



TOM CRONIN
AND
BOB LOEVY
IN THE NEWSPAPERS
2010-2016

INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 2016 two professors of Political Science at Colorado College, Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy, were offered the opportunity to write periodic opinion columns for the local newspaper – the *Colorado Springs Gazette*. This launched a longtime project of the two professors writing for the newspaper for a number of years.

Previously Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy had written together for the *Denver Post*, but only periodically. They also collaborated on a book on government and politics in Colorado.

This book is a collection of the newspaper stories Cronin and Loevy wrote for the *Denver Post* and the *Colorado Springs Gazette* in the years 2010-2016. This book offers the opportunity to read the facts, ideas, and opinions of two scholars of Colorado politics all in one place for the calendar years 2010-2016.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. The Strong-Mayor Form of Government	9
2. How Colorado Went Purple	11
3. Resolved for 2013: To Make a Better Colorado	16
4. Recall Politics 2013	19
5. Colorado: Less Religious, More Democratic	23
6. The Recall of State Senator John Morse	26
7. Colorado 2014: Political Prospects	30
8. The Six-Year Pushback – How Big a Factor?	33
9. Governors and Ballot Issues	38
10. Mail-In Presidential Primary for Colorado?	41
11. Mayor-Elect John Suthers: Many Challenges Face the New Mayor of Colorado Springs	44
12. On Initiative 55: The Proposed Redistricting Amendment	48
13. Why Iowa Votes First and Colorado Watches	52
14. New Hampshire Primary Voters: The “Electoral Aristocrats” of the Presidential Nominating Process	56

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

15. How Colorado Lost its Prime Spot in the Primary Elections	60
16. The Third Phase of the Nominating Process	64
17. Gov. John Hickenlooper: Unwrapped and Available	67
18. A Lopsided U.S. Senate Race in Colorado?	70
19. Messy but Done: The 2016 Presidential Primaries	73
20. Will There Be Any Surprises at This Year’s Conventions?	76
21. Politically Homeless in Colorado: Trump Could Be “The Final Straw” For Colorado’s Moderate Republicans	79
22. Do Away with Primaries and Caucuses	83
23. Think Twice Before Embracing the Libertarian Ticket	87
24. Presidential Debates – Watch for “Gaffes” and Zingers”	90
25. If Trump Wants to Win Colorado, He Must Slow Democrats’ Dominance in Denver	94
26. Clarifying Colorado Ballot Issues	97
27. How Colorado Counties Will Vote on November 8	103
28. If You Are Not Living in a Swing State, You Are Not Having a Presidential Election	106

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

29. Childhood Memories of Pearl Harbor Day and World War Two	111
30. Three Counties Cost Trump	115

Unknown
3-5-2010

THE STRONG-MAYOR FORM OF GOVERNMENT

By Bob Loevy

The time has come for we the citizens of Colorado Springs to trade in our old “weak Mayor” form of government for a new “strong Mayor” form.

The problem lies in the shortcomings of the weak Mayor form. Our Mayors bear the title of Mayor, but they possess none of the powers usually associated with that high office.

Our weak Mayor is little more than the chairperson of a nine-member City Council. Our weak Mayor has no executive powers and thus is no better than any other member of City Council at being able to solve city problems and provide civic leadership.

When it comes to shaping policy in Colorado Springs, our weak Mayor has but one vote out of nine as City Council tries to lead the city forward.

I like to say that our weak Mayor has the *responsibility* to properly govern our city but only one-ninth of the political power to do the job.

I have great respect for those individuals who have served as Mayor of Colorado Springs in the past.

Leaders such as Eugene McCleary, Andy Marshall, Larry Ochs, Bob Isaac, Mary Lou Makepiece, and the present Mayor Lionel Rivera, have given long hours for no or little pay to bring good government to our city.

The weak Mayor form of government works well in smaller cities with homogenous populations and only routine functions, such as street paving and putting up streetlights, to challenge city government.

Weak Mayor breaks down, however, when cities begin to grow in population and become more diverse in character. Suddenly it is a long drive

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

from one part of town to another (say from Skyway, in southwest Colorado Springs, to Briargate and the new subdivisions north and east of there).

Various sections of the city become different from one another, and a single popularly-elected executive official, a strong Mayor, is required to bring the now-varied political elements in the city together to solve citywide problems.

The major reason I support a strong Mayor for Colorado Springs, however, is that, under the weak Mayor system, voters do not directly participate in selecting the top executive official in Colorado Springs.

The voters are forced to sit on the sidelines while the nine-member council, often parochial and polarized, struggles to solve citywide problems.

A strong Mayor, on the other hand, would be the voters' directly-elected representative operating the executive branch of city government. The strong Mayor would have the influence required to bring differing groups in the city together to achieve civic progress.

We only need to look north to the city of Denver to see a strong-Mayor city government at work in Colorado.

Denver's strong Mayors, directly elected by the voters, have complete control of the executive branch of city government.

They thus have been able to provide the leadership to bring about such excellent city projects as Denver International Airport (DIA) and the Colorado Convention Center (in downtown Denver).

Projects such as these have benefitted all Coloradans, not just citizens of Denver.

So, Colorado Springs voters, now is the time for us to take direct voter control of the executive branch of Colorado Springs city government. Vote to amend the City Charter to replace the present weak-Mayor form of government with the directly-elected strong-Mayor form.

Bob Loevy teaches Local Government classes at Colorado College. He is a former member of the City Planning Commission and two City Charter Commissions.

Denver Post
11-29-2012

HOW COLORADO WENT PURPLE

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Colorado for a generation or two was known as a fairly predictable Republican state for both U.S. presidential and Colorado state legislature elections. This has, as is now well-known, changed.

Colorado is now most assuredly a purple political state, evenly balanced between Republican red and Democratic blue.

President Barack Obama has won Colorado twice. We were the only “swing state” with a Democratic governor and two Democratic U.S. senators. Both our state legislative chambers now are solidly Democratic. Some observers have been saying that Colorado is no longer a red state at all but is now a deep Democratic blue.

We disagree. In our view, neither political party has a lock on Colorado. Our state may have been the one that statistically put Obama over the top on the 270 electoral votes he needed to win the presidency on November 6th, 2012, but Colorado was the 4th closest partisan state race among all 50 states, right after Florida, Ohio, and Virginia.

Prior to the election, Colorado was one of the hardest states for pollsters to predict, and that was true right up through election day.

The Democrats have won six of the 13 major elected offices in Colorado (governor, two U.S. senators, three members of the U.S. House of Representatives), but the Republicans have won seven. In the last two years, Colorado Republicans have elected or re-elected the state Attorney General, the state Treasurer, the state Secretary of State, and four members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The Republicans winning four of the seven seats in the U.S. House of Representatives in 2012 is particularly notable in light of the fact the Democrats were described in the news media as controlling the redistricting process for the U.S. House following the 2010 U.S. Census.

Moreover, Republicans continue to enjoy a slight voter registration advantage over Democrats in Colorado. At the close of registration prior to the 2012 presidential election, 33.9 percent of active voters registered as Republicans, 32.7 percent registered unaffiliated, and only 32.3 percent registered Democratic. At that time there were 40,744 more active registered Republicans than active registered Democrats (912,456 active Republicans, 882,063 active unaffiliated voters, and 871,712 active Democrats).

As political scientists, we are fascinated by the fact that, despite the recent Democratic election victories in Colorado in recent years, the active voter registration figures for the state have remained decidedly unchanged (about 1/3 Republican, 1/3 unaffiliated, and 1/3 Democratic). If a real shift to the Democrats was taking place in Colorado, we believe there would be at least some sign of a change in the figures for active registered voters.

Colorado Republicans have a strong base of support at the county level. It is true that Denver and Boulder counties, and the ski counties on the Western Slope, are solidly blue for the Democrats. It is also true that El Paso (Colorado Springs), Douglas (Castle Rock), and Weld (Greeley) counties are still red for the Republicans. The Republicans also enjoy strong support on the agricultural Eastern Plains of Colorado and in the farming and ranching counties on the Western Slope.

Since the turn of the 21st Century, the “battleground” counties between the Democrats and the Republicans in Colorado have been Jefferson (Golden), Arapahoe (Littleton), and Larimer (Fort Collins) counties. They went strongly for Barack Obama and the Democrats in 2008 and 2012, but they remain “battleground” counties, fully capable of swinging back to the Republicans.

In short, the Republicans still have a large and lively active base of supporters in Colorado that could anchor a Republican return to power if the

political winds in both the nation and the state should start to shift against the Democrats. Moreover, Republicans are more likely to make gain in non-presidential years when fewer Democratic voters show up at the polls.

Here are our four major reasons for why Colorado has swung so heavily Democratic at this time:

- By being anti-abortion and opposed to same-sex marriage, the Republicans have been driving upscale and well-educated voters out of their party and over to the Democrats.
- Democrats have become equally or more adept than Republicans at raising money, recruiting electable candidates, and micro-targeting various voter groups, such as minorities and young voters, and getting them to vote their way.
- Democrats, such as former-Governor Roy Romer, Governor John Hickenlooper, and U.S. Senator Michael Bennet, have worked hard to present themselves as “Chamber of Commerce Democrats,” thus making themselves acceptable to the upscale and well-educated voters who recently have been voting Democratic.
- Hispanics are a fast-growing voter group in Colorado, and Democrats are doing a good job so far of winning their support, particularly when Republicans take hardline stands on immigration issues.

Compare county voting behavior in the 2004 presidential election, the last time the Republicans won Colorado, with the way the various counties voted in the 2012 presidential election, which was a somewhat narrow victory for the Democrats.

In this comparison, we are measuring the number of marginal votes that shifted from Republican to Democratic in each county:

As expected, the biggest shift of votes from 2004 to 2012 was in Denver County, which shifted 43,772 more votes towards the Democrats. Close behind was Arapahoe County, with 30,414 marginal votes going from Republican to Democratic, and then Jefferson County sending 27,195 votes in the direction of the Democrats.

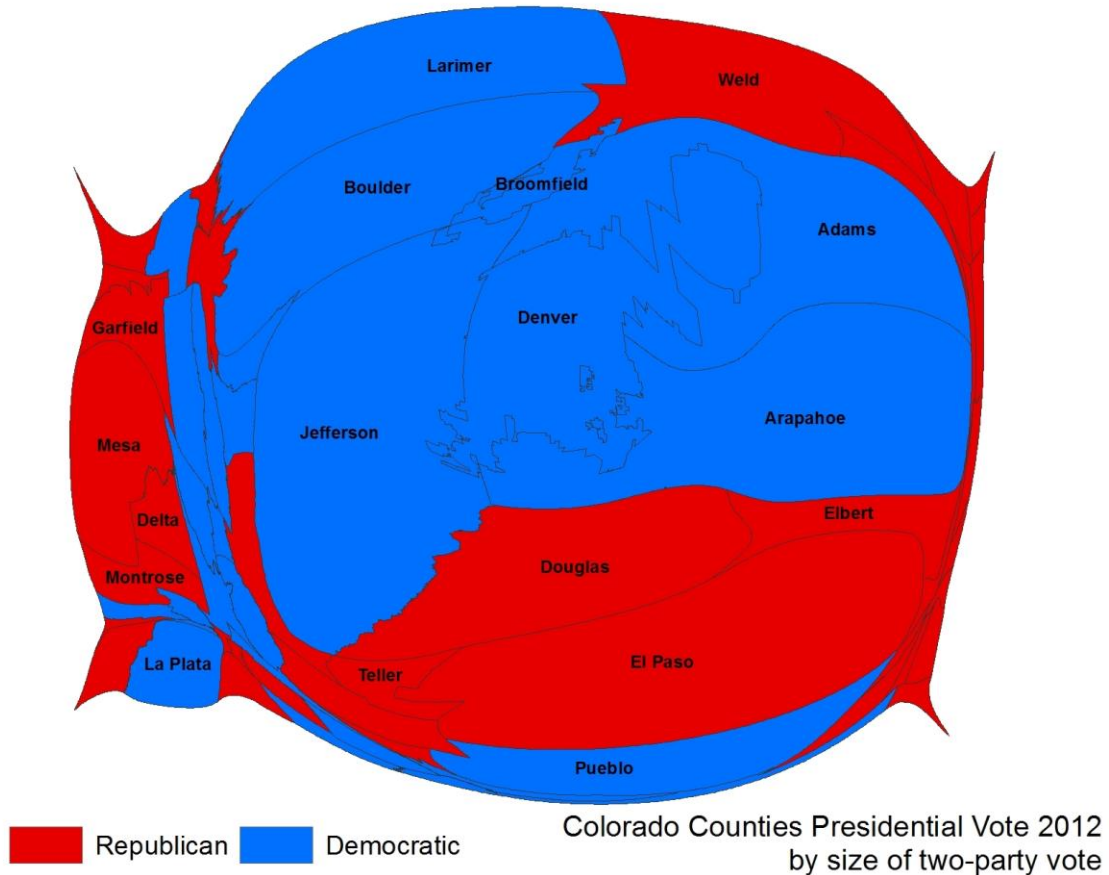
The marginal vote shift to the Democrats from 2004 to 2012 was not confined to traditionally Democratic counties, such as Denver, or to “battleground” counties such as Arapahoe and Jefferson. In El Paso County, the traditional Republican stronghold in Colorado, the vote margin shifted 24,883 toward the Democrats. The Republicans still won El Paso County in 2012, but by nowhere near the vote margin of 2004, and those were votes the Republicans badly need to win statewide.

And where in Colorado did vote margins from 2004 to 2012 shift from Democratic to Republican? That happened mainly in predominantly rural counties outside the Denver metropolitan area. Elbert County shifted 1,051 votes toward the Republicans, as did Mesa County (Grand Junction) with a 664 vote Republican shift.

The adjoining map, which sizes Colorado counties according to the total votes each county cast for Barack Obama and Mitt Romney, shows there are almost equal amounts of blue for the Democrats and red for the Republicans.

Recent Democratic gains at the county level in Colorado have been statistically impressive. Yet we do not believe they have gone far enough to make Colorado a Democratic blue state rather than a “battleground” purple state. Attractive, agile, adaptive, and well-financed candidates from either major political party can win in Colorado.

Tom Cronin, a Democrat, and Bob Loevy, a Republican, are Colorado College political scientists. They are co-authors of the just published “Colorado Politics and Policy: Governing a Purple State” (Nebraska, 2012), available in paperback and as an e-book.



This map sizes each of Colorado’s 64 counties according to the total vote cast in each county for the Democratic and Republican candidates for U.S. president in 2012. Note that Democratic strength is concentrated mainly in the Denver metropolitan area, with some outside support in Hispanic Southern Colorado and the ski counties on the Western Slope. Republican voters are mainly found in El Paso, Weld, and Douglas counties as well as on the Eastern Plains and in non-ski counties on the Western Slope.

Denver Post
12-21-2012

**RESOLVED FOR 2013:
TO MAKE A BETTER COLORADO**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

It is time for New Year's Resolutions for Coloradans and Colorado's elected officials. Here are a few from two longtime students of Colorado politics.

Before we start, Colorado's elected officials have their hands and plates full as they begin New Year 2013. We wish them well on creating new jobs, recruiting new companies, enacting immigration and civil union reforms, enforcing clean air and water laws, figuring out how to pay for a high-quality education system, making it harder for gun tragedies to occur, and much more.

Our proposals may seem modest in contrast to that agenda, but the following New Year's resolutions will help, we believe, make our state a more effective constitutional republic:

* Require 60 percent of the public vote rather than a simple majority to approve amendments to the state constitution.

Colorado's constitution is the third longest in the United States and it just got several pages longer this past November. It is too easy to rewrite the state constitution here.

The state constitution should be a place for basic ideals and established government structures. A 60-percent vote requirement would help make the state constitution about enduring principles rather than contemporary political reforms.

* Raise the salaries of the governor and the state attorney general to \$200,000 per year each. That sounds like a lot of money, but it is only 10

percent of the salary being paid to Mitch MacIntyre, the University of Colorado's new football coach. Colorado's governor is currently paid \$90,000 annually and the attorney general even less, although the attorney general presides over what is the largest and most important law firm in Colorado.

* The salaries of state legislators should be raised from the current \$30,000 annually to \$75,000.

Why should lobbyists and top state administrative officials be paid five times or more what legislators receive? Let's keep in mind that the legislators are the ones who represent us, the voters.

The job of the state legislator is increasingly full-time, even though the legislature is only in regular session from January to May.

* Upgrade campaign donor transparency and accountability laws.

Big money and select campaign cabals have increasingly taken over the financing of election campaigns in Colorado – overshadowing candidates and political parties.

Campaign finance reforms have largely failed in Colorado. Money, like water from the Rocky Mountains, finds its way around all obstacles and flows in large amounts into Colorado political races.

“Fat Cat” money invested in our election campaigns needs to be fully, quickly, and publicly accounted for so voters can easily understand who is giving the money and to which candidates it is going.

* Raise the compulsory retirement age for Colorado justices and judges to 77 years from 72 years. The 72-year standard was specified nearly 50 years ago. Life expectancy has since increased by several years, and effective professional jurists – who are subject to periodic elections anyway – should be encouraged to extend their careers in public office.

* Modify the Taxpayer's Bill of Rights (TABOR) to include a workable formula that takes into account economic cycles.

In their present form, TABOR revenue limits are tied only to population growth and inflation. Revenue limits should also be tied to the

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

economy so that state government can raise more money during economic downturns, and then spend that money to create more jobs.

* Provide for a Colorado Commission on Fiscal Responsibility that will be appointed by the governor and the state legislature every five or six years. This fiscal group should be modeled after the 2010 Simpson-Bowles National Debt Reduction Commission, co-chaired by Alan Simpson, a Republican, and Erskine Bowles, a Democrat.

The Fiscal Responsibility Commission would be charged with examining state taxing, spending, governmental operations, and projected revenue streams. It will keep an especially close eye on state government efficiency, effectiveness, fairness, and fiscal responsibility.

