divisions



Senator Charles Schumer (D-NY)

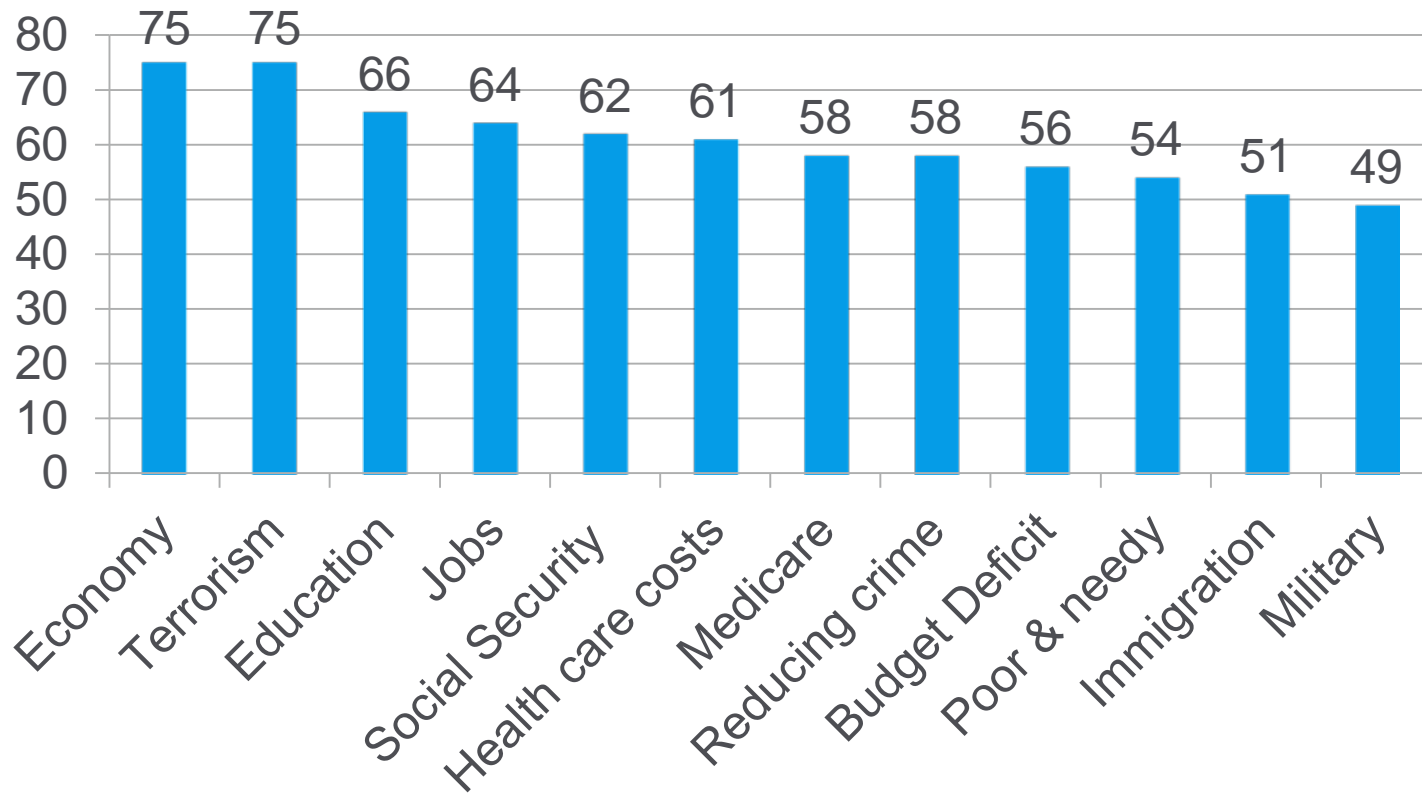
- Progressives vs. Moderates
- Rise of Elizabeth Warren
- Aging Leadership
- White House Coordination



Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-MA)

