

### An ORF Monthly Monitor

#### **EDITORIAL NOTE**

As the United States swings into election mode, ORF is closely monitoring the presidential election developments. We bring news updates; commentaries; opinion polls as well as statements, speeches and interviews by the Presidential candidates. We also look at role of the Indian Diaspora and its positions on various issues and explore the potential implications of the elections for India. We welcome your feedback and comments.

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Jayshree Sengupta

Exit polling of Republican primary voters showed three quarters of all Americans are dissatisfied with the state of the economy and almost two thirds believe that the country is on the 'wrong track'.

#### The Trump Effect: A Non-American View Monish Tourangbam

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#### The Republican and Democrat Split **Kimberley Anne Nazareth**

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#### Analyses

#### **Economic Issues in US Elections**

#### Jayshree Sengupta

The state of the economy is not the only issue driving the 2016 US presidential elections but it is a major issue. The economy is important for a majority of Americans because of their anxiety over jobs and trade. Exit polling of Republican primary voters showed three quarters of all Americans are dissatisfied with the state of the economy and almost two thirds believe that the country is on the 'wrong track'

From the time of the Financial Crisis of 2008, the American middle class has been feeling insecure as incomes home values and jobs were affected adversely. Median household income and home values have still not recovered from that period when millions lost their homes due to foreclosure. Real earnings of blue collared workers have also remained flat for a decade.

Other important facts about the American economy are that labour productivity growth has been declining over time. But this is somewhat inevitable because US is an advanced economy and there are no 'low hanging fruits' to exploit. In other words it is easier to boost labour productivity in a poor country than in a rich one. The response of American corporations to this phenomenon has been to shift their business to low cost, high labour productivity developing countries.

Today the US unemployment rate stands at 5 per cent but it is not capturing the number of long term unemployed who are not looking for jobs anymore. Job losses in America have been due to advancement of technology and due to outsourcing of jobs in textiles, steel, rubber and metal industries to developing countries, especially for low skilled workers.

Middle skilled workers have been left with two options either to go for learning new skills requiring intensive skill development and education which many older workers cannot afford or fall back on low skill low wage occupations. The influx of workers especially from South of the border into low skill, low wage labour market has also driven down these workers' wages.

Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump have come out with solutions for a 'better if not brighter' American future.

Donald Trump has drastic solutions to the problem of immigration like building a wall between Mexico and US and deporting 11 million illegal Mexican migrants. Many are empathizing with Trump because they feel he hears and understands them.

Protectionism is a big issue with both Trump and Sanders. While consumers have gained from cheap imports from China and other developing countries, workers and companies have suffered competition from foreign factories that produce similar goods at lower prices. In theory the winners should compensate for the losers and everybody should be better off but American policy has allowed the winners to keep profits from trade for themselves. Corporations have become rich and their executives have benefited from high salaries and bonuses. This has led to rise in income inequality as profits of corporations rose and while white collared professionals got higher compensations, the blue collared and low skilled workers remained poorer with stagnant wages. This has been pointed out by Sanders.

Some of the Midwestern states like Ohio and Michigan in particular, which were manufacturing hubs have suffered high unemployment and low wages because of the outsourcing of manufacturing in the last 20 years to China.

The government programme called Trade Adjustment assistance is aimed at helping workers who have been hurt by foreign competition by providing them unemployment benefits and offering them skill training. But this program has not been effective in training people because the budget for it was cut.

Donald Trump has proposed increasing a 45 per cent tariff on Chinese imports especially as a retaliatory measure to the country's efforts at currency manipulations to keep the Yuan undervalued --which however is no longer true. Bernie Sanders has also recently echoed Trump's concerns about trade with China and has run a TV ad in Wisconsin with a promise of "bring our jobs back from China".

Trump is also advocating that US should revoke the North American Free Trade Agreement but Bernie Sanders has been opposed to scrapping of NAFTA because it would disrupt important industries including auto and aerospace manufacturing in which parts move seamlessly between Canada, Mexico and the US during the production process. Scrapping of NAFTA would bring little gains for the US as studies have shown that the treaty did not cause huge job losses as feared.

