
Memorandum

To: All Interested Parties
Fr: Chris Russell, Strategist
Rick Rosenberg, Jr., Campaign Manager
Brock McCleary, Pollster
Dt: March 30, 2017
Re: Post-Convention State of the Race

Overview

Now that the Republican County Convention season has come to a close, we wanted to share our analysis of the race as it currently stands. While Lt. Governor Guadagno should still be considered the frontrunner, Assemblyman Ciattarelli's strong performance during the conventions clearly beat expectations, and has transformed this race from what many believed to be a coronation in to a competitive campaign.

This memo covers four main topics to bolster that opinion:

1. The Lt. Governor's standing with Republican County Chairs has seriously eroded between today and the day she announced her 501c4 non-profit in late June of 2016. Party leaders are seriously hedging their bets.
2. The Lt. Governor's 10 county lines fail to equal 50% + 1 of the average Republican primary vote share statewide. In fact, if you add up the 7 county lines secured by Assemblyman Ciattarelli, plus the 4 counties that don't award preferential ballot placement via a line, it equals nearly 51% of the primary vote share.
3. Recent public polling by Quinnipiac University and Fairleigh Dickinson University reveal a Republican primary race that is dominated by voters who are either undecided or naming someone other than Lt. Governor Guadagno as their first choice. She holds a lead, but the race is wide open. Name identification is the only real obstacle in the way of significant growth for Assemblyman Ciattarelli at this point.
4. The Lt. Governor's self-proclaimed, policy-driven 501c4 non-profit – Building a Better New Jersey Together – belies a campaign that has been nearly devoid of substance thus far. Newspaper editorial boards and the state's leading conservative columnist have sharply criticized the Lt. Governor for a lack of substance and ducking the press.

The Lt. Governor's Support Among GOP County Chairs Slipped Badly

Guadagno's non-profit listed all 21 GOP Chairs as the Honorary Host Committee

On June 23, 2016, Lt. Governor Kim Guadagno launched her "Building a Better New Jersey Together" 501c4 non-profit organization, which was widely seen as a precursor to her gubernatorial candidacy. The invitation to the kickoff reception listed all 21 Republican County Chairs at the time as the Honorary Host Committee of the event.

Fast forward 9 months and the Lt. Governor's June 2016 support has eroded

Currently, 5 of the 21 listed on the Honorary Host Committee are no longer County GOP Chairs, and only 9 of the remaining 16 have personally endorsed her candidacy. Notably, the Ocean County and Atlantic County Chairs have never been listed as personal endorsers.¹

Guadagno even lost lines where the current GOP Chair endorsed her

Despite the personal endorsements of the Mercer and Middlesex County GOP Chairs, Lt. Governor Guadagno was routed in both of their respective county conventions.



**BUILDING
BETTER
TOGETHER**
Building a Better New Jersey Together, Inc.

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Jerry Langer | Jennifer Krimko, Esq. | Lisa Camooso Miller |
| Honorary Host Committee | | |
| Jose Arango | Fran Grenier | John Sette |
| Al Barlas | Marcus Karavan | Douglas Steinhardt |
| Thomas Booth | Bill Layton | Michael Testa |
| Keith Davis | Glenn Mortimer | Sam Thompson |
| Al Gaburo | Kevin Murphy | Patrick Torpey |
| George Gilmore | Lisa Richford | John Traier |
| Shaun Golden | Jerry Scanlan | Bob Yudin |

cordially invite you to join them for a cocktail reception
&
*The First "Building a Better New Jersey
Together" Policy Discussion*

with special guest &
Honorary Chair
Lt. Governor Kim Guadagno

Please Note New Date
Thursday, June 23, 2016
6:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

Eagle Oaks
29 Shore Oaks Drive
Farmingdale, New Jersey

Policy Discussion: Raise/contribute \$5,000
Individual Reception Tickets: \$150 per person

Business Attire RSVP by enclosed form

For additional information or to RSVP:
Robin Visconi 732-833-0187/rvisconi@aol.com
or info@BuildingABetterNJ.com
www.BuildingABetterNJ.com

¹ www.KimforNJ.com

The Truth About County Lines

Lt. Governor Embellishing: She won 10 lines, not the 13 she consistently claims

Despite her campaigns' repeated claims to the contrary, Lt. Governor Guadagno does not have 13 county lines – she only has 10. The press is being misled about the facts, which are that Morris, Salem, Sussex and Warren Counties do not have lines, in the traditional sense, they only have slogans. Meaning there is no ballot placement advantage for either candidate.

