### **MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** INTERESTED PARTIES

**FROM:** STEPHEN DEMAURA

**SUBJECT:** STATE OF THE RACE

**DATE:** AUGUST 7, 2015

"We've gotten used to this idea in the last 40 or 50 years that only professional politicians can run for office. I don't think it's worked real well." – Carly Fiorina

Last night was the first nationally televised GOP presidential debate of the primary season. Rarely in politics will you witness a more clear debate victory than Carly's. Analysts agree and the data shows with near unanimity that she was the runaway victor and stood apart from her competitors in nearly every way. She showed clarity of vision that her opponents—career politicians—lack, and articulated why America desires a leader from outside the political class.

Carly demonstrated last night why it is imperative that we leave the narrowing of the field to voters—not to media executives, pundits, and party bosses. In an attempt to control the debate process, the Republican National Committee has created a bigger problem than the one they sought to solve. They've outsourced the voter's job of winnowing the Republican field to media executives in New York and Washington.

In a few short weeks, CNN will engage in the same widely ridiculed national polling charade we just endured. The national polling standards CNN has already announced reward celebrity and Name ID over serious campaigning in the early states and are completely unreflective of how the GOP's primary process is supposed to work. They ignore the reality that presidential primaries are a process, not an election that happens all at once, nationally.

We understand that the political class in Washington would prefer to anoint a primary victor who doesn't challenge the status quo. But the RNC debate committee needs to re-evaluate their policy and return control to where it belongs—Republican primary voters in the early voting states.

### Where Do We Stand?

Last night's debate marked the beginning of a more serious phase in the GOP's primary process. Over the next six months, before the first votes are cast, candidates will face off in at least five more debates and numerous forums and will experience many ups and downs along the way. It is unlikely that any single one of these debates or forums will be transformative on their own, but they are important first introductions to Carly on the national stage. While Carly has among the lowest Name ID of any candidate on the national stage, campaigning over the next six months, along with these nationally televised events will provide her with the name recognition necessary to compete and win when the time comes.

In a contest that includes 16 other Republican candidates—most of whom have been building their political and donor networks for years, decades, or even generations—Carly is a true political outsider, introducing herself nationally for the first time. Carly began this race with virtually zero Name ID, organization or infrastructure. Today after a few months on the trail, Carly supporters have robust organizations in Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina, and we've announced leadership teams in Colorado, Georgia, Indiana, Nevada and Delaware.

While Carly remains largely unknown to the Republican primary electorate nationwide (51% are unfamiliar with her name, and only 12% of Republicans are very familiar with her), she has a 78-13 (+65) favorability rating among those who know of her. In fact, one recent analysis noted that Carly is actually the 5<sup>th</sup> most popular candidate in this race, based on net favorability ratings.

Why? Because wherever Carly goes, she impresses. She has proven that she has the vision, knowledge and leadership that it takes not only to do the job, but also to do the job effectively.

Don't just take it from us. While most primary voters haven't yet tuned into this race, Carly is capturing the attention and imagination of those who are. Here are a few examples of what Republican and Conservative leaders have said about her performance in the campaign so far:

- "I think you're going to hear more and more from Carly. And I think she's the perfect candidate for Republicans to take on Hillary. Hillary is a formidable force against us. And I think she's really going to force Hillary to be on her toes." Rep. Mimi Walters (R-CA), MSNBC
- "You know, this Carly Fiorina, she's a sleeper...Every time I see Carly Fiorina, she is fearless out there. She's going after Hillary. She's going after the Democrats. And I think, effectively." Rush Limbaugh, The Rush Limbaugh Show

- Carly Fiorina has "turned out to be among the most prepared and interesting candidates in the GOP Race." Jennifer Rubin
- Carly Fiorina "is absolutely one of my favorite people on the trail." Laura Ingraham, The Laura Ingraham Show
- "Republicans looking for an unapologetic firebrand...should pay attention to Carly Fiorina." Colorado Springs Gazette
- Carly Fiorina is "smart, tough, and most importantly, fast on the counterpunch." Stephen Green, <u>PI Media</u>
- Carly Fiorina's "voice is just the kind that can breathe new life into the Republican Party." Eddie Zipperer, The Hill
- Carly Fiorina is "an outsider taking on conventional politics and a thinker who can actually solve problems." ACU Chairman Matt Schlapp, <u>The Washington Times</u>
- "Having spoken to a lot of people who run for high office over the years, I think
  [Carly is] way above average and up to a pretty high standard on this." Bill
  Kristol, CNN Politics
- In response to a question about ISIS "She goes through it in a way that very few other candidates in this race could. ... She's good. She's really good." Joe Scarborough, Morning Joe

These quotes speak to why, despite low Name ID and odds that are stacked against her, Carly is locked in a multi-way national tie with candidates who enjoy the benefits of nearly universal Name ID due to years or decades in politics. This includes candidates who have run for president before or served as governors or senators from some of the largest states.

## Where Does the Race Go From Here?

If the early polling and interest in this race has taught us anything, it's that primary voters are demanding a political outsider: a candidate who will fight for them and our values, but has a demonstrated track record of executive experience.

Americans are yearning for a leader like Carly. On the trail, Carly recently said that "82 percent of the American people now believe that we have a professional political class that is more focused on preserving its power and privilege than it is on doing the people's work." According to a recent *Fox News* poll, she is right. The American people strongly support electing citizen leaders like Carly Fiorina to office rather than those from the professional political class.