It is impossible for the US to turn fully protectionist and the leaders cannot bring it about. The President however can make sure is that competition among countries is fair and that there are policies in place which will mitigate and reduce rising inequality and give workers training and financial help for adjustment. A wave of protectionism started by the US will harm global trade and developing countries.

(Jayshree Sengupta is a Senior Fellow with ORF.)

#### The Trump Effect: A Non-American View

#### Monish Tourangbam

Post his defeat in the Wisconsin primary; many are questioning the hitherto presumed nomination for Donald Trump as the GOP presidential candidate. However, irrespective of whether he wins the nomination or not, the impact of his populist campaign will most surely be felt within the Republican Party, in America's political environment at large, and hence in the way the United States is seen around the world. The Trump campaign has dealt a lethal blow to the GOP establishment leading to all sorts of counter-campaigns within the party to stop his juggernaut. The Texas senator and the last man standing against Trump, Ted Cruz is now being favoured by the establishment, a scenario almost unthinkable at the start of the campaign and before establishment favoured candidates like Marco Rubio and Jeb Bush fell off the line.

Cruz may be seen as the lesser of the two evils by the establishment, but his policies are not too dissimilar from that of Trump when it comes to immigration and on minorities in the United States. Whoever wins the nomination, the nativist element in the two campaigns would seriously impair the image of a multicultural America that thrives on diversity. Cruz is being seen as the one who could, if not win, more delegates than Trump, has the best chance of stopping Trump from getting the magic delegate count of 1237. Fear of surely losing the national elections if Trump is nominated grips the Republican Party.Regardless of the results in November, there seems to be a <u>pervading sense of disbelief</u> that a candidate like Trump could muster up such popularity and actually come to have a shot at the presidency.

Although the mood of the voters at the primaries are not a clear reflection of the national preference, the rise of Trump and the infighting that it has spawned within the GOP has certainly marred the face of American democracy. Given the extent of America's global engagement across a spectrum of issue areas, it is natural that the US elections will be closely followed around the world. <u>Different perspectives emerge</u> from countries around the world as to who they would like to see as the next US president.

However, the current campaign season has seen international attention coalesce around the personality of Donald Trump and his campaign that has singularly focused on bullying out opponents from the arena. His popularity among sections of the American electorate has been bewildering for external watchers of the US elections, so much so that support for Trump and his primary wins have been translated as signs of America going downhill at least pertaining to the ethical high ground that it claims in his political system. Although democracies can be forgiven for being chaotic, the worrying signals are anti-immigrant policy proposals that Trump espouses in his stump speeches in a country that otherwise prides itself as the immigrant's country. Trump's misguided bravado seems to be restating the stereotypical "callous" American, boastful of vulgar exhibition of power and wealth.

The appeal of Trump is clearly reflective of the anger and frustration among the white working class population with the present economic and political system in the United States, and their belief that they have so far been handed a raw deal. This dissatisfaction with the system also gets translated to projections of a system that takes care of new migrants and businesses overseas at the expense of American workers. The rise of Trump, in all its elements of unrestrained vulgarity and political expletives, has caught the attention of viewers across the world. Many are hardly bothered, but many are concerned about a perceived abysmal fall of American politics.

From being brushed aside as someone who was entertaining in his stump speeches, Trump has a real shot at the nomination. Blatantly populist in its tone and simply playing to the gallery, Donald Trump, irrespective of his political future, has churned the Republican party in ways unimagined when the campaign started. Politics of disillusion and disenchantment has led to fringe elements like Trump to come to centre-stage and shake the political environment, and emit a sense of rudderless and uncertain politics in America.

Trump's vitriolic propositions like temporarily banning Muslims from entering into the United States; or erecting a wall between the US and Mexico to stop illegal immigrants have raised eyebrows around the world, questioning the very idea of America's inclusiveness. The popularity of a Donald Trump is a reflection of the general populace's tendency to rally behind anyone who seems out of the mainstream. The deep divisions being seen in the Republican Party with the possibility of a showdown at the national convention has not only led to increasing uncertainty as far as the voting trends and patterns are concerned but might eventually hurt the strength of the Party on November 8. Kennan Malik, a London-based writer, lecturer and broadcaster astutely reflected the Trump effect when he wrote, "What has drawn people to Trump is their anger with mainstream politicians....What is true of the Republican Party is true, too, of politics more generally. The fundamental fautline in politics is no longer between left and right. It is rather between mainstream political institutions and a growing mass of people who feel alienated and politically voiceless. And that is why politics today appears so unpredictable."