A big part of the commission's job will be to resolve conflicts between various state financial requirements embedded in the state constitution.

* Make it a statewide priority to encourage more entrepreneurial innovation in Colorado while decreasing the growing income inequality in the state. These two aspirations will require enormous creativity and leadership – and will only come about from long-term collaboration and planning from both public and private sector leaders.

* Do we ask too much of our fellow citizens and elected leaders? Sure we do, but this state is blessed by uncommonly talented people along with our breathless vistas and unmatched natural resources.

Go for it, Colorado!

Thomas E. Cronin, a Democrat, and Robert D. Loevy, a Republican, are both political scientists at Colorado College in Colorado Springs.

Denver Post
7-23-2013

RECALL POLITICS 2013

Thomas E. Cronin

Recall is a procedural democratic device that allows voters to discharge and replace an elected official. At least nineteen states provide for recall at the state level and most states permit recall of local officials.

Coloradans, by citizen initiative, amended their Constitution in 1912 to permit it here (it was approved by a vote of 53,620 to 39,564). Scores of recall elections at the local level have been held in Colorado in the past hundred years.

In North Dakota and California, two governors have been recalled. In Wisconsin, Governor Scott Walker survived an ideologically stormy recall attempt. Arizona, California, Idaho, Michigan, Oregon, Washington and Wisconsin have had recall elections for state legislators – about thirty of them, with about half of them resulting in recalled legislators replaced by someone in the opposition party.

But no Coloradans at the state level have ever been recalled. Until now we have never had a state official subject to a recall election.

Colorado school boards and local government have held dozens of recall elections in places like Basalt, Colorado Springs, Cortez, Cripple Creek, Fort Collins, Grand Junction, Hot Sulphur Springs, Marble, Pueblo and Woodland Park. The small cities of Center, Gilcrest, and Lochbuie had recall elections this year.

Center's mayor and two councilmen were recalled but remain in office pending litigation about the election. Trinidad, in 2012, recalled a councilman, and the prospect of a recall election there encouraged their

mayor to resign. The mayor of Williamsburg also resigned when faced with the possibility of a recall election.

Local officials in Colorado have won retention more often than not in recent years. But national studies suggest turnout in recall elections is higher than one might expect. Turnout in this year's Center election, for example, was 80 percent. On a national average, incumbents are recalled nearly as often as they survive the recall.

Recall elections are typically nasty and bruising affairs. The recall device is sometimes used as a means to weed out an incompetent, corrupt or arbitrary official. Yet it is used as often by partisans who become upset by elected officials who take an unpopular policy position or approve a controversial personnel decision.

The recall is sometimes called the "gun behind the door" that keeps public officials responsive. Yet in practice, the "gun" can be heavy, complicated and require a disciplined and often extensive group of people to aim and fire it. And, like a gun, it occasionally backfires.

Ironically, Colorado's upcoming state Senate recall elections are mostly prompted by gun regulation issues.

There is a wonderful story of a misfired recall that occurred in Oregon's Rogue River School District in the 1970s. Criticism of four school board members grew so intense there that the wives of these board members started a recall against them. Its purpose was to clear the air, exonerate them and reaffirm community support.

But the election took place, and all four members were recalled.

On a different occasion, in 1983, maverick protestors in San Francisco triggered a recall election of Mayor Dianne Feinstein, but she turned it into a decisive vote of confidence in support of her leadership. She later went on to be a longtime U.S. senator.

Coloradans pretty much accept the recall device as part of the fabric of their populist and western heritage. Some critics think it discourages talented people from running for office, or that it is excessive democracy and in some ways weakens representative government.

A few critics quibble that the needed citizen signature threshold, 25 percent of the number voting in the last election for that office, is too low and may encourage “sour grapes” elections. Other critics rightly worry about the politics of paid signature-collecting.

But, as Sam Mamet, executive director of the Colorado Municipal League told me, most municipal officials in Colorado accept the recall as part of their political world.

“Most would say that they govern to do what is best for their communities.” If a recall is threatened or even comes to pass, Mamet believes, most officials say they “would still govern in the way they always have, and let the chips fall where they may.”

This seems to be the way Colorado’s two state senators, Morse and Giron, are treating their recall elections scheduled for September 10th.

Most Coloradans favor having the right of recall elections – just as they favor the initiative process, term limits and the right to vote on tax increases – as a means to keep elected officials accountable and to remind politicians that the “consent of the governed” is part of the bargain, not just at elections, but between elections as well.

Political power may not necessarily corrupt, but statewide polls suggest many Coloradans believe it does have this tendency. Thus they often view devices such as the recall (now exactly one hundred years old) as necessary.

How one views recall depends on whether one likes or dislikes the particular official in question and how one views the voters’ capacity to make good judgment calls. Are voters sufficiently thoughtful, informed and interested – or can they be too easily manipulated by money, mudslinging and single interest factionalism?

Coloradans are likely to see a lot of money invested on both sides of both of these upcoming recall elections – most of it from outside these two senate districts and perhaps from out of state. Not surprisingly, these elections are being closely watched around the country.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

Tom Cronin teaches at Colorado College and is the author of several books, including “Direct Democracy: The Politics of Initiative, Referendum and Recall” (Harvard University Press, 1989).

Denver Post
8-16-2013

COLORADO: LESS RELIGIOUS, MORE DEMOCRATIC

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

Pollsters tell us that Colorado is not very religious, and perhaps becoming less religious. This comparatively low level of religious belief in Colorado could be a factor in why the state's electorate has been trending toward the Democratic Party in recent years.

The relationship between religion and voting behavior is well known and closely studied. For instance, the more that people attend church regularly, the more likely they are to vote Republican.

Many people think of Colorado as a religious state, particularly because of the concentration of religious organizations in Colorado Springs. But the latest polls show Colorado to be not all that religious, and the results of that trend are showing up at the ballot box to the benefit of the Democrats.

A national Gallup Poll taken in February of 2013 ranked Colorado 37th of the 50 states in terms of religiosity. Gallup rated Colorado one of the "least religious" states in the United States.

Only one-third of Coloradans said religion is important in their daily lives and that they attend religious services most every week.

That Colorado figure is well below the national average. In the entire United States, 40.1 percent told Gallup they were "very religious," but only 33.5 percent of Coloradans put themselves in that category.

A 2004 Gallup poll was even more telling.

That poll measured the percentage of people in each state who said they had no religion at all. At 15 percent non-religious, Colorado ranked

fourth on the list. Only Oregon, Idaho, and Washington state had higher percentages of people who identified themselves as “religionless.”

The 2013 Gallup Poll found a direct relationship between the religiosity of states and how those states voted in the 2012 presidential election.

According to tracking surveys, 19 of the top 20 most-religious states voted for Republican Mitt Romney in the 2012 presidential election. Mississippi, Alabama, and other southern states were among the “most religious” states, along with Utah with its high proportion of Mormon voters, and these states were Romney country.

Topping the “least religious” list of states were Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, along with West Coast states such as Oregon and Washington. These states voted decidedly for Democrat Barack Obama.

Colorado was the least religious of the battleground states – states where the voting was close between Mitt Romney and Barack Obama. That meant that Colorado was less religious than other battleground states such as Iowa, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, North Carolina, Florida, or Wisconsin.

Although a battleground state, Colorado voted decidedly for Democrat Barack Obama in 2012.

The Gallup organization found Boulder, Colorado, along with Burlington, Vermont, to be one of the two “least religious” cities in the United States.

Colorado Springs, despite its reputation for social conservatism and evangelical religious organizations, ranked near the middle of the list of about 200 U.S. metropolitan areas for religious participation.

Colorado’s low ranking on the religiosity scale helps explain why the state’s residents have changed their policy views on civil unions, gay rights, recreational marijuana, and other social issues such as immigration policy. All these issues are closely identified with the Democratic Party.

The shift has come quickly. Democratic Governor John Hickenlooper, when he was running for governor in 2010, never really talked about

marriage equality, marijuana, or social issues. He was all about jobs and economic recovery.

But Governor Hickenlooper has signed into law a Colorado Civil Unions bill that gives marriage-type rights to same-sex couples. Somewhat reluctantly, following passage of a statewide initiative legalizing recreational marijuana in Colorado, Hickenlooper is now implementing recreational marijuana policies for the state.

When it comes to elections, Colorado has shifted from a traditionally “red state” (mostly conservative and mostly Republican) to a “purple state” (more moderate, sometimes votes Republican and sometimes votes Democratic).

What does all this mean for Colorado?

As the Republican Party has become more opposed, on religious grounds, to same-sex marriage, it is marching in the opposite direction from the way public opinion is going, particularly among younger voters.

But Democrats should not become overconfident that the relative weakness of religiosity in Colorado is giving them a lock on winning Colorado elections.

Strongly Republican cities and counties, by and large, in Colorado are opting out of recreational marijuana sales in the state. The voting public could come to see the Democrats as overreaching on social change and going too far too fast.

So stay tuned.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College. They are coauthors of the recently published “Colorado Politics and Policy: Governing a Purple State” (2012).

Denver Post
10-1-2013

THE RECALL OF STATE SENATOR JOHN MORSE

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

The recall of Colorado State Senator John Morse in State Senate District 11 in Colorado Springs was a major reverse for supporters of regulating firearms in the United States. Voters both recalled Morse, who is a Democrat, and elected a Republican to serve out the remaining one year of Morse's term in the State Senate.

Morse was a major target for the anti-gun control forces. The first Democrat elected to the Colorado State Senate from Colorado Springs in many decades, he was the President of the Colorado State Senate and an outspoken supporter of firearms regulation.

In our opinion, bad luck had a major role to play in John Morse's electoral demise:

Bad Luck 1: Colorado state senators are divided into two groups, each group serving a four-year term. One group is elected in presidential elections, when voter turnout is high for both the presidential election and the accompanying state senate election. Since the number of signatures required on a recall petition is based on a percentage of the voters who cast ballots in the last election, the number of signatures required to recall state senators in presidential election years, when turnout is very high, is also high. John Morse had the misfortune of being elected in a gubernatorial, rather than a presidential, election year, when voter turnout tends to be low. That dramatically lowered the number of signatures required to force John Morse into a recall election.

Bad Luck 2: The Libertarian Party went to court and succeeded in getting more time to gather signatures to put a Libertarian candidate on the

recall election ballot. This move took away the time required to have a mail-in election and resulted in all the votes being cast in person in voting centers. This was a disaster for Morse, because mail-in elections greatly increase voter turnout, particularly among Democratic voters. We think Morse would have easily defeated the recall and stayed in office if it had been a mail-in election.

Bad Luck 3: Advancing technology played a role in putting the recall of John Morse on the ballot. The anti-gun control forces used smart phones that had the Senate District 11 voter registration lists on them. Whenever someone offered to sign the recall petition, the anti-gun control forces could instantly check to see if that person really was a registered voter in District 11. That eliminated the problem of persons signing the petition who were not registered voters in State Senate District 11 and who would have to be weeded out of the list later by election officials. Thanks to this new technology, when the anti-gun control forces turned in their petition list, they knew for sure that every signature was valid and the recall would qualify for the ballot.

Although it appears the Republican Party had little to do with instigating the recall of John Morse, the Republicans woke up to the opportunity presented by the recall and succeeded in uniting their party behind a single Republican candidate – former Colorado Springs City Councilmember Bernie Herpin. After an ad hoc vote by a gathering of local Republican leaders, a second Republican candidate was prevailed upon to drop out of the race. This kept John Morse from having two or more opponents running against him. That removed the opportunity for Morse to win in a three-way or four-way race with the anti-gun control vote split between two or more candidates.

What we are arguing here is that the conditions under which the election was conducted had as much to do with John Morse’s recall as the election contest itself.

As for the election itself, it was instantly subject to what I call “magnification.” Because John Morse had been forced into a recall election

by opponents of increased firearms regulation, the election immediately took on statewide and then national significance. The election became a referendum on the overall issue of regulating firearms. In the end, the election was more about how voters felt about gun control than about whether John Morse, a Democrat, or Bernie Herpin, a Republican, would be their state senator.

The “magnification” of the election resulted in the “concentration” of the election. Suddenly national news media and national lobby groups on both sides of the gun control issue were “concentrating” their election expertise and their campaign funds on what had started out as the simple recall of a Colorado state senator. About three percent of all Colorado voters were actually voting in the election, but national media attention and the campaign money being spent resembled the electoral activity normally associated with a statewide race for governor or U.S. senator.

In that regard, the election reminded us of the New Hampshire primary in U.S. presidential nominating contests. New Hampshire is a relatively small state in terms of its voting population, but its “First In The Nation” presidential primary rates unusual amounts of media interest and campaign spending, just as the Morse recall election did in State Senate District 11.

In the recall election campaign itself between John Morse and Bernie Herpin, it seemed to us that both sides ran away from the gun control issue. That was particularly true for John Morse, who in television spot ads emphasized his role as a police chief and a legislative leader rather than as a fighter for more gun control. His ads that we saw never mentioned the human tragedy at Columbine High School in Colorado, the movie theater incident in Aurora, Colorado, or what happened to the elementary school students at Sandy Hook in Connecticut. In our opinion, those were the three best reasons to vote for John Morse. He held three high cards in the election, we thought, but never played them.

The Morse campaign may have had poll results showing that the gun control issue was a loser for them. As for us, we regret that the Morse

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

campaign did not acknowledge what the election was really about and base all its advertising and campaigning on the issue of regulating fire arms so as to limit the death toll at such mass massacres as Columbine, Aurora, and Sandy Hook. That way, if they had defeated the recall, Morse's retention in office would have been a real victory for those who believe in sensible gun control.

Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College.

Denver Post
1-1-2014

COLORADO 2014: POLITICAL PROSPECTS

by Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

It's a new year as well for Colorado politics and politicians. Ready or not, Colorado is in the nation's spotlights as it rolls out legalized marijuana. Colorado has a new State Senate President, Morgan Carroll, and a new State Supreme Court Chief Justice, Nancy Rice. And likeable, yet beleaguered Governor John Hickenlooper, and likeable, yet unusually low-profile U.S. Senator Mark Udall are campaigning hard to win re-election on Tuesday, November 4th, 2014.

We don't have a crystal ball, but years of following political patterns in Colorado suggest the following intrepid forecasts:

- 2014 should be a good year for Republicans in Colorado and in the nation. The political party that is not in the White House nearly always does well in elections held in the sixth year of an incumbent president. Economic recovery may help the Democrats right now, but the Obamacare soap opera, general party fatigue and complaints of "overreach" all advantage the Republicans.
- Governor Hickenlooper, as he did in 2010, will likely buck any building Republican national wave. Hickenlooper has assiduously protected his center-of-the-road, cheerleading, "Chamber-of-Commerce Independent-Democrat" brand – despite having been pushed to the left occasionally by his more progressive colleagues. Hickenlooper is a battle-weary politician at this point. He's confronted shooting tragedies, historic wild-fires, huge floods, the NRA, State Senate recalls, frackers vs. anti-frackers, secessionists death penalty pros-and-cons, the Tea party, lefties, righties and all but

the locusts! Running again, against the ever-resilient Tom Tancredo, might in comparison be the easiest of his challenges. Hickenlooper is advantaged that more mainstream respected Republicans, like A.G. John Suthers and Congressman Cory Gardner, are not running for governor.

- Incumbent Democratic Senator Mark Udall appears headed for re-election in part because of incumbency and also the lack of a prominent Republican opponent who could appeal to the crucial suburban and non-affiliated voters.
- Should there be a national Republican wave this year, this will definitely help “down ticket” Republicans running for Attorney General and Secretary of State, for example. It might also help veteran Congressman Mike Coffman defeat his able challenger Andrew Romanoff. (If he had run in 2012, Romanoff would probably have won the seat.) Republicans have a shot at picking up a few legislative seats—in part because the 2011 State Reapportionment commission created several more legislative swing districts. (Swing districts are normally affected by national waves.)
- Principled Democrat Morgan Carroll has now replaced recalled Principled Democrat John Morse as State Senate president. But everyone expects Carroll to be decidedly pragmatic, for a variety of reasons, including her desire to have her party retain control of the Senate and the governorship in November. There will be typical calls for altering gun regulations, fracking reform, education funding improvement, and revenue “enhancements” but there will be little action on any of this. Expect instead some lively marijuana oversight debates, and a variety of obscure new regulations on issues such as drones.
- There will be plenty of jokes this year about Colorado’s Rocky Mountain high, or “Potorado,” and there will doubtless be a number of regulatory and enforcement hiccups as Colorado serves as the nation’s experimental test lab for legalized marijuana. The state has an

uneven record of dealing with medical marijuana so there are understandable worries. But prohibition hasn't worked, and a pervasive drug culture already exists here. Will it help or hurt Colorado's economy? Will the feds find reason to intervene when their guidelines are violated? Will it be a quiet seamless transition? Stay tuned.

- Colorado Spring's bold "City of Champions" program to create several new tourist attractions, including an Olympic Museum and a downtown baseball stadium, will be built over the next couple of years. The business community and the stalwart El Pomar Foundation are fast at work ensuring funds will be raised. Colorado Spring's new strong-mayor form of government deserves some of the credit for this—something several other Colorado cities should take note of.
- Finally, Browns Canyon, a bucolic stretch of the Arkansas River near Salida, will, sooner rather than later, become a 22,000 acre National Monument, with a designated wilderness area within it. Much of this is already BLM or U.S. Forest land, but it will wonderfully conserve this land for hiking, fishing, hunting, rafting, and similar recreational activities. Colorado regularly adds some new pearl to the nation's preservationist tradition. Browns Canyon is next.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy, political scientists at Colorado College, are co-authors of "Colorado Politics and Policy: Governing a Purple State" (2012.)

Denver Post

7-21-2014

THE SIX-YEAR PUSHBACK – HOW BIG A FACTOR?

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

There are tides in U.S. national politics.

Hopeful Colorado Republican politicians want to see the coming November elections as a “sixth-year surge”. Concerned Colorado Democrats fear the “sixth-year blues” or “sixth-year curse.”

