

**FINALLY SOME
CLARITY**

**The
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Cook
Letter**

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Finally Some Clarity

At long last, the Republican presidential field for 2012 appears set; so too is the GOP calendar of primaries and caucuses. And at first glance, both bear similarities to 2008. Former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney is back for a second try at his party's presidential nomination. So too is Rep. Ron Paul of Texas. And as four years ago, the voting begins in Iowa on Jan. 3, followed across the month of January by New Hampshire, South Carolina and Florida – all mainstays of the first month's calendar in 2008.

But beyond that, this year's crop of GOP presidential contenders will be competing on a playing field dramatically different than last time. In 2008, the dense arrangement of events in the first six weeks of the year virtually guaranteed a quick knockout by the candidate that got off to the quickest start. This time, the calendar is much more spread out and designed to virtually ensure a long, drawn out contest for the Republican nomination.

What was a "front-loaded" process in 2008 will be "back-loaded" in 2012. Super Tuesday will be a month later than four years ago (March 6, 2012) and much smaller in scope. California, Illinois, New Jersey and New York – which all voted in early February 2008 – have moved their primaries back. Each will vote after the ides of March next year, with delegate-rich California returning to its traditional early June primary date.

In addition, Republican rules have been changed in a way that should slow the candidates' acquisition of delegates. Statewide winner-take-all primaries, a staple of the GOP nominating process in the past, will not be allowed next year in any contest held before April 1. Florida Republicans, who have indicated their Jan. 31 primary will be winner-take-all, could very well find themselves the subject of a credentials challenge as the nominating contest moves forward.

Also diminishing the delegate value of the pre-March 6 primary states is that all of them will be penalized by the loss of half their delegates for voting early. That not only goes for Florida,

(Continued on Page 5)

2012: The Early Events

For all practical purposes, the 2012 Republican presidential nominating calendar is set, with the opening round of events closely matching those in 2008. Iowa starts the process Jan. 3, the exact same date that it held its caucuses last time. New Hampshire will vote on Jan. 10, two days later than in '08. The main differences from the early schedule four years ago is that Michigan, which voted on Jan. 15, 2008, will vote in late February this time. And Nevada, which held its caucuses on Jan. 19, 2008, will drop back to early February next year, a move made to mollify New Hampshire.

Mitt Romney and Ron Paul made their first bids for the Republican presidential nomination in 2008, with mixed results. Paul barely caused a ripple. But Romney just missed getting off to the fast start that might have enabled him to surpass John McCain for the GOP nomination. Romney won the Nevada caucuses, while finishing second in Iowa, New Hampshire and Florida.

| Event | '12 Date | '08 Date | '08 Winner | '08 Turnout | Leading '08 Republican Candidates | | | | |
|------------------------|----------|----------|------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|--------|----------|------|-------------------------------|
| | | | | | McCain | Romney | Huckabee | Paul | Others (at least 10% of vote) |
| Iowa Caucuses | Jan. 3 | Jan. 3 | Huckabee | 119,184 | 13% | 25% | 34% | 10% | Thompson (13%) |
| New Hampshire Primary | Jan. 10 | Jan. 8 | McCain | 239,793 | 37% | 32% | 11% | 8% | - |
| South Carolina Primary | Jan. 21 | Jan. 19 | McCain | 445,499 | 33% | 15% | 30% | 4% | Thompson (16%) |
| Florida Primary | Jan. 31 | Jan. 29 | McCain | 1,949,498 | 36% | 31% | 13% | 3% | Giuliani (15%) |
| Nevada Caucuses | Feb. 4 | Jan. 19 | Romney | 43,578 | 13% | 51% | 8% | 13% | - |

Sources: *America Votes 28* (CQ Press) for Republican primary and Iowa caucus results in 2008; the June 2008 issue of *"The Rhodes Cook Letter"* for the Nevada GOP caucus results in '08. FrontloadingHQ web site (as of Oct. 31, 2011) for tentative 2012 Republican primary and caucus dates.

2008, 2012 GOP Primary, Caucus Calendars: Similar Starts, Different Finishes

The 2012 presidential nominating season will begin much like it did in 2008, with an array of primaries and caucuses scattered across the month of January. But the calendar will unfold much differently after that, with a downsized "Super Tuesday" on March 6 - a month later than in '08 - and a host of major states voting after that. California, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania will all hold their primaries between the ides of March and early June, with California returning to its historic primary date on the first Tuesday in June. The 2012 Republican calendar below is tentative and subject to small changes.

| Week | 2008 | 2012 |
|--|---|---|
| First Week in January | Iowa ©, Wyoming © | Iowa © |
| Second Week in January | New Hampshire | New Hampshire |
| Third Week in January | Michigan, Nevada ©, South Carolina | South Carolina |
| Fourth Week in January | | |
| Fifth Week in January | Florida | Florida |
| First Week in February (Super Tuesday '08 - Feb. 5) | Alabama, Alaska ©, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado ©, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Hawaii ©, Illinois, Kansas ©, Louisiana, Maine ©, Massachusetts, Minnesota ©, Missouri, Montana ©, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota ©, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Utah, Washington ©, West Virginia © | Maine ©, Nevada © |
| Second Week in February | Maryland, Virginia, District of Columbia | Colorado ©, Minnesota © |
| Third Week in February | Washington, Wisconsin | |
| Fourth Week in February | | Arizona, Michigan |
| First Week in March (Super Tuesday '12 - March 6) | Ohio, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont | Alaska ©, Georgia, Idaho ©, Kansas ©, Massachusetts, North Dakota ©, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington ©, Wyoming © |
| Second Week in March | Mississippi | Alabama, Hawaii ©, Mississippi, Missouri © |
| Third Week in March | | Illinois, Louisiana |
| Fourth Week in March | | |
| First Week in April | | Maryland, Wisconsin, Dist. of Col. |
| Second Week in April | | |
| Third Week in April | | |
| Fourth Week in April | Pennsylvania | Connecticut, Delaware, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island |
| First Week in May | Indiana, North Carolina | |
| Second Week in May | Nebraska, West Virginia | Indiana, North Carolina, West Virginia |
| Third Week in May | Kentucky, Oregon | Nebraska, Oregon |
| Fourth Week in May | Idaho | Arkansas, Kentucky |
| Fifth Week in May | | |
| First Week in June | New Mexico, South Dakota | California, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, South Dakota |
| Second Week in June | | Ohio |
| Third Week in June | | |
| Fourth Week in June | | Utah |

Note: Weeks are generally measured from Sunday through Saturday. Most Republican events in 2012 are scheduled on Tuesday, although a few will be held on Saturday. © indicates a caucus state; all other events are primaries. The number of weeks in each month is based on the 2012 calendar.

Sources: *America Votes 28* (CQ Press) and *"The Rhodes Cook Letter"* (June 2008) for 2008 Republican primary and caucus dates; FrontloadingHQ web site (as of Oct. 31, 2011) for tentative 2012 Republican primary and caucus dates.

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Michigan and Arizona, which on their own chose pre-Super Tuesday dates, but also New Hampshire and South Carolina. The latter two were awarded February spots on the 2012 nominating calendar, but unilaterally moved their events forward into January to stay ahead of other states.