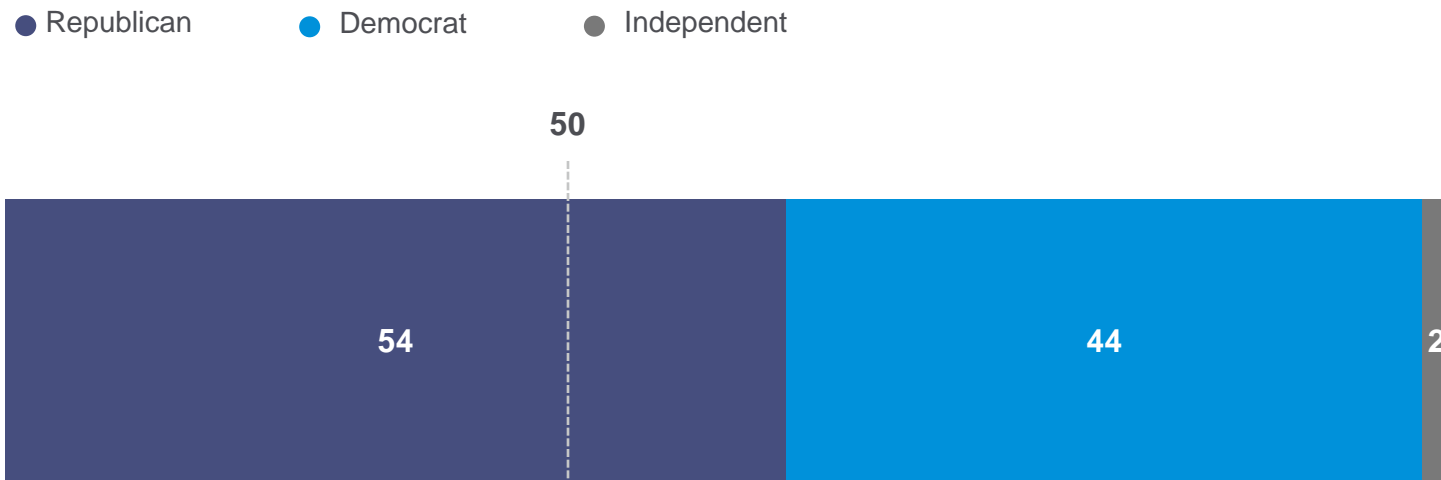
# Top Policy Priorities

The public policy priorities for 2016 % rating each a top priority for Obama and Congress