Whatever we call it – the “sixth-year itch?” – the pattern is remarkably well-established in U.S. politics: the incumbent president’s party takes a beating in the president’s sixth year in the White House. This November 4th comes near the end of President Obama’s sixth year in office.

The six-year pushback is typically driven by the inevitable build-up of unfulfilled promises and complaints about what has gone wrong. Forget that the stock market has more than doubled in value, the recession basically ended, and we have drawn down our forces from two unpopular wars. People are more likely to consider specific problems featured in the news: the mishaps involved in the roll-out of Obamacare, Benghazi, and the administrative concerns in the IRS and the VA. Voters tend to vote retrospectively rather than prospectively especially in sixth-year elections.

The six-year pushback has a long record:

- 1938. After six years of great popularity under FDR, Democrats suffered sizeable losses in the 1938 congressional elections. Some historians say FDR’s New Deal ended with many Democratic defeats in 1938.
- 1950. At the end of Truman’s sixth year in office, the Republicans scored solid gains all up and down the ballot.

- 1958. When the biggest economic downturn since the Great Depression occurred in 1958, not even Eisenhower's personal popularity could prevent Republicans from suffering large losses, particularly in races for the U.S. Senate and U.S. House.
- 1966. LBJ had an impressive record of domestic legislative victories in his first two years in office, but in Nov. 1966 (the sixth year of the JFK-LBJ presidency), the Democratic Party suffered huge congressional losses.
- 1974. The Watergate scandal unfolded in the fifth and sixth years of Nixon's presidency. Democrats had a field day that November, including the first victories of Colorado's Senator Gary Hart, Governor Dick Lamm and Congressman Tim Wirth.
- 2006. In the sixth year of George W. Bush's presidency, anger about the Iraq war and failed response to Hurricane Katrina led to big Democratic victories across the nation. In Colorado, Democrat Bill Ritter was elected in a walk.

The one exception in the past approximately eighty years was 1968, the sixth year of President Bill Clinton. At that time, a flourishing economy, fueled in part by a giant technology-driven boom, protected Democrats nationally, resulting in only slight Democratic losses. (Republicans were also hurt when Special "Persecutor" Ken Starr overreached in his Lewinsky investigations.)

Here in decidedly "purple" Colorado, Democrats are running scared. Republicans, anticipating a six-year pushback, are more optimistic, perhaps even more giddy, than they have been in recent years.

Still, there are several safe seats in Colorado: Congressional Districts 1, 2 and 7 are almost surely going to be retained by Democrats, while Congressional Districts 3, 4 and 5 will be retained by Republicans. This leaves the U.S. Senate seat (currently held by Mark Udall), the governorship, the 6th Congressional seat, and the balance in the state legislature. How big will the six-year pushback be for these elections?

An early hint came from the Quinnipiac University poll released Thursday, July 17, 2014. The Republican candidate for Mark Udall's Senate seat, Cory Gardner, posted a slight lead over Democrat Udall of 44 percent of the vote to 42 percent. In the governor's race, Republican candidate Bob Beauprez was just ahead of incumbent Democratic Governor John Hickenlooper by 44 percent to 43 percent.

Although their leads are so close as to be insignificant, these strong early poll showings by Republican candidates against previously popular incumbent Democrats demonstrate just how quickly the sixth year pushback can affect the electoral scene.

Two years ago, in Colorado, Obama handily defeated Romney (51.5% to 46.7%), but don't expect Democrats to do nearly as well this year. What a difference two years makes.

One reason is that mid-term electorates differ sharply from presidential-year electorates. Presidential election years turn out a lot more voters (sometime 15 to 20 percent more) and attract significantly higher numbers of minority and younger voters. More independents ("unaffiliated") also turn out in presidential election years. These expected differences in the make-up of the electorate advantage Colorado Republicans this November.

But Colorado continues to be "purple" – one-third of prospective voters in the state are registered as Republican, one third as Democrats and one-third as independents. And there are a few countervailing winds this year that may work against the national six-year tide.

Independents and younger people have more clout in Colorado than in most states. The Denver metro area, as well as the ski counties, has increasingly attracted young, educated, independently-minded "immigrants." Moderate Democrats such as Bill Ritter, John Hickenlooper and Senator Michael Bennet have done well in statewide races in recent years.

The Hickenlooper-Garcia ticket has another advantage vis a vis the Beauprez-Repella ticket. Most economic indicators suggest that Colorado, and especially the Denver metro-area, have rebounded well from the Great Recession of 2008. The Denver area is now a hot popular location,

especially for young professionals. Construction and housing prices are way up, and unemployment headed down. Economics may trump the anticipated six-year pushback, at least in the governor's race.

In some of the contested state-wide and state legislative races, however, the six-year pushback may be a deciding factor.

What about uncertainties in foreign policy (Syria, Ukraine, China, etc.)? Will these issues affect state and local races? Improbable.

Yet there are some hard-to-predict factors that might mobilize voters to turn out on November 4th:

1. The issue of local community control of fracking regulations will likely be on the November ballot. The extractive industries and most of Denver's business elites oppose local control (Initiatives 88 and 92). But polls show that most voters favor local control. This issue could mobilize younger, independent and libertarian voters, and would probably benefit Democrats.

2. Colorado Republicans need to woo Hispanic voters. The party's leaders recognize this, yet rank-and-file voters have impeded this. Democrats – because of their support for immigration reform, and the presence of the Salazar brothers and Joe Garcia – are somewhat advantaged.

3. Republican stands on gun control and death penalty advantage the GOP in Colorado.

Overall, the U.S. Senate race and the 6th Congressional District race are too close to call. We're inclined to think the state legislative races will veer Republican because of the six-year pushback pattern. The governor's race, we think, will be less affected. Coloradans haven't turned out an incumbent governor since 1962, and Hickenlooper has assiduously framed himself almost as much as an independent as a Democrat.

Pollsters and political campaign consultants regularly ask two questions: Are you better off than you were a few years ago? And are we headed in the right direction? Answers to both questions in Colorado are positive for the

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

Governor. Still, most Colorado Democrats in the next four months will be running under the cloud of the six-year pushback.

Two other challenges will face both Republicans and Democrats in our purple Centennial state: How do you do politics in a state where people don't like politics or politicians? And how do you avoid going negative in a system that sorely tempts candidates (and their "friends") to diminish or even demonize opponents?

Coloradans, probably more than elsewhere, will be looking for character.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College and co-authors of "Colorado Politics and Policy: Governing a Purple State."

Denver Post
9-30-2014

GOVERNORS AND BALLOT ISSUES

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

The governor of Colorado has gained a new responsibility over the past two decades – “Chief Stopper” of potentially damaging constitutional amendments that have been put on the election ballot by initiative petition.

The current governor, John Hickenlooper, recently starred in the role of Chief Stopper when he got four initiated constitutional amendments on local control of oil and gas drilling off the ballot and back under the control of the governor and the state legislature.

The proposed constitutional amendments, now withdrawn, would have required such things as drilling rigs being set back 2,000 feet from homes, state oil and gas revenues being withheld from communities that ban drilling, delegating greater decision making authority over oil and gas drilling to local governments, and related matters.

As promised, Governor Hickenlooper has appointed a commission to study oil and gas drilling issues in Colorado and make recommendations for reform to the state legislature. The commission will try to fashion a compromise for the legislature and the governor to consider next February.

All four of the withdrawn amendments were well-intentioned and had passionate supporters. Political insiders said all four were probably headed for defeat, but not until after huge amounts of money had been spent on negative rather than educational advertising.

By negotiating these four initiatives off the ballot, Governor Hickenlooper replaced direct democracy (a vote of the people) with representative democracy (the state legislature and the governor), which is

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

the republican form of government strongly preferred by the nation's founders, such as George Washington and James Madison.

We wish more governors of Colorado – past, present, and future – stepped into the ballot issue fray and used the “bully pulpit” of their office to keep divisive and dubious initiated amendments off the ballot, or worked to defeat them when such proposals get on the ballot.

Back in 1992, when the TABOR initiated constitutional amendment limiting state revenues was on the general election ballot, Roy Romer, the governor of Colorado at that time, issued a statement opposing it.

Given the questionable side effects that TABOR has had on state and local finances in Colorado over the past 22 years, Governor Romer should have, as he himself later acknowledged, raised money, formed a campaign committee, and barnstormed throughout the state to defeat it.

The governor should not just take the responsibility of stopping potentially harmful constitutional amendments initiated on to the ballot. He or she should also, on occasion, play an active role in initiating constitutional amendments – put on the ballot by the state legislature or the popular initiative – that, in the governor's view, make positive improvements to state government.

That role was ably played by former Governor Bill Owens, who in 2005 led a drive to reduce the most damaging effects of TABOR on state and local finances. The result was Referendum C, a measure put on the ballot by the state legislature which, after a vigorous statewide campaign of support by Governor Owens, was narrowly adopted by the voters.

In decades past, the governor mainly spent his time interacting with the state legislature, sending that bicameral body bills the governor wanted enacted and, at the same time, vetoing bills passed by the state legislature that the governor thought would damage Colorado.

In recent years, however, a number of the really important changes in government in Colorado came not from the state legislature but from initiated constitutional amendments. Here is a partial list:

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

- TABOR, which as previously mentioned has a downward effect on state finances.
- An amendment forcing increases in state education expenditures at the same time TABOR was limiting state revenues.
- Casino gambling in the historic mountain towns of Blackhawk, Central City, and Cripple Creek.
- Growth and sale of marijuana for recreational purposes.

Yes, the state legislature passes some important measures, such as the bill requiring stricter statewide background checks for gun purchasers that passed in 2013, but the above list demonstrates that big changes also come via the initiated ballot measure rather than laws passed by the legislature.

Kudos to Governor Hickenlooper for stepping in and negotiating oil and gas drilling regulation off the November election ballot and bringing it back to the state legislature and the governor. We applaud that kind of political leadership.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College. They are the authors of “Colorado Politics and Policy: Governing a Purple State,” as well as several other books.

Denver Post
12-26-2014

MAIL-IN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY FOR COLORADO?

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Here is a political dream for Colorado:

Imagine the 2016 presidential election season in full swing. Throughout the month of February, 2016, amid full media coverage, the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary have already produced candidates who look like front-runners. Public interest in the election is at a fever pitch.

Now, it's your turn, as a Coloradan, to cast your vote in the presidential primary. Instead of going to a neighborhood caucus to vote, you simply mark the mail-in ballot that has already been sent to you.

You don't have to search out where the caucus will be held. You don't have to change your work schedule, worry about transportation, or hire a baby-sitter.

You just mark your choice on your mail-in ballot and put it in the mail. (It must be mailed in time for it to arrive at the local country clerk's office by 7 P.M. on the first Tuesday of March 2016-- the earliest date on which political party rules permit Colorado to hold a presidential primary.)

If you are registered Democratic, your mail-in primary ballot will have all the viable Democratic presidential candidates. If you are registered Republican, your ballot will list all the viable Republican candidates. If you are registered Unaffiliated—and one-third of Colorado voters are-- -- you will receive both Democratic and Republican ballots—but you may only vote on one ballot. (Spoiler alert: voting on both will mean your vote is spoiled and not counted.)

Unaffiliated voters will not lose their unaffiliated status by choosing to vote in one of the major party mail-in presidential primaries.

Quite a dream, isn't it?

But Coloradans have just proven that conducting a statewide all mail-in election is something they can do very well. The 2014 election for Colorado Governor and U.S. Senator, as well as for other offices, was conducted with an all mail-in ballot.

Under present Colorado state law, the two political parties conduct presidential caucuses – long and boring meetings of two hours or more held at local elementary schools. Voting in the caucuses requires the voter to be registered in that political party. Unaffiliated voters are completely excluded from the presidential nominating process in Colorado.

People who take the time to show up at these caucuses are usually stalwart, activist party members. Although voting to nominate party candidates for President is important, turnout at presidential caucuses is notoriously low compared to presidential primaries. Moreover, caucuses tend to favor the extremes of party ideology – decidedly liberal for the Democratic Party and decidedly conservative for the Republican Party. In 2012, for example, former U.S. Senator Rick Santorum, who was to the right of Mitt Romney, won the Republican primary caucus in Colorado.

The all mail-in presidential primary would give as many Coloradans as possible a chance to vote in the 2016 presidential primary election. Some may fear that allowing Unaffiliateds to vote in the primary election might encourage “bad-dude” mavericks to vote for the weakest candidate of the opposite party. Studies of this type of voting, however, suggest that this is not a serious problem.

The merit of the face-to-face exchanges involved in the existing neighborhood caucus system can be debated. As veteran political junkies ourselves, we have a lot of nostalgia for the old caucus format. We know that most political reforms have unanticipated consequences, and thus we encourage rigorous analysis of possible biases and unwanted side-effects of this proposal.

But our preference is for encouraging, not discouraging, political participation. The caucus method excludes a lot of people. A cold March night discourages older people who don't go out at night, those who work the night shift, or who have two jobs, students with evening classes, couples with young children, and people without transportation. That's a lot of people. Shouldn't we open up such a major leadership-selection process to more people?

How do we make this political dream come true and get an all mail-in presidential primary in Colorado?

The answer is simple: the Colorado Governor and the Colorado State Legislature. The method by which a state votes in presidential primaries and caucuses is determined by state law. All that would be necessary for an all mail-in presidential primary in Colorado would be a bill passed by both houses of the state legislature and signed into law by the governor.

This is not a state constitutional change. Such a bill could easily be drawn up, vigorously debated, and passed in the upcoming 2015 session of the state legislature.

And there will still be party caucuses. After the voters have voted in their respective Democratic and Republican mail-in primaries, party caucuses will be held to select the delegates to the party national conventions. At the convention, however, the delegates will vote for the various party nominees on the first ballot in the same proportions as the candidates finished in the mail-in primary.

So, if it's March, 2016, let's hope we're not still wading through the snow drifts to get to our local caucuses. Let's encourage as many Coloradans as possible to be part of this vital presidential nomination process and to be able to do so in the convenience of their own homes with a mail-in ballot.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College and the co-authors of "Colorado Politics and Policy: Governing a Purple State."

Denver Post
5-18-2015

**MAYOR-ELECT JOHN SUTHERS:
MANY CHALLENGES FACE
THE NEW MAYOR OF COLORADO SPRINGS**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Colorado's esteemed former Attorney General, John Suthers, won the election this past Tuesday to become the new Mayor of Colorado Springs – his hometown and Colorado's second most-populous city.

He won a two-candidate runoff election over former Springs Mayor Mary Lou Makepeace. They had finished one-two in a six person non-partisan pre-election in April. In both elections, Suthers raised the most money and won nearly all of the major political endorsements, including the *Colorado Springs Gazette* newspaper.

John Suthers was raised in Colorado Springs and professed that his love of the Springs motivated him to run. Everyone who knows him is aware he could have earned more than his mayoral salary of \$103,370 per year if he had joined one of Denver's "17th Street" law firms.

Suthers ran a political consultant's textbook campaign. He did not upset anyone and kept his promises pretty general. Channeling President John F. Kennedy, he pledged to "get Colorado Springs moving again." Channeling President Ronald Reagan, he implied it could be "morning" for Colorado Springs. And channeling President Barack Obama, he claimed he was the one to "change" the political discourse in the Springs. He did not go quite so far as to imply he might build a "shining city" at the foot of Colorado Springs's most famous hill – Pike's Peak.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

Mayor-elect Suthers will need all of the proven professionalism, even temperament, and political savvy he displayed throughout his years of public service as District Attorney, U.S. Attorney, and Attorney General.

Here are a few of the many challenges for John Suthers in his new job:

- Potholes – Years of financial neglect have left streets and roads in Colorado Springs in woeful shape. Finding the money to fix all the potholes will be difficult. Suthers will leave it to the voters to pick the best way of raising money to repair the potholes. “Bond it? Borrow it? Increase taxes?” All three remedies were suggested but no one of them advocated by Suthers in a campaign debate.
- Pot – John Suthers opposed legalized recreational marijuana as state Attorney General, but once the new pot laws were adopted by the voters, Suthers did his legal duty and enforced them. By a close 5-4 vote, the Colorado Springs City Council voted not to allow recreational marijuana to be sold in the city. This issue came up in the election when Suthers’s opponent, Mary Lou Makepeace, openly supported recreational marijuana for Colorado Springs and said she would use the tax money from recreational marijuana to fix the potholes. Suthers argued that recreational marijuana was “not a good idea” because of the negative effects of “youth experience with drugs.”
- Military Spending – Fort Carson, the Air Force Academy, and a number of other major military facilities provide one out of every four jobs in the Colorado Springs economy. There is strong sentiment in Colorado Springs in favor of “less government,” but that does not apply to encouraging the U.S. Government to keep a steady flow of military expenditures pouring into the Springs.
- Drake Power Plant – Colorado Springs has a major coal-fired power plant located just to the southeast of downtown.

Environmentalists and downtown revivalists want to close it and replace it with natural gas, windmills, and solar panels, but that is going to substantially drive up electric bills. Mayor Suthers will be expected to play a major role in this tough decision.