The result is that Republicans in 2012 could have their longest-running primary battle since President Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan in 1976 fought all the way to the party's convention that summer in Kansas City. Put another way, the GOP presidential nomination in 2012 is just

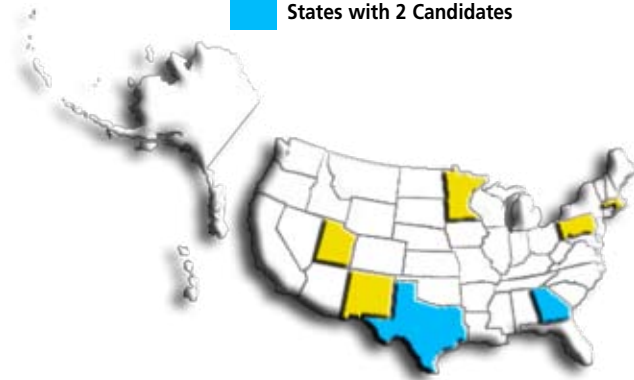
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Republican Candidate Bios in a Nutshell

The vast majority of 2012 Republican presidential candidates are middle-aged (or older) white males. Nothing surprising there. But there are hints of diversity in the GOP field, which includes one woman (Michele Bachmann) and one African American (Herman Cain). Both have already made their mark on the current Republican nominating campaign. Geographically, the majority of candidates are from states of the Sun Belt, with two each from Georgia and Texas. Illustrating the mobility of the country, all of the contenders except Rick Perry were born in a different state than where they live now. In terms of religion, the GOP field boasts two Mormons (Mitt Romney and Jon Huntsman) and a Roman Catholic (Rick Santorum). The remainder are Protestants. Only two of the candidates (Romney and Huntsman) have an Ivy League pedigree. The latter is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania. Romney has business and law degrees from Harvard.

Home States of Republican Presidential Candidates

- States with 1 Candidate
- States with 2 Candidates



| Candidate | Age (Birth date) | Birthplace | Current Home State | Religion | Education | Occupation |
|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---|--------------------|
| Michele Bachmann | 55 (4/6/56) | Waterloo, Iowa | Minnesota | Lutheran | Winona State, B.A.; Oral Roberts, J.D.; William & Mary, LL.M. | Lawyer |
| Herman Cain | 65 (12/13/45) | Memphis, Tenn. | Georgia | Baptist | Morehouse, B.S. Purdue, M.S. | Business executive |
| Newt Gingrich | 68 (6/17/43) | Harrisburg, Pa. | Georgia | Baptist | Emory, B.A.; Tulane, M.A., Ph.D. | Professor |
| Jon Huntsman | 51 (3/26/60) | Palo Alto, Calif. | Utah | Mormon | Pennsylvania, B.A. | Business executive |
| Gary Johnson | 58 (1/1/53) | Minot, N.D. | New Mexico | Lutheran | New Mexico, B.A. | Business owner |
| Ron Paul | 76 (8/20/35) | Pittsburgh, Pa. | Texas | Protestant | Gettysburg, B.A. Duke, M.D. | Physician |
| Rick Perry | 61 (3/4/50) | Paint Creek, Texas | Texas | Methodist | Texas A&M, B.S. | Farmer, rancher |
| Mitt Romney | 64 (3/12/47) | Detroit, Mich. | Massachusetts | Mormon | Brigham Young, B.A. Harvard, M.B.A., J.D. | Venture capitalist |
| Rick Santorum | 53 (5/10/58) | Winchester, Va. | Pennsylvania | Roman Catholic | Penn State, B.A.; Pittsburgh, M.B.A.; Dickinson, J.D. | Lawyer |

Sources: *The Almanac of American Politics* (National Journal); *Politics in America* (CQ Press). The religion of each candidate reflects their preference at the time they held elective office.

2012 Presidential Candidates: A Comparative Timeline of Their Elected Offices

Of the 2012 presidential candidates, Rick Perry has the longest tenure in elected office, having served more than a quarter century in positions in Texas government ranging from the state legislature to the governorship. On the other end of the spectrum is Herman Cain, who has never held elected office. Democrat Barack Obama is somewhere in between, having served roughly a dozen years in the Illinois Senate and U.S. Senate before winning the presidency in 2008.

State Office

Federal Office

| Year | Barack Obama | Michele Bachmann | Herman Cain | Newt Gingrich | Jon Huntsman | Gary Johnson | Ron Paul | Rick Perry | Mitt Romney | Rick Santorum |
|------|--------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|----------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1976 | | | | | | | US House | | | |
| 1977 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1978 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1979 | | | | US House | | | US House | | | |
| 1980 | | | | US House | | | US House | | | |
| 1981 | | | | US House | | | US House | | | |
| 1982 | | | | US House | | | US House | | | |
| 1983 | | | | US House | | | US House | | | |
| 1984 | | | | US House | | | US House | | | |
| 1985 | | | | US House | | | | TX House | | |
| 1986 | | | | US House | | | | TX House | | |
| 1987 | | | | US House | | | | TX House | | |
| 1988 | | | | US House | | | | TX House | | |
| 1989 | | | | US House | | | | TX House | | |
| 1990 | | | | US House | | | | TX House | | |
| 1991 | | | | US House | | | | TX Ag. Comm. | | US House |
| 1992 | | | | US House | | | | TX Ag. Comm. | | US House |
| 1993 | | | | US House | | | | TX Ag. Comm. | | US House |
| 1994 | | | | US House | | | | TX Ag. Comm. | | US House |
| 1995 | | | | House Speaker | | NM Gov. | | TX Ag. Comm. | | US Senate |
| 1996 | | | | House Speaker | | NM Gov. | | TX Ag. Comm. | | US Senate |
| 1997 | IL Senate | | | House Speaker | | NM Gov. | US House | TX Ag. Comm. | | US Senate |
| 1998 | IL Senate | | | House Speaker | | NM Gov. | US House | TX Ag. Comm. | | US Senate |
| 1999 | IL Senate | | | | | NM Gov. | US House | TX Lt. Gov. | | US Senate |
| 2000 | IL Senate | | | | | NM Gov. | US House | TX Lt. Gov. | | US Senate |
| 2001 | IL Senate | MN Senate | | | | NM Gov. | US House | TX Gov. | | US Senate |
| 2002 | IL Senate | MN Senate | | | | NM Gov. | US House | TX Gov. | | US Senate |
| 2003 | IL Senate | MN Senate | | | | | US House | TX Gov. | MA Gov. | US Senate |
| 2004 | IL Senate | MN Senate | | | | | US House | TX Gov. | MA Gov. | US Senate |
| 2005 | US Senate | MN Senate | | | UT Gov. | | US House | TX Gov. | MA Gov. | US Senate |
| 2006 | US Senate | MN Senate | | | UT Gov. | | US House | TX Gov. | MA Gov. | US Senate |
| 2007 | US Senate | US House | | | UT Gov. | | US House | TX Gov. | | |
| 2008 | US Senate | US House | | | UT Gov. | | US House | TX Gov. | | |
| 2009 | President | US House | | | UT Gov. | | US House | TX Gov. | | |
| 2010 | President | US House | | | | | US House | TX Gov. | | |
| 2011 | President | US House | | | | | US House | TX Gov. | | |

Sources: *The Almanac of American Politics* (National Journal); *Politics in America* (CQ Press).

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as likely to be decided in the springtime primary states of Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina and California as in the closely watched early events in Iowa, New Hampshire, South Carolina and Florida.

A Look at the Republican Field

Unlike many Republican presidential campaigns of the recent past, the current field is not anchored by an elder statesman, particularly in the guise of an aging war hero.