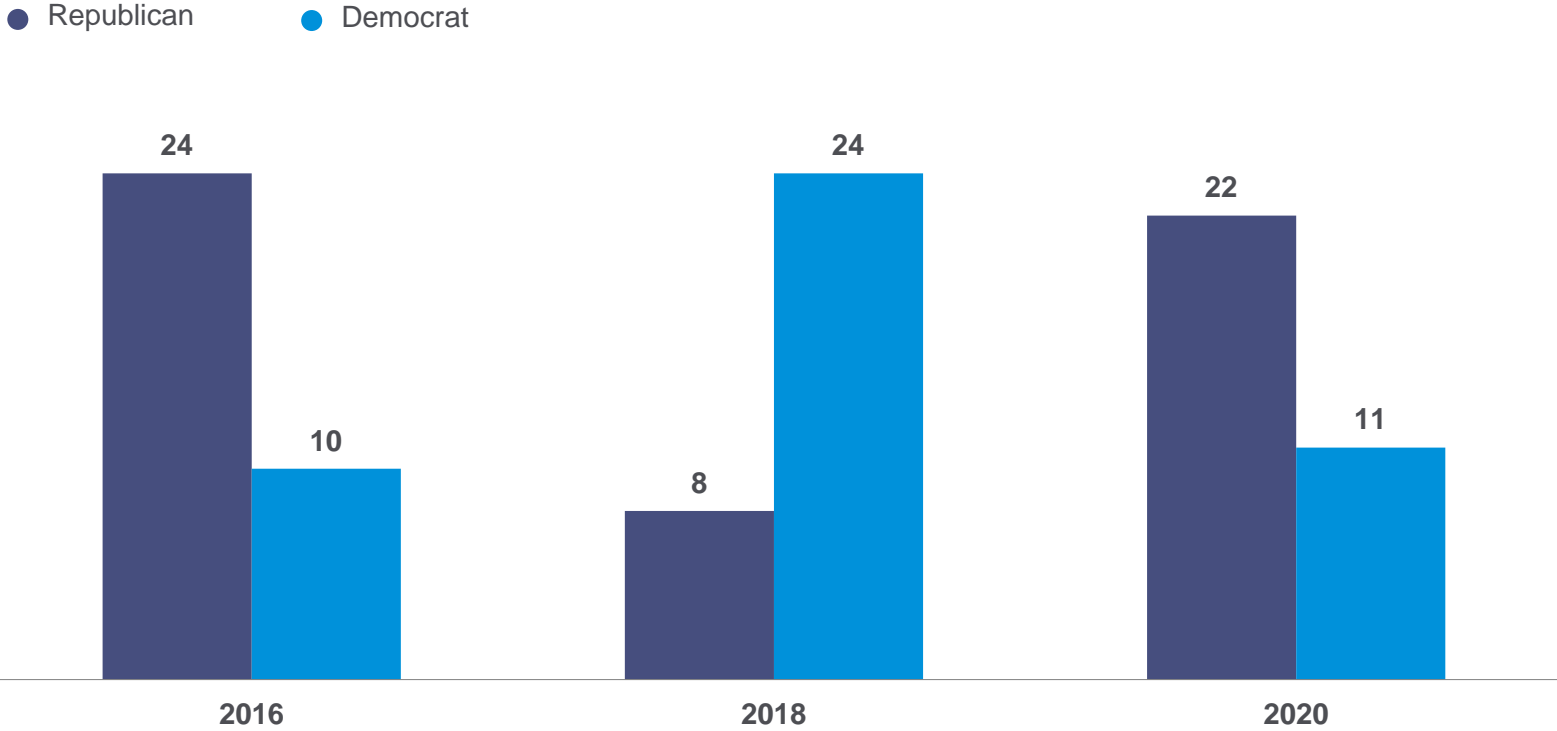
# Breakdown of current senators

## Number of senate seats in the 114th congress, by party



# Senate seats in play, by election year

Democrats, Republicans will take turns playing defense in elections ahead

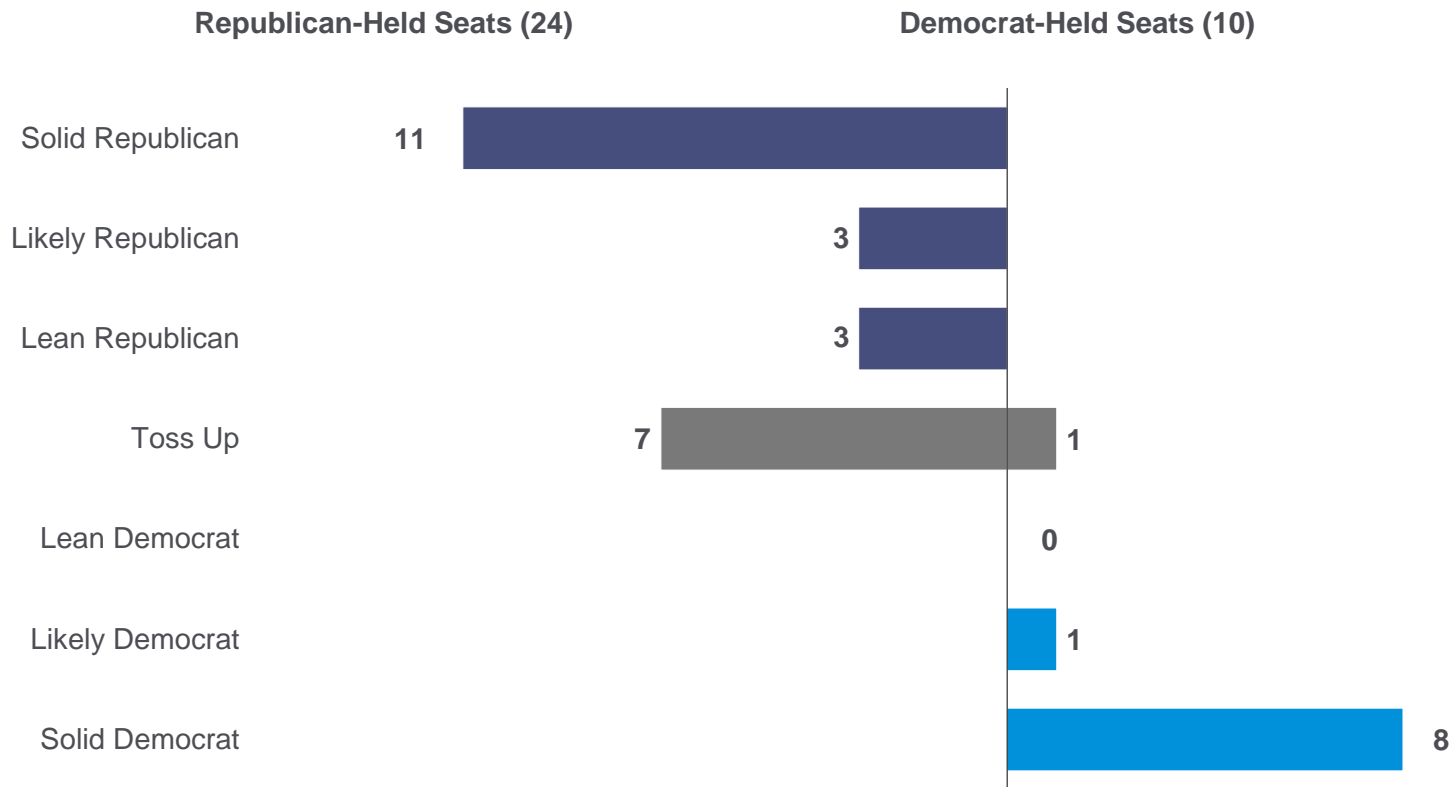


Source: The Cook Political Report  
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# Breakdown of 2016 Senate Races, by Cook Political Report Rating