(The author is Assistant Professor at the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal University Karnataka)

#### The Republican and Democrat Split

#### **Kimberley Anne Nazareth**

The primary elections always expose the loopholes and differences within the party. The array of debates tends to display the differences in policy making. However, at times the candidates are in stark contrast with one another in certain areas and at others they only differ in the execution.

The Republican Party is commonly known for its unity in voting as well as when it comes to policy making. This has been the trend especially since Newt Gingrich was elected Speaker of the House as part of the 1994 Republican sweep. He banded together the Republicans under one roof and the Republicans became an in sync group unlike the Democrats who 'agree to disagree'.

With all eyes on the elections, the question is what the more long term effects on the parties will be.

The ideological gulf within both the parties has been ever growing and becoming far more polarised than ever before. During the 1950s and 60s the electorate was not as polarised as it is today. The Republican and Democratic parties had a substantial number of conservatives, liberals and moderates. There was a great deal of cross party voting as well split ticket voting.

Although the Democrats had controlled Congress throughout the Cold War, they could not hold onto the White House. The increase in polarisation and the disappearance of the moderates had adverse effects on both parties. The Democrats were becoming more liberal and the Republicans more conservative. However the series of losses in the Presidential elections demanded a change by the Democrats to a more centrist /moderate stand. This stand was seen by the nomination and election of Bill Clinton. With Bill Clinton's nomination, the Democrats displayed a move to the centre. The '92 election also displayed the factions within the Republican Party wherein the Republican were divided between George H Bush and Ross Perot. However the '94 election was a turning point for the Republicans as for the first time in 40 years they took over Congress with Newt Gingrich at the helm. His leadership of the party in Congress unified the party and was a precursor for the Republicans of today.

It was this degree of partisanship that kept the Republicans in the majority for most of President's Clinton's term as well as afforded them the ability to bring impeachment charges and even voted on it in the House. The continuation of this into the George W. Bush presidency gave him a blanket cheque in his foreign policy endeavours. The Office of Speaker under Gingrich became the de facto party leader. However since Gingrich, Speakers like Hastert and Boehner were unable to completely hold the party in Congress together. Thus fragmentation has set in.

John Boehner lacked Gingrich's ability to wield support within the party as well as among Republicans in general which is evident from the conservatives who drove his resignation. Paul Ryan, too, could prove to be incapable of shoring off that effect on his party. On the other hand, the Democrats under Nancy Pelosi have shown greater unity comparatively. The Republican Party could be in trouble here especially when it comes to tapping new voters in the electorate. The Republicans have lost the popular vote in the recent election even though they were in the White House. In order for them to broaden their party base they have to court the ethnic and Hispanic vote. If they are able to either court those blocs completely or divide them in their favour they have an extremely good chance of retaining their position in Congress as well as the White House. The Republicans have to maintain a tricky balance of broadening the base and not alienating the base. Therefore changing or adapting to policy change is imperative. Two decades or so ago, the Democrats had to adapt and change their policy stand and move towards the centre. In electing Bill Clinton they achieved this and won the White House.

The Republicans themselves have expressed their fears of a split as a result of the ideological divide, identity, class and ethnic tensions and the shifting tides to a more conservative party structure. The changes in the Republican base, the ultra conservatives who seem to be running the party will find it difficult to tap the Hispanic vote which is necessary for political survival. This is worrisome to many pragmatic and centrist Republicans. The demographic changes and the fierce rhetoric by Republicans mean that gaining ground with the nonwhite voters will be difficult.

The schism though very much part of the Democrats are not as pronounced as the Republicans. Throughout the Obama administration, though the Democrats lost power in the House as well as the Senate, they have more or less banded together on major issues. Iran may have been a problem but it's the Republicans who have shown the cracks in the wall of silence.