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Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [IF AGREE/DISAGREE: Is that strongly (agree/disagree) or only somewhat?]

 We need to recruit and support more candidates for office who are ordinary citizens rather than professional politicians and lawyers.

	Agree			Disagree			
			Some-		Some-		(Don't
	TOTAL	Strongly	what	TOTAL	what	Strongly	know)
9-12 May 15	82%	53	29	16	10	6	2

 Political leaders are more interested in protecting their power and privilege than doing what is right for the American people.

(Fox News Poll, *Fox News*, 5/13/15)

Our own internal polling supports this, too. It shows that the American people broadly—and Republican primary voters in particular—crave a conservative leader from outside the political class.

As we have seen, this race will feature numerous ups and downs for most candidates, including the traditional rise and fall of supposed "frontrunners." But as autumn nears, summer flings will fade and voters will begin to get serious about choosing their next leader.

Presidential primaries are not won on any single day, at any single debate or even in any single primary or caucus. Races are certainly not won in the summer, a year before the first votes are cast. More than 70% of New Hampshire primary voters in 2012 chose whom they supported within a month of that contest—with nearly half stating they decided during the "last few days." The early primaries and caucuses typically break late, and with a field as large as our current one, we expect that to be true once more.

One of the most basic and important truths of the presidential primary process is that survival is paramount. This race will not be won on any single day but rather by the candidate that is able to perform most consistently over the long term.

The early days of this campaign have been illuminating as to which path many campaigns will take. A number of the Republican candidates' campaigns or super PACs have already spent high six figures and seven figures on television ad buys in

the early states. Some candidates have invested heavily in national cable TV buys. These expensive ad buys are like a sugar high. We know the effects won't last, but they aren't supposed to. They are meant to prop up poll numbers, temporarily. It works to affect polls in the short term and it prompts a round of news stories about that bump, but unless they can be sustained they don't have a lasting effect.

We have developed a very different strategy. CARLY for America has a long-term view of this race. We believe that the early, pre-primary process takes far fewer resources than pundits would lead you to believe. This is why we have built our organization primarily around three areas. First, lay the foundation for future success through a systematic and data-driven approach to the ground game. Second, create content such as videos, advertisements, graphics and web platforms that engage and educate voters about who Carly is and what she stands for. Third, develop and disseminate research on Carly's glass ceiling-shattering business career, her leadership in the non-profit sector and her vision for our country.

We will not match other campaigns' ad spending dollar-for-dollar. But we don't have to. We will have enough resources to get our message out and implement a winning strategy.

# How are we Building Support for Carly?

We are laser-focused on executing a highly effective ground game in the early voting states and building a network of supporters nationally. We know our approach to field organizing works at scale. We also know that a true grassroots organizing approach has a much longer and deeper impact than early television ads do. Already, we see evidence of our deliberate, methodical effort working. Each and every day we are more confident that this is the most effective path toward the nomination for Carly.

One of the lessons we learned from Barack Obama's victory over Hillary Clinton in 2008 is that there's no substitute for effective grassroots organizing. It transcends the party establishment, the television ad buys, and the conventional wisdom of the media elites. Our approach is focused on person-to-person communication, neighbor-to-neighbor organizing and peer-to-peer endorsement. Through our "community captain" system, we hope to identify and turnout a large percentage of Carly's eventual voters. The ad buys and the social media outreach will effectively complement and propel our ground game.

With an inspiring candidate like Carly to organize for, and the enthusiastic people who are joining our team daily, we are putting together a difference-making ground game.

It is through this strategic approach and focus on the ground game that we believe

we will achieve long-term success. In the end, it's Carly's intelligence, determination and vision that will win this race. She brings a new perspective to the race, and her message resonates with voters. We have seen that voters are looking for a new voice, someone who can lead. That's what the early stages of this race show Carly is—an articulate, authentic, passionate fighter for our conservative principles.

# What Will Happen Next?

As the primary process continues and the field narrows, Carly will be well positioned to grow her support and separate herself from the pack in a smaller GOP field. The ups and downs of the campaign trail—from the forums to the debates to the cattle calls and fundraising—will winnow the field. When this happens, the candidate who is best positioned to grow her support, not the candidate who has the most support at that time, will be best positioned to win the nomination.

In order to reclaim the White House in 2016, it will take a conservative to unite the party. It will take a candidate who can appeal to the broader electorate without compromising core beliefs. And it will take a candidate who speaks to a vast majority of the nation and who wants a clean break from the career politicians that makeup the professional political class. It will take a genuine conservative candidate, like Carly Fiorina—a new type of leader—to deliver the conservative reforms we need to get our country and economy back on track.

In a field dominated by career politicians, Carly is uniquely positioned as both an articulate conservative, as well as a leader of transformational change. Carly is one of the few candidates who can unite Republican primary voters around a positive, conservative agenda. It is why we know that Carly *can* win the GOP nomination. And when she does she will not hesitate to take the fight to Hillary Clinton—the epitome of the professional political class. Clinton has spent her entire life in and around government, changing positions with whatever is most politically expedient. Republicans have no better antidote or counterpoint than Carly Fiorina.

For this and many other reasons, we remain confident that Carly Fiorina will be the next President of the United States.