- **City of Champions** – Outgoing Mayor Steve Bach launched a program to improve Colorado Springs that included, among other tourist-type attractions, a downtown sports and events stadium. The problem is that Colorado Springs is a city with a very low population density. The vast majority of its 420,000 or so citizens do not live near downtown, and large numbers of citizens never go downtown. The next Mayor will have to decide whether to take the lead in furthering this expensive and controversial City of Champions promotional program. One reason to do it would be to do for downtown Colorado Springs what Coors Field (pro baseball) and the Pepsi Center (pro basketball and pro hockey) have done for downtown Denver.
- **Attracting Younger Workers** – High-paying technical and professional jobs are hard to come by in Colorado Springs. Young people often have to leave for Denver, Broomfield, Boulder, or Golden to find the good jobs with secure futures and good salaries.
- **Built-In City Government Bickering** – Back in 2010, when Colorado Springs adopted the strong-Mayor form of city government, the new strong Mayor was subjected to a run-off election. If no candidate for strong Mayor polls a majority in the first round of voting, there is a run-off election between the top two finishers, as just happened. The problem is this creates a Mayor who has received a majority of the popular vote and, concomitantly, a Mayor who takes a citywide point of view and wants to use government to build and improve the city.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

The requirement for a run-off election was not applied to City Council seats. There is only one election for a City Council seat, and the plurality winner, even one with voting support as low as 20 to 30 percent, is elected. That makes City Council much less majority oriented, more parochial, and more likely to be highly critical of the strong Mayor's bold plans for the future of the city, particularly projects downtown. The result is to greatly increase arguments between the strong-Mayor and the City Council over the best way to govern. Suthers pledged to end the "confrontational atmosphere at City Hall" because it was "costing jobs."

Mayor Suthers deserves at least a short honeymoon period. However, Colorado's "Second City" has a long list of problems to be solved and has a long, long way to go to become economically and culturally competitive with greater Denver. But the city's natural beauty and its spectacular location provide the new Mayor with at least some compelling advantages.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College in Colorado Springs.

Denver Post
12-27-2015

**ON INITIATIVE 55:
THE PROPOSED REDISTRICTING AMENDMENT**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Spoiler Alert: Legislative districting and redistricting may be among the most boring topics in American state politics, but they are very consequential to understanding state government.

One third of Colorado voters prefer to be unaffiliated in their party registration – which is their right. Many of them are “low-information” citizens, many are turned off by what they see in the Democratic and Republican parties, and some are more moderate in their views.

But the choice to register unaffiliated, or independent, means that voters cannot vote in Democratic or Republican caucuses, such as the ones coming up on March 1, 2016, for example. Unaffiliated voters cannot attend or vote at political party conventions in Colorado. And “unaffiliateds,” as they are often called, cannot vote in Democratic or Republican primary elections.

(Unaffiliated voters in Colorado do have the right to declare a party membership on Election Day and then vote in that political party’s primary, but few unaffiliated voters in Colorado avail themselves of this right.)

Democratic and Republican party activists in Colorado sometimes refer to unaffiliated voters as the “lost souls” of Colorado politics. All they get to do is vote in the general elections – and then, in almost all instances, they have to choose between the political party nominees selected for them by the two mainstream political parties.

A few states allow unaffiliateds to vote in political party caucuses and primaries, and there are some good arguments for that, but unaffiliateds voting regularly in party caucuses and primaries is unlikely to happen soon in Colorado.

An initiated constitutional amendment – Initiative 55 – is currently being debated and drawn up that could potentially benefit unaffiliated voters in Colorado. Under consideration is a proposal to give unaffiliated voters a major role in legislative and congressional redistricting – the drawing of the boundary lines of the districts from which state representatives, state senators, and members of the U.S. House of Representatives are elected.

Initiative 55 will be petitioned through the citizen-signature process on to the November 2016 ballot. As currently worded, Initiative 55 would require that four unaffiliated voters be appointed to the Colorado State Redistricting Commission, which would be assigned to designate the districting for both the state legislature and the U.S. House.

The Democrats would appoint four more members of the commission and the Republicans four more after that, making twelve members of the commission in all. A two-thirds majority (8 votes) would be required to adopt any redistricting plan, thereby preventing the Democrats or the Republicans from dominating the process.

Under existing practices, one political party prevails over the other and “carves out” districts that advantage the political party. An eleven-member commission contains only Democrats and Republicans and one party typically gains a six vote majority block. That political party then shapes the legislative district lines, almost always giving the party a big advantage on Election Day.

This process has long been called “gerrymandering.” It was named after an early Massachusetts governor, Elbridge Gerry, who designed and approved a district that looked like a salamander. Gerrymandering is controversial and usually criticized by good government groups.

Initiative 55 assumes that the four unaffiliated voters on the proposed redistricting commission will discourage partisan gerrymandering and press

to draw competitive districts, which would enable unaffiliated voters to have more voting power in the general election.

Competitive legislative districts are districts in which neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have the decisive edge in registered voters. That means candidates from both political parties will have a chance of winning the seat in state legislative or U.S. House of Representatives elections.

One result of the even competition in competitive districts will be that strong candidates are recruited by both political parties, and those candidates will have to reach out strongly to unaffiliated voters to win the general election.

Note that when gerrymandered safe seats are created, the legislator from that district secures de facto reelection in the general election. The general election becomes meaningless as the candidate who won the party primary is always voted into office in the general election. This essentially disenfranchises unaffiliated voters, who cannot vote in the party primary.

Thus the more districts that are competitive, the more opportunities there will be for unaffiliated voters to participate in and have influence over who is elected to the Colorado state legislature.

Registered Democrats and Republicans might also benefit from the expected increase in competitive districts. This is because many of the legislators in current safe seats do not really have to campaign much. They can be assured of election or reelection by primarily courting and listening to the small body of party elites who vote regularly in party primary elections. They may pay attention to the views of unaffiliateds – but they do not really have to.

Too many safe seats also has the probable side effect of electing Republican legislators who are more conservative than mainstream Colorado voters and Democrats who are more liberal than the Colorado mainstream.

This is not altogether bad, as it can foster lively conservative-vs.-liberal policy debates in the legislature. But an unanticipated consequence of safe seats is that they elect committed conservatives (Republicans) and

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

committed liberals (Democrats) who have difficulty doing the bargaining and compromising so often required to produce good legislation. And the views of most unaffiliateds, who by and large are moderate, go unrepresented.

Some doubters about Initiative 55 are concerned that this proposal might dilute minority representation and make it harder for underrepresented minorities to win election to the state legislature. This is a valid concern and proponents of Initiative 55 should address this concern in the final version of their proposed amendment.

Unaffiliated voters have much to gain from Initiative 55. Four unaffiliated voters will serve on the redistricting commission, and the resulting competitive districts will enhance the votes of unaffiliateds in general elections.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College in Colorado Springs. Bob Loevy served on the 2011 redistricting commission in Colorado and is a supporter of Initiative 55.

Denver Post
1-15-2016

WHY IOWA VOTES FIRST AND COLORADO WATCHES

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

On Monday, February 1, the Iowa caucuses will be the official first step in voters casting ballots for the Democratic and Republican nominations for president of the United States. Iowans will attend evening precinct caucuses, a separate caucus for each of the two major political parties, and directly vote for the one person they want to be their party's candidate for president.

Coloradans should ask: Why does Iowa get to go first – and gain all that media attention that so strongly influences who gets nominated – and Coloradans have little or no influence?

The answer is: Iowa's elected political leaders worked very hard to put their state in the position of voting first. Colorado's elected political leaders have made weak efforts in that regard.

One interesting aspect of the presidential nominating system in the United States is the way in which, 40 years ago, Iowa succeeded in replacing New Hampshire as the "First in the Nation" presidential nominating event.

Iowa is famous for holding presidential *caucuses* rather than a presidential *primary*. There is a good reason for that. New Hampshire had a tradition of always holding the first presidential *primary*. In fact, New Hampshire has a state *law* requiring that its primary be one week before the presidential primary of any other state.

A caucus is a face-to-face meeting of citizens in their local neighborhood precinct for the purpose of electing delegates to county or state conventions. In a presidential caucus, attendees cast a vote for their preferred candidate for the party nomination for president.

A primary election is when voters go to a polling place and quickly cast a secret vote for their choice for the nominee for president.

By holding presidential caucuses rather than a presidential primary, Iowa was able to schedule its caucuses 8 days ahead of New Hampshire and thereby not inspire New Hampshire to reschedule its primary to one week ahead of Iowa. That is what that famous New Hampshire law would require if Iowa held a primary rather than caucuses.

Insiders know that, in reality, Iowa holds what amounts to a presidential primary but has disguised it as presidential caucuses in order to bamboozle the folks in New Hampshire.

It was in 1972 that Iowa's elected political leaders first scheduled its "First in the Nation" presidential caucuses. Four years later, in 1976, the Iowa caucuses were propelled to major importance when Jimmy Carter, a little-known former governor of Georgia, devoted much of a year to campaigning in Iowa.

Carter did surprisingly well in the Iowa caucuses and soon was the front-runner for the Democratic nomination. It was an advantage which Carter exploited so well he was eventually elected president of the United States.

An important thing the press wants from a presidential primary or caucuses on election night is "reportable results." Iowans organize their caucuses so that, the minute the vote in each neighborhood precinct caucus is known, the results are called into Des Moines, the state capital. The winners and losers are reported to the news media in plenty of time to make the 11 o'clock TV news on the East Coast.

It is this swift reporting of results, as well as the early date, that makes Iowa so instantly important and influential in the presidential nominating process.

Both of us have attended Iowa presidential caucuses in recent years. One of us in 2012 was at Abraham Lincoln High School in Council Bluffs. Five hundred people – all from the surrounding neighborhood – showed up. It was a majestic example of town hall deliberative democracy at work. It was an American pageant.

Meanwhile, what has been going on in Colorado?

In recent years, Colorado's elected political leaders have shown little interest in maximizing the role of Colorado voters in the presidential nominating process in the United States. Colorado had a presidential primary in 1992 and 1996, but inexplicably the primary was abolished in 2000 and replaced by having uninstructed delegates to the national party conventions selected at state conventions.

In 2008 Colorado's elected political leaders took a positive step and replaced the state conventions with Iowa-style presidential caucuses. The caucuses were held on Super Tuesday, the first Tuesday in March, the first date allowed to Colorado by national political party rules.

Barack Obama won the Democratic caucuses in Colorado in 2008. Obama, as the incumbent president, won the Colorado Democratic caucuses again in 2012. The Republicans in 2012 voted for Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, an outspoken Pro-Life candidate.

This year, Republican political leaders in Colorado abolished the Republican caucuses vote for president for 2016. Republican caucuses will still be held, but attendees will not be able to vote their preference for the Republican nominee for President. Their task will be to elect delegates to county conventions who will in turn elect delegates to a state convention that will elect uninstructed delegates to the Republican National Convention.

Republican Party leaders in Colorado argued they abolished the presidential straw vote in the GOP caucuses because turnouts were low (about 6 percent) and the popular vote results did not bind convention delegates to the caucuses winner.

Our view is that turnouts in presidential caucuses in other states are equally low, and getting to vote in a low turn-out presidential caucuses, whether delegates are bound or not, is better than not getting to vote at all.

The 2016 race for the Republican nomination is heating up. Many Colorado Republicans now will want to express their choice between Trump, Cruz, Rubio, Bush, Kasich, and the many other candidates.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

Incredibly, Colorado's registered Republican voters have been disenfranchised from this exciting nomination race by their own state party political leaders.

That never would have happened in Iowa, and that is why Iowa is "First in the Nation" and Colorado is way back in the pack.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College and coauthors of "Colorado Politics and Policy: Governing a Purple State."

Denver Post
2-1-2016

**NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY VOTERS:
THE “ELECTORAL ARISTOCRATS” OF
THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING PROCESS**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

The Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary combined are the Super Bowl of the presidential nomination process. This week will be the second half of that political Super Bowl as the New Hampshire primary is held on Tuesday, February 9.

Although eight days after Iowa, the New Hampshire primary remains a big event in the race for the Democratic or Republican presidential nomination. One reason is many more voters participate in a primary election, where one votes quickly at a polling place, than at a caucus, which requires attending a two-to-three-hour evening meeting.

And New Hampshire has history on its side. It has been one of the nation’s important presidential primaries for 68 years. Coloradans should carefully study New Hampshire to learn why it is so important in the presidential selection process and Colorado is relatively insignificant.

Colorado Democrats will hold their Iowa-style presidential caucuses three weeks after the New Hampshire voting on Super Tuesday. Colorado Republicans will caucus that day to elect delegates to county conventions but will not be voting for president.

Every spring in New Hampshire, when the snow begins to melt, the back roads become muddy and impassable. To make it easy for New Hampshire voters to get to the polls, presidential primary day was scheduled for late winter, when the ground and the back roads are still frozen and drivable. It thus was because of the weather that the New Hampshire presidential

primary was held in February and accidentally became the first presidential primary in the nation.

For years the New Hampshire primary was dull. New Hampshire voters chose delegates to the Democratic and Republican national conventions rather than voting directly for the presidential candidates by name. That system ended in 1952. Sherman Adams, the Republican governor, began maneuvering to secure the 1952 Republican nomination for General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the victorious commander of U.S. military forces in Europe during World War II.

Governor Adams instituted a presidential primary in which the voters cast their ballots directly for their favorite candidate. As Adams planned, General “Ike” Eisenhower won in New Hampshire and got an early boost in his successful campaign for the 1952 Republican nomination and the White House.

If New Hampshire was going to have a Republican presidential primary in 1952, there also had to be a Democratic primary. The incumbent Democratic President, Harry S. Truman, said this new version of the New Hampshire primary was “eyewash” and refused to campaign.

That was a mistake. A U.S. senator from Tennessee, Estes Kefauver, ran in New Hampshire and campaigned actively for votes. In a stunning upset, Kefauver defeated Truman, a sitting U.S. president. Shortly thereafter, President Truman announced he would not be seeking another four years in the White House.

It was Senator Kefauver who first established a New Hampshire primary tradition of getting ahead of better-known national candidates by doing one-on-one, door-to-door, diner-to-diner, town-to-town campaigning in New Hampshire. Kefauver also did the first New Hampshire “photo opportunity.” He dressed in a fur coat and had his picture taken while riding on a dog sled across the snowy landscape of New Hampshire in the winter time.

Alas for Kefauver, the Democratic Party in 1952 gave its presidential nomination to Adlai Stevenson, who was defeated by Dwight Eisenhower in the general election in November.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

For 40 years, from 1952 to 1992, every candidate, when first elected president of the United States, began his campaign by winning (coming in first) in the New Hampshire primary. Since 1992, however, every newly-elected president has finished second in the New Hampshire primary voting.

In 1992 candidate Bill Clinton was second to U.S. Senator Paul Tsongas, in 2000 candidate George W. Bush came in second to U.S. Senator John McCain, and in 2008 President Barack Obama was behind Hillary Clinton.

Television news played a major role in building the national significance of the New Hampshire presidential primary. The many small towns, with their white clapboard churches and wooden frame houses, make attractive backdrops for television campaign events.

By the 1970s, the state's political leaders were committed to maintaining New Hampshire's early place in the presidential primary process. Thus, in 1975, when Massachusetts and Vermont sought to create a New England primary by voting on the same day as New Hampshire, politicians in New Hampshire passed a law requiring the state to schedule its primary at least one week before any other state's primary.

The significance of the early New Hampshire primary stems mainly from its powerful influence over voters in other states, particularly voters casting their ballots in presidential caucuses and primaries held shortly after the New Hampshire voting. Political scientists use the word "exaggeration" to describe the way votes in the New Hampshire primary are reflected in the vote in subsequent primaries in other states. One scholar did a statistical study of the process and found New Hampshire's vote exaggeration to be "startling."

Along with Iowans, New Hampshire voters get the "first crack" at evaluating the presidential candidates, winnowing down the number of candidates with their votes. Candidates who voters in other states might have wanted to vote for often quit the race after doing poorly in Iowa and New Hampshire.

It is this "exaggeration" of voting power over who gets major party nominations for president that Colorado voters should be concerned about. It

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

is only an historical accident of weather and the 1952 Eisenhower campaign for president that placed New Hampshire voters in such a powerful position at the expense of voters in almost every other state in the Union – including Colorado.

The key word here is “inequality.” New Hampshire voters enjoy and wield an electoral power denied to voters in most other states. They enjoy a lavish attention from campaigning presidential candidates and the news media that voters elsewhere never experience. In short, New Hampshire voters are “electoral aristocrats” who enjoy voting powers that we “electoral serfs” in other states lack.

It is a mystery why so many Americans quietly allow New Hampshire voters to have these exaggerated electoral powers over the presidential nomination process while voters in many other states have few or none.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College. Both have published books and articles on the presidency and presidential elections.

Denver Post

2-12-2016

**HOW COLORADO LOST ITS PRIME SPOT
IN THE PRIMARY ELECTIONS**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary votes are tallied and analyzed, so now it is on to the third step in the presidential nominating process. The lucky states in third position, all by themselves, are the southern state of South Carolina and the western state of Nevada.

Colorado use to be, and might still have been, one of the states in third position. In 1992 Colorado held a presidential primary in third position and had the expected “exaggerated” effect on the outcome of the Democratic race. More on that later.

South Carolina and Nevada enjoy the distinction of being the first states to hold early presidential caucuses or primaries that were ordered up by a national political party rather than being the result of the state’s own action.

The two states with established positions at the beginning of the presidential nomination process, Iowa and New Hampshire, got there because their governors and state legislatures worked hard to get them there.

That was not the case with South Carolina and Nevada. They came to have early presidential primaries/caucuses because, in 2008, the Democratic National Committee specifically picked them to vote in the third round of the early caucuses-primaries schedule.

South Carolina will hold its Republican primary next Saturday, February 20. Nevada will hold its Democratic caucuses the same day. Three days later, Nevada will hold Republican caucuses on Tuesday, February 23, and four days after that South Carolina will hold its Democratic primary on Saturday, February 27.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

The Democratic National Committee reacted to criticism that southern voters and western voters were left out of the early primary/caucuses process. Iowa was a Midwestern state, and New Hampshire was an East Coast state, so the Democrats added South Carolina to represent the South and Nevada to stand in for the West.

Another goal was to add racial and ethnic diversity to the early presidential nominating process. Iowa and New Hampshire over represent white voters. South Carolina has a substantial African-American vote, particularly in the Democratic primary, and Nevada has a fairly large Hispanic population.

Half of the state of South Carolina deserved to have an early protected spot in the third round of the primaries/caucuses. That is the Republican half. For years prior to 2008, South Carolina Republicans worked to see they held the “first Republican primary in the South.” As a result, South Carolina became famous as the place where southern Republican voters could begin the process of “reversing” the results from Iowa and New Hampshire.