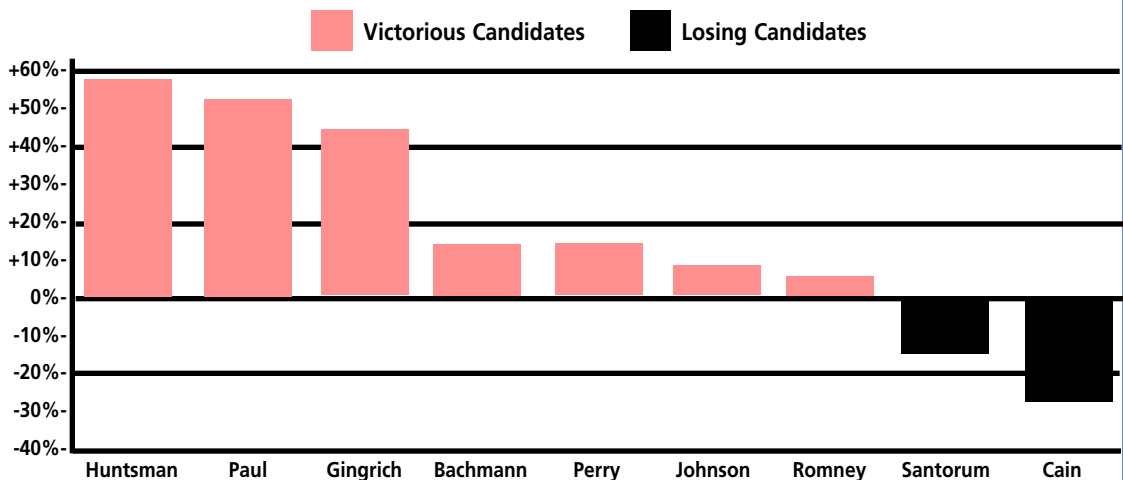
World War II veterans George Bush and Bob Dole, plus Vietnam prisoner-of-war John McCain, won the GOP nomination in 1988, 1996 and 2008, respectively. This time, about the only candidate even referencing their military service is Texas Gov. Rick Perry, who served in the Air Force in the mid-1970s.

There are hints of diversity among the GOP candidates, with a woman (Michele Bachmann) and an African American (Herman Cain) joining the usual cast of white males middle-aged and older.

All except Cain have a background in elected office, with the ranks closely divided between those

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2012 GOP Presidential Field: Their Last Time Out



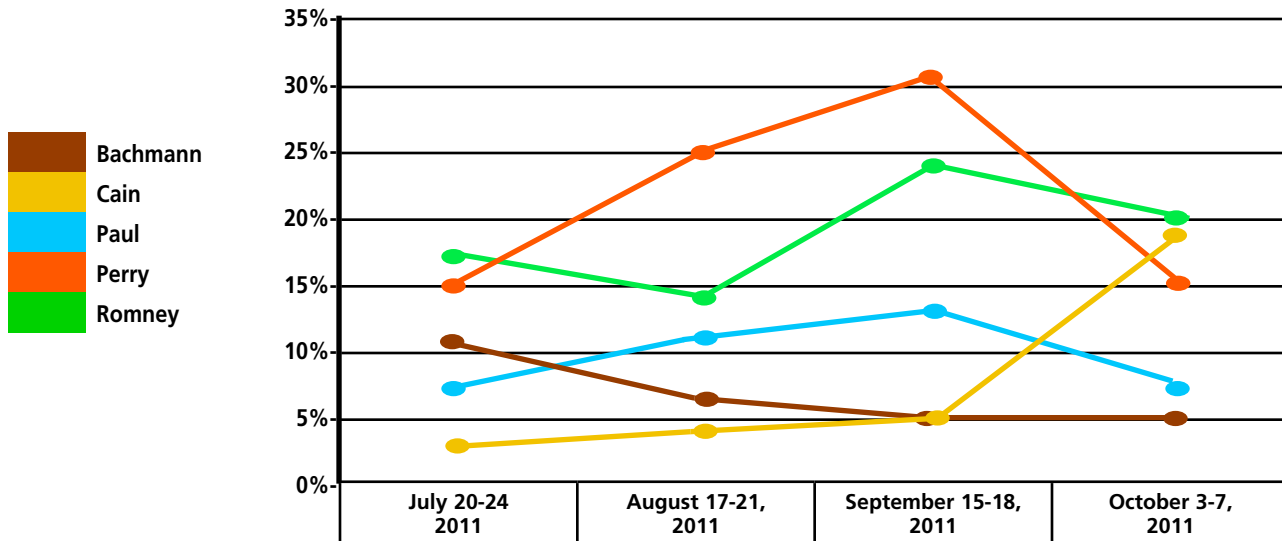
The bulk of the 2012 Republican presidential candidates won their last campaign prior to running for president. Only two are coming off losses - Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, who was beaten in a 2006 bid for a third term in the Senate; and Herman Cain, who finished second out of three candidates in the 2004 Republican Senate primary in Georgia. Neither loss was close. Santorum was trounced by a margin of 17 percentage points by Democrat Bob Casey, while Cain lost by 27 points in the GOP primary to Johnny Isakson.

| Candidate | Last Race | Office Sought | Election Outcome | % of Vote | Margin (in % points) |
|------------------|-----------|------------------|------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Michele Bachmann | 2010 | House (Minn. 6) | WON | 53% | + 13% |
| Herman Cain | 2004 | Senator (Ga.) | Lost Primary | 26% | - 27% |
| Newt Gingrich | 1998 | House (Ga. 6) | WON | 71% | + 41% |
| Jon Huntsman | 2008 | Governor (Utah) | WON | 78% | + 58% |
| Gary Johnson | 1998 | Governor (N.M.) | WON | 55% | + 9% |
| Ron Paul | 2010 | House (Texas 14) | WON | 76% | + 52% |
| Rick Perry | 2010 | Governor (Texas) | WON | 55% | + 13% |
| Mitt Romney | 2002 | Governor (Mass.) | WON | 50% | + 5% |
| Rick Santorum | 2006 | Senator (Pa.) | Lost | 41% | - 17% |

Note: All races listed above were general elections except for Herman Cain's 2004 Senate contest. He lost in the Republican primary.

Sources: America Votes (CQ Press).

GOP Race in the Gallup Poll: Cain Surges, Perry Slips, Romney Holds Steady



Unlike the bulk of Republican presidential nominating contests over the last half century, this one has been defined thus far by its unpredictability. Texas Gov. Rick Perry has gone up, then down in the polls since he entered the race this summer, while Herman Cain has surged this fall after a surprise victory in the Florida Republican straw poll. Meanwhile, the early front-runner, former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney, was back on top as Halloween approached, albeit with a lead that was hardly commanding. The chart below is based on survey results of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents by the Gallup Poll. Support for significant potential candidates, such as Sarah Palin, was included in Gallup surveys through August. While it can be a bit misleading to read a candidate's poll standing as an exact number, the leader in each survey is indicated in bold type. Active candidates are listed in the order of their standing in the latest Gallup Poll, and those who received at least 10% support in any of the last four surveys are included in the line graph. For detailed results of Republican presidential polls taken before July, see the June 2011 issue, p. 5.

| | July 20-24, 2011 | Aug. 17-21, 2011 | Sept. 15-18, 2011 | Oct. 3-7, 2011 | Gallup Poll Leaders | |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Mitt Romney | 17% | 14% | 24% | 20% | Sept. 2010 | Romney (19%) |
| Herman Cain | 3% | 4% | 5% | 18% | Nov. 2010 | Romney (19%) |
| Rick Perry | 15% | 25% | 31% | 15% | Feb. 2011 | Huckabee (18%) |
| Ron Paul | 8% | 11% | 13% | 8% | March 2011 | Huckabee (19%) |
| Newt Gingrich | 3% | 3% | 5% | 7% | April 2011 | Huckabee, Trump (both 16%) |
| Michele Bachmann | 11% | 7% | 5% | 5% | May 2011 | Romney (17%) |
| Rick Santorum | 2% | 3% | 2% | 3% | June 2011 | Romney (24%) |
| Jon Huntsman | 2% | 1% | 1% | 2% | July 2011 | Romney (17%) |
| | | | | | August 2011 | Perry (25%) |
| Not In Race | | | | | Sept. 2011 | Perry (31%) |
| Rudolph Giuliani | 11% | 9% | - | - | October 2011 | Romney (20%) |
| Sarah Palin | 12% | 11% | - | - | | |
| Tim Pawlenty | 2% | - | - | - | | |

Note: Percentages do not add to 100 because only active and potential candidates who drew at least 1% support in one of the Gallup surveys of Republican presidential preferences listed above are included. A dash (-) indicates that the active or potential candidate was not included in a particular survey. The percentage of respondents who voiced support for other candidates or who expressed no preference are not included.