It is survival of the fittest. The GOP establishment for the sake of survival require a political win. They have been vehemently against President Obama's policies, but failed at overriding important legislation. The GOP has had the numbers in Congress to counter Obama but have failed to do so. In order to save the party form itself they need an electoral win as well as a nominee that would unite the different factions.

Trump mania has completely altered the GOP, they are worried about two aspects; one derailing Trump and two; his run as a third party candidate. These two factors are interlinked - the question is how they derail Trump without affecting their base and without splitting the party between the conservatives and the moderates. One strategy was fragmentation, which meant falling behind one candidate who is not the front runner. Another one, dividing the entire GOP base so that Trump does not get the required votes to be the first name on the ballot at the convention. Alienation is a strategy that has been touted by the establishment.

The Republican political establishment is gearing up for a dangerous fight against the power and money magnet mogul, but this is a dangerous fight as it could have lasting repercussions. As Super Tuesday has come and gone, Trump is in a more secure position than ever before, with Super Tuesday under their belt, Trump has 319 delegates, Cruz, 226 and Rubio 110 delegates. Thus Trump needs 918 delegates to get the nomination. Pundits say it's attainable given his ratings. So now derailing Trump seems to be out of the question.

If the Republicans are vexed about the rise of Trump and the problems it has created for the future of the party, they have no one to blame other than themselves. The Congress hands off approach contributed to his rise as well as the lack of any credible candidate. This includes not enough Senators running in the primaries or at least ones that cater to the middle class Republicans thus throwing it open to Trump. However the Republican leadership is still unsure whether supporting him is the strategic solution to wining the general. If Trump does not have GOP backing, it could be a major political crisis for him and the party.

It is difficult to predict who will occupy the White House come January 2017, but very often elections are considered referendums. Judging the election by the primaries is not always the best, as only a small percentage vote in the primaries compared to the general. So if Clinton has to battle the Republicans then all Democrats will stand by her irrespective of their differences. She in turn might have to do a bit of persuading and move a little more left to cater to the voters as Sanders has set the Democrat ideological bar.

However the same cannot be said for the Republicans. The reason for this is that Republican establishment itself is unsure whether they want to support the front runner and they are ideologically extremely divided. If Trump gets the nomination he will have to find a way to smoothen ties with the GOP, the conservatives as well as moderates and other factions within the party. He will also have to smoothen ties with the Black and Hispanics who have the ability to make or break him.

(Kimberley Nazareth is a doctoral candidate with JNU.)

### THE FIELD

### **Democratic Party**

#### **Republican Party**

#### **Hillary Clinton**

Former Office:US Secretary of State; Senator, New York Campaign Site: <u>HillaryClinton.com</u> PAC Site: <u>Priorities USA Action PAC</u> Independent PAC Site: <u>ReadyForHillary.com</u> Twitter: <u>www.twitter.com/HillaryClinton</u>

#### **Bernie Sanders**

In office: Senator, Vermont Campaign Site: <u>https://berniesanders.com</u> Government Site: <u>Office of US Senator Bernie Sanders</u> Facebook (Campaign): <u>www.facebook.com/FriendsOfBernie</u> Facebook (Official): <u>www.facebook.com/SenatorSanders</u> Twitter: <u>www.twitter.com/SenSanders</u>

#### **Ted Cruz**

In Office: Senator, Texas Official Site: www.cruz.senate.gov Government Site: Office of US Senator Ted Cruz Facebook: www.facebook.com/TedCruzPage Twitter: www.twitter.com/TedCruz

#### John Kasich

<u>In Office: Governor, Ohio</u> Official Site: https://johnkasich.com/ Twitter: <u>https://twitter.com/JohnKasich</u> Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/JohnKasich

#### **Donald Trump**

<u>Profession: Businessman</u> Official site: https://www.donaldjtrump.com/ Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump Twitter: https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump

### THE POLLS

### Table 1

### **New York Democratic Presidential Primary**

## **Democratic Primary**

Clinton won New York.

| CANDIDATES      |   | VOTE      | PCT.  | DELEGATES |
|-----------------|---|-----------|-------|-----------|
| Hillary Clinton | ~ | 1,054,083 | 58.0% | 139       |
| Bernie Sanders  |   | 763,469   | 42.0  | 106       |

1,817,552 votes, 99% reporting (15,007 of 15,067 precincts)

**Table 1** shows poll results for New York Democratic Presidential Primary for the Democrats. Bernie Sanders trailed behind at 42 percent while Hillary Clinton took a lead at 58 percent further widening the gap in delegate count.

