

UNEXPECTED TURBULENCE IN A REFORMED PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SYSTEM: BERNIE SANDERS, DONALD TRUMP AND BEYOND*

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American presidential elections have three distinct phases: 1) primary elections and caucuses that take place between January and June; 2) national party conventions that take place in July or August [Elected delegates vote in the conventions to select a party nominee for President.]; and, 3) the general election that takes begins by custom after Labor Day (first weekend in September) and culminates on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November (November 8, 2016) with the election of members of the Electoral College who, in turn, vote for President on the Monday after the second Wednesday in December (December 19, 2016). The Electoral College votes are required to be counted on January 6 in the newly elected House of Representatives with the current Vice President presiding.

Two major reforms shape the presidential nomination process: 1) the **direct election of national convention delegates** beginning 1972, and 2) the **public funding of presidential elections** beginning 1971. When the Democratic and Republican national parties reformed their presidential candidate selection process, they gave away their most important power to their activists, the selection of nominees to

**Earlier versions of this essay were presented at the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Studies, and at the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic.*

contest the presidential election. Hence, the last political party controlled presidential nominations were those of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey (Democrat) and Richard M. Nixon (Republican) in 1968. In an effort to level the playing field, the U.S. Congress enacted a law in 1971 (modified in 1974) to publicly fund presidential elections – the first President elected under this system being Jimmy Carter in 1976.

[The public funding law GUARANTEED BALLOT ACCESS FOR THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY candidates. The law also made it relatively easy for third party candidates (e.g., Libertarian or Green Party candidates) to qualify for public funding. Minor parties candidates had to raise \$5,000 in 20 states (a total of \$100,000 in amounts of \$250 or less), but, once nominated, the minor party candidates had to contest the general election and earn 5% or more of the votes cast to receive retrospective public funding, a very difficult feat because all minor political party candidates TOGETHER historically earn fewer than 5% of the general election vote.]

THE NOMINATION PROCESS

Balloting Deadlines. ***The first filing deadline*** to get on the 2016 ballot was September 30, 2015, for the South Carolina Republican Primary that took place February 20, 2016. **The filing deadlines for 14 states were in 2015** for primary elections held between November 9 and December 30, including that for South Carolina Democrats (December 7). The filing deadlines for nearly a third (32%) of the Democratic and a quarter (22%) of the Republican delegates were **by December 30, 2015**, while the filing deadlines for half (50%) of the Democratic and a third (33%) of the Republican delegates were **by January 9, 2016**. ***Hence, it becomes impossible for a strong candidate to***

enter and compete for a major party presidential nomination once the process starts.

The first delegate elections were the **Iowa** caucuses held on February 1, 2016, and first delegates elected in primary elections were in **New Hampshire** on February 9, 2016. **Elections for roughly one third (1/3) of the Democratic and Republican National Convention delegates took place by March 8, 2016, and for half (49%) of the delegates in both political parties by March 26, 2016.** The final primary election was in District of Columbia (DC), on June 14, 2016. California and five (5) other states voted on June 7, 2016.

THE “OUTSIDER” CANDIDATES

The U.S. presidential election process is a very complicated one. The 2016 presidential election was very unusual because two “outsider” candidates, **Senator Bernie Sanders** of Vermont and **Business Mogul Donald J. Trump** of New York, took advantage of a very loose system of political party affiliation to get on the state ballots to contest the respective Democratic and Republican Party nominations for President.

Senator Bernie Sanders

Sanders, a social justice activist during the civil rights movement, began his political career when he was elected Mayor of Burlington, VT, as a **Socialist**. Subsequently, he was elected as a **Socialist** to the U.S. House of Representatives and to the U.S. Senate. He joined the Democrat Caucus in the House and Senate as an Independent to participate in the organization of the respective chambers and to receive committee assignments. Sanders, a self-described “democratic socialist,” was said to have **changed his party affiliation to Democrat in November 2015** because it was

easier to get on the election ballots of the 50 states and Washington, DC, [but the official biography on his Senate webpage never listed him as a Democrat]. In essence, he worked with congressional Democrats, but he was never one of them by party affiliation.