Lt. Governor's lines don't even constitute majority of GOP primary vote share

After claiming all 21 GOP Chairs as the Honorary Host Committee of her non-profit launch last June, the Lt. Governor ends the GOP Convention season with just 10 county lines – failing to reach a critical majority of the Republican Primary vote share statewide. This is disheartening for an almost eight-year, statewide office holder.

Ciattarelli Lines + No Line Counties = 50.98% of Statewide GOP Primary Vote Share

Assemblyman Ciattarelli exceeded all expectations during the convention process, and secured 7 county lines accounting for 31.19% of the Republican Primary statewide vote share. Add that to the Republican Primary vote share in the 4 counties that don't award lines, and nearly 51% of primary voters reside in counties where either Ciattarelli has the line or there is no line advantage for either candidate.²

| County | Ciattarelli | Guadagno | Slogan/No Line | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Atlantic | | 3.48% | | |
| Bergen | | 9.41% | | |
| Burlington | 6.12% | | | |
| Camden | | 3.27% | | |
| Cape May | | 2.68% | | |
| Cumberland | | 1.15% | | |
| Essex | 3.80% | | | |
| Gloucester | | 2.54% | | |
| Hudson | | 1.77% | | |
| Hunterdon | 4.32% | | | |
| Mercer | 2.63% | | | |
| Middlesex | 4.94% | | | |
| Monmouth | | 9.09% | | |
| Morris | | | 12.44% | |
| Ocean | | 10.93% | | |
| Passaic | | 4.70% | | |
| Salem | | | 0.74% | |
| Somerset | 5.33% | | | |
| Sussex | | | 3.88% | |
| Union | 4.05% | | | |
| Warren | | | 2.73% | |
| Totals | 31.19% | 49.02% | 19.79% | 100.00% |

² Average vote share based on 2005 and 2009 Republican Gubernatorial Primary Election information accessed from New Jersey Division Elections website. Special note: 2009 vote share based on total votes for the three declared Republican Gubernatorial candidates. No information on total votes cast by county was available on NJ Division of Elections website for 2009.

Lt. Governor Guadagno is the Frontrunner...But a Really Weak One

Public polling shows between 72-76% of likely GOP voters want an alternative

While the Guadagno campaign touts their early lead in publicly-released GOP primary polls, a closer examination of the data reveals that Lt. Governor Guadagno is an extraordinarily weak frontrunner. According to the most recent Quinnipiac Poll, the Lt. Governor earns just 28% of the vote on the Republican Primary ballot. This means a full 72% of voters would prefer someone else or are undecided.³ Even worse, the more recent Fairleigh Dickinson University poll shows the Lt. Governor leading the field with just 24% of the vote, meaning a staggering 76% of Republicans are open to someone else.⁴ The Lt. Governor's lead in both polls can be chalked up entirely to her superior name ID after 7+ years as a statewide elected official. That will change when Assemblyman Ciattarelli begins to spend money on voter contact.

Guadagno top of the ticket could spell Democrat landslide

Worse than being a weak frontrunner in the primary, Lt. Governor Guadagno is a near certain loser in a general election matchup against Phil Murphy – and likely by a landslide margin. The same Quinnipiac University poll cited above shows Lt. Governor Guadagno trailing Democrat Phil Murphy by a substantial 22% margin (47-25%), even though she has higher name identification than the Democrat (Murphy: 30% and Guadagno: 37%).

The Lt. Governor trails badly amongst Independents and Women

Despite her supporters claims that she is the best candidate to win non-traditional Republican voters, the data says otherwise. The Lt. Governor's image is underwater with registered voters (17% favorable/19% unfavorable), while Phil Murphy is a solid net positive (22%/6%). Moreover, and perhaps most damaging to her narrative, is that Lt. Governor Guadagno trails among female voters by a whopping 31-points (51-20%) and among Independent voters by 16-points (37-21%).