Source: Gallup Poll.

(Continued from Page 7)

candidates who have gubernatorial experience (Jon Huntsman of Utah, Gary Johnson of New Mexico, Buddy Roemer of Louisiana, Mitt Romney of Massachusetts, and Texas' Perry) and those with a record of congressional service (former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Rep. Bachmann of Minnesota, Rep. Ron Paul of Texas, and Sen. Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, who also served in the House of Representatives). But in these harsh economic times, candidates such as Romney, Huntsman and Cain are finding it safer to emphasize their business backgrounds.

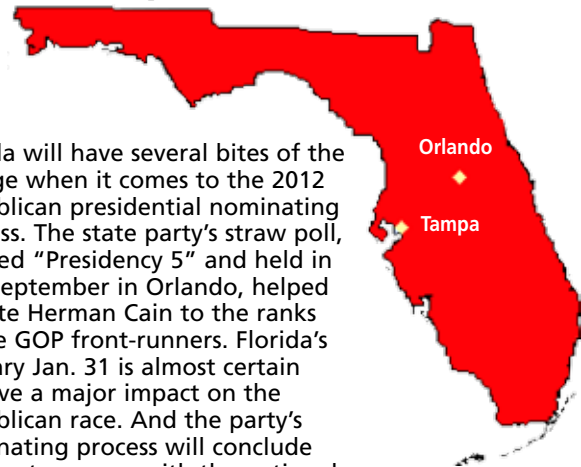
Taking Their Measure

The success of the candidates will ultimately be measured next year by primary and caucus voters. Until then, they are jockeying for position, with their place in the pecking order determined by an array of factors, some that can be quantified; some not. The list includes poll standing, both nationally and in the early states; fund-raising ability; showings in straw polls such as those held in Iowa and Florida; debate performances; and political endorsements.

In all of these areas – with the possible exception of straw votes – Romney has done consistently well and has emerged as the candidate most likely to win the Republican presidential nomination in 2012. He has been at or near the top in national polls throughout 2011, and has dominated polling in New Hampshire while showing himself to be quite competitive in Iowa.

Through September, Romney had raised \$32 million for his campaign,

Florida Republican Straw Poll Results (September 24, 2011)



Florida will have several bites of the orange when it comes to the 2012 Republican presidential nominating process. The state party's straw poll, dubbed "Presidency 5" and held in late September in Orlando, helped elevate Herman Cain to the ranks of the GOP front-runners. Florida's primary Jan. 31 is almost certain to have a major impact on the Republican race. And the party's nominating process will conclude late next summer with the national convention in Tampa.

| | Votes | % |
|----------------------|-------|-------|
| 1) Herman Cain | 986 | 37.1% |
| 2) Rick Perry | 410 | 15.4% |
| 3) Mitt Romney* | 372 | 14.0% |
| 4) Rick Santorum | 289 | 10.9% |
| 5) Ron Paul | 276 | 10.4% |
| 6) Newt Gingrich | 224 | 8.4% |
| 7) Jon Huntsman* | 60 | 2.3% |
| 8) Michele Bachmann* | 40 | 1.5% |
| Votes Cast | 2,657 | |

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates candidates who indicated they were not seeking votes in the Florida straw poll.

Source: Republican Party of Florida.

The Prescience of Straw Polls

Over the years, the long Republican presidential preseason has often been influenced by a plethora of straw polls, with the two most important traditionally held in Iowa and Florida. Both have histories that date back more than 30 years. But of the two, the one in Florida has been the more prescient. It has picked the eventual GOP nominee all three times the straw poll was held, while its Iowa counterpart has correctly identified the nominee just two out of five times. One reason for the disparity may be that the Florida vote has often been held later in the preelection year, after the presidential field has been clarified. This year the Iowa straw poll was held Aug. 13, with the Florida version on Sept. 24.

| Election Cycle | GOP Straw Polls | | Nominee |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Iowa Winner | Florida Winner | |
| 1979-80 | George Bush | Ronald Reagan | Ronald Reagan |
| 1987-88 | Pat Robertson | George Bush | George Bush |
| 1995-96 | Bob Dole, Phil Gramm | Bob Dole | Bob Dole |
| 1999-2000 | George W. Bush | - | George W. Bush |
| 2007-08 | Mitt Romney | - | John McCain |
| 2011-12 | Michele Bachmann | Herman Cain | |

Note: A dash (-) indicates that no straw poll was held.

Source: Republican parties of Florida, Iowa.

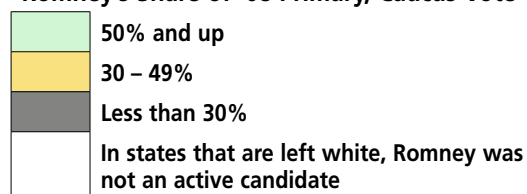
far ahead of Perry with \$17 million (who, to be sure, had started his campaign much later in the year than Romney).

In the view of many, Romney has regularly outshone his rivals in debate. And he has gob- bled up a number of high-profile endorsements, led by New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie (who announced in early October that he was staying out of the Republican presidential race) and former Minnesota Gov. Tim Pawlenty (who folded his campaign in August after a third-place finish in the Iowa straw poll).

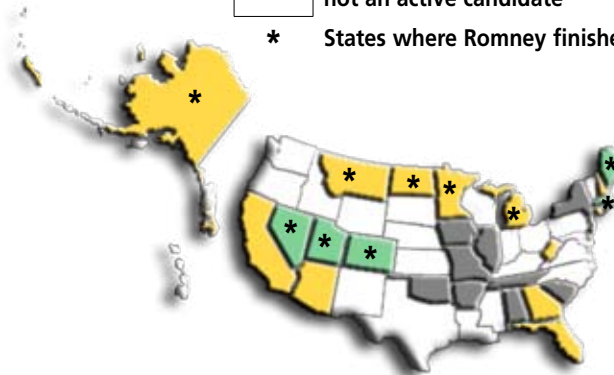
Romney in '08: South, Big States Posed a Problem

On his first try for the Republican presidential nomination in 2008, Mitt Romney ran reasonably well. He won seven caucuses and three primaries before withdrawing from the race in the wake of balloting on Super Tuesday (Feb. 5, 2008). His best showing was in heavily Mormon Utah, where he drew nearly 90% of the primary vote. The only other primary state in which he drew a majority of the primary vote was Massachusetts, where he served one term as governor earlier in the decade. All in all, Romney ran respectably in all regions of the country except the South, where he frequently finished third behind former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee and Sen. John McCain of Arizona, the party's eventual nominee. But Romney's biggest problem in 2008 was his inability to win the larger, delegate-rich states. He was defeated by McCain in Florida in late January as well as California, Illinois, New Jersey and New York in the cross-country vote a week later. Following is Romney's percentage of the vote and order of finish in the 28 primaries and caucuses in which he was an active candidate and a vote was taken.