Source:www.nytimes.com, 21 April, 2015

## Table 2

## **New York Republican Presidential Primary**

## **Republican Primary**

Trump won New York.

| CANDIDA | ATES                | VOTE    | PCT.   | DELEGATES |
|---------|---------------------|---------|--------|-----------|
| 3       | Donald J. Trump 🖌 🗸 | 524,932 | 60.4%  | 89        |
| 8       | John Kasich         | 217,904 | 25.1 — | 4         |
| T       | Ted Cruz            | 126,151 | 14.5 — | _         |
| Other   |                     | 0       | 0.0    |           |
|         |                     |         |        |           |

868,987 votes, 99% reporting (14,966 of 15,067 precincts)

**Table 2** indicates the results of the New York Republican Presidential Primary. The poll results reveal that Donald Trump keeps his lead in New York, at 60.4 percent. Ted Cruz trails behind at 14.5 percent while John Kasich has surged ahead with 25.1 percent.

Source:<u>www.nytimes.com</u>, 21 April, 2015

#### Statements/Interviews

## FULL TRANSCRIPT: HILLARY CLINTON'S NEW YORK PRIMARY VICTORY SPEECH

I want to say to all of my supporters and all of the voters, you have carried us every step of the way with passion and determination that some critics tried to dismiss. Because of you, this campaign is the only one, Democrat or Republican, to win more than 10 million votes. I'm going forward because more voices remain to be heard, and tomorrow it's on to Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. We need you to be volunteering. I hope you will join the 1.1 million people who've already contributed at HillaryClinton.com—and by the way, most with less than \$100—because we have more work to do.

Under the bright lights of New York, we have seen that it's not enough to diagnose problems. You have to explain how you have to resolve them. That's what we have to do together for our kids, for each other, for our country. So I want you with me to imagine a tomorrow where no barriers hold you back, and all of our people can share in the promise of America. Imagine a tomorrow where every parent can find a good job and every grandparent can enjoy a secure retirement, where no child grows up in the shadow of discrimination or under the specter of deportation, where hard work is honored, families are supported, and communities are strong, a tomorrow where we trust and respect each other despite our differences because we're going to make positive differences in people's lives. That is what this is supposed to be about, actually helping people.

Now, we all know—we all know many people who are still hurting. I see it everywhere I go. The Great Recession wiped out jobs, homes, and savings, and a lot of Americans haven't yet recovered. But I still believe with all my heart that as another greater Democratic President once said, there's nothing wrong with America that can't be cured by what's right with America. That is, after all, what we've always done. It's who we are. America is a problem-solving nation. And in this campaign, we are setting bold progressive goals backed up by real plans that will improve lives, creating more good jobs that provide dignity and pride in a middle class life, raising wages and reducing inequality, making sure all our kids get a good education no matter what zip code they live in, building ladders of opportunity and empowerment so all of our people can go as far as their hard work and talent will take them.

Let's revitalize places that have been left out and left behind, from inner cities to coal country to Indian country. And let's put Americans to work rebuilding our crumbling infrastructure, including our failing water systems like the one in Flint, Michigan. There are many places across our country where children and families are at risk from the water they drink and the air they breathe. Let's combat climate change and make America the clean energy superpower of the 21st century. Let's take on the challenge of systemic racism, invest in communities of color, and finally pass comprehensive immigration reform. And once and for all, let's guarantee equal pay for women.

And we are going to keep our families safe and our country strong, and we're going to defend our rights civil rights, voting rights, workers' rights, women's rights, LGBT rights, and rights for people with disabilities. Those are, after all, New York values, and they are American values. And just as we did in this primary campaign, we need to stand up for them through the general election and every day after that.