**8 of 34 Senate seats fall in the toss up category this election**

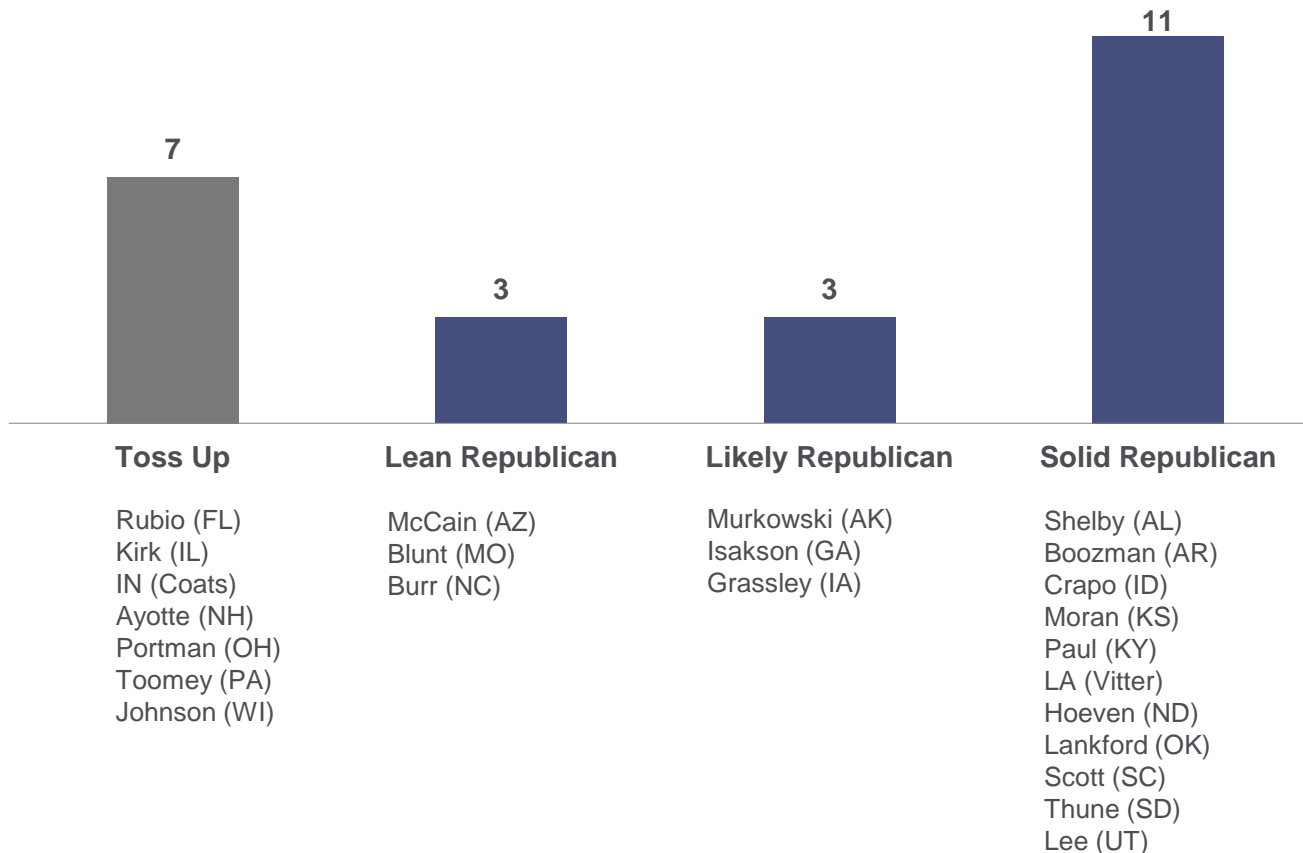


Source: The Cook Political Report

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# Breakdown of 2016 Senate Races, by Cook Political Report Rating