Once accepted as a Democrat and given the ability to enter the presidential nomination process, Sanders captured the imagination of the millennial generation, and he stayed in the presidential nomination contests from Iowa and New Hampshire to the District of Columbia largely because Democrats used a system of proportional representation (20% floor) to award national convention delegates. In doing so, he early and often *claimed that the system was rigged* against him because of the overwhelming *pledged Super Delegate support* organized by Hillary Rodham Clinton.

[Super Delegates were created in 1984 by a Democratic Party reform commission, and they have been 16% of the total number of national convention delegates since 1988. They are professional politicians – self-selected members of the U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives along with Democratic Governors and big city mayors and members of the Democratic National Committee – whose purpose was to tip the balance toward the selection of a centrist presidential candidate at the Democratic National Convention.]

When the last nomination contests were over, Hillary Clinton had received 55.23% of the votes cast by Democrats and an ABSOLUTE MAJORITY (54.43%) of the ELECTED national convention delegates. Her delegate majority increased to 59.67% when Super Delegates were included in her delegate count, making her the first woman nominated for President. Yet Bernie Sanders continued to claim that he lost to Clinton “because the system is rigged.” While he was smart enough to contest

the nomination as a Democrat rather than a minor party, e.g., Socialist [“democratic socialist”] in order to have guaranteed ballot access, **he was either unaware of the Democratic Party delegate selection reforms that created the Super Delegates in an effort to nominate an electable centrist candidate, or he simply used the “rigged” rhetoric to motivate his young supporters.** In fact, Hillary Clinton had well documented plans for the changes she would make as President while Bernie Sanders had popular proposals without substance.

Business Mogul Donald J. Trump

Donald Trump, on the other hand, was a political gadfly (long-time Democrat, then Republican, then Reform Party presidential candidate in 2000, and Democrat again) until 2012 when he changed his affiliation to Republican one more time and copyrighted the campaign slogan “**Make American Great Again.**” He prevailed in the “**rigged**” **presidential nomination system** over 16 rivals, many of whom were well known politicians with very well-funded campaigns and establishment support, largely because of the Republican Party’s nomination system (its third in three presidential elections). Early Republican contests awarded delegates by **proportional representation**, and then in March the contests changed to a “**winner-take-all**” system. Billionaire Trump’s celebrity status from his television show “The Apprentice,” successful businessman image, money, New York hutzpah and Republican Party delegate selection rules helped him rise to the top of a very crowded field of 17 candidates. He became the second businessman in history to win the presidential nomination. Trump won 44.95% of the votes cast for Republican candidates by the end of the nomination process, a percentage that translated into the election of 1,441 delegates (58.29%).

[The first businessman, also from New York City, was Wendell Willkie (a progressive) against President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) who was running for a third term in 1940. While Willkie won 45% of the popular vote, he only won 82 Electoral College Votes to FDRs 449 (85%). After some preliminary consideration, he decided not to run against FDR again in 1944.]

Trump's aggressive "take no prisoners" persona was shaped as a young man at age 27 by the feared Manhattan Attorney Roy Cohn, who was the attorney for the [U.S.] House [of Representatives] Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in its post-WWII communist witch-hunt. In his later years, Trump had honed his rhetorical skills through a seven year run as a reality TV star in "The Apprentice." He also was very adept in using social media (infamously Twitter) to communicate with Republican voters during the presidential primaries and caucuses. In many respects Trump's rivals were vanquished not only by his dominant, arrogant, crass personality that delivered fabrications of the moment when he debated his rivals but also by this infamous tweets about "Low Energy Jeb" Bush, "Lyin Ted" Cruz, "Little Marco" Rubio and "1 for 38 [40 and eventually 44] Kasich" – and by his relentless mocking of them, perhaps to insure he was at the center of media attention (free publicity). Trump also picked on Democrats "Crooked Hillary" Clinton, "Crazy Bernie" Sanders, and, most recently, "Corrupt Kaine." Were he thought he would not to win a primary state or caucus echoing Bernie Sanders, he complained that **"the system was rigged."** [Trump made the same "rigged system" accusation when his TV show, "The Apprentice," did not receive an Emmy.] *He even complained that the November 8, 2016, general election was rigged before one vote was cast!*

When the presidential nomination phase was over, Republican Donald Trump and Democrat Hillary Clinton moved on to be “certified” by their respective national conventions.