Republican Apathy at Top of the Ticket Could Lead to Down Ballot Losses

Given the significant weakness of the Lt. Governor's general election numbers against Phil Murphy, the party's greatest fear is that Republicans do not see the race as winnable if she is the nominee. That lack in partisan intensity would greatly increase the risk of down ballot losses at all levels. We, as a party, can capitalize on the negative optics of Murphy being Corzine 2.0, but not if our standard-bearer is viewed as an unpopular Governor's third-term.

Assemblyman Ciattarelli Has a Track Record of Winning Tough Races

In winning re-election as Somerset County Freeholder in 2009, and subsequent 16th District State Assembly races in 2011, 2013 and 2015, Assemblyman Ciattarelli has won four consecutive races in jurisdictions where registered Democrats outnumber registered Republicans.⁵ His ability to attract independent/unaffiliated voters is well-documented.

³ <https://poll.qu.edu/new-jersey/release-detail?ReleaseID=2439>

⁴ <http://view2.fdu.edu/publicmind/2017/170328/>

⁵ NJ Division of Elections

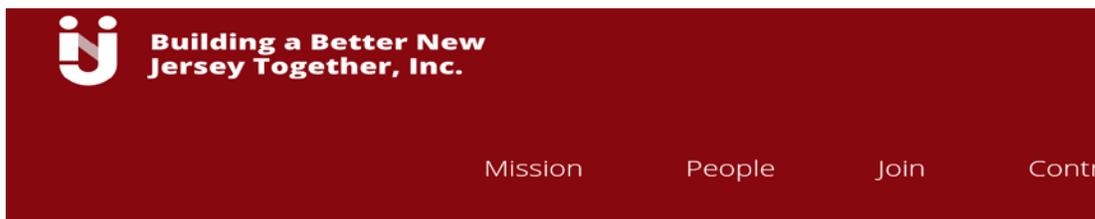
The Irony of the Lt. Governor’s “Policy” Driven Non-Profit

What happened to those policy groups?

When it launched in late June of 2016, the Lt. Governor proudly proclaimed in a message posted on the Building a Better New Jersey Together, Inc. web site that she would be “organizing policy groups to make sure we don’t just talk about our state’s challenges...but that we develop the policies...” to make the state a better place.

Editorial boards, leading conservative criticize Guadagno for platitudes

Ironically, despite that lofty promise, the Lt. Governor has been repeatedly criticized by editorial boards, conservative columnist Paul Mulshine and her opponents for lacking specificity. The Star-Ledger panned the Lt. Governor for running from the press and appearing to be a policy lightweight after her all sizzle, no steak announcement.⁶ Gannett said Guadagno’s web site contained “no details” for how she proposes to lower property taxes.⁷ Paul Mulshine pointed out how Guadagno has made promises to cut property taxes since 2009, but has never given him an explanation of how she would do it.⁸



We have a lot of work in front of us. In the coming weeks, we will be organizing policy groups to make sure that we don’t just talk about our state’s challenges...but that we develop the policies to lower taxes and make New Jersey more affordable, to grow our economy and help small businesses thrive here, and to reform the way we fund and provide education. But I didn’t want another day to pass without sharing my thanks for all you’ve done in helping us get off to such a strong start.

Thanks again,

Kim Guadagno

Honorary Chair

June 27th, 2016

It’s no wonder “Silent Kim” is still refusing to debate

We strongly urge the campaign to continue beating the drum for debates with the Lt. Governor. It’s now been 70 days since the Assemblyman first challenged her with still no response.⁹

⁶ “Guadagno’s first move: Run from the press” January 17, 2017, http://www.nj.com/opinion/index.ssf/2017/01/guadagnos_first_move_run_from_the_press_editorial.html

⁷ “Who will step up on property tax relief?” January 27, 2017, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/editorials/2017/01/28/property-taxes-nj-reform/97186088/>

⁸ “Kim Guadagno’s campaign for Governor: That wasn’t a kickoff; it was a punt” January 18, 2017, http://www.nj.com/opinion/index.ssf/2017/01/kim_guadagnos_campaign_that_wasnt_a_kickoff_it_was.html

⁹ www.SilentKim.com