Romney's Share of '08 Primary, Caucus Vote



* States where Romney finished first



| State | Type of Event | Region | Order of Finish | % of Vote | State | Type of Event | Region | Order of Finish | % of Vote |
|----------------|---------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| Utah | Primary | West | 1 | 89% | Delaware | Primary | Northeast | 2 | 33% |
| Colorado | Caucus | West | 1 | 60% | New Hampshire | Primary | Northeast | 2 | 32% |
| Maine | Caucus | Northeast | 1 | 52% | Florida | Primary | South | 2 | 31% |
| Massachusetts | Primary | Northeast | 1 | 51% | Georgia | Primary | South | 3 | 30% |
| Nevada | Caucus | West | 1 | 51% | Missouri | Primary | Midwest | 3 | 29% |
| West Virginia* | Caucus | Northeast | 2 | 48% | Illinois | Primary | Midwest | 2 | 29% |
| Alaska | Caucus | West | 1 | 44% | New Jersey | Primary | Northeast | 2 | 28% |
| Minnesota | Caucus | Midwest | 1 | 41% | New York | Primary | Northeast | 2 | 28% |
| Michigan | Primary | Midwest | 1 | 39% | Iowa | Caucus | Midwest | 2 | 25% |
| Montana | Caucus | West | 1 | 38% | Oklahoma | Primary | South | 3 | 25% |
| North Dakota | Caucus | Midwest | 1 | 36% | Tennessee | Primary | South | 3 | 24% |
| California | Primary | West | 2 | 35% | Alabama | Primary | South | 3 | 18% |
| Arizona | Primary | West | 2 | 35% | South Carolina | Primary | South | 4 | 15% |
| Connecticut | Primary | Northeast | 2 | 33% | Arkansas | Primary | South | 3 | 14% |

Note: This list does not include caucuses in Hawaii and Wyoming, where statewide results were not readily available. An asterisk (*) indicates that West Virginia selected some of their delegates at a state convention on Super Tuesday. On the first ballot, Romney ran first with 41% of the delegates. On the decisive second ballot, Romney drew 48% of the delegates but lost to Mike Huckabee.

Sources: *America Votes 28* (CQ Press) for official primary results; *The Rhodes Cook Letter* (June 2008 issue) for caucus results.

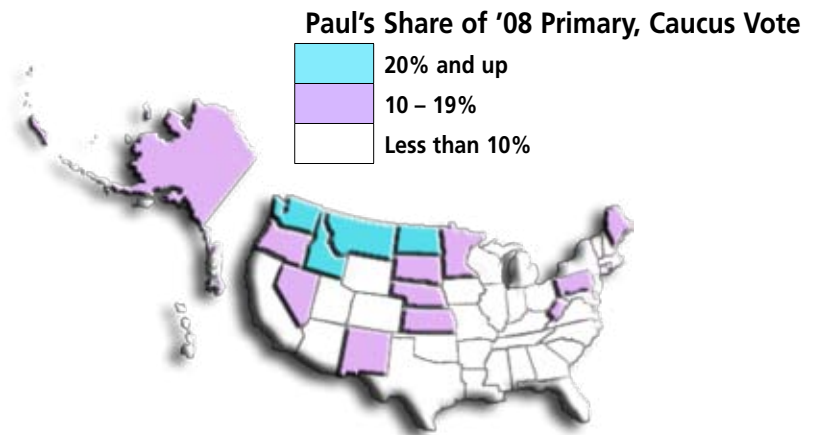
Adding to the regard for Romney is that he arguably came close to winning the Republican nomination in 2008. If he could have turned one or two of his second-place showings in Iowa, New Hampshire and Florida into a victory, Romney could probably have reversed the momentum that was building behind the eventual nominee, John McCain.

As a consequence, the 2012 Republican contest is widely being viewed as Romney versus whoever emerges on the right to challenge him. Over the course of the year, several candidates have auditioned for the part. Early on, it looked as though Bachmann had the inside track. But she was eclipsed by the late-starting Perry when he entered the race in August. Ironically, it happened about the same time that Bachmann won the Iowa straw poll.

Yet Perry's surge to the top was short-lived, curtailed by a succession of mediocre performances in televised debates with his GOP rivals. That produced an opening for Cain, who since winning the Florida straw poll in late September has been on a roll. That is, until charges of sexual harassment during his tenure in the 1990s as head of the National Restaurant Association emerged in late October.

That is where we stand now, with plenty of time for another candidate or two to make a move up the "leader board." If common wisdom holds, Iowa and New Hampshire, followed by South Carolina and Florida, will be the place for them to make their mark. But unlike 2008, it is not likely to be these early states where the race will be decided. Rather, the time of decision is likely to come in the months that follow, when the bulk of the Republican primaries and caucuses in 2012 will be held.

Paul in '08: Strongest in Caucuses, Late Primaries



Like Mitt Romney, Rep. Ron Paul of Texas made his first bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 2008. But unlike the former Massachusetts governor, Paul failed to carry a single primary or caucus. His best showings were in the caucus states, where a small dedicated cadre of supporters could have a big impact, and the later primary states, where Paul was the last active opponent to John McCain. In the chart below are the states where Paul drew at least 10.0% of the primary or caucus vote in 2008. He just missed that mark in Iowa, drawing 9.9%.

| State | Type of Event | Month | Region | Order of Finish | % of Vote |
|----------------|---------------|----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| Montana* | Caucus | February | West | 2 | 25% |
| Idaho | Primary | May | West | 2 | 24% |
| Montana* | Primary | June | West | 2 | 22% |
| Washington | Caucus | February | West | 3 | 22% |
| North Dakota | Caucus | February | Midwest | 3 | 21% |
| Maine | Caucus | February | Northeast | 3 | 18% |
| Alaska | Caucus | February | West | 3 | 17% |
| South Dakota | Primary | June | Midwest | 2 | 17% |
| Minnesota | Caucus | February | Midwest | 4 | 16% |
| Pennsylvania | Primary | April | Northeast | 2 | 16% |
| New Mexico | Primary | June | West | 2 | 14% |
| Oregon | Primary | May | West | 2 | 14% |
| Nebraska | Primary | May | Midwest | 2 | 13% |
| Nevada | Caucus | January | West | 2 (tied) | 13% |
| Kansas | Caucus | February | Midwest | 3 | 11% |
| West Virginia# | Caucus | February | Northeast | 4 | 10% |

Notes: An asterisk (*) indicates that Montana held both a caucus to select delegates and a non-binding primary. A pound sign (#) denotes that the results are from the first ballot of a Republican state convention in West Virginia, as reported by the Charleston Gazette. The results from the caucus states except Iowa were readily available only in whole percentages.

Sources: *America Votes 28* (CQ Press) for official primary results; *The Rhodes Cook Letter*" (June 2008 issue) for caucus results.