Thus in 2000 U.S. Senator John McCain of Arizona won a surprise victory in New Hampshire but lost to George W. Bush in South Carolina. Senator McCain’s campaign went downhill from there, and George W. Bush won both the Republican nomination and the presidency.

Nevada voters, on the other hand, were simply lucky when the Democratic National Committee arbitrarily picked them to hold caucuses in the third position after Iowa and New Hampshire. Nevada had never held an early presidential primary or presidential caucuses. Its political leaders had never maneuvered to make it important, as had happened in Iowa, New Hampshire, and on the Republican side in South Carolina.

And now to Colorado. Prior to the 1992 presidential election, the idea of a presidential primary for Colorado was backed by Mike Bird, an influential state senator from Colorado Springs. The proposal passed both houses of the state legislature and was adopted by state voters.

Fortunately for Colorado, the Democratic National Committee had opened the third position, right after New Hampshire, for any state that

wanted to hold a presidential primary. Supposedly the open spot was to placate New York, which wanted a state with a large population voting right after New Hampshire. Because the new date conflicted with Purim, a Jewish holiday, that year, New York declined to hold a presidential primary that day.

But three states – Colorado, Maryland, and Georgia – grabbed the third position and scheduled presidential primaries.

The 1992 race for the Democratic nomination was competitive. Three major candidates, Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, U.S. Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts, and former governor Jerry Brown of California, campaigned hard in Colorado.

Tsongas launched a barrage of television advertisements. Both Bill Clinton and his wife Hillary Clinton gave major speeches. Jerry Brown campaigned at the University of Colorado at Boulder and Colorado College, developing a strong following among students, faculty, and the state's more progressive voters.

For once in its political history, Colorado was experiencing a big-time presidential primary, with candidate visits, coverage by the national media, and candidate ads all over television. The Saturday night before the primary election, all three candidates participated in a televised debate in Denver.

In a surprising upset, Jerry Brown won the Colorado Democratic primary with Bill Clinton a close second and Paul Tsongas a close third. Despite losing Colorado, however, Bill Clinton went on to win the Democratic nomination in 1992 and the presidency.

But then, over the ensuing years up to 2008, Colorado political leaders let the Colorado presidential primary, held right after Iowa and New Hampshire, slip away. By the year 2008, Colorado was voting on Super Tuesday, the day when many states hold primaries and caucuses and Colorado gets lost in the pack.

And now the saddest part of the story. When the Democratic National Committee reformed the primaries/caucuses nominating system in 2008, it announced that any state with an established early primary or caucuses date

could keep it. That meant that if Colorado had not voluntarily given up its early presidential primary, it would still be conducting a primary in third position, about one week after New Hampshire.

Because Colorado did give up its spot, the Democratic National Committee filled the date with South Carolina and Nevada, forcing Colorado to do its presidential nomination voting with a large number of other states on Super Tuesday in early March.

Think of it. The same excitement and national attention currently being focused on the South Carolina primary and the Nevada caucuses could be happening in Colorado. “It might have been.”

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College and have written extensively on presidential elections.

Denver Post

3-13-2016

THE THIRD PHASE OF THE NOMINATING PROCESS

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

The United States electorate is well into Phase 3 of the presidential nominating system. Phase 3 is the 3-and-a-half-month period after Super Tuesday when a variety of states from different geographical areas of the nation hold primaries and caucuses.

Phase 1 was the four elections held in Iowa, New Hampshire, South Carolina, and New Hampshire. These states, guaranteed sole possession of their early voting dates by national Democratic Party rules, enjoy an intense form of personal campaigning by the candidates for months prior to the actual voting. A would-be president chatting with an Iowa farm family in the kitchen of their rural home symbolizes this exotic form of electioneering.

Phase 2 was Super Tuesday, a single election day when 12 states, seven of them in the South, voted all at the same time. With only three days separating the South Carolina Democratic primary (won by Hillary Clinton) from Super Tuesday, there was little or no time prior to Super Tuesday for much personal campaigning. Candidates had to rely on television advertising, television debates, and speeches to large groups in major metropolitan areas to get their message out.

Phase 3 began Saturday, March 5, with contests in Kansas (Cruz and Sanders won), Kentucky (Trump), Louisiana (Trump and Clinton), Maine (Cruz), and Nebraska (Sanders).

Phase 3 is disjointed and disorganized. States schedule primaries and caucuses anytime in the 3-and-a-half-month period they please. No rational individual or organized group set out to create this lengthy period in which many states, some of them quite populous, hold nominating contests.

Here is what to watch for in Phase 3:

- It can be different every four years. A number of states move their primaries or caucuses around frequently from one date to another. A major change for 2016 is that a number of heavily populated states abandoned Super Tuesday and moved into Phase 3, thereby making Phase 3 extra important this year.
- There are Mega-Days on which a number of populous states are holding primaries or caucuses. One is coming this Tuesday with Florida, Illinois, Missouri, North Carolina, and Ohio voting. And then there are days when just one populous state is on the primaries/caucuses docket. States voting on Mega-Days receive less attention from candidates because of so much activity crammed into just one day. On the other hand, states that luckily have one voting day all to themselves will enjoy more candidate visits.
- The large number of states voting during Phase 3 actually has the effect of blunting the influence of money in trying to win so many presidential caucuses and primary elections over a 3-and-a-half month period. There just are too many media markets for any one candidate to buy advertisements in all of them, or even most of them.
- One of the best things for a candidate to have during Phase 3 is the support of state and local party elected officials. Visible and vocal endorsements from a state's governor, U.S. senators, mayors, and state legislators give the candidate good publicity at no cost.
- Also important is national media coverage. Getting an interview on a national television show gains free TV exposure in every state holding a primary or caucuses during Phase 3.
- Another facet of Phase 3 is there is no definite way to determine when a candidate has won his party's nomination for president. Some losing candidates take themselves out of the race, something that has already happened in 2016 with Jeb Bush and Chris Christie. Other candidates, however, refuse to quit, continuing to campaign long after the news media have declared a particular candidate the undisputed

winner and the certain party nominee.

Since 1960, a winning candidate has always emerged in both political parties prior to the end of Phase 3. In some cases, winners have been declared after Phase 2 (Super Tuesday) or right after Phase 1 (Iowa, New Hampshire, etc.). But throughout the past 56 years, Phase 3 (or earlier) has always produced the two party nominees for the November election.

Will there be a Phase 4 this July? An unusual “Dump Trump” campaign is being funded by deep-pocketed Republicans. A similar “Stop Goldwater” movement was mounted by Republican governors Nelson Rockefeller, William Scranton, and George Romney in 1964. It was “too little too late.” Barry Goldwater got the nomination and was soundly defeated by incumbent Democratic President Lyndon Johnson the following November.

Phase 4 in 2016 will take the form of frontrunner Donald Trump failing to gain a majority of the Republican National Convention delegates by the end of the Phase 3 caucuses and primaries. This would result in a contested National Convention, with Trump, Ted Cruz, Mario Rubio, and perhaps an outsider candidate or two slugging it out to gain a convention majority and the nomination.

This year’s race for presidential party nominations is already one for the record books. Two improbable mavericks – Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders – have defined much of the debate by making radical and sometimes shocking proposals.

We will have to see if a Phase 4, a contested Republican National Convention, comes to pass. Meanwhile, the nation will have to slog through those seemingly unending Phase 3 caucuses and primaries.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College who regularly write on Colorado and U.S. politics.

Denver Post
5-27-2016

**GOV. JOHN HICKENLOOPER,
UNWRAPPED AND AVAILABLE**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

John Wright Hickenlooper, Colorado's current governor, has a new wife, a new Lieutenant Governor, and a new book – a book that essentially advertises that our unconventional, quirky and popular term-limited leader is available for other challenges.

The new book, entitled “The Opposite of Woe: My Life in Beer and Politics,” is a standard *campaign biography*. This is not to say the book is untrue or makes up false claims for Hickenlooper. It is more to say the book fits selected facts from Hickenlooper's life and persona into a mold that voters will want to vote for.

Although the life facts of the candidates change from book to book, all campaign biographies are about the same person – an idealized vision of a man or woman that everyone can admire personally and politically support.

Here are the characteristics of campaign biographies and how the Hickenlooper book fits right in:

- Comes from a Distinguished Family – The book describes at length Governor Hickenlooper's many notable forebears. Particularly important were a grandfather who fought in Sherman's March to the Sea in the Civil War and a dedicated and frugal mother who grew up in the upscale Main Line suburbs west of Philadelphia.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

- Went to Well-Known Colleges – Hickenlooper went to Wesleyan University in Connecticut, earning an undergraduate English degree and a graduate Geology degree.
- Despite a Comfortable Upbringing Faced Adversity in Early Life – Hickenlooper’s father died when he was 8-years-old, so he grew up with the trials of having no father. He also lost his job as an oil and gas geologist (and then famously went into the brew-pub business instead).
- Strong Supporter of Family Values – Hickenlooper emphasizes his close relationship to his mother, quoting her common sense motherly wisdom frequently.
- Dragged into Politics by Others – Hickenlooper does a good job of listing countless people who contributed to his political career and urged him to run successfully for mayor of Denver and, later on, successfully for governor of Colorado.
- Above Petty Partisan Politics – This is of course, Hickenlooper’s well-crafted brand. He never emphasizes that he runs for office as a Democrat. “Reaching across the aisle” and doing things in a bipartisan way are his standard modes of operation.
- Takes Frequent Stands on Issues Many People Agree On – Hickenlooper does not just tell his life story. He comments and evaluates things as he writes. He strongly identifies himself with attracting businesses to create jobs, public-private partnerships, municipal unions being forced to bid against private enterprise for jobs, and taking a regional approach to Denver-area problems,

There is one part of the book which is out-of-line with campaign biographies but will probably work in this day and age. Hickenlooper fends off possible damaging inquiries into his private life by telling about his youthful loves, his two marriages, his one divorce, and his one child.

Will it work? Will a book that was published two months before the Democratic National Convention in July gain a vice-presidential nomination for Hickenlooper?

It might work. John Hickenlooper comes across in his biography, as in his political career, as a moderate voter's dream. He is permanently in the middle-of-the-road. He studiously relies on volunteer committees to discover compromises that could solve political and governmental problems.

With outsiders such as Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders stirring the 2016 presidential election pot so stridently, Hickenlooper could bring a soothing and reliable moderate vice-presidential candidate to the Democratic ticket.

And what does Governor Hickenlooper leave out of his campaign biography? He never mentions TaBOR, the Taxpayer's Bill of Rights, which hamstringing Colorado governments financially at both the state and local levels, and which so many good-government groups want to get rid of.

He leaves out the rapidly rising tuitions at the state's public colleges and universities and how difficult that is making it for economically challenged students to get a higher education. There's no comment about the fact that the only way to build new highways in Colorado is through public-private partnerships that charge high tolls on express lanes.

Absent is a discussion of inequality or any of the other issues raised by Bernie Sanders's campaign.

Although a standard campaign biography, Hickenlooper's book celebrates the way Coloradans have dealt with fires, floods, inexplicable violence, and the economic recession of 2007-2009. He takes some justifiable credit for Colorado's economic revitalization – and he waxes rhetorically that Colorado does not quit. Colorado does not break. “What we showed the world is that Colorado is the opposite of woe. Colorado is where we come together and giddy-up.” In like spirit, Hickenlooper is available.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College.

Denver Post
6-3-2016

A LOSIDED SENATE RACE IN COLORADO?

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

The U.S. Senate race in Colorado this year runs the risk of becoming lop-sided—despite the fact that partisan control of the U.S. Senate is very much up for grabs.

Incumbent Senator Michael Bennet looked somewhat vulnerable a year ago. But he is unchallenged in his own Democratic party, and Republicans are now scrambling to identify a challenger—who will be selected in a June 28th primary, mainly by mail-in ballot.

Reports suggest that Bennet has raised well over \$8 million for his campaign and that the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, which he helped run in the last election cycle in 2014, has reserved \$5 million in television time for him to use in the general election this fall.

Bennet has already aired about four television ads. Political junkies will love one of them. It shows how our man in Washington is desperately needed to protect us from – you guessed it – our invidious government in Washington D.C., and from Congress, too.

Bennet has to run scared. Some liberal groups, such as the AFL-CIO and environmentalists, think he might be too moderate for them. And this could end up as one of those anti-establishment, anti-Washington, pro-outsider, wave elections.

Remember that three of the four last standing presidential candidates (Cruz, Sanders, and Trump) all ran as anti-establishment. Only Hillary Clinton is conventional. Moreover, some of the big donors on the GOP side may prefer to give to key congressional races rather than to Trump.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

On the Republican side, five people with relatively unknown political names are competing in the June primary election. All five candidates lack what has traditionally been one of the qualifiers for getting elected to the U.S. Senate from Colorado-- previous service in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The list of Colorado U.S. Senators who came from the U.S. House is long and distinguished. For the Republicans we find Peter Dominick, Bill Armstrong, Hank Brown, Wayne Allard, and most recently, in 2014 Cory Gardner. For the Democrats we have had Tim Wirth, Ben Nighthorse Campbell, and Mark Udall.

Former Democratic U.S. Senator Ken Salazar did not come from the U.S. House, but he had won a statewide election for Colorado Attorney General. Michael Bennet was initially appointed by Governor Bill Ritter to fill a vacancy in a Colorado U.S. Senate seat. Bennet had served as Superintendent of Schools in Denver, and previously as a top aide to Denver Mayor John Hickenlooper.

Look at the previous elected offices of the five men vying for the Republican nomination:

- John Keyser – former one-term Colorado state legislator.
- Darryl Glenn – Colorado Springs City Council member, currently El Paso County Commissioner.
- Robert Blaha –successful businessman, but no elected office
- Jack Graham – Former Colorado State University Athletic Director and NFL player, but no elected office.
- Ryan Frazier – former City Council member from Aurora.

And who are the Republicans who have previously been elected to statewide office and who might have given Colorado voters a real choice for U.S. Senate in 2016?

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

Former Republican Governor Bill Owens would have offered a real challenge to Bennet, but declined to run. Former Colorado Attorney General John Suthers would also have been a strong candidate, but instead he ran successfully for Mayor of Colorado Springs, his home town.

What about Colorado Republicans currently serving in the U.S. House? Scott Tipton from the Western Slope or Mike Coffman from the Denver suburbs would have made competitive candidates, but both opted out. Coffman and Tipton, incidentally, have serious Democratic challengers. Coffman is pitted against former State Senate President Morgan Carroll, and Tipton is running against former State Senator Gail Schwartz.

Why haven't these well-known Republicans – with successful electoral records running for major offices – chosen to run for the U.S. Senate seat?

History shows that well-financed and moderate U.S. Senate incumbents – such as Bennet – are rarely defeated in Colorado. Democrat Mark Udall's defeat in 2014 was an exception, and it was in a non-presidential election year. Democrats have generally done well in presidential election years, such as this year, when a high voter turnout tends to benefit the Democratic Party.

All is not lost for Republicans. If legal questions about her e-mails continue to plague former-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, and if – a big if – Trump begins to act more “presidential,” there is a possibility of a Trump upset in our purple state of Colorado. If Trump were somehow to win Colorado, or even lose the state by a very small percentage, a lesser-qualified Republican U.S. Senate candidate might ride in on his coattails.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College in Colorado Springs.

Not Used
6-21-2016

**MESSY BUT DONE:
THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

The 2016 presidential primaries and caucuses are over, so now is the time to look back over the last four and a half months and draw some conclusions.

Phase 1: The four protected primaries and caucuses in February. This was the third presidential cycle that Democratic Party rules reserved privileged positions for four states: the Iowa caucuses, the New Hampshire primary, the Nevada caucuses, and the South Carolina primary.

As usual, the results from these four states determined who the leading contenders would be. On the Republican side, wealthy businessman Donald Trump won three of the four lead-off states. For the Democrats, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton won three of her four.

The Republican results from the “privileged four states” were most shocking in terms of who was eliminated. Two of the more moderate and mainstream Republican candidates, former Florida Governor Jeb Bush and Governor Chris Christie of New Jersey, did so poorly that both dropped out of the race, thereby leaving Republican moderates with essentially no one for whom to vote. Although a qualified candidate, Ohio Governor John Kasich, who stayed in the race, was arguably too conservative to qualify as a moderate candidate.

To be fair, the two moderate candidates, Bush and Christie, had little to offer voters in the way of galvanizing political issues and appeared to represent the status-quo rather than bold reform.

Donald Trump was at least provocative. His strong criticisms of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), international trade pacts, immigration, border security, and wasteful overseas military spending gave many Republican grassroots voters someone to support.

New Hampshire traditionally votes for more moderate and liberal candidates, not for a celebrity billionaire with no electoral and governmental experience. Longtime political observers knew at once Trump's big victory in New Hampshire was going to make him a force to be reckoned with in the subsequent GOP contests.

Phase 2: Super Tuesday. Democratic Party rules designate the first Tuesday in March as the first day on which any other state can schedule a presidential primary or caucus. The result is traditionally a large number of states voting on that date, but in 2016 Super Tuesday was not all that super. A number of states moved their primaries and caucuses off Super Tuesday and scheduled them later in the spring. The result was a Super Tuesday dominated mainly by southern states.

Super Tuesday almost without exception shows the eventual winners, and that happened in 2016. Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton both won the most states in their respective political parties on that still relatively big day. Experienced observers pretty much knew then who the eventual party presidential nominees would be.

Hillary Clinton benefitted on Super Tuesday from the fact that African-American voters are a significant force in southern state Democratic presidential primaries and caucuses. Due to the Clintons' popularity with black voters, Hillary easily put away Bernie Sanders in that day's voting.

There was a jaw-dropping but little noticed result for Donald Trump on Super Tuesday. He did even better in Massachusetts, one of the most progressive states in the nation, than in the conservative South. Something really unusual was going on with the Republican Party in the North: Trump did well in northern states that were formerly two-party states but had been voting Democratic in recent years.