[Trump was such an unconventional candidate that the news media did not know how to report about him. Rather, they showered him with millions of dollars worth of free publicity. In effect, the news media helped create Trump, and they were his silent partners in vanquishing his Republican rivals regardless of their political pedigree, campaign war chest, or mainstream acceptability.]

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Republican, July 18 – 21, 2016 (Cleveland, OH). Prominent Republican elected officials, including former Presidents George Herbert Walker Bush and his son George W. Bush, refused to appear at Donald Trump’s Republican National Convention. The one exception was his vanquished rival Senator Ted Cruz. Trump used the convention to showcase members of his family. Trump’s wife Melania gave a prime time speech at the beginning of the convention. In doing so, she unknowingly **plagiarized** her visions for America from the 2008 Democratic convention speech given by First Lady Michelle Obama. One can still see the split screen images of Melania Trump and Michelle Obama giving near identical speeches, an image that was repeated over and over again on the national news networks. Trump was beside himself!!! He accused the news media of bias against him and took to tweeting about it.

Texas Senator Ted Cruz, still seething over Trump’s allegation that his father was involved in President John F. Kennedy’s assassination, spoke at the convention before Vice President nominee Governor Mike Pence of Indiana. Rather than bring the party

together with an expected Trump endorsement, Cruz not only still refused to endorse him, but he also not so subtly promoted himself as the 2020 Republican presidential candidate, taking nearly twice the allotted time in doing so. A furious Donald Trump unexpectedly appeared at the back of the convention hall and had his delegates shout Cruz off stage.

His convention ended up being a media bust rather than a media boost!!!

Democratic, July 25 – 28, 2016 (Philadelphia, PA). In contrast to the Republicans, Hillary Rodham Clinton had a “deep bench” of “heavy hitters” speak at her convention, e.g., her husband President Bill Clinton, popular First Lady Michelle Obama, President Barak Obama, Vice President Joe Biden, U.S. Senators Bernie Sanders (NH) and Elizabeth Warren (MA), businessman and former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg, basketball legend Kareem Abdul-Jabaar in addition to her bilingual (Spanish) Vice President nominee U.S. Senator Tim Kaine (VA). Then there were the little known Muslim–American U.S. citizens Khizr Khan and his wife Ghazala who lost their son Army Captain Humayun Khan, a decorated war hero, in Iraq. Mr. Khan, educated at Harvard Law School after immigrating to the U.S., held up a pocket copy of the U.S. Constitution and lectured candidate Trump: “Let me ask you: Have you even read the United States Constitution? I will gladly lend you my copy.” He electrified the convention. Subsequently, the Kahns were made household names by an onslaught of derogatory tweets from Donald Trump.

Bernie Sanders supporters, on the other hand, took on a life of their own as a “movement.” His delegates set out to disrupt the Democratic National Convention from its beginning to its end, and his more ardent supporters marched in the streets and organized disruptions outside the convention (all for the benefit of the media covering the

convention). Sanders urged them to unite behind Hillary Clinton in his convention speech (15 times) and not to disrupt the convention. Some did not listen. His supporters were shown protesting in the streets of Philadelphia, and his convention delegates were shown by the news media with tape over their mouths with the words “Silenced by DNC” on it and defaced “United Together” placards. Sanders had lost the confidence of his millennial supporters, many on their first venture into the political arena, because he was considered to have “sold out” to the establishment.