7 of 24 Republican Senate seats considered toss up this cycle



Source: The Cook Political Report

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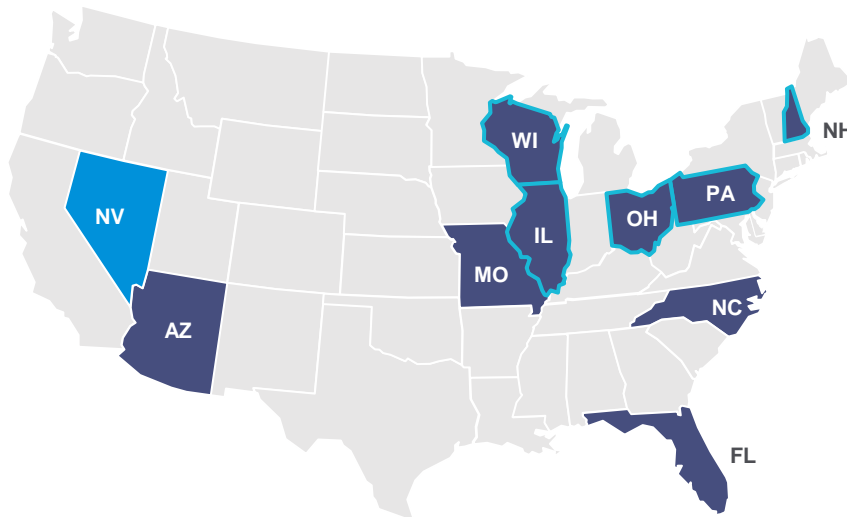




# Hotline's 2016 Senate Rankings

## Republicans currently hold the five senate seats most likely to flip in 2016

- Seat held by Republican
- Seat held by Democrat



6. **Nevada:** Open (D)
7. **Florida:** Marco Rubio (R)
8. **North Carolina:** Richard Burr (R)
9. **Missouri:** Roy Blunt (R)
10. **Arizona:** John McCain (R)

1. **Illinois:** Sen. Mark Kirk (R) is trailing in polls in a blue state, and is lacking in support from outside spending groups. Kirk has publicly disavowed Trump in a TV ad, seeking to distance himself from his party.
2. **Wisconsin:** Former senator Russ Feingold (D) is running an aggressive campaign against Ron Johnson (R), but Johnson has ample support from outside spending groups.
3. **New Hampshire:** New Hampshire voted Democratic by 6 and 9 points in the last two presidential elections, so Kelly Ayotte (R) is likely to need a significant number of voters supporting both her and Hillary Clinton to win, which won't be easy against the state's current governor Maggie Hassan (D).
4. **Pennsylvania:** National Democrats spent \$5 million to get their chosen candidate, 2014 gubernatorial candidate Katie McGinty (D), through a messy nominating fight. Pat Toomey (R) has a lot of money to spend in his effort to brand himself as independent from his party.
5. **Ohio:** Rob Portman (R) sits on slightly safer ground than some colleagues, thanks to an incredible fundraising year and a proactive reelection campaign, but he still faces a former governor with near universal name recognition, Ted Strickland (D).

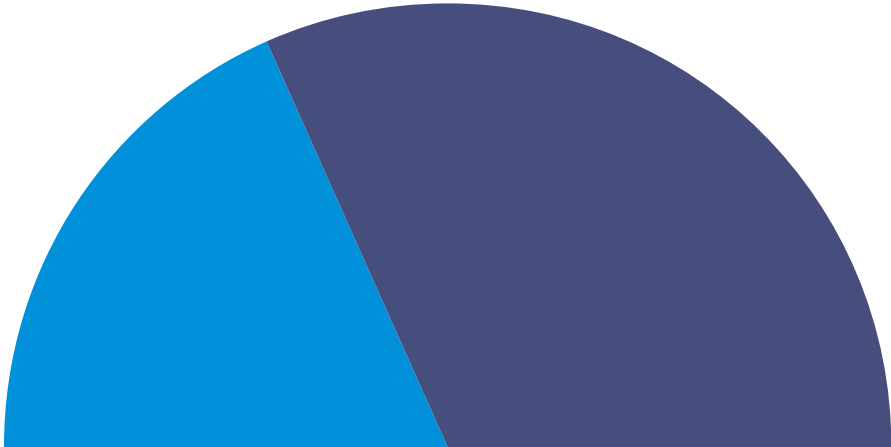
Source: Kyle Trygstad and Andrea Drusch, "Hotline's 2016 Senate Rankings," National Journal, July 6, 2016.

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# 2016 Election: House Outlook

**186 Democrats**

**247 Republicans**



2 vacancies – both democrats

Source: clerk.house.gov

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# 2016 Election: House Outlook



Dem			Toss Up		Rep		
Solid	Likely	Lean	Toss Up		Lean	Likely	Solid
170 Dem	11 Dem	2 Dem	4 Dem	12 Rep	12 Rep	1 Dem	207 Rep
	1 Rep	3 Rep				12 Rep	

Source: Cook Political Report

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**“Right now we have a wind,”**  
House Minority Leader has been  
saying at donor meetings.