You know, it's becoming clearer that this may be one of the most consequential elections of our lifetimes. Donald Trump and Ted Cruz are pushing a vision for America that's divisive and frankly dangerous, returning to trickle-down economics, opposing any increase in the minimum wage, restricting a woman's right to make her own health care decisions, promising to round up millions of immigrants, threatening to ban all Muslims from entering the country, planning to treat American Muslims like criminals. These things go against everything America stands for.

Source: For the complete transcript, see <u>http://www.newsweek.com/hillary-clinton-full-</u> anscript-new-york-victory-speech-450349

### DIASPORA WATCH

## Republican system 'crooked', can't defend US against China, India: Trump

Democratic presidential aspirant Bernie Sanders has challenged his party's front-runner Hillary Clinton's view on outsourcing by digging out her four-year-old interview to an Indian TV news channel in which she is seeing saying that "outsourcing" is part of India-U.S. economic ties. "Well, you know, it's been going on for many years now and its part of our economic relationship with India," Clinton told the Indian news channel on May 7, 2012. The interview video along with the relevant transcripts was distributed to media Mar. 4 by the Sanders campaign. "This new video shows Secretary Clinton says different things to different audiences about outsourcing," said Jeff Weaver, Bernie 2016 campaign manager. "In the U.S. she condemns it but when she's in India she says it has benefitted many parts of our country. Secretary Clinton should explain to the people of Michigan how they have benefited from the outsourcing of their manufacturing jobs," Weaver said. Asserting that the former Secretary of State is the only candidate in this race with a comprehensive agenda to create jobs, the Clinton campaign said Sanders should tell voters how he will create manufacturing jobs and grow the economy.

Source: Indian Express, April 21, 2016

### MEDIA REVIEW

#### Donald Trump 'promises to change image'

Donald Trump has promised to change his image, in a closed-door meeting with Republican Party leaders. The businessman, who leads the party's race to be presidential nominee, delivered his message via aides, the Associated Press news agency reports. His success in primary elections so far has set off alarm bells among those in the party anxious that his tone and policies will turn off voters. Five states go to the polls to pick their presidential candidates. Mr. Trump has a clear lead in the number of delegates but may fall short of the 1,237 threshold required to win the nomination without a contested convention - where

the nominee is chosen through negotiations among party figures. In a recording obtained by Associated Press, his senior aides told Republican leaders that he has been "projecting an image" so far and "the part that he's been playing is now evolving".

#### Source: <u>BBC,</u> 22 April, 2016

# Who's more electable: Bernie Sanders or Hillary Clinton?

The "electability" question has loomed large in discussion of the Democratic primary even though it hasn't been explicitly discussed much by the candidates. Hillary Clinton's supporters routinely raise it as a key problem with Bernie Sanders' aspirations. Sanders' supporters, meanwhile, are increasingly frustrated that their candidate gets no credit from these pundits for performing significantly better than Clinton in head-to-head polling against possible GOP contenders. But what worries the Democratic Party professionals who've rallied to Clinton's side — not just her inner circle, but the vast majority of the party's elected officials and interest group leaders, including people who are more ideologically in-sync with Bernie — isn't Sanders' *personal* standing.

Source: Vox News, 21 April, 2016

## Ted Cruz discusses jobs, security, more at Indiana GOP Spring Dinner

Hoosiers had another chance to see a Republican presidential candidate in Indianapolis. Sen. Ted Cruz stepped up his presence in Indiana ahead of the May 3 primary with his first visit to the Circle City. His visit comes just one day after Donald Trump's rally at the Indiana State Fairgrounds, and it makes him the second of three Republican presidential candidates to visit the Hoosier state. From the moment Cruz hit the ground in the Hoosier state he was vying for every vote; shaking hands, even picking up sandwiches at Shapiro's Deli in downtown Indianapolis. Cruz, realizing Indiana's 57 republican delegates will be critical in his fight against GOP front-runner Donald Trump. "The state of Indiana is going to play a pivotal role in this election. The entire country, their eyes are on the state of Indiana; the men and women in this room," said Cruz. Cruz spoke to the crowd at the annual State GOP Spring dinner. It was a room filled with a who's who of Indiana republicans. "Heidi and I are going to spend a lot of time here in Indiana, working to earn your votes; barnstorming the state, holding town halls, holding rallies, asking for your support," he said. "I was honored that he would take time to come and sit down at the Governor's residence with me," said Indiana Governor Mike Pence.