[Both national conventions received a \$18.2 million subsidy from the Federal Election Commission’s (FEC) “Presidential Election Campaign Fund” in addition to subventions from their host cities and states, Cleveland, OH, and Philadelphia, PA. Congress, moreover, provided an additional \$50 million for security at each convention. The cost of the 2016 Democratic National Convention was some \$84 million to come from the national party with contributions from corporations, labor unions, and wealthy individuals. The grand total to hold the Democratic National Convention, then, was approximately \$152 million. The total for the smaller Republican National Convention was approximately \$132 million, but the national party fell over \$8 million short because of the corporations (e.g., Coco-Cola, Pepsi, FedEx, United Health, Apple, Microsoft, Visa and BP) and wealthy individuals who withdrew their promised contributions because of Donald Trump’s nomination.] [Source: *The Financial Times*]

GENERAL ELECTION

Democrats, Republicans, and Others. Democratic and Republican presidential candidates have guaranteed ballot access, and they generally receive 95% or more of the votes cast for President as noted earlier. The stronger of the plethora of minor political parties are the Libertarian Party (1% or less of the vote since 1972) and Green Party (<1% of the vote since 1996). The Libertarian Party was on the presidential ballots of 48 states and Washington, DC, in 2012 and all 50 states plus Washington, DC, in 2016. The Green Party, on the other hand, was on the ballot in 36 states plus Washington, DC, in 2012 and only 21 states 2016. While the Libertarian and Green Party presidential candidates did qualify for public funding, it was very unlikely they would receive the required 5% to trigger the award of full public funding [**All of the minor party candidates together earned 1.5% in 2012**] or have an impact on the 2016 presidential election. With that said, Ralph Nader (Green Party) did deprive Vice President Al Gore of enough votes in Florida to make him lose its Electoral College votes and cost him the presidential election regardless of the fact that he won a majority of the popular vote.

In many respects, the seeds for a downward spiral for the **Trump Campaign** began during the nomination phase of the presidential election (Republican primary elections and caucuses) because of his mean-spirited characterizations of and fabrications about his 16 rivals for the nomination; because of his advocacy to build a wall between Mexico and the U.S. to keep Mexicans (rapists, murderers, thieves) out of the country and to have Mexico pay for it; because of his advocacy for banning all Muslims from entering the U.S.; because of his promise to deport all immigrants from the country, and because of his continual derogatory crude comments about women.

Then there was the Democratic National Convention. Trump unnecessarily picked a fight with the Khan family, perhaps because they were Muslim. They were a “Gold Star” family, meaning that they lost a family member in a military action. This twitter fight only riled up military veterans and turned many of them against him, especially since the Kahn’s son was *posthumously* awarded Bronze Star and Purple Heart medals for sacrificing himself to save the soldiers under his command. It also solidified the Muslim community against him. Additionally, he picked a fight with 1996 Miss Universe Alicia Machado (from Venezuela) belittling her because she gained a little weight, Trump continually called her “Miss Piggy” or “Miss Housekeeping.” She had to have therapy for five years to deal with Trump’s continual barrage of insults, insults that led to medical problems. A guest of Hillary Clinton at the First Presidential Debate, no wonder Ms. Machado, now a U.S. citizen, campaigned for Clinton against Trump in the Hispanic community. Subsequently, Donald Trump unleashed a flurry of lies and tweets demeaning Machado, making him no friends with women voters.

Between the first and second presidential debates, two bombshells dropped on Donald Trump. An anonymous individual mailed the first page of Trump’s filed Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York **1995 state income tax forms** to *The New York Times* in a Trump Tower envelope. *The Times* located the accountant who filed them for Trump and verified that they were real. It then hired tax accountants to analyze them. Bottom line, Donald Trump lost \$916 million on his three Atlantic City, NJ, casinos, Trump Airline, and Plaza Hotel in Manhattan, so he took tax losses and paid **NO FEDERAL INCOME TAXES for at least 18 years.** [Subsequently, *The Times* reported in a very long analysis that Trump was advised not to take the tax loss because it was sure to be denied in an audit. He ended up stretching the tax code provision and taking the loss anyway, loss that is illegal today. As Trump said in the second debate “That

makes me smart” while still refusing to release his federal income tax documents. What was he continuing to hide? At the same debate, he stated “Warren Buffett [a Clinton supporter] took a massive deduction.” A short time later, Warren Buffett released his 2015 personal federal income tax forms showing that he paid \$1,845,557 million in federal taxes!