For Obama, Good News and Bad News

As for President Obama these days, there is both good news and bad. The good: the filing deadline has passed for the New Hampshire primary and he has drawn

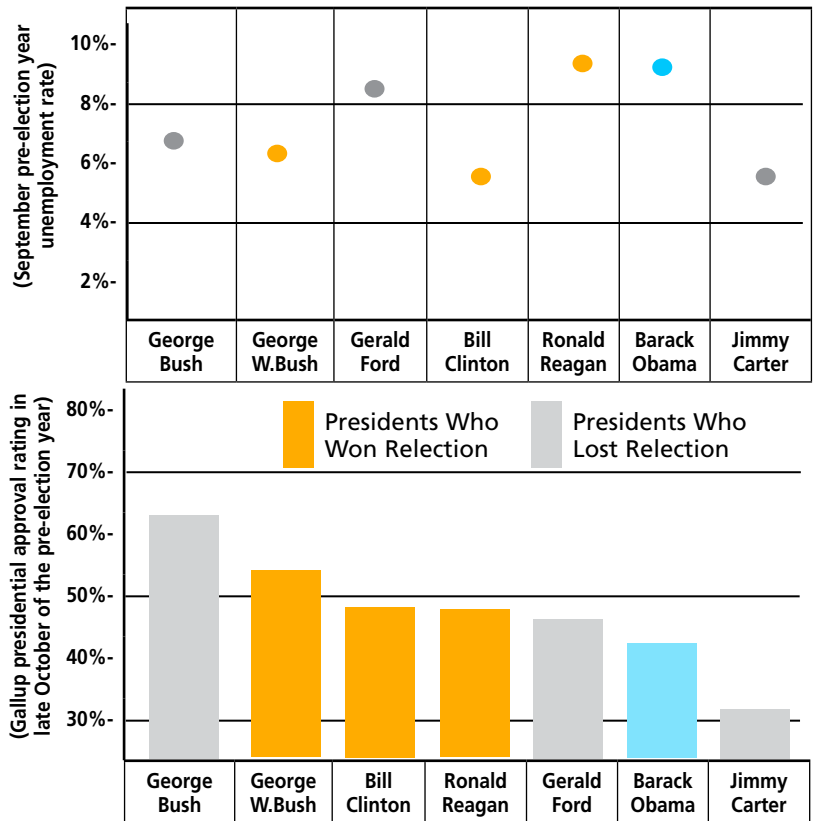
no opposition of note on the Democratic side. It confirms an easy path to renomination for the president that should ultimately brighten his reelection chances.

The bad news: the struggling economy has shown less and less prospect of righting itself, making it highly unlikely at this point that Obama can reprise Ronald Reagan's successful 1984 campaign theme of "Morning in America."

In September 1983, the nationwide unemployment rate was 9.2%, down 1.6 percentage points from the November 1982

Barack Obama's presidential approval rating continues to be dragged down by the long-running economic crisis. Of the previous six presidents, only Jimmy Carter has had a lower approval score than Obama approaching Halloween of the pre-presidential election year. And only one of these half dozen presidents, Ronald Reagan, has been burdened by a higher unemployment rate than Obama at a similar point in his presidency. Yet unlike the present, the trend line for the unemployment rate under Reagan in 1983 was almost without exception steadily downward.

How Obama Compares to Recent Presidents: The Economy and the Polls



| President | Years | Pres. Approval | | Unemployment Rates | | Election Outcome |
|-----------------------------|---------|--|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | | Late October Poll of Pre-election Year | September of Pre-election Year | September of Pre-election Year | Nov. of Election Year | |
| Barack Obama (D) | 2011 | 43% | 43% | 9.1% | 9.1% | |
| PRESIDENTS DEFEATED | | | | | | |
| Gerald Ford (R) | 1975-76 | 47% | 47% | 8.4% | 7.8% | Lost |
| Jimmy Carter (D) | 1979-80 | 31% | 31% | 5.9% | 7.5% | Lost |
| George Bush (R) | 1991-92 | 62% | 62% | 6.9% | 7.4% | Lost |
| PRESIDENTS REELECTED | | | | | | |
| Ronald Reagan (R) | 1983-84 | 49% | 49% | 9.2% | 7.2% | Won |
| Bill Clinton (D) | 1995-96 | 49% | 49% | 5.6% | 5.4% | Won |
| George W. Bush (R) | 2003-04 | 53% | 53% | 6.1% | 5.4% | Won |

Note: Presidential approval ratings are based on Gallup polls taken in late October of the year prior to the presidential election, with the exception of the October 1979 approval rating for Jimmy Carter which was taken in the middle of the month. Barack Obama's rating is based on a Gallup Poll taken Oct. 24-30, 2011. Nationwide unemployment rates are based on seasonally adjusted figures.

Sources: Gallup Poll, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

midterm election (when it approached 11%). In September 2011, the unemployment rate was a comparable 9.1%, but has dropped only seven-tenths of a percentage point since last November (when it was 9.8%).

The perceptible decline in the unemployment rate throughout 1983 was accompanied by a rise in Reagan's popularity. His presidential approval rating, which had fallen to 35% early in the year, approached 50% by Halloween 2003. Today, the flat-lining economy has helped keep Obama's approval rating mired around 40% - not where a president running for reelection would like to be.

For Reagan, the unemployment rate kept declining as Election Day approached. It had fallen below 9% by October 1983, under 8% by February 1984, and below 7.5% by May 1984, en route to a November 1984 unemployment rate of 7.2%. There is little, if any, chance of the rate being that low in November 2012.

But the Obama White House has, at least, kept his route clear to renomination, enabling the president to save his energy and his money for the general election campaign to come. To be sure, he has drawn plenty of vocal criticism from a host of liberal Democrats, and a call from Ralph Nader and Princeton professor Cornel West for philosophically-based challengers to take on Obama in the party primaries. But none of note have come forth to run in New Hampshire, the traditional venue for the expression of intra-party disgruntlement.

In 1952, Democratic Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee upset President Harry Truman in the Granite State, sending Truman to the political sidelines. In 1968, Democratic Sen. Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota embarrassed President Lyndon Johnson with an unexpectedly strong showing in New Hampshire that helped convince LBJ not to seek reelection. And in 1992, President George Bush lost nearly 40% of the state's Republican primary vote to conservative commentator Pat Buchanan, visibly illustrating Bush's electoral vulnerability.

This time, though, no Don Quixote has emerged to challenge Obama. No Hillary Clinton; no Russell Feingold; no Dennis Kucinich. Of the 13 entries who filed to oppose the president in the New Hampshire Democratic primary, none are known commodities. One entrant had the e-mail address, "americachangestoday.com." Another could be reached at "workmorekeepless.com." The last person to file in the Democratic primary was someone with the furry name of Vermin Supreme, who drew 43 votes last time in the state's Republican presidential primary. For those who care, he can be reached at crazycircus-dogs@yahoo.com.

When New Hampshire votes Jan. 10, Obama's vote will be measured against other recent presidents who essentially ran unopposed for renomination - Reagan in 1984, Bill Clinton in 1996, and George W. Bush in 2004. Their share of their party's New Hampshire primary vote ranged from a low of 80% for Bush to a high of 86% for Reagan.

Gotham Earthquakes

New York City was hit by two earthquakes late this summer. The first was of the meteorological sort and registered nearly 6.0 on the Richter scale. The second rumblings Sept. 13 were of the political kind, and came when Republican Bob Turner won a historically Democratic House district anchored in Queens that was formerly represented by Geraldine Ferraro, current Sen. Charles Schumer, and the recently resigned, ethnically-tinged Anthony Weiner.

What gave the special election result in the New York 9th District national import was that it occurred in the midst of one of the nation's most Democratic cities. To paraphrase the famous song, "New York, New York": "If the Democrats can't win there, they probably can't win anywhere" ... at least in this political climate.

Turner – a retired cable TV executive and political novice - won with a campaign that sharply criticized President Obama for his handling of the economy and his frayed ties with Israel. This, in spite of the fact that his Democratic opponent, state Assemblyman David Weprin, was an Orthodox Jew in a district with a large number of voters of similar faith. Still, official returns showed Turner the victor by a margin of 5 percentage points. In the process, he became the first Republican House member since 1990 elected from a district within the city other than the one based on Staten Island.