Source: Fox News, 21 April, 2016

## The digital megaphone: Now blaring anti-Muslim populism in a social media-powered election

Trump voters are predominantly white, lack college education, and mourn their exclusion in a rapidly changing America — the other extreme of the opulence you see in this picture above and they're an unprecedented disruptive force in the 2016 election. Hours after Islamic suicide bombers struck in Brussels killing 35 people, Donald Trump, a real estate magnate turned US Presidential frontrunner, did a whirlwind tour of the morning news circuit in America, working the tumult with another war cry to ban all Muslims. "This madness must be stopped. I will stop it," he wrote on his 24 hour bullhorn -Twitter, and got 14,000 retweets. He is now up to seven million plus follows. Republican voters may vary on whether Trump can govern in a crisis, but for his 'ban all Muslims' bluster, they are giving him a carte blanche. Trump's Twitter account is rising by 50,000 every day, which critics dismiss as dangerous flummery. Intuitively, Trump's real audience is much bigger than the numbers of his Facebook and Twitter handle followers because of the thousands of retweets. That doesn't mean everyone agrees.

#### Source: Observer Research Foundation, 6 April, 2016

# Donald Trump Opens \$2 Million Ad Campaign in Pennsylvania

After winning the New York primary without spending a cent on television advertising, Donald J. Trump is shifting course, releasing a new ad and spending close to \$2 million in Pennsylvania alone, according to media buyers who track primary spending. "Washington is broken," Mr. Trump says as the ad opens, dressed in a suit and red tie. "The truth is too many politicians are controlled by special interests and lobbyists." What follows is a quick laundry list of his campaign promises in a tighter, more controlled and more jobs-focused message. He promises to cut taxes, bring back jobs and save social security and medicare without cuts, among other things. The more polished ad reflects the campaign's broader shift in strategy, as the candidate looks to lock up delegates and shore up the nomination. It is also the first time Mr. Trump has spoken directly to the camera in this manner for an advertisement. Mr. Trump is also reserving advertising time in Indiana.

#### Source: New York Times 21 March, 2016

## GOP foreign policy elites don't know whether they'll serve if Trump is president

When the Republican foreign policy elite get together these days, conversation quickly veers from challenges such as the Islamic State or North Korea to focus on two questions. How has Donald Trump come so close to becoming the party's standard-bearer? If Trump were elected president, would any of them serve in his administration? "It's the only thing we can talk about," said Eliot Cohen, professor of strategic studies at Johns Hopkins University and a former George W. Bush administration official. He's answered the second question by spearheading an anti-Trump petition, which now has signatures of 121 GOP national security experts. Others are not sure how they would respond to a call from Trump. "Leaving any particular president completely alone and bereft from the best advice people could give him just doesn't sound responsible," said another former senior Republican official who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Source: Washington Post, 15 April, 2016

#### **FURTHER READING**

Daniel Twining, 'Republicans may save America from Trump, but can they save themselves?' *Observer Research Foundation*, 12 April, 2016, <u>http://www.orfonline.org/expert-speaks/republicans-</u> <u>may-save-america-from-trump-but-can-they-save-</u> <u>themselves/</u>

Trevor Trimm, 'The five foreign policy questions every candidate should be asked', *The Guardian*, 11 March, 2016,

http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/ mar/12/five-foreign-policy-questions-us-electioncandidates

John Cassidy, 'What Will Bernie Sanders and His Supporters Learn from New York?' *New Yorker*, 21 April, 2016, <u>http://www.newyorker.com/news/johncassidy/what-will-bernie-supporters-learn-from-newyork</u>

'A transcript of John Kasich's interview with The Washington Post editorial board', *Washington Post*, 20 April, 2016, <u>https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-</u> <u>partisan/wp/2016/04/20/a-transcript-of-john-kasichs-</u> interview-with-the-washington-post-editorial-board/

**Editor: Sylvia Mishra**