The second bombshell, published in *The Washington Post* and aired on NBC News on October 7, was Donald Trump’s taped graphic conversation with Billy Bush, host of NBC’s “Access Hollywood,” about abusing women. He is heard telling Bush that he is “automatically attracted to beautiful women – I just start kissing them, it’s like a magnet . . . and when you are a star, they let you do it. You can do anything. . . . Grab ’em by the p***y.” Though newly married to Melania, he goes on to tell how he tried but failed to seduce a married woman that he took furniture shopping. He was admonished by the leadership of the Republican Party and distanced by his party’s candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. Billy Bush and NBC parted ways. Trump threatened those who withdrew their support of his presidential candidacy and actually scared some into coming back fearful of electoral defeat at the hands of Trump’s core supporters. Trump tried to diffuse the controversy that lasted more than two weeks as “locker room talk,” but athletes said otherwise. Then at least 12 women who he had abused over the years kept coming forward to describe what he did to them, **confirming that his conversation caught on tape was anything but “locker room talk.”**

As retribution, Trump took the “town hall” style second presidential debate into the gutter by focusing on the indiscretions of former President Bill Clinton rather than candidate Hillary Clinton. A major problem with both presidential debates, moreover, was the fact that Trump fabricated his answers to questions and had no evidence to back up

his assertions whether they were about his income taxes, derogatory or demeaning behavior with women, having Hillary Clinton investigated again over her erased emails and locked up, radical Islamic terrorists, support for the war in Iraq (both Clinton and Trump supported it), Russian hackers, affordable health care for all Americans, humanitarian aid for Syrians, support for women's rights, etc. You name it; Trump lied about it.

The final debate was more of the same although Clinton unexpectedly turned Trump's own tactics back on him, e.g., Russian President Vladimir Putin has a "clear favorite in this race. ... [He] would prefer a puppet as president of the United States." Responded Trump, "You're the puppet." She accused Trump of "crying 'crocodile tears'" about American workers while using Chinese steel on his construction projects. She reiterated the fact that Trump favored the Iraq war – "Google Donald Trump Iraq." His response "Wrong." Asked about accepting the results of the election, Trump, continued to complain about a "rigged" election system, and said "I will look at it at the time." Clinton called his position "horrifying." The most memorable phrases in the debate came from Trump – "**bad hombres**" when speaking about immigration and "**such a nasty woman**" when Clinton tweaked him about avoiding taxes.

Clinton Email Messages. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) confirmed that high-level operatives in the Russian government sanctioned the hacking of the Democratic National Committee and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee which supports Democratic House candidates, and there was a strong suspicion that they also were responsible for hacking Hillary Clinton's campaign manager John Podesta (confirmed after the election). The hacked email messages eventually were given to WikiLeaks, and they were systematically released in an attempt to damage

Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign [There was no love lost between Hillary Clinton and President Vladimir Putin.] From published news reports, Clinton was caught off guard when Senator Bernie Sanders challenged her for the nomination, and she had indecision on how to refocus her campaign. Others showed her as a political realist when she was Secretary of State, e.g., willing to push back on Russia. [The Obama Administration through Vice President Joe Biden vowed it would act in kind for the hacking.] Others showed her as an affable, relaxed, quick-witted, analytic establishment politician when speaking before Wall Street executives in Goldman Sachs symposia, and some also showed the entanglement between her as Secretary of State (and her high level administrative staff) and either the Clinton Foundation or post-State Department business dealings. On balance, the leaked email messages, while uncomfortable, did not damage Hillary Clinton's campaign, and some even put her in a very favorable light.

[Ecuador, moreover, cut off WikiLeaks Julian Assange's access to the internet at its London Embassy on October 18 because it did not want to be responsible for influencing the presidential campaign.]

Clinton's erased email messages just refused to go away. She thought the issue was behind her when FBI Director James B. Comey grudgingly exonerated her back in July. That was until they surfaced again in an unrelated FBI investigation into illicit text messages to a 15-year-old North Carolina girl. The FBI found a trove of Clinton email messages on former U.S. Representative Anthony Weiner's (estranged husband of top aide Huma Abedin) seized laptop. Twelve days before the election ***and without any knowledge of their content***, FBI Director Comey appeared to rush to judgement when he wrote a letter about the email messages to relevant House of Representatives committee chairs (Republican) and ranking members (Democrats), causing an immediate

firestorm about influencing the rapidly approaching presidential election. **The damage was done** regardless of the fact that FBI Director Comey released a second letter nine days later (now, three days before the election) exonerating Hillary Clinton a second time because they were either duplicates of messages already examined by the FBI or personal exchanges.

