

Sam Carpenter

# MAKING **OREGON** GREAT AGAIN



Guide to the Grassroots Revitalization  
of the **Oregon Republican Party**  
(and the Defeat of the Ruling Class)

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*To Diana: through the storm,  
my ever-steady companion*





*“Harsh Reality is always better  
than False Hope”*

-Dr. Clarkson, from the British TV series, Downton Abbey.



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# FOREWORD

There comes a time in history when all of the stars are in alignment and all of the right players are on the field together. This is such a time for the Oregon Republican Party. And Sam Carpenter is the man uniquely qualified and prepared for such a time as this.

I think that in order for that statement to have some level of qualification I will share with you a brief snapshot of my involvement with ORP politics in Oregon. I have been a grassroots Republican activist and have served as paid campaign staff for Republican candidates in Oregon dating back to 1977 (more than forty years). I have been a Precinct Committeeman off and on throughout that timespan, as well as campaign manager for congressional and local campaigns, but have always worked for candidates who were conservatives and true to the Oregon and National Republican Party platforms. I am currently the elected Chairman for the Oregon Republican Party for Congressional District 4.

During the last Republican Presidential Primary in 2016 we had one of the largest fields of Republican candidates that I can remember, dating back to the 1980 primary in which Ronald Reagan won the primary contest and went on to win the national election, becoming the 40<sup>th</sup> President of the United States. Reagan was not my first choice in that election, but I ended up on his youth team for Oregon and was proud to serve all the way to victory that year, and subsequently for his

landslide re-election campaign in 1984. Reagan was the right man for America's hour of need, just as Donald Trump was in 2016 when his country cried out desperately for a new type of leader.

There were visionaries who saw this potential with Donald Trump, and regrettably I must confess that I was not initially among their number here in Oregon. But Sam Carpenter was!

I first encountered Sam a few years earlier when he was backing a candidate for U.S. Senate running in the primary against Monica Wehby. Sam and I did not initially meld. In fact, our first meeting was somewhat confrontational, given the dynamic when two "Type A" personalities are on different teams. That wasn't the first time that I have become fast friends with fellow conservative Republicans after an initial clashing of swords and shields!

During the 2018 Oregon gubernatorial campaign, Sam and I re-connected and it was within mere moments that we both sensed a kindred spirit, one forged in the principles of true conservative Republican beliefs; pro-life, pro-Second Amendment, pro-constitution, and during this crucial time in national Republican politics, unwavering support for our 45th President, Donald J. Trump. I do not compromise on principle, not ever. And I have become convinced through my observations that Sam is that same rock solid, unwavering conservative.

The book you are about to read is a tale of the hardships he had to endure over the course of one of the nastiest, most divisive campaigns I have seen in my forty years of activism.

He also discusses the ten "myths of blue Oregon," and ends the book with a solid plan for the rejuvenation of the ORP...and of the state.

It is well worth your time to read it cover to cover, especially if, like me, you are tired of Republican defeat in Oregon.

It is past time that Oregon became relevant again in national elections! It is time to break the cycle and yes, the habit of defeat. But there is only one way for this to occur, and that is in a change of players, and foremost a change in leadership at the ORP.

After this horrific loss in the 2018 election, including the governor's race, which should have been a slam dunk, it has never been clearer

that the current ORP Executive team is incapable of that change, and therefore incapable of leading the party to victory in 2020. A great analogy is that of an athletic team that is routed in a season of competition: it is understood that in order to change that outcome for next season, there must be a new coaching and administrative staff, and with that, new players on the field.

This past campaign cycle, we lost every single contest. No statewide Republican offices were gained, no Republican was elected to federal office, and we lost seats in the Oregon House and Senate, giving the Democrats supermajorities in both chambers. We didn't even field players in more than a quarter of the House races. There is no excuse for this. None.

But there is an explanation. We had at the top of the Oregon ticket the weakest candidate for governor (with the most money ever) certainly in my forty years of experience, if not the history of our party. We were asked to unite behind a man who ran against our grassroots' adopted Oregon Republican Party Platform. He was pro-abortion, weak on the Second Amendment, in favor of increased taxes and was outspoken against our Republican President.

The second part of the explanation as to how we suffered this terrible defeat rests squarely with the Executive Committee itself. It is full of officers who have divided grassroots Republicans, while failing to recruit qualified candidates, and while failing miserably to raise sufficient capital to run successful campaigns.

But 2019 is a turning point for the ORP, if we will let it be so. Sam Carpenter, like Donald Trump, whom he has supported from the get-go, is tough. He's unconventional. He's relentless, and has a unique gift of bringing the grassroots together and inspiring them. Sam is a no-nonsense conservative, as I mentioned, unwavering in his adherence to our conservative values.

Like Donald Trump, Sam doesn't need this position. He has built successful businesses, which have afforded him the luxury of the time he will need to devote to save this ORP in its hour of need. Sam has the vision, the plan, and the drive to get it done. And he has also proven

that he can inspire a strong united front of grassroots activists who will reshape the ORP and turn it into a vehicle for success, one that will Make Oregon Great Again, and make the ORP relevant again.

Please take the time to read this book. You will be glad you did. And then let's roll up our sleeves and get to work!

David Jaques, ORP Chairman CD4

(David is Publisher of The Roseburg Beacon, Principal Broker of Alpine Real Estate I, LLC, married to Marcia Jaques, father of five, grandfather of twelve, ORP Chairman CD4, lifelong Republican.)





# NOTE FROM THE AUTHOR

To stay up-to-date: Please Like my Facebook Page (<https://www.facebook.com/makingrealitygreatagain/>) and on our website, (<https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/>), add your name to our mailing list.