Phase 3: The Long Boring Slog. After Super Tuesday, the winners settle down to the long and tedious job of slowly piling up, primary after primary and caucus after caucus, enough delegate votes to claim a majority and thus the party's nomination. Trump and Clinton both dutifully got the job done.

A Surprise? Super Delegates as a Momentum Factor. The Democratic Party allows its principal elected officials throughout the nation to come and vote at the National Convention. For the first time in 2016, the vast majority of these Super Delegates were identified as supporting Hillary Clinton. They became a momentum factor making an approximate 500-delegate contribution to Clinton's delegate lead over Bernie Sanders, and thereby making Hillary Clinton unbeatable by Sanders.

Clinton won over Sanders anyway. She smoked him in the South and in New York and California. But her "super-delegate edge" gave her an additional political and psychological boost.

In the end the long messy presidential nominating system worked. Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton were clearly the first choices of those voters who got themselves to the polls and participated in the primaries and caucuses. They simultaneously won majority support of their party members in public opinion polling.

Hillary Clinton is in the process of uniting her party whereas Trump, who seems to immature with age, has thus far failed to unite his party. If his campaign continues to stall, he is likely to be this generation's big loser, as was Barry Goldwater in 1964 and George McGovern in 1972.

That Trump is a divisive figure is not the result of the current nominating process. It has more to do with a political party that is in disarray and undergoing major transition. Trump may be the rogue outsider many Americans, particularly populist Republicans, have been looking for.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College.

Denver Post

7-2-2016

**WILL THERE BE ANY SURPRISES
AT THIS YEAR'S CONVENTIONS?**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Little doubt exists about whom the Republican and Democratic national conventions will nominate for president later this month. The real question is whether a party will have a “good” convention, giving their ticket a boost, or a “bad” convention that hurts their ticket.

Republicans, with 2,470 delegates, will meet at Cleveland’s Quicken Loan Arena on July 18-21. Democrats, with 4,765 delegates, meet in Philadelphia’s Wells Fargo Center on July 25-28.

In the old days, national conventions actually made the decision as to which candidate would win the party nomination for president. Nowadays conventions have four major functions: 1. To unify the party as much as possible around a winning ticket. 2. To select a vice-presidential nominee who will not hurt the ticket. 3. To adopt a platform that tries to placate major party factions without hurting the ticket. 4. Most importantly, to use the prime-time free media opportunity to market their candidate and partisan brand and denigrate the other party’s candidate and brand.

Both conventions in 2016, but especially the Republican, have the exacting challenge of unifying the delegates around their nominee. There will be hundreds of Cruz, Rubio, and Kasich delegates in Cleveland who are not pleased with Donald Trump. Likewise there remain more than a thousand true-believing Bernie Sanders delegates who will be in Philadelphia only reluctantly granting support for Hillary Clinton.

Watch how both Trump and Clinton will allocate a few primetime speaking spots to key runner-ups in the primaries and caucuses. Donald

Trump, however, recently warned that no one gets to give a speech in Cleveland if they do not endorse him for president.

Similarly, it is customary for the presidential nominees to concede a plank or two in the party platform to some of their defeated challengers. This is done as a quid pro quo for healing divisions in the party.

The 2016 Republican convention will be the most watched national convention in history. Trump is obviously a magnet for media coverage. The Republicans are more divided than they have been in fifty years. The media also will repeatedly call attention to the large number of Trump “refusenicks,” prominent Republicans who refuse to go to Cleveland and support Trump. They include the entire Bush clan, Mitt Romney, several Republican governors and senators, and some of the candidates who ran unsuccessfully in the Republican primaries and caucuses.

Can the brash, self-centered Trump be the healer, conciliator, and unifier his national convention so desperately needs? That will be the \$64 question at the Cleveland GOP confab.

At the 2016 Democratic convention, Hillary Clinton will predictably grant a primetime speaking slot to Bernie Sanders, who will rail against Wall Street and give another lecture on redistributive public policies. Democrats will cheer him enthusiastically but be glad to have the more moderate Hillary Clinton as their candidate.

An example of a bad convention was 1968 in the Democratic Party. Hubert H. Humphrey had sewed up the nomination, but a large group of delegates came to the convention to support an anti-Vietnam War candidate, Eugene McCarthy. While McCarthy delegates were challenging Humphrey on the war issue on the convention floor, thousands of antiwar demonstrators were battling with police on the streets of Chicago, all of the mayhem playing on television.

Humphrey narrowly lost the election to Republican Richard M. Nixon that November.

The best example of a good convention was the Democratic Party get-together in Madison Square Garden in New York in 1992. The Democratic

nominee, Bill Clinton, hired successful Hollywood television producers to generate positive images for him and his political party. The result was a convention with a very homey and intimate look on TV. Instead of televising dull speeches by middle-aged men and women speaking to the convention, the producers focused instead on Clinton dancing with his wife, Hillary Clinton, in a basement room of a department store across the street from Madison Square Garden. Bill and Hillary were shown with their teen-age daughter, Chelsea, and a group of their closest political friends and supporters.

More than any convention, the 1992 Democratic convention illustrated the extent to which national conventions were no longer political events but have evolved into Hollywood-style television productions. The lift that Democratic nominee Bill Clinton received from the 1992 Democratic National Convention helped him to defeat George H. W. Bush and go into the White House.

At the 2016 national conventions, look for events that make good television. Al Gore opened the 2000 Democratic convention by giving his wife, Tipper, a long and romantic kiss (alas they are now divorced). John Kerry, to remind everyone of his military service as a Navy Seal during the Vietnam War, walked on to the speaker's platform at the 2004 Democratic convention, looked directly into the television camera, came to attention, gave a crisp military salute, and said: "John Kerry reporting for duty."

Although the national conventions no longer choose the party nominees for president, they remain an important part of American political life. The conventions now represent the political parties' best efforts to dramatically make their case to the American people that they and their candidates will make the best choice for the voters in November. For that reason they are still worth doing and worth watching.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy, political scientists at Colorado College, have served as delegates or commentators at more than ten national conventions.

Denver Post

8-25-2016

**POLITICALLY HOMELESS IN COLORADO:
TRUMP COULD BE “THE FINAL STRAW”
FOR COLORADO’S MODERATE REPUBLICANS**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Donald Trump’s boisterous and confrontational campaign for U.S. president may be the final straw that drives Colorado’s few remaining moderate Republicans out of the party.

Trump, an outsider candidate who wrested the Republican nomination away from the party’s socially conservative establishment, seems to be doing everything in his power to antagonize Republicans with moderate proclivities, a group that 60 years ago was the mainstay of the GOP.

They were called “Eisenhower Republicans” then because of their strong support for Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower. “Ike,” as he was known, embraced a cooperative and compromising domestic policy along with a strongly internationalist foreign policy.

Eisenhower Republicans tended to be upper middle class. They were doctors, lawyers, business persons, and small entrepreneurs. They rapidly moved into the fast-growing suburbs that sprang up around America’s largest cities after World War II, making those suburbs the core of Republican Party voting support for decades to come.

Conservative critics labeled these moderate Republicans “me too” Republicans because, although strong supporters of business and free enterprise, the moderate Republicans saw the need for and mostly supported New Deal welfare programs such as Social Security, unemployment insurance, Medicare (for the elderly), and Medicaid (for the poor).

Moderate Republicans signed on to an internationalist foreign policy designed to win the Cold War. They backed NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization), and similar cooperative efforts with other nations to check the military power of the Soviet Union.

The initial attack on Republican moderates from within the Republican Party came in the 1980s and 1990s. Social conservatives, who were single-mindedly opposed to abortion and resisted wider acceptance of gays and lesbians and same-sex marriage, began to compete with the moderates for party power.

Using Colorado's caucus system for selecting party leadership, the social conservatives packed precinct caucuses in El Paso County (and throughout Colorado) and by 2000 had driven a good many moderates out of party power.

This social conservative takeover of the reins of power in the Republican Party in Colorado initiated the slow exodus of moderates from the party. Most moderates did not go along with being strongly anti-abortion and anti-gay and lesbian rights. Many kept their registration Republican but began voting for Democrats in the general election, particularly Democrats who described themselves as middle-of-the-road and bipartisan.

If they changed their party registration, most of these moderate Republicans became unaffiliated. They preferred being politically homeless to registering Democratic, Libertarian, or Green Party.

Other moderate Republicans, however, particularly the children and grandchildren of the old Eisenhower Republicans, left the GOP altogether and began voting consistently Democratic.

Donald Trump has done nothing to win Republican moderates back into the Republican Party. Trump's proposed tax cuts and budget cuts threaten the social welfare programs that moderate Republicans supported in the past.

Most of all, Trump's attacks on NATO and his isolationist and xenophobic statements make his foreign policy unacceptable to moderates.

Our ideas about the demise of moderate Republicans in Colorado (and throughout the nation, for that matter) have been presented in public lectures. Invariably a few persons come up to us afterward and acknowledge that they are among the moderate Republicans who no longer feel at home in the Republican Party.

Many cite the old cliché: “I did not leave the Republican Party – the party left me.”

The 2016 presidential primaries and caucuses were tough on moderate Republicans. Two candidates with some appeal to moderates, former Florida Governor Jeb Bush and New Jersey Governor Chris Christie, were eliminated after only four contests – Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada, and South Carolina.

A third GOP candidate for the Republican nomination, Ohio Governor John Kasich, was somewhat less moderate than Bush or Christie but still failed to get any traction except in his home state.

From that point on for moderates, there was an unpleasant choice between Trump and U.S. Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, a doctrinaire social conservative.

Who will get the votes of Colorado’s disaffected Republican moderates in the general election this November? Hillary Clinton has many drawbacks, from the Benghazi episode to her personal computer problems as former Secretary of State. Yet, similar to her husband Bill Clinton when he was president, she has situated herself in a center left position that will be a plausible place for disaffected moderate Republicans to shift their support.

The Republican Party in Colorado has fared poorly in statewide general elections since its moderate members began leaving. Since 2002 the Democrats in Colorado have won three of four governorship races, three out of five U.S. Senate races, and two out of three presidential contests.

Once considered a red state (generally Republican), Colorado is now considered purple (a swing state). If Donald Trump further antagonizes the moderates left in the Republican Party, Colorado could turn solid blue (mostly Democratic) for a while once the November elections are over.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

Some caveats here. Even with so many disaffected moderates leaving the party, the Republicans will still have plenty of political power in Colorado. Republican county commissioners outnumber Democrats by two to one. A number of the state's members of the U.S. House of Representatives are Republicans. The Republicans also do well at winning lesser-known statewide offices such as Attorney General, Treasurer, and Secretary of State.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College.

Denver Post
8-27-2016

DO AWAY WITH PRIMARIES AND CAUCUSES

By Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy

It is Labor Day weekend, the traditional time for presidential election campaigns to begin in earnest.

It is a grim time for many Republicans, however, as the Republican candidate, Donald Trump, is slumping in the polls, is being heavily outspent by his Democratic opponent, and can never find the right words to begin winning the support of the various demographic groups that make up the United States electorate.

In other words, the nominating system that we use for selecting major party presidential candidates appears to have failed the Republican Party in 2016. The arcane and basically uncontrolled series of state presidential primaries and caucuses has saddled the Republicans with an outsider candidate with no previous campaign experience who, unless things change radically between now and November, is stumbling toward what may be a punishing loss for the GOP.

It is one more example of how the arcane series of presidential primaries and caucuses currently used to select political party nominees for president is grossly unfair to and highly unrepresentative of a great mass of American voters. Let us count the ways:

- Magnification of early-voting states. The most unfair aspect of the primaries/caucuses nominating system is that two states – Iowa and New Hampshire – are allowed to vote first and have an outsized influence over who wins and who loses. The relative small populations of these two states only add to the unfairness. The extra attention showered on the voters of these two states by

the news media and the presidential candidates creates an electoral “aristocracy” that lords it over the poor “peasants” forced to vote later in the process.

- Presidential caucuses, developed solely so that Iowa could vote prior to the New Hampshire primary, are one of the most unfair and unequal democratic institutions ever invented. Limiting participation to party members who can devote 2 to 3 hours of evening time to cast a caucus ballot results in low turnouts of eligible voters around 15 percent. This is disenfranchisement for having to stay home with small children, or working the swing shift, of having an interest in politics but not enough interest to devote so much extra time and effort to it. The worst aspect is Republican caucuses tend to over represent arch conservatives and Democratic caucuses are dominated by far out liberals.
- Super Tuesday, the first date on which any state can conduct a primary or caucuses, has reverted back to being dominated by Southern states. That gives the South tremendous leverage, not shared by other regions of the nation, to propel forward particular presidential candidates. This year’s Super Tuesday made undisputed leaders in the two races, if not winners, of Hillary Clinton for the Democrats and Donald Trump for the Republicans. It is as unfair to give one region an advantage over another as it is to give one state an advantage over another.
- As noted at the start of this article, states with late-scheduled primaries and caucuses on the calendar are frequently left out of the decision-making when the race is decided at an earlier date. Given the large populations of some of the states involved, this is probably the most unequal aspect of the primaries/caucuses nominating system.
- Super-delegates, particularly in the Democratic Party, give an unfair advantage to elected party officials over ordinary Democrats voting in the primaries and caucuses. This has been particularly

obvious in this year's race between Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders for the Democratic nomination. Clinton was able to announce early on, before many states had voted, that she had a commanding lead over Sanders among the super-delegates, elected Democratic officials such as governors and senators who automatically become convention delegates. The periodic announcement of Clinton's lead among super-delegates has given her an overwhelming momentum advantage over Sanders. The race would have been much closer – and more fair – if the super-delegates were not part of it.

We live in a nation in which Supreme Court decisions have declared “one person – one vote” to guarantee equal representation of voters in state legislative elections. We have the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that guarantees equal treatment in elections to minority groups. Strangely, these principles concerning fair and equal voting rights have never been applied to the presidential primaries and caucuses system. We have a system that greatly empowers certain state voters and, in many cases, completely disenfranchises others.

If we are to have equal treatment of all American voters in the presidential nominating process, Congress must pass a law creating a national presidential primary in which, on the same day, all party members in both political parties will cast their vote for their favored candidate for president. Several weeks later, the top two plurality winners in each party will runoff against each other, and the majority winner of that race will be the party nominee.

The president of the United States (and his or her chosen vice-president) is the only nationally elected official in the country. It stands to reason that Congress should create a national system, guaranteeing voting equality to every party member, for selecting major political party nominees.

There is nothing radical about this proposal. Most states use statewide primaries to nominate party candidates for state offices. Many cities do too.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

And a few states and many cities have runoffs between the top two finishers to guarantee majority party support for the winning nominee.

If we believe what we say so often that voters should be treated equally and fairly, then we must get rid of our highly unfair and unequal system of presidential primaries and caucuses.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College.

Denver Post
9-17-2016

**THINK TWICE BEFORE
EMBRACING THE LIBERTARIAN TICKET**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Conflicted and dissatisfied American voters are understandably giving at least a curious look at America’s most intriguing third-party ticket – the Libertarian team of former New Mexico Governor Gary Earl Johnson and former Massachusetts Governor William Floyd “Bill” Weld.

Both of these governors won easy re-election to a second term and flourished as Republicans in blue states. They are engaging, personable, and, as is now relevant, likeable and healthy. Johnson was a highly successful businessman and a noted athlete – he has climbed Mount Everest. Weld has an aristocratic bearing and heritage, and he has been a noted attorney and prosecutor. He is also a novelist and a cousin of novelist John Nichols.

Former Minnesota Governor Jesse Ventura has endorsed this ticket.

And who among us doesn’t cherish liberty? Libertarians, in their May 2016 platform, emphasized that “We seek a world of liberty; a world in which all individuals are sovereign over their own lives and no one is forced to sacrifice his or her values for the benefit of others.”

Libertarians – in a long tradition ranging from the Anti-Federalists to Henry David Thoreau, Ayn Rand, and Edward Abbey, among others – are skeptical and suspicious of all government – even “good government.” “We, the members of the Libertarian Party,” says their platform, “challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of individuals. We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise the sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to

live in whatever manner they choose, as long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal rights of others to live in whatever manner they choose.”

Johnson and Weld are viewed as more progressive libertarians than Texas Congressman Ron Paul, who was the face of Libertarianism a few years ago. They oppose the government getting involved in any regulations of abortion. They also favor decriminalizing recreational drugs, and Johnson has a reputation for enjoying recreational drugs.

But this year’s Libertarian ticket puts a happy face on questionable policies. Many voters will want to think twice before they are tempted to vote for these policies and this ticket.

Here are some Libertarian Party Platform positions:

- “We call for the end and repeal of the income tax, the abolishment of the IRS and all federal programs not required under the U.S. Constitution.”
- “We support the passage of the Balanced Budget Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, provided that the budget is balanced exclusively by cutting expenditures . . .”
- “We favor a free-market health care system.”
- “The United States should both avoid entangling alliances and abandon its attempts to act as a policeman for the world.” [They would end military and economic aid to other nations].
- “We are committed to ending the government’s practice of spying on everyone.” [Snowden would be pleased.]
- “Libertarians would phase out the current government-sponsored Social Security System and transition to a private voluntary system. All efforts by government to redistribute wealth, or to control or manage trade, are improper in a free society.”
- “Government should not be subsidizing any particular form of energy. We oppose all government control of energy pricing, allocation, and production.”

- “We oppose all laws at any level of government restricting, registering, or monitoring the ownership, manufacture, or transfer of firearms or ammunition.”

Well, that’s a representative sample directly from the Libertarian Platform. Some of these ideas are intriguing and idealistic and have an immediate emotional appeal. But what kind of society would result from these policies? All of us, understandably, have a libertarian streak and some of this is healthy. But we must balance that impulse with a sense of community, inclusiveness and fairness.