The leaked Clinton email messages involving Senator Bernie Sanders cost U.S. Representative Debbie Wasserman Schultz (FL) the chairmanship of the Democratic National Convention. Another leak cost Democratic National Party Interim Chair Donna Brazile her consultant position at CNN.

News Media Endorsements. Presidential candidate endorsements from both the mainstream press and electronic media overwhelmingly endorsed Hillary Rodham Clinton over Donald J. Trump. The *Atlantic* magazine endorsed only three presidential candidates in its 159-year history: Abraham Lincoln in 1860, Lindon B. Johnson in 1964, and, now, Hillary Rodham Clinton in 2016, calling Trump “a demagogue. a xenophobe, a sexist, a know-nothing and a liar!” *USA Today* had never made an endorsement until 2016 when it ran a full page editorial “Don’t vote for Trump” on September 30. Newspapers that never before supported a Democrat for President endorsed Clinton: *The Dallas Morning News*, *The Arizona Republic* (first Democrat in its 126 year history), *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, and *San Diego Union-Tribune* (first Democratic endorsement since 1868). Clinton also received endorsements from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the Columbia, SC, *State*, and the *Houston Chronicle*. According to *Mother Jones*, which tracked newspaper endorsements, Clinton had 41, Johnson (Libertarian) 7, and Trump 1, as of November 5 (Online, November 7). [There were seven additional Johnson endorsements from right-leaning publications including

the *Chicago Tribune*, *Detroit News*, and Manchester, NH, *Union Leader*.] **But the real question is: Are print media editorial endorsements influential in the age of social media and fake news spread on the internet (e.g., Facebook and bogus websites)?**

From the perspective of 20/20 hindsight, the answer provided by the 2016 presidential election questions the value of traditional print media editorial endorsements, as does President Donald Trump who has more than an affinity for social media and hyperbole.

The Candidates. What did the voting public know about Republican Donald J. Trump and Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton?

Donald J. Trump:

- Brags about his business skills and wealth, but he is nothing more than a failed businessman in his early career, having lost nearly \$1 billion on his three Atlantic City, NJ, casinos, Trump Airline, and Plaza hotel in Manhattan;
- His wealth, if he really has any [It cannot be determined because he refuses to release his federal income tax records.] comes at the expense of federal taxes and government subsidies for many of his building projects;
- He uses his tax exempt Donald J. Trump Foundation to shield income from taxation and appears to use it like a personal checkbook without contributing any funds to it since 2009;
- He used his now failed Trump University to enhance his wealth at the expense of “students” who enrolled in it [federal loans passed through as tuition to Trump himself];
- He was a womanizer and serial sexual predator;

- He was prejudiced against Mexicans [build a wall], Muslims [bar all of them from entering the country], and blacks;
- He was enamored with Russian President Vladimir Putin and his authoritarian, aggressive control of “democratic” Russia;
- He was a vacuous vicious arrogant bully who gets his way through threats (lawsuits) and character assassination (especially with tweets);
- He was destroying (and, as President, continues to destroy) U.S. citizen’s belief in and support for the democratic process, including honest and fair elections, and
- The most important person in his life was Donald J. Trump.

Hillary Rodham Clinton:

- was smart, ambitious, and decisive;
- was calm, cool, and collected under pressure both in office and in political debates;
- was a dedicated public servant – First Lady, two term U.S. Senator representing New York, and Secretary of State in the first Obama term – who would work to make the lives of all U.S. citizens better;
- was tenacious team player [bowed out to Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential nomination process but came back again in 2016];
- had a tendency against transparency in her political decisions; and
- was a pragmatic establishment political centrist.