**“We have to exploit that wind  
for as long as we have the  
wind.”**

# Trump's VP: Gov. Mike Pence (R-IN)



## Biography

Governor Mike Pence is a lifelong Hoosier elected as the 50<sup>th</sup> Governor of Indiana in 2012. Pence grew up as a John F. Kennedy-admiring Catholic, but graduated from Hanover College in 1981 as a Republican and an Evangelical Christian. He earned a J.D. from Indiana University School of Law in 1986. Following two years of practicing law, Pence ran for Congress twice, unsuccessfully, against incumbent Philip Sharp. He also began broadcasting a conservative talk-radio program called *The Mike Pence Show* in 1994, which became syndicated statewide. In 2000, Pence ran for Congress again on a platform of across-the-board tax cuts and reform of Medicare financing. Pence was elected to represent Indiana's Sixth Congressional District and served six terms through 2010. During that time he served as House Republican Conference Chairman and Chairman of the House Republican Study Committee. In 2011 Pence ran for Governor amid speculation that he was eyeing a run for president. He ran again on a platform of cutting state individual and corporate income taxes and eliminating the estate tax. His opponent criticized him as an "elite attack dog" of the far right and pointed to his long-standing opposition to Planned Parenthood. Though Pence had a massive financial advantage, he chose not to run negative ads in response. Pence did cut taxes as Governor and won approval for his Healthy Indiana Plan 2.0 in response to the Affordable Care act. He continues to fuel presidential rumors with a recent trip to Israel and a close relationship to the Koch Brothers.

Sources: [www.in.gov](http://www.in.gov); National Journal Research; Joseph Weber, Christopher Snyder "Gov or VP? Indiana's Pence Has Friday Ballot Deadline" [Foxnews.com](http://Foxnews.com), July 11, 2016; "Mike Pence Election Results: GOP Wins Indiana Governor's Race", [Huffingtonpost.com](http://Huffingtonpost.com), November 6, 2012; Carl Cannon, Caitlin Huey-Burns, "Does Pence Help Trump?" [Real Clear Politics](http://RealClearPolitics), July 14, 2016.

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# Trump's VP: Gov. Mike Pence (R-IN)



### Pence as VP

- **Pro:** Pence bring strong support from the Republican establishment.
- **Pro:** Trump must carry Indiana to win the general election.
- **Pro:** Pence appeals to moderates on immigration issues.
- **Con:** Pence does not agree with Trump on his controversial call to ban Muslims from entering the U.S. and called it "offensive and unconstitutional."
- **Con:** Pence endorsed Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) during the primaries.

### Previous Experience

- Counselor, Hanover College Admissions (1981-1983)
- President, Indiana Policy Review Foundation, conservative think-tank (1991-1994)
- Host, *The Mike Pence Show* (1994-1999)
- Representative, Indiana's Sixth Congressional District (2000-2010)

### Biography

Currently:  
Governor of Indiana

Previously:  
Representative of Indiana's  
Sixth Congressional District

Education:  
Hanover College (1981)  
Indiana University, J.D. (1985)

Family: Karen (wife), three  
adult children

### Election Results: 2012 Indiana Gubernatorial Race

Mike Pence (R)	49%
John Gregg (D)	47%
Rupert Boneham (Libertarian)	4%

# Clinton's VP: Senator Tim Kaine (D-VA)



## Biography

Senator Tim Kaine has represented Virginia in various public offices including Mayor of Richmond, and as both Governor and Senator of the state. He grew up a Roman Catholic in a suburb of Kansas City. His father ran an ironworking and welding shop where Kaine often worked. Kaine graduated from the University of Missouri in three years and went to Harvard Law school. He took a brief hiatus from studying law to spend nine months teaching in Honduras on a Jesuit missionary trip. Kaine moved to Richmond to be with his wife, Anne Holton, where he began working for a federal judge and as a civil rights lawyer. Kaine won his 2005 gubernatorial race on a quality of life platform that emphasized tax relief for homeowners, a statewide pre-k initiative, and new transportation infrastructure. His opponent criticized Kaine for opposing the death penalty, calling him too liberal for Virginia. Kaine's second year as governor, 2007, was marked by the passage of a \$1 billion transportation bill he negotiated with a Republican-controlled legislature and the Virginia Tech mass shooting. When the shooting occurred, which killed 32 students, Kaine flew home from trade negotiations in Japan and was praised for his handling of the tragedy. In February 2007, Kaine endorsed Barack Obama for president. Kaine helped Obama win the Virginia primaries, one of the candidate's most significant victories. After the election, Obama named Kaine chairman of the DNC. Kaine went on to beat George Allan (R-VA) in 2012 for a Virginia senate seat Allan had held from 2001-2007.

Sources: National Journal Research; Harry Enten, "Hillary Clinton Picks Tim Kaine, Betting She Can Beat Trump Without a Splashy VP," FiveThirtyEight, July 22, 2016.