To be sure, the turnout for the special election in the New York 9th was barely 70,000 – the lowest turnout for a special congressional election this year. And there is no doubt that the district is far more competitive politically than much of the rest of the city. While Obama swept New York City in 2008 by nearly 60 percentage points, his margin in the 9th was barely 10 points.

Yet there is no mistaking that the GOP's upset victory was an ominous sign for the president and his party's congressional allies as they prepare for 2012. For if the Democrats cannot win big next year in urban America, their chances are minimal of winning back the House of Representatives, or for that matter, retaining the White House.

2011 Summary: Gubernatorial, Special House Elections

Republicans have been doing quite well electorally of late. They won two special House elections in mid-September, picking up a historically Democratic seat in New York City and easily holding a Nevada district where Barack Obama and John McCain ran virtually even in the 2008 presidential voting. In late October, Republican Gov. Bobby Jindal of Louisiana won reelection with the largest vote share of any GOP gubernatorial candidate in the state's history. The lone recent loss of consequence for Republicans came in West Virginia in early October, as Democratic incumbent Earl Ray Tomblin narrowly won a special gubernatorial election to fill the final year of the term vacated by Joe Manchin. The latter left the governorship in late 2010 upon his election to the Senate.

| GOVERNORS | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---------|---------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|------------------|
| | | Candidates | | | | | | | |
| State | Outcome | Democrat | Republican | Election Date | Turnout | Dem. | Rep. | Other | '08 Pres. Winner |
| West Virginia | D | Earl Ray Tomblin* | Bill Maloney | Oct. 4 | 301,485 | 49.5% | 47.1% | 3.4% | McCain by 13% |
| Louisiana | R | Tara Hollis# | Bobby Jindal* | Oct. 22 | 1,023,163 | 28.2% | 65.8% | 6.0% | McCain by 19% |
| HOUSE SPECIALS | | | | | | | | | |
| District | | Former Member | New Member | Election Date | Turnout | Dem. | Rep. | Other | '08 Pres. Winner |
| New York 26 | D GAIN | Christopher Lee (R) | Kathy Hochul (D) | May 24 | 111,338 | 47.3% | 42.4% | 10.3% | McCain by 6% |
| California 36 | D | Jane Harman (D) | Janice Hahn (D) | July 12 | 85,624 | 54.9% | 45.1% | - | Obama by 30% |
| Nevada 2 | R | Dean Heller (R) | Mark Amodei (R) | Sept. 13 | 129,791 | 36.1% | 57.9% | 6.0% | McCain by 0% |
| New York 9 | R GAIN | Anthony Weiner (D) | Bob Turner (R) | Sept. 13 | 71,226 | 47.3% | 52.4% | 0.3% | Obama by 11% |

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates an incumbent governor. A pound sign (#) denotes that Tara Hollis was the leading vote-getter among four Democratic gubernatorial candidates in Louisiana. As a group, they received 28.2% of the total vote, which is listed above. Her share was 17.9%. John McCain won the 2008 presidential vote in the Nevada 2nd District by a margin of less than 1 percentage point.

Source: Official results from the state election web sites in California, Louisiana, Nevada and New York. The West Virginia gubernatorial results are from the Nov. 1, 2011, edition of the election-related newsletter, Ballot Access News.

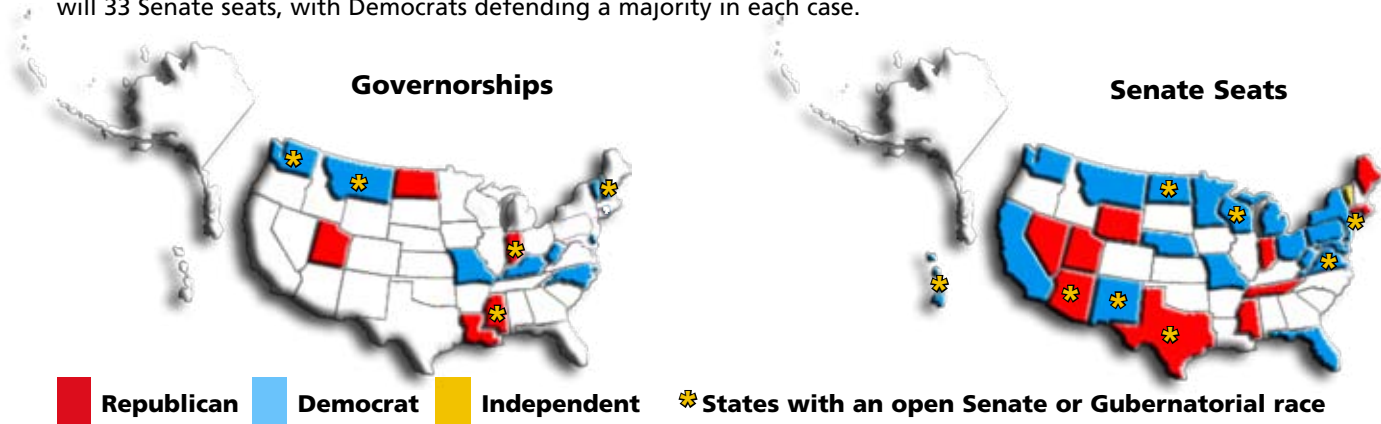
The Changing Composition of the 112th Congress

New York has been the venue for the two most consequential special elections of 2011. In May, Democrats picked up a traditionally Republican district upstate, while in September, Republicans won a historically Democratic district in New York City. One vacancy currently remains in Congress. That, the House seat in the Oregon 1st District formerly held by Democrat David Wu. The primary to pick candidates to fill his seat will be held Nov. 8, with the special election in the Portland-area district scheduled for Jan. 31, 2012.

| Date and Event | HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES | | | SENATE | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|------------|------|-----------|-------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Dems. | Reps. | Vac. | Dems. | Reps. | Inds. | Und. | Vac. |
| 2010 ELECTION (Nov. 2) | 193 | 242 | | 51 | 47 | 2 | 1 | |
| <i>Feb. 9, 2011 - Rep. Christopher Lee (R-N.Y. 26) resigns after a "beefcake" photo of the married congressman appears on the Internet.</i> | 193 | 241 | 1 | | | | | |
| <i>Feb. 28, 2011 - Rep. Jane Harman (D-Calif. 36) resigns to become president of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.</i> | 192 | 241 | 2 | | | | | |
| <i>May 3, 2011 - Sen. John Ensign (R-Nev.) resigns in midst of Senate Ethics Committee investigation into revelations that the senator had an affair with a female aide who was married to another top aide, and that Ensign's parents provided money to the aides' family.</i> | | | | 51 | 46 | 2 | 1 | |
| <i>May 9, 2011 - Rep. Dean Heller (R-Nev. 2) resigns after his appointment to the Senate; sworn in the same day to fill the vacancy created by Ensign's resignation.</i> | 192 | 240 | 3 | 51 | 47 | 2 | | |
| <i>May 24, 2011 - Special election in the New York 26th won by Kathy Hochul (D).</i> | 193 | 240 | 2 | | | | | |
| <i>June 21, 2011 - Rep. Anthony Weiner (D-N.Y. 9) resigns after admission of numerous "sexting" tweets.</i> | 192 | 240 | 3 | | | | | |
| <i>July 12, 2011 - Special election in the California 36th won by Janice Hahn (D).</i> | 193 | 240 | 2 | | | | | |
| <i>August 3, 2011 - Rep. David Wu (D-Ore. 1) resigns following accusations of "aggressive and unwanted sexual behavior" with a female teen-ager.</i> | 192 | 240 | 3 | | | | | |
| <i>Sept. 13, 2011 - Two special House elections: Nevada 2nd won by Mark Amodei (R); New York 9th won by Bob Turner (R).</i> | 192 | 242 | 1 | | | | | |
| ... AND THE GOVERNORSHIPS | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | Dems. | Reps. | Vac. |
| 2010 GENERAL ELECTION (Nov. 2) | | | | | | 20 | 29 | 1 |
| <i>Nov. 16, 2010 - State Senate President Earl Ray Tomblin (D) publicly sworn in as acting governor of West Virginia to fill the vacancy created by the election of Joe Manchin (D) to the Senate.</i> | | | | | | 20 | 29 | 1 |
| <i>Dec. 7, 2010 - Lt. Gov. Jack Dalrymple (R) sworn in as governor of North Dakota to fill the vacancy created by the election of John Hoeven (R) to the Senate.</i> | | | | | | 20 | 29 | 1 |
| <i>Oct. 4, 2011 - Special gubernatorial election in West Virginia won by Acting Gov. Earl Ray Tomblin (D).</i> | | | | | | 20 | 29 | 1 |
| <i>Oct. 22, 2011 - Gubernatorial election in Louisiana won by Gov. Bobby Jindal (R).</i> | | | | | | 20 | 29 | 1 |