JUDGEMENT DAY

Tuesday, November 8, 2016. Hillary Rodham Clinton became the fourth Democratic candidate to receive the most votes cast for President by a substantial

margin of 2,860,107 (48.1% to Republican Trump's 46.0%) only to lose the presidential election in the Electoral College because of the distribution of her votes among the several states and the Washington, DC (Trump received 306 Electoral College votes [56%] to Clinton's 232 [44%]). [The other Democrats who received more popular votes than their Republican opponents only to lose the election in the Electoral College were Vice President Al Gore (2000), Grover Cleveland (1888) and Samuel J. Tilden (1876); all were popular vote wins by close margins.] Although Trump was the most unpopular presidential candidate in the history of public opinion polling (61% unfavorable to Clinton's 52% in the Gallup Poll conducted November 2-5, 2016.), he won the election nonetheless despite all of his negatives. Why?

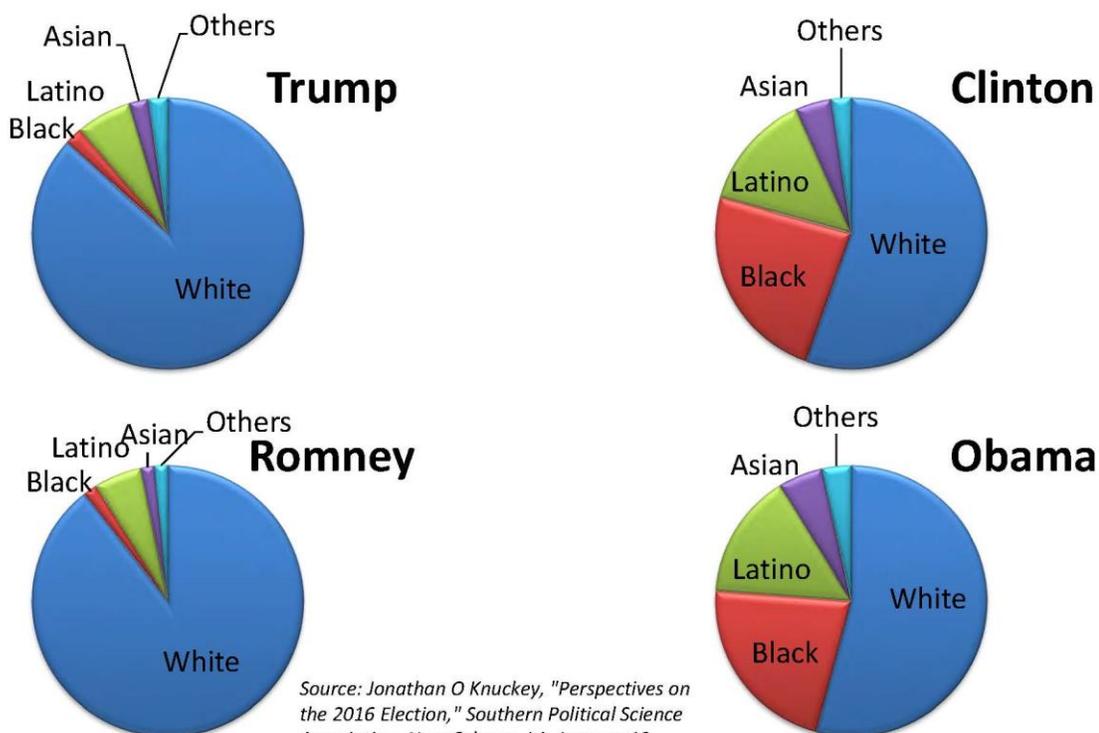
Further Reflection. Did Hillary Clinton end up losing the election because her well-financed and well-organized army of supporters and volunteers could not turn out her potential supporters (55.6% of the age eligible population voted in 2016 versus 58.6% in the 2012 and 62.2% in the 2008 Obama elections)? Clinton, herself, attributes her narrow loss to FBI Director James B. Comey's rush to inform Congress (and the American public by extension), against U.S. Department of Justice policy and senior staff advice, about a new but unread trove of emails found on former U.S. Representative Anthony Weiner's laptop computer. Clinton's "basket of deplorables" comment about Trump's supporters certainly did not help her. In fact, the widely publicized comment may have galvanized and energized those with that tag to vote for Trump. Then there was the Bernie Sanders phenomenon. Sanders was permitted to run in the Democratic Party presidential nomination contests despite the fact he was a self-proclaimed "democratic socialist" rather than a Democrat, and he proved to be more than a passing phenomenon. He, in fact, created a reform movement (largely populated by millennials) that he lost control of about the time of the Democratic National Convention. Then there

was the Russian government sanctioned email hacking of the Democratic National Committee, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and Clinton Campaign Chair John Podesta, and the systematic release of the hacked emails by WikiLeaks in the last weeks of the presidential campaign.