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# Clinton's VP: Senator Tim Kaine (D-VA)



## Biography

Currently:  
Junior Senator of Virginia

Previously:  
Governor of Virginia

Education:  
University of Missouri, B.A. (1979)  
Harvard University, J.D. (1983)

Family: Anne Bright Holton (wife),  
three children

## Kaine as VP

- **Pro:** Kaine speaks Spanish and can campaign easily on Hispanic media.
- **Pro:** He will likely have some electoral benefit in Virginia.
- **Pro:** He is a seasoned politician and is unlikely to make a gaffe or embarrass Clinton.
- **Con:** Kaine may not excite the base, partly because he is not well-known.
- **Con:** He "isn't overwhelmingly adored by those familiar with him" according to Harry Enten of *FiveThirtyEight*. His lack of popularity could add fuel to frustration from those farther left.

## Previous Experience

- Lecturer, University of Richmond School of Law (1987-93, 2010-12)
- Practicing Attorney (1983-2000)
- City Council, Richmond (1994-2008)
- Mayor, Richmond (1998-2001)
- Lt. Governor, Virginia (2002-2005)
- Governor, Virginia (2006-2010)
- Chairman, DNC (2009-2011)
- Senator, Virginia (2012-present)

## Election Results: 2012 Virginia Gubernatorial Race

Tim Kaine (D)	53%
George Allen (R)	47%



# Known Legislative and Regulatory Dates in 2016

## With Focus on Election, Few Dates Set for 2016 Legislative and Regulatory Battles

● Legislative    ● Regulatory    ● Other

### July

					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

### August

	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

### September

				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

### October

						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

### November

		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

### December

				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

- July 15: August Congressional recess begins
- July 15: Current short term FAA extension expires
- July 18-21: Republican National Convention
- July 25-28: Democratic National Convention

- August 8: New FDA rules regulating tobacco products and e-cigarettes go into effect

- Sep. 6: Congress returns from August recess

- Oct. 1: Fiscal Year 2017 begins (deadline for appropriations)
- Oct. 7: Congress enters recess prior to elections
- Month of October: SEC to finalize "pay for performance" rule on executive pay transparency

- Nov. 8: Election day
- Nov. 14: Congress returns from recess

- Month of November/December: Congress likely to vote on Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement (approximate date according to Congressional aides)
- Dec. 16: Congress ends 2016 session
- Month of December: EPA is expected to reach an agreement on hydrofluorocarbon regulation

Source: National Journal Research, 2016.

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# Presidential Transition Timeline

## Center for Presidential Transition's recommended timeline

**April  
2016**

### **Announce Transition Chair**

- The candidates should choose someone to lead their presidential transition so they can set up a transition team by May

**May-  
July  
2016**

### **Establish Transition Office**

- The transition chair should work with the candidate to begin the appointments process, design the structure of their team, and draft a policy agenda
- Candidate should build their staffing and vetting team
- Establish three "waves" of appointments based on priority

**Aug-  
Nov  
2016**

### **Select White House Staff and Top Agency Leaders**

- Vet candidates for all three waves of appointments
- After election, winning candidate should begin making offers to White House staff and top 100 agency leaders

**Nov-Dec  
2016**

### **Begin Making Appointments**

- Announce Wave 1 appointments between Thanksgiving and Christmas
- Design the build out of an Office of Presidential Personnel (PPO) and determine which transition team members will move to PPO post-inauguration

**Jan-Aug  
2017**

### **Smoothly Transition into the Presidency**

- Hold confirmation hearings for Wave 1 appointments in January
- Hold a cabinet orientation and retreat
- By April, make Wave 2 and 3 appointments
- 300 more key political positions should be filled by the August congressional recess

- Trump has picked Gov. Chris Christie (R-NJ) to lead his transition team
- Clinton has yet to pick a head of her transition team; commentators think John Podesta, the Chairman of her campaign, may absorb that role

# Trump White House Transition Team Prioritizes Federal Employee Purge

## Key Comments On Federal Employees by Transition Team Chief Chris Christie

### Purge List

The Trump campaign is compiling a list of federal employees to fire if it wins the election, focusing particularly on Obama administration political appointees

### Burrowing Concerns

Transition team fears that the Obama administration may convert political appointees to civil servants – a practice referred to as ‘burrowing’ – which would make them harder to fire even under a Republican administration

### Congressional Action

Christie stated that a Trump White House would likely ask Congress to change the laws governing civil service employment in order to make them easier to fire

### Background

- Christie made his comments to a group of Republican donors in a closed-door meeting at the Republican National Convention; the New Jersey governor was named chief of the Trump transition team in May
- The House of Representatives Oversight and Government Reform has sent letters to 23 executive-branch agencies asking information on all political appointees converted to career positions since September 2015
- As of March 2016, there were a total of 3,164 political appointees, 852 of whom were presidential appointees

Source: Emily Flitter, “Exclusive: Trump could seek new law to purge government of Obama appointees,” Reuters, July 20, 2016; Joe Davidson, “Federal Insider Christie on Trump’s Plan to Fire Feds Faster and Clean Out Obama’s People,” Washington Post, July 22, 2016.