Most of the Libertarian Platform positions are implausible or wrong-headed to many people. Abolish Social Security? Zero foreign aid? Zero military aid for threatened allies such as Israel and South Korea? Zero help for a temporarily ailing industry like the automobile industry? No Medicare or Obamacare? No NATO, NSF, PBS, Clean Air Act, National Parks, disability assistance? No gun registration? No IRS? No programs to lessen inequality in America? No programs to promote renewable energy? . . .

What are they smoking?

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy have written several books on American politics and are co-authors of “Colorado Politics and Policy: Governing a Purple State.”

Denver Post
9-12-2016

**PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES –
WATCH FOR “GAFFES” AND “ZINGERS”**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Here come the 2016 presidential television debates. Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Donald Trump face off on Monday, September 26. What happens in the television debates can sometimes determine the outcome of the presidential election.

Viewers should be watching for three things. First is the “physical appearance” and health of the candidates. Second is whether one or both candidates make a major “gaffe.” Third is whether one of the candidates succeeds in delivering a “zinger” – a cutting and memorable remark – against his or her opponent.

The first presidential debates on television were held in 1960. The Republican nominee for president, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, agreed to a series of face-to-face TV debates with the Democratic nominee, U.S. Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

Nixon hoped the debates would reveal the youthful Kennedy to be both less informed and less prepared to be president.

Nixon underestimated the effect of John Kennedy’s good looks when on television. Kennedy appeared suntanned, well rested, and confident. The image of Kennedy that came over the airwaves was warm, personal, and appealing.

The TV persona of Vice President Nixon, on the other hand, was disadvantaged by a poor makeup job that made him look dark, unshaven, and almost sinister.

John F. Kennedy narrowly won the 1960 presidential election, one of

the closest in American history. Many commentators attributed Kennedy's razor-thin margin of victory to his better "physical appearance" and poise in the television debates.

Lesson learned: televised presidential debates favor confident, attractive candidates with good television personalities.

In 1976 Gerald R. Ford, the incumbent Republican President, believed the debates would increase his "presidential stature" in the eyes of the American people. President Ford agreed to television debates with his lesser-known Democratic opponent, Jimmy Carter, the former governor of Georgia.

As so often happens, history repeated itself. A major "gaffe" by the better-known candidate, President Gerald Ford, enabled the lesser-known candidate, Jimmy Carter, to gain points.

Responding to a question, President Ford said the major nations of Eastern Europe were no longer under the domination and control of the Soviet Union. This statement was greeted with incredulity by reporters and news commentators. At that point in time, the Soviet Union maintained large standing armies in Eastern Europe. The various nations in the region were universally referred to as "Soviet puppets."

Jimmy Carter narrowly won the 1976 presidential election. Gerald Ford's big "gaffe" in the presidential television debates was a factor in Carter's victory. The Watergate issue was an even larger factor that hurt all Republican candidates that year.

Lesson learned: Whatever you do, do not commit a "gaffe" in a presidential debate similar to Gerald Ford's in 1976.

Four years later, the 1980 presidential debates pitted President Carter against Ronald Reagan, the Republican nominee for president, who previously was a two-term governor of California.

President Carter had presided over a sagging national economy characterized by both high unemployment and runaway inflation. In a skillful effort to exploit public displeasure with the sour economy, Ronald

Reagan looked directly into the TV camera and asked the American electorate: “Are you better off than you were four years ago?”

For millions of viewers, the obvious answer was a definite “No.”

Ronald Reagan defeated incumbent President Jimmy Carter. Many observers saw Reagan’s incriminating question of Carter, fired off on a presidential television debate, as a turning point in the campaign.

Lesson learned: Try to launch a “zinger” question or comment at your opponent – a damaging phrase that makes your opponent look bad to the television audience.

Since the 1980s, the memorable history of presidential debates has been of the most significant “physical appearance” failures, “gaffes” and “zingers.” For example:

In 1984, when Ronald Reagan ran for reelection, Reagan was asked during a debate about the “age issue,” a question directed at Reagan being somewhat elderly at the time. Reagan zinged back that he would not raise the age issue by commenting on the obvious youth and inexperience of his opponent, former Vice President Walter Mondale, a younger man.

A “gaffe” was committed by incumbent Republican President George H. W. Bush in 1992. In the midst of a presidential debate, the television camera caught Bush looking at his watch, as if he was bored by the debate and yearning for it to be over. That insignificant incident elicited major negative comment from the news media and helped send Bush’s Democratic opponent, former Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, into the White House.

Then in 1996, there was a reminder of how much appearance matters in the debates. Republican Robert Dole of Kansas was challenging incumbent Democratic President Bill Clinton, who was 20 years younger than Dole.

Similar to what happened to Richard Nixon in 1960, Dole’s team poured on the heavy makeup to hide Dole’s many wrinkles, giving him heavy cheeks that had him look looking like the cowardly lion in the film *The Wizard of Oz*. Dole’s makeup overdose was a major distraction and helped Clinton win reelection.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

So, as the 2016 presidential debates begin, viewers will inevitably look at, and the news media will emphasize, three things: “Physical appearance,” “gaffes,” and “zingers.”

Yet we should, even more importantly, ask which candidate will do a better job of growing the economy, enhancing the American Dream opportunities for everyone, providing for our national security, and helping us pursue the common good.

These ideals are from the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution. They remain the best job description for the U.S. president.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College who have written extensively on the U.S presidency and presidential elections.

Denver Post
10-1-2016

**IF TRUMP WANTS TO WIN COLORADO,
HE MUST SLOW DEMOCRATS' DOMINANCE IN DENVER**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Recent polls indicate a close race in Colorado between Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Donald Trump, but Trump cannot win in Colorado until he does something about the “Three Ds” – Decidedly Democratic Denver.

Democratic voters in the city and county of Denver have been on a tear in the last four presidential elections (2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012), increasing their dominance over Republicans in each succeeding quadrennial presidential matchup by a large number of votes.

Political analysts and politicians value a city or a county in a presidential election by the “margin” of votes it consistently provides for one major political party over the other. Thus, in the 2000 presidential election between Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore, the city and county of Denver gave Democrat Gore a margin over Republican Bush of 61,469 votes.

That was not enough to give Colorado’s electoral votes that year to Democrat Al Gore. Republican George W. Bush won elsewhere in the state by a wider margin than that and put Colorado in the Republican column in 2000.

But look what happened four years later in 2004. Democrat John Kerry swept the city and county of Denver by a vote margin of 96,232 (Democratic votes over Republican votes), an increase of more than 34,000 votes over the 61,469 Democratic vote margin in 2000. Clearly something was going on with the Democrats in Denver.

That big Democratic vote margin in the city and county of Denver in 2004, however, was not enough to put Colorado's electoral votes in the Democratic camp. Big Republican margins outside of Denver overcame that big Denver vote, and John Kerry lost Colorado to George W. Bush, who was reelected to the White House.

But the best vote margin performance for Democrats in the city and county of Denver was yet to come. From 2004 to 2008, when Democrat Barack Obama ran against Republican John McCain, the Mile High City increased its Democratic vote margin by more than 46,000 votes to a whopping 142,315. That was enough to make a major contribution to Obama winning Colorado and the rest of the nation as he was elected President in 2008.

Surely, after that surprisingly high Democratic vote margin in 2008, Denver Democrats would have lost a little ground when Obama ran for reelection in 2012. But that was not the case. The Democrats actually increased their Denver vote margin over the Republicans by more than 6,000 votes, hitting the dizzying margin of 148,907.

That 148,907 figure for 2012 was 87,438 margin votes more than the 61,469 vote margin twelve years earlier in 2000.

What does this mean? It suggests that, if the Democrats can regularly "come out of Denver," as the politicians like to say, with a 140,000 plus vote margin, it will be challenging for the Republicans to carry Colorado in presidential elections.

It also suggests that what the Republicans need to do is saw the city and county of Denver into small parts and then let it float piece by piece down the South Platte River into Nebraska and completely out of Colorado presidential elections. Then the Republicans might have a chance of winning the state.

OK. That's implausible. The real question is: "Has Donald Trump, with his rough-housing campaign style and his attacks on immigrants, done anything that might appeal to Denver voters and get them to not be so decidedly Democratic?" We think the answer is: "Not yet."

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

We have also noticed that Hillary Clinton has raised a great deal of money and is spending much of it on a major ground campaign to “Get out the vote!” mainly in large cities such as Denver. That should go a long way toward helping Denver get out its traditionally big Democratic vote margin.

It is interesting to compare the city and county of Denver with El Paso County, the county that includes Colorado Springs. In the 2000 presidential election, El Paso County had a larger Republican margin – 66,495 votes – than Denver’s Democratic margin of 61,469. El Paso County, in effect, took Denver out of the game.

By the 2012 presidential election, however, Denver had increased its Democratic margin by 87,438 votes but El Paso County had *decreased* its Republican margin by 7,362 votes. That helps explain why Colorado went from a red (Republican) state to a purple (swing) state and may now be on its way to turning into a blue-leaning (Democratic) state.

Both Denver and El Paso County (Colorado Springs) were changing. But while most people weren’t looking, they were moving toward the Democrats, although by vastly different degrees.

The city and county of Denver contains about 12 percent of the state’s voters, but it is having an outsized effect on the state’s voting in presidential elections. The Denver tail is wagging the Colorado presidential election dog, and its wagging it Democratic.

Donald Trump and Republicans must take note of this. It is their Mile High challenge.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College.

Denver Post
10-15-2016

CLARIFYING COLORADO BALLOT ISSUES

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Every two years Colorado voters get to act as state legislators and state constitutional reformers. This season we have six amendments to the state constitution to vote on – two innocuous ones referred by more than a two-thirds vote of the state legislature in Denver – and four controversial citizen-initiated measures (Amendments 69, 70, 71, and 72)

There are, in addition, three citizen-initiated propositions that could become state laws (Propositions 106, 107, and 108). These propositions will become state statutes rather than constitutional laws, which means that the state legislature can amend them if necessary at a future date.

Two preliminary observations: Coloradans get to vote on more statewide laws and constitutional amendments than citizens in all but two or three other states, such as California. It is part of our populist Western heritage. Also Coloradans typically vote a majority of citizen-initiated measures down, especially when they call for new taxes or are especially complicated or convoluted as is the case with a number of ballot issues this year. There is a “When in doubt vote No!” inclination, which is a very human reaction.

We concentrate here on the citizen-initiated ballot issues:

Amendment 69 – Statewide Health Care or Colorado Care. Senator Bernie Sanders and his supporters are correct. Too many people, usually poor people, are inadequately served by our health care and health insurance systems. Colorado governor John Hickenlooper and the Colorado state legislature should be addressing this issue, but are not. Amendment 69 will fail because most voters will not be able to understand it, fear it will

raise their taxes, and, in the shadow of Obamacare, do not believe governments have their act together on this critical issue.

We both oppose it.

Amendment 70 – Raise The Minimum Wage. The current minimum wage in Colorado is \$8.31 an hour. Approving this amendment would gradually raise the lowest wage to \$12 an hour in 2020.

Labor unions, liberal and progressive non-profit groups, and Governor Hickenlooper support this because they feel the minimum wage has not kept pace with health, housing, transportation, and food costs. This makes it near impossible for low end workers to survive on just their wages. Colorado's economy is booming, it is said, and now is the time to share the wealth.

Many economists approve this measure, but restaurant owners and small businesspeople, especially in rural areas of the state, oppose it.

We both will vote for it and believe it will be approved with strong support from Hillary Clinton's and Bernie Sanders's constituencies.

Amendment 71 – Make It Tougher to Pass Citizen Initiated Constitutional Amendments. It is widely agreed that it is much easier in Colorado than almost any other state for citizens or special interests to amend the Colorado state constitution. The provisions of Amendment 71 would make it much harder to do this. They require petitioning groups to gather two percent of their signatures from each of Colorado's 35 state senate districts spread around the state. They also require a 55 percent supermajority approval vote for the amendment to pass, higher than the simple majority vote (50 percent plus 1) required now.

Political and business leaders are strongly supportive of this measure. They believe direct democracy devices such as initiated state constitutional amendments have weakened representative government in Colorado and prefer the state legislature, not the general public, to make the laws. They also do not like ideas that can be passing fads to be cemented into the state's already long and complicated constitution.

But libertarian groups like the Colorado Independence Institute and liberal and progressive citizen groups like Common Cause say the

geographic signature requirement goes too far in the direction of weakening citizen voting rights in Colorado. Critics also say Amendment 71 is rigging the system against popular control and may make it extremely hard to remove the Tabor Amendment, which severely limits state and local tax collections, in coming years.

We are divided on this issue. Tom Cronin believes Amendment 71 is well-intentioned and moves in the right direction, but he sees it is an example of overreach. He wishes the Denver elites that wrote this had made their geographical restrictions less onerous by only requiring a portion of the votes to come from each of Colorado's seven congressional (U.S. House of Representatives) districts.

Bob Loevy agrees with all that, but he believes tighter restrictions need to be applied to initiated constitutional amendments as soon as possible.

We both believe Amendment 71 will fail.

Amendment 72: Tax the Hell Out of Cigarettes and Tobacco. This amendment significantly raises taxes – 84 cents a pack – on cigarettes and a similarly high tax on other tobacco products. The additional revenues would go to medical research, health clinics, and veterans' services.

Proponents contend that discouraging tobacco use is one of the best ways of saving lives and encouraging healthy living. Opponents say this is a tax that falls disproportionately on low income people and is yet another example of Nanny State regulation.

Tom Cronin favors Amendment 72 because it will discourage some people from continuing to smoke. Bob Loevy opposes it because of the high cost to low-income smokers. He also believes such detailed tax regulations do not belong in the state constitution.

We both think it will pass but note that, not surprisingly, tobacco interests are spending huge amounts of money to defeat it.

Proposition 106 – Access to Medical Aid in Dying Medication. This would change state law and not be in the state constitution. If it is approved, terminally ill patients could access physician prescribed medicine

to end their lives. Four states other than Colorado now provide for this type of medically-assisted suicide.

Some Catholic and other religious leaders, along with anti-abortion advocates, oppose this. They fear that the “right-to-die” intention could eventually lead to a “duty-to-die” practice. There also is the worry that children who stand to inherit money will pressure elderly or ill parents to prematurely end their lives.

The measure specifically stipulates that two licensed physicians confirm the medical prognosis and that the patient be mentally capable of making a voluntary decision. Yet there is some confusion as to who precisely would administer the fatal medicine and whether it could be self-administered or perhaps ordered by mail. In our view, the measure is poorly worded and confusing.

We believe Colorado will become the fifth state permitting medically-assisted suicide, and we are both in favor of it. Since it will be state law rather than embedded in the state constitution, we urge the state legislature and the governor, if the law is adopted, to bring more precision to this important law.

Proposition 107 – Providing for Presidential Primary Elections in Colorado that Allow Unaffiliated Voters to Participate. This would be state law and not in the state constitution. It would create a Colorado presidential primary in which unaffiliated voters, as well as registered political party members, could vote for their choice for the Democratic or Republican Party nomination for president of the United States. Unaffiliated voters, who are about 35 percent of the registered voters in Colorado, could vote in the party of their choice.

We do not like that this proposed law gives all of the state’s delegate votes to the party national convention to the winner of the primary. We strongly prefer that the delegate votes be divided proportionately among the candidates according to the vote they received in the primary. We support this proposed law because it is better than having no presidential primary at all. If it passes, and we both believe it will, we would urge the state

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

legislature and the governor to make the allocation of delegate votes proportional.

Proposition 108: Let Unaffiliated Voters Vote in Nonpresidential Party Primaries. This is a companion to Proposition 107. Like 107, it would be state law rather than permanently glued into the state constitution. It recognizes that our existing political nominating process unfairly excludes the one-third of registered voters who are unaffiliated.

We both support this measure in the name of extending the right to vote and participate in the civic life of our state to as many voters as possible. It should pass easily.

Coloradans have a lot of choices to make and homework to do this voting season.

Colorado College political scientists Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are the authors of “Colorado Politics and Policy: Governing a Purple State.”

**PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS
AND STATE LAWS
ON THE 2016 COLORADO BALLOT**

	<u>CRONIN</u>	<u>LOEVY</u>	<u>PASS?</u>
Amendment T: No Exception to Involuntary Servitude Prohibition	YES	YES	YES
Amendment U: Exempt Certain Possessory Interests from Property Taxes	YES	YES	YES
Amendment 69: Statewide Healthcare System	NO	NO	NO
Amendment 70: State Minimum Wage	YES	YES	YES

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

	<u>CRONIN</u>	<u>LOEVY</u>	<u>PASS?</u>
Amendment 71: Requirements for Constitutional Amendments	NO	YES	NO
Amendment 72: Increase Cigarette and Tobacco Taxes	YES	NO	YES
Proposition 106: Access to Medical Aid-In-Dying Medication	YES	YES	YES
Proposition 107: Presidential Primary Elections	YES	YES	YES
Proposition 108: Unaffiliated Voter Participation in Primary Elections	YES	YES	YES

Denver Post
10-11-2016

**HOW COLORADO COUNTIES
WILL VOTE ON NOVEMBER 8**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

Denver and Boulder County will provide the greatest number of votes in Colorado for Democrat Hillary Clinton on Election Day next Tuesday. On the other hand, the strongest voting support for Republican Donald Trump will come from El Paso County (Colorado Springs), Douglas County (Castle Rock), and Weld County (Greeley).

The important swing counties, which have significant populations and could vote for either Clinton or Trump, are Jefferson County (western Denver suburbs), Arapahoe County (southern Denver suburbs), and Larimer County (Fort Collins). All three of these populous counties voted for Republican George W. Bush in 2004 (the last time a Republican presidential candidate won Colorado) but shifted to Democrat Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012.

Jefferson, Arapahoe, and Larimer counties are thus must-win counties for Donald Trump if he is to capture Colorado from Hillary Clinton.