Where did the disaffected voters go? Some did not vote. Others may have gravitated to Libertarian Gary Johnson or Green Jill Stein who respectively received 3.28% and 0.98% of the vote or to one of the other minor party candidates who together received 1.64% of the vote. **[Voter turnout was 3% lower in 2016 than in the 2012, but the minor party candidates received about 3.5 percentage points more of the votes cast in 2016.]**

National Exit Poll. National Exit Poll data for 2016 and 2012 show that the

The Future: White Identity Republicans v Multi-Racial Democrats



Source: Jonathan O Knuckey, "Perspectives on the 2016 Election," Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 13, 2017, National Exit Polls, 2016 and 2012.

voter coalitions for Republican Donald Trump and Democrat Hillary Clinton in 2016 were not that much different from those for Barak Obama and Mitt Romney in 2012 as shown by Jonathan Knuckey (above). In a few words, the Republican voter coalitions remain mostly white while the Democratic voter coalitions remain diverse. Disproportionate shares of minority voters cast ballots for Clinton (Blacks 88%, Hispanics/Latinos and Asians (both 65%)), but Trump garnered a disproportionate majority of votes from white men (63%) **and** white women (52%). Clinton only received 37% of the total white vote to Trump's 58%. Trump, moreover, received 21% of the vote from non-whites! While 52% of Clinton's voters held college degrees, 52% of Trump's voters did not. To add insult to injury, Trump received 9% of the votes from respondents who reported that they were Democrats and 10% from those who considered themselves liberal, enough votes to make a difference in this hard fought election. Respondents who considered foreign policy the most important issue (60%) were with Clinton as was a narrow majority with economic concerns (52%). In contrast, those reporting to have voted for Trump considered immigration (64%) or terrorism (57%) to be the most important issue facing the country.

CONCLUSION

Was there unexpected turbulence in a reformed presidential election system? Indeed. The Democratic and Republican Parties each had their insurgent candidates, Senator Bernie Sanders and Businessman Donald J. Trump. Both led political movements against the establishment and its election standard-bearers, but Sanders lost control of his reform movement of millennials while Trump went on to become elected President with his working class white base of support. Yes, the presidential election was "rigged," but the Founding Fathers rigged it some 228 years ago when they established the Electoral College for the election of the President, perhaps to insure that the

“establishment” of the time and the states kept control of the election process. [A Gallup Poll conducted January 8-9, 2013, found 63% of those surveyed in favor a law that would replace the controversial Electoral College with direct popular vote.]

Ironically, it was the Democratic Party rather than the often-cited Republican Party that was pulled apart in the 2016 presidential election. Donald J. Trump became the first businessman in United States history to win the Office of President, and in 2017 he will have put in place the last pieces for unified institutions of government (President, Senate, House of Representatives, and the Supreme Court) under Republican control. Moreover, Republicans extended the breadth and depth of their control over state governments in the election. Republican control of the Offices of Governor *and* both chambers of state legislatures expanded by four additional states for a total to 24 (48%). Moreover, the party controlled the Offices of Governor in 12 additional states for a grand total 72%, and it controlled both chambers of state legislatures in an additional seven states for a grand total of 31 (62%)!

While Hillary Clinton lost the presidential election for any number of reasons in spite of the fact that her candidate committee outspent Donald Trump’s by 2 to 1 (\$498 to \$248 million), the big loser in the 2016 presidential election was the United States of America, both at home with sanctioned prejudice and in the community of nations. *The New York Times* bold print masthead on November 10, 2016, read “**ESTABLISHMENT IS SHAKEN AFTER TRUMP VICTORY.**” Can the new President and the old establishment come together to “Make American Great Again,” especially under the cloud of widespread email hacking sanctioned by the Russian government in an effort to tilt the election to Donald Trump?