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# Hillary Clinton's Promises for the First 100 Days

**Hillary Clinton promises to advance a progressive agenda in first 100 days, focuses largely on social issues**

- Raise the federal minimum wage
- Nominate women for half of her cabinet positions
- Invest in renewable energy
- Nominate a Supreme Court justice to replace Antonin Scalia's open seat
- Push for greater protections for voting rights
- Set stricter rules for health insurers and drug makers
- Introduce a constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court's decision on Citizens United

# Hillary Clinton's infrastructure plan

## Clinton commits to rebuilding America's infrastructure, aims to submit plan within first 100 days

Improving infrastructure has grown to become one of **Hillary Clinton's main campaign messages**. Her goal is to pass a \$275 billion infrastructure bill that would help repair the nation's crumbling infrastructure and improve our competitiveness in the international arena.

The plan includes a request to establish a **\$25 billion national infrastructure bank** to attract private investment in infrastructure.

Clinton also hopes to **continue the Obama Administration's Build America Bonds program**. The program helped support more than \$180 billion in infrastructure spending over two years.

Clinton has committed to improve our Internet infrastructure to **ensure broadband is accessible to all Americans by 2020**.

The plan also includes a focus on **creating a clean energy grid** to boost our reliance on renewable energy sources.

Hillary Clinton's plan is being advertised by the campaign as **"the most significant increase in infrastructure investment since President Eisenhower built the Interstate Highway System."**

These claims come in the wake of the FAST Act, a transportation infrastructure bill that allocated \$300 billion over five years, passed in December 2015.

Source: Sarah Ferris, "Clinton Maps Out First 100 Days," The Hill, July 23, 2016; The Clinton Campaign Website, 2016; Dan Merica, "Clinton to Make First 100 Days Pledge on \$275 Billion Infrastructure Plan," CNN, May 25, 2016; Images by Arthur Shlain, Evan Shuster and Bonegolem, made available through The Noun Project.

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# Hillary Clinton's Possible Cabinet Appointees

Clinton may consult her VP shortlist for cabinet appointees



## Elizabeth Warren

Senator for Massachusetts

Warren has become a pivotal figure among the far left wing of the Democratic party. After being vetted for the position of Hillary Clinton's running mate, Warren has become close to the Clinton campaign and is likely to be honored with a cabinet position. As a fierce critic of Wall Street and a former Harvard Law professor, she has the credentials to be Treasury Secretary.



## Sheryl Sandberg

Chief Operating Officer of Facebook

Sandberg has significant name recognition after becoming the COO of Facebook. She has Washington experience after serving as the chief of staff of Larry Summers (Bill Clinton's Treasury Secretary). Her name was originally floated as a possible outsider VP pick for Clinton because of her strong ties to Silicon Valley.



## Amy Klobuchar

Senator for Minnesota

Amy Klobuchar is currently serving as a 2<sup>nd</sup> term senator and is the first woman elected to the Senate from the state. Before her time in Congress, she attended law school and became a prosecutor. Klobuchar was floated as a possible VP pick and may instead be incorporated into Clinton's cabinet.

Sources: Ciro Scotti, "Seven Powerful Women Who Could be Clinton in a Clinton Cabinet," The Fiscal Times, June 12, 2016; Patrick Healy, "President Hillary Clinton? She Wants Progress on Immigration and to Drink with G.O.P.," The New York Times, July 3, 2016; Patricia Garcia, "Hillary Clinton Pledges to Appoint a Gender-Equal Cabinet," Vogue, April 27, 2016.

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# The Top Names Trump is Rumored to be Considering for Cabinet Positions

Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump has already started picking his cabinet members

Name	Position
Rep. Jeb Hensarling (R-TX)	Secretary of the Treasury
Steve Mnuchin, Fmr. Goldman Exec.	Secretary of the Treasury
NJ Governor Chris Christie	Attorney General
Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-AL)	Attorney General
Rudy Giuliani	Secretary of Homeland Security
Dr. Ben Carson	Health and Human Services Secretary
Donald McGahn, Campaign Advisor	White House Counsel
Harold Hamm, Energy Industry Mogul	Energy Secretary
Sen. David Perdue (R-GA)	Secretary of Commerce
Newt Gingrich	Senior Advisor

Source: Alexander Bolton, "Trump Starts Considering Cabinet," The Hill, July 22, 2016.

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