Elsewhere in Colorado, there are other centers of Democratic support. Broomfield City and County, Adams County (Brighton), Pueblo County, and downtown Colorado Springs (plus Manitou Springs) are four of them. Southern Colorado (Huerfano, Saguache, Alamosa, Costilla, and Conejos counties) are consistently Democratic as a result of Hispanic voters, but small populations reduce the effect of these counties on the statewide outcome.

A little-known but increasingly important source of Democratic votes in Colorado is the Western Slope counties with popular ski areas anchoring year-round resort communities. These counties and their ski areas, running

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

north to south, are Routt County (Steamboat), Eagle County (Vail), Summit County (Breckenridge, Keystone, etc.), Pitkin County (Aspen), Gunnison County (Crested Butte), and San Miguel County (Telluride).

The L. L. Bean millennials and wealthy people who live and vote in these ski resort counties prefer the Democrats to the Republicans by a growing margin.

A notable source of Republican support on the map of Colorado is the Eastern Plains. From Sedgewick County (Julesburg) in the north to Prowers County (Lamar) to the south, the farmers and townspeople in this rural-agricultural part of the state prefer the Republicans by high percentages. As in Southern Colorado for the Democrats, however, low populations reduce the statewide impact.

On the Western Slope, the majority of the counties that do not have ski areas vote strongly Republican. Foremost among them is Mesa County with its county seat at Grand Junction. The most populous county on the Western Slope, Grand Junction makes a significant contribution to the Republican cause in Colorado.

In the 2012 presidential election between Democrat Barack Obama and Republican Mitt Romney, the most Democratic counties in Colorado were Denver City and County and Costilla County (San Luis) in Southern Colorado. Both voted 75 percent Democratic to 25 percent Republican. The most Republican County was Kiowa County (Eads) on the Eastern Plains, which tallied 85 percent Republican to 15 percent Democratic. Hot behind it was Cheyenne County, also on the Eastern Plains, which came in at 84 percent Republican.

Two counties in the 2012 presidential election landed right in the middle. Las Animas County (Trinidad) split 51 percent for Obama to 49 percent for Romney. In Chaffee County (Salida) it was amazingly close, with Obama beating Romney countywide by only 16 votes.

As in many other states in the United States, Coloradans are making “similar housing choices.” Democrats are tending to locate in Democratic cities, and Republicans are migrating to outlying distant suburbs and rural

areas. This trend is most apparent in Denver, where the size of the Democratic vote has grown from 166,135 in 2004 to 222,018 in 2012.

In fact, with the 2012 election results, if Denver is eliminated from the statewide results in Colorado, Republican Mitt Romney would have won the state rather than Democrat Barack Obama. Obama won Colorado by 137,859 votes in 2012, but he carried Denver by 148,907 votes. Do the math, and it is obvious how necessary Denver has become to the Democrats winning in Colorado.

The polar opposite of Denver for the Republicans is Douglas County (Castle Rock). Although Douglas County is in the Denver metropolitan area, it is the most distant county from Denver in the metro area and qualifies as an outer suburb. Its Republican vote grew from 80,651 in 2004 to 104,397 in 2012, the best of any Colorado Republican county.

Although a particular county may strongly vote for one political party, members of the other party should still go to the polls and cast their votes. Take heavily Republican El Paso County (Colorado Springs) for example. El Paso County Democrats cast 111,819 votes for Barack Obama in 2012. That's almost as many as the 125,091 votes Obama racked up in super-Democratic Boulder County that year.

On Election Night 2016, if you can find them, watch for the election results in the three swing counties – Jefferson, Arapahoe, and Larimer. If they are going for one candidate, he – Donald Trump – or she – Hillary Clinton – will doubtless carry Colorado in the election. If the four counties start splitting for different candidates, it will definitely be one of the closest elections for Colorado's nine electoral votes in history.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College.

Denver Post
10-22-2016

**IF YOU ARE NOT LIVING IN A SWING STATE,
YOU ARE NOT HAVING A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

It has been fun living in a “swing” state – like Colorado – at presidential election time? The two major candidates, Hillary Clinton for the Democrats and Donald Trump for the Republicans, have made multiple visits and held major rallies in the state. Television commercials for Donald Trump have been playing on your TV set. Family members of candidates have shown up.

For political activists, living in one of the ten or so swing states can be rewarding. You can show your partisan support for your candidate by attending one of those rallies and shouting on his or her behalf. You get that emotional charge that comes from being part of a large public gathering exuding love and commitment for a presidential candidate. There must be something to it, because strong party supporters will stand in line and wait in their seats – sometimes for hours – to see the candidate and be part of the throng.

In some cases you get to stand along a “rope line” and shake the candidate’s hand and say a few words to him or her. Who knows? You may have just chatted with the next president of the United States.

Not everyone enjoys living in a swing state. Those TV commercials can get boring, particularly the fourth or fifth time you have seen one, and the commercials seem unusually negative and nasty this year. And who wants to get caught in a traffic jam because a presidential candidate is in your city and transiting to and from a speaking venue?

But, the fact is, if TV commercials are not playing and candidates are not coming to your state to speak and hold rallies, your state in many ways is

not having a presidential election. You are living in a state that is either “safe” Democratic or “safe” Republican, which means your state is so committed to one candidate or the other that there is no point in a candidate trying to get more votes there.

Colorado just recently shifted from a “swing,” or purple state, to a “blue,” or safe Democratic state. According to calculations especially based on Nate Silver’s multiple-polls data, only Arizona, Iowa, Ohio, North Carolina, and Florida remain as true swing states (see map). Nevada, Missouri, and Georgia are close to falling into the swing category from being safe-Republican states.

In addition, in two states that split their electoral votes, a Maine congressional district and a Nebraska congressional district are in the swing category. Colorado, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania, previously viewed as competitive purple states, are now viewed as safe Democratic states.

Thus only eight of the 50 states and two congressional districts are having a “real” presidential election at the present time. That leaves more than 40 states out of the competition. That means, for 80 percent or more of American voters, there are no candidate speeches and rallies, minimal television commercials, and no getting to meet potential White House occupants in a rope line.

Is this really the right way for a constitutional democracy to function?

The cause is the Electoral College, the intentionally “rigged” method of electing U.S. presidents required by the U.S. Constitution. The presidency is not won by votes alone, but by electoral votes piled up in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

To get to the White House for the next four years, a presidential candidate has to win a majority (270) of the electoral votes, not the popular vote. A state’s electoral votes are equal to the state’s number of U.S. senators (2) and the number of members of the U.S. House of Representatives (1 or more). The more populous a state is, the larger its

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

electoral vote. In 48 of the 50 states, the presidential candidate that wins a majority of the popular vote in a state gets all of that state’s electoral votes.

And there’s the problem. Once a candidate has 55 percent or more of the vote in a state, based on past election data and polling, there is little point in campaigning there. The candidate is going to get all of that state’s electoral votes no matter how many more votes he or she may win there.

Reformers, including one of the authors, call for amending the Constitution to add 102 to the 538 electoral votes in the Electoral College. These 102 additional votes would be allocated to the national winner in the popular vote. With that many electoral votes riding on the national popular vote, presidential candidates would be encouraged to win the popular vote and thus would campaign in more than just the swing states. Voters in all 50 states would be incentivized to vote in the presidential election.

The public has little understanding of how the Electoral College works and how it leaves so many Americans out of presidential campaigns.

We are not going to abolish the Electoral College, nor are we going to adopt this ingenious reform. Still, we deserve a system which encourages everyone in every state to vote and be interested in the presidential election.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College and co-authors of “Colorado Politics and Policy: Governing a Purple State.”

REPUBLICAN “BASE” STATES

STATE	ELECTORAL VOTE (2016)
Alabama	9
Alaska	3
Arizona	11
Arkansas	6
Idaho	4
Indiana	11

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

Kansas	6
Kentucky	8
Louisiana	8
Oklahoma	7
Nevada	6
North Dakota	3
South Dakota	3
Mississippi	6
Montana	3
Nebraska	5
South Carolina	9
Tennessee	11
Texas	38
Utah	6
West Virginia	5
Wyoming	3

“SWING” STATES

STATE	ELECTORAL VOTE (2016)
Colorado	9
Florida	29
Georgia	16
Iowa	6
Maine	4
Michigan	16
Missouri	10
New Hampshire	4
New Mexico	5
North Carolina	15
Ohio	18
Oregon	7
Pennsylvania	20
Virginia	13
Wisconsin	10

DEMOCRATIC “BASE” STATES

STATE	ELECTORAL VOTE (2016)
California	55
Connecticut	7
Delaware	3
District of Columbia	3
Hawaii	4
Illinois	20
Maryland	10
Massachusetts	11
Minnesota	10
New Jersey	14
New York	29
Rhode Island	4
Vermont	3
Washington state	12

Colorado Springs Gazette
11-27-2016

**CHILDHOOD MEMORIES
OF PEARL HARBOR DAY
AND WORLD WAR TWO**

By Robert D. Loevy

The military veterans who fought World War Two are passing away. Soon the same will be true of those of us who were children during the war. Here are my memories of Pearl Harbor Day (75 years ago today) and the ensuing worldwide conflict.

December 7, 1941, was a sunny winter's day in Baltimore, Maryland, where I was living with my mother and father and nine-year-old brother. I was six going on seven.

We drove to Washington, D.C., that Sunday to visit my grandfather and grandmother, who lived in downtown Washington in an apartment on Connecticut Avenue across from the Mayflower Hotel. The first evidence of the Pearl Harbor attack was the voices of the newsboys on Connecticut Avenue shouting: "Extra! Extra! Read all about it! Japanese bomb Pearl Harbor."

Someone in the family purchased a copy of the "Extra" newspaper and brought it to the apartment. Despite the grim event described of Japanese bombers and burning and sinking U.S. ships, my brother and I were allowed to look at the news stories and the photographs.

On the drive back to Baltimore that evening, at every street corner in both Washington and Baltimore, a newsboy was yelling: "Extra! Extra! Read all about it! Japanese bomb Pearl Harbor." Their shouts became indelible memories for me of Pearl Harbor Day and the entrance of the U.S. into World War II.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

The war changed our lives. Gasoline was rationed. So were meat and butter. My mother would save up her ration stamps for meat. When she had enough, she would buy the family a big steak for dinner. Those meals became celebratory occasions.

My father was an “Air Raid” Warden. Wearing a metal hardhat and armed with a flashlight, he went outdoors to make certain all of the neighbors had turned out all their electric lights during the “blackout.” The blackout was to prevent enemy bomber pilots from using city lights to guide them to their bombing targets.

My brother and I experienced a number of blackouts, but we were too young to be scared. Neither Germany nor Japan had bombers that could fly across the oceans and attack the United States. Blackouts were conducted mainly to build civilian morale during World War II.

A more serious volunteer activity on my father’s part was working at the “Filter Center” in Baltimore, Maryland. The Filter Center kept track of airplanes flying into and out of the airspace over the Baltimore area. The point was to make certain all airplanes flying above Baltimore were clearly identified and had a good reason to be where they were.

My father was given an extra ration of gasoline so he could drive to and from his volunteer duties at the Filter Center. In a show of typical World War II patriotism, he refused to use the extra allocation of gasoline so the gas could be devoted to some other aspect of what was known as the “War Effort.”

For me and my brother, World War II meant being urged at elementary school to buy savings stamps on a weekly basis. Once a child had acquired \$18.75 in saving stamps, he or she could buy a “War Bond.” The money invested in the War Bond would be used by the United States Government to buy the guns, ammunition, tanks, ships, and airplanes needed to win the war.

A favorite game played with neighborhood children was called “War.” It consisted of choosing up sides and then pretending to attack and

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

shoot at each other. Toy guns, rifles, and hand grenades were available at local stores to provide appropriate artefacts for playing War.

The war could be most directly experienced by going to the movies. Within a few months after each major battle, a movie would be made about it. Thus there were films about Bataan, Wake Island, Guadalcanal, and Burma, among others. The danger and excitement of the war could be experienced while safely ensconced in your movie theater seat.

The weapons being used to win World War II were often put on public display. I remember seeing large bombs that were going to be dropped on enemy cities. New troop-carrying vehicles demonstrated they could go over water as well as land by being driven into and out of a local lake or bay. Our family spent an afternoon touring a brand new U.S. Navy aircraft carrier docked in Baltimore harbor.

In June 1944, the United States launched the invasion of Europe known as D-Day. My mother considered this event so significant that she read my brother and me a detailed account of the Normandy Invasion that had appeared in Life Magazine.

In May 1945, much of World War II ended when the Germans surrendered in Europe. However, the United States still had to contend with the Japanese war in the Pacific Ocean region. The slogan “Remember Pearl Harbor” was still on everyone’s lips.

In August of 1945, my brother and I and other neighborhood children were playing in the front yard of our suburban Baltimore home when the afternoon newspaper was delivered. A banner headline read: “United States Super Bomb Destroys Entire Japanese City.” My brother and I and our friends danced around the yard and cheered loudly at the dropping of an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. We had been propagandized throughout the war to dislike the Japanese people,

A few days later, after the United States dropped a second atomic bomb on Nagasaki, the Japanese government surrendered and World War II was over. Our family celebrated, along with many other Baltimoreans, by getting in the family car and driving downtown. The lights of the city, long

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

dimmed to save electricity for winning the war, were lighted and shining. The slow movement of the family car through the heavy traffic, accompanied by much horn honking, only added to the excitement and importance of the occasion.

It was three years and eight months after Pearl Harbor Day, the event that so dramatically brought the United States into World War II.

Bob Loevy is a political scientist at Colorado College.

Colorado Springs Gazette
12-24-2016

THREE COUNTIES COST TRUMP

By Thomas E. Cronin and Robert D. Loevy

A lackluster performance in three of Colorado's strongest Republican counties – including El Paso County (Colorado Springs) – cost Republican Donald Trump Colorado's nine electoral votes in the 2016 presidential election.

The official county votes were certified by Colorado Secretary of State Wayne Williams just prior to the Electoral College meeting that voted Trump into the White House.

Trump did well enough in El Paso, Douglas (Castle Rock), and Weld (Greeley) counties, but he needed to really sweep those three traditional centers of GOP voting power if he was going to defeat Hillary Clinton in Colorado. As a result, Clinton edged Trump out with strong Democratic support in the Denver/Boulder area.

In El Paso County, Trump received 62 percent of the two-party (Republicans and Democrats) vote. That was down 6 percentage points from the 68 percent of the two-party vote that Republican President George W. Bush polled in El Paso County in the 2000 presidential election 16 years earlier.

El Paso County is the second most populous county in Colorado, narrowly trailing Denver. In a county with so many voters, that six percent drop in Republican support is a lot of votes.

Donald Trump's unorthodox campaign style, filled with startling statements and criticism of other politicians, probably had something of a cooling effect on his support in highly urbanized but very conservative El Paso County.

THOMAS E. CRONIN AND ROBERT D. LOEVY

Just to the north of El Paso County lies Douglas County, a distant suburb of Denver. Douglas County dropped its Republican percentage of the vote seven points between 2000 and 2016 – from 67 percent Republican to 60 percent Republican. Again, that kind of percentage drop in a populous county is severely damaging to a political party.

The results for the GOP were a little better in Weld County, a distant outer suburb northeast of Denver. Weld County stayed even in its support for the two Republican presidential candidates, providing 62 percent for George W. Bush in 2000 and 62 percent for Donald Trump in 2016.

The good news for the Republicans in 2016 was the dramatically increased support for Donald Trump in the rural and small town counties of the state. Trump’s reiterated message of distrust of government and his pledge to “Make America Great Again” played unusually well in the outlying areas of Colorado. These rural and small town areas of Colorado can be broken down into four major regions:

1. The Eastern Plains of Colorado range from Logan County (Sterling) to the north to Prowers County (Lamar) to the south. This group of farming and ranching counties voted 76 percent for Donald Trump, his highest figure for any region in the state. Some of the vote percentages that Donald Trump rang up on the Eastern Plains were staggering. Eight counties there gave Trump more than 80 percent of the vote.

2. The Eastern Mountains are the “lost sheep” counties of Colorado politics. Little attention is paid to places like Park County (Fairplay) and Chaffee County (Salida) which are mountainous but sit on the eastern side of the Continental Divide. These counties are Republican, but not so much as the Eastern Plains. They voted 64 percent for Trump and 36 percent for Clinton. Two of the ten Eastern Mountain counties, Clear Creek County (Georgetown) and Gilpin County (Central City) voted narrowly for Hillary Clinton. Both counties border on the Denver Metropolitan Area.

3. As for the Western Slope of Colorado, on the west side of the Continental Divide, many residents are farmers and ranchers and voted Republican – 57 percent for Trump and 43 percent for Clinton. An exception

on the Western Slope was the ski resort counties, which went Democratic 60 percent to 40 percent.

Also of interest on the Western Slope was Mesa County, which contains the city of Grand Junction. This most populated county on the Western Slope went for Donald Trump 70 percent to 30 percent.

4. Southern Colorado, which has many Hispanic voters, has generally been considered Democratic in the past. That did not happen in the 2016 presidential election in Colorado. Trump did well enough that Southern Colorado was almost a dead heat at 51 percent for Trump and 49 percent for Clinton. Trump's margin of victory over Clinton in Southern Colorado was a mere 384 votes.

Two populous Colorado counties switched roles in the 2016 presidential election. Pueblo County surprised by voting narrowly for Trump. Up until 2016, Pueblo County, with its large working class population and many Hispanic voters, had been reliably Democratic. Larimer County (Fort Collins) was Republican in the early 2000s, but Larimer continued its recent shift to the Democrats by voting for Clinton in 2016.

In sum, the Republicans got increased support from rural Colorado in the 2016 presidential election. They received as good support as usual in Weld County. The weakness for Donald Trump and the GOP was in the heavily populated Republican counties of El Paso and Douglas. The Republicans will have to rev up their ground game and increase their vote output in El Paso and Douglas counties if they want to match the surging Democratic vote in Denver and start winning statewide elections in Colorado.

Tom Cronin and Bob Loevy are political scientists at Colorado College.