What's Up in 2011-12

The 2011-12 election cycle is already under way, with a pair of gubernatorial elections in October in Louisiana and West Virginia, and another two governorships to be decided November 8 in Kentucky and Mississippi. So far, incumbents have prevailed, with Democrat Earl Ray Tomblin winning narrowly in West Virginia and Republican Bobby Jindal scoring a landslide reelection victory in Louisiana. Ten more governorships will be decided in 2012, as will 33 Senate seats, with Democrats defending a majority in each case.



| At Stake in 2012 | '08 Presidential Vote | House Seats | | Seats Up | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-------------|------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | Dem. | Rep. | Governors | Senators |
| | | Obama by 7% | | 192 | 242 |
| NORTHEAST | | | | | |
| Connecticut | Obama by 22% | 5 | | | Joe Lieberman (Ind.) - OPEN |
| Delaware | Obama by 25% | 1 | | Jack Markell (D) | Tom Carper (D) |
| Maine | Obama by 17% | 2 | | | Olympia Snowe (R) |
| Maryland | Obama by 25% | 6 | 2 | | Ben Cardin (D) |
| Massachusetts | Obama by 26% | 10 | | | Scott Brown (R) |
| New Hampshire | Obama by 10% | | 2 | John Lynch (D) - OPEN | |
| New Jersey | Obama by 16% | 7 | 6 | | Robert Menendez (D) |
| New York | Obama by 27% | 21 | 8 | | Kirsten Gillibrand (D) |
| Pennsylvania | Obama by 10% | 7 | 12 | | Bob Casey (D) |
| Rhode Island | Obama by 28% | 2 | | | Sheldon Whitehouse (D) |
| Vermont | Obama by 37% | 1 | | Peter Shumlin (D) | Bernard Sanders (Ind.) |
| West Virginia | McCain by 13% | 1 | 2 | Earl Ray Tomblin (D)@ - 2011 | Joe Manchin (D) |
| | | 63 | 32 | | |
| MIDWEST | | | | | |
| Illinois | Obama by 25% | 8 | 11 | | |
| Indiana | Obama by 1% | 3 | 6 | Mitch Daniels (R) - OPEN | Richard Lugar (R) |
| Iowa | Obama by 10% | 3 | 2 | | |
| Kansas | McCain by 15% | | 4 | | |
| Michigan | Obama by 16% | 6 | 9 | | Debbie Stabenow (D) |
| Minnesota | Obama by 10% | 4 | 4 | | Amy Klobuchar (D) |
| Missouri | McCain by 0.1% | 3 | 6 | Jay Nixon (D) | Claire McCaskill (D) |
| Nebraska | McCain by 15% | | 3 | | Ben Nelson (D) |
| North Dakota | McCain by 9% | | 1 | Jack Dalrymple (R)@ | Kent Conrad (D) - OPEN |
| Ohio | Obama by 5% | 5 | 13 | | Sherrod Brown (D) |
| South Dakota | McCain by 8% | | 1 | | |
| Wisconsin | Obama by 14% | 3 | 5 | | Herb Kohl (D) - OPEN |
| | | 35 | 65 | | |

| At Stake in 2012 | '08 Presidential Vote | House Seats | | Seats Up | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-------------|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | | Dem. | Rep. | Governors | Senators |
| | | Obama by 7% | 192 | 242 | 14 (9 D, 5 R) |
| SOUTH | | | | | |
| Alabama | McCain by 22% | 1 | 6 | | |
| Arkansas | McCain by 20% | 1 | 3 | | |
| Florida | Obama by 3% | 6 | 19 | | Bill Nelson (D) |
| Georgia | McCain by 5% | 5 | 8 | | |
| Kentucky | McCain by 16% | 2 | 4 | Steve Beshear (D) - 2011 | |
| Louisiana | McCain by 19% | 1 | 6 | Bobby Jindal (R) - 2011 | |
| Mississippi | McCain by 13% | 1 | 3 | Haley Barbour (R) - OPEN - 2011 | Roger Wicker (R) |
| North Carolina | Obama by 0.3% | 7 | 6 | Bev Perdue (D) | |
| Oklahoma | McCain by 31% | 1 | 4 | | |
| South Carolina | McCain by 9% | 1 | 5 | | |
| Tennessee | McCain by 15% | 2 | 7 | | Bob Corker (R) |
| Texas | McCain by 12% | 9 | 23 | | Kay Bailey Hutchison (R) - OPEN |
| Virginia | Obama by 6% | 3 | 8 | | Jim Webb (D) - OPEN |
| | | 40 | 102 | | |
| WEST | | | | | |
| Alaska | McCain by 22% | | 1 | | |
| Arizona | McCain by 9% | 3 | 5 | | Jon Kyl (R) - OPEN |
| California | Obama by 24% | 34 | 19 | | Dianne Feinstein (D) |
| Colorado | Obama by 9% | 3 | 4 | | |
| Hawaii | Obama by 45% | 2 | | | Daniel Akaka (D) - OPEN |
| Idaho | McCain by 25% | | 2 | | |
| Montana | McCain by 2% | | 1 | Brian Schweitzer (D) - OPEN | Jon Tester (D) |
| Nevada | Obama by 12% | 1 | 2 | | Dean Heller (R)@ |
| New Mexico | Obama by 15% | 2 | 1 | | Jeff Bingaman (D) - OPEN |
| Oregon | Obama by 16% | 3 | 1 | | |
| Utah | McCain by 28% | 1 | 2 | Gary Herbert (R) | Orrin Hatch (R) |
| Washington | Obama by 17% | 5 | 4 | Christine Gregoire (D) - OPEN | Maria Cantwell (D) |
| Wyoming | McCain by 32% | | 1 | | John Barrasso (R) |
| | | 54 | 43 | | |

Note: Gubernatorial and Senate incumbents who were not elected and assumed their position since the 2010 election are indicated by @. The partisan House totals are as of October 31, 2011. They reflect a House vacancy in the Oregon 1st District, where Democrat David Wu has resigned his seat.

Source: *America Votes 27 and 28* (CQ Press) for 2008 presidential election results and the list of governorships and Senate seats up in 2011-12.

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