Do you want your friends and associates to have a copy of *Making Oregon Great Again*? If so, please do not forward this book via email or by any other means. Instead, I ask you to send them to my webpage at [www.makeoregongreatagain.com](http://www.makeoregongreatagain.com) so they can download the book for free for themselves. There are two reasons for this.

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And second, *Making Oregon Great Again* is a guide as much as a book, and there will be constant updates. I want every reader to receive the latest version so I can keep them current on the contents of the book, as well as on-going political efforts.

-SC



# P R E F A C E

In the most recent Oregon Republican gubernatorial primary contest, there were a total of ten candidates.

When the votes were tallied on May 15<sup>th</sup>, Knute Buehler had won the race with 144,103 votes. I came in second.

Buehler, the only Republican Establishment “moderate” candidate, a two-term Salem House legislator, received forty-six percent of the total vote. As one of nine grassroots candidates, and with no government experience, I took twenty-nine percent.

By Election Day, Buehler had spent *nine times* more than our campaign had spent: \$4,000,000 vs. \$450,000.

Each vote cost him twenty-eight dollars. Ours came in at five dollars each.

That fiscal dichotomy was just one of many curious nuances in the primary campaign. Truth is, it took way more than nine times more spending for progressive-lite Buehler to defeat me: a traditional conservative, pro-life, small government, pro-President Trump candidate with no professional fundraisers, no political consultants, and a tiny paid campaign staff of three, one of whom was part-time.

The big take-away? Although I lost the race, the details of what happened illustrate the incredible power of the Oregon conservative grassroots. In these pages, I’ll talk a lot about those details as I pointedly

reassure you that we already have everything we need to turn this state red over the next four years.

Unsurprisingly, in the November 6, 2018 general election, Knute Buehler failed to defeat sitting governor Kate Brown. Even with the advantage of running against an unpopular and scandal-plagued governor, and with nearly twenty million dollars in his war chest, he lost by six percentage points.

Note that the post-election mainstream media collectively believes that Buehler's failure to secure enough Democrat votes to win the race was due to his stance on abortion. Their contention is that his progressive positioning on the issue was correct (state funding, late-term, etc.), but his pleas for those rights were "not believable enough." That argument is a distraction, and untrue. Here's why he lost the Democrat vote, and it had nothing to do with abortion or any other specific issue. Democrats had a much bigger problem with Buehler, and it was personal. They – like the Republican base – saw him as a chameleon.

A Republican in a blue bus.

Knute Buehler didn't just lose. He allowed Brown – one of the least popular sitting governors in the nation – a clear majority win and thus, in her mind, a mandate to continue her progressive Democrat shenanigans. Additionally, Buehler's inability to turn out Republican voters to drive Republican success down-ballot, resulted in a wholesale, top-to-bottom shellacking: Oregon Democrats gained super-majorities in both chambers of the Legislature, and all conservative ballot measures went down in flames. Local elections didn't go so well, either.

And what about the deportment of our legislature? From the Eugene Weekly, December 6<sup>th</sup>: *"The American Conservative Union Foundation (ACUF), a nonprofit that organizes the Conservative Political Action Conference, just announced its ratings for the Oregon Legislature. Oregon's average 'conservative score' fell from its 2017 rating of 40.6 percent to 28.08 percent. Although reports on other states like California have not been released yet, Oregon sucks at being conservative and is on its way to having one of the lowest*

*conservative scores in the U.S.”* (<https://eugeneweekly.com/2018/12/06/oregons-legislature-receives-a-even-lower-conservative-rating/>)

And, about those super-majorities: Oregon is only the third state in the country to have Democrat super-majorities in both the House and Senate chambers. The other two? You’ve already guessed that California is one. The other is Illinois. House Minority Leader Carl Wilson, R-Grants Pass, said to the Bend Bulletin that GOP Legislators aren’t “*even speedbumps*” when it comes to Democrats getting legislation passed (<https://www.bendbulletin.com/home/6790819-151/new-bend-area-lawmakers-get-key-posts>).

But Buehler’s actual loss was *not* a curious nuance. It was predictable from day one. My team and I knew from the very start that if he were to survive the primary election to become the Republican nominee, he would be defeated in the general election no matter what he said or did, and no matter how much money he spent.

It’s my guess that you knew that too.

Yet, oddly enough and contrary to conventional wisdom, Buehler’s loss is *not* all bad news for conservative grassroots Oregonians. I risk being mocked as a disloyal Republican here, but with a Buehler win where would we conservatives have gone? How could we have challenged a Republican governor, no matter his leftist proclivities?

With a Buehler victory, there could have been no conservative political resuscitation of Oregon because he, and his emboldened Republican Party leadership, would have shifted the Republican Party far to the left.

What would have been the ultimate price of victory by this left-leaning Ruling Class Republican? The Oregon conservative grassroots would have been finished.

In Oregon, for over thirty years, various iterations of this latest Republican loss have occurred in statewide races, almost always caused by simple mechanical manipulations of our primary elections by the



well-organized/well-funded Democrat Progressive\* Left, their wheels greased by an intimidated and therefore hapless Oregon Republican Party (ORP) that, in gubernatorial contests especially, habitually produces candidates who capitulate to the Left.

Our losses have not been the fault of a few "blue" counties. And, our Republican electorate is not lazy.

The simple reason for our continued state-wide losses is that too many of our nominees have not been openly, from-the-heart, conservative.

And there's this: In politics, apologizing for one's own party does not inspire confidence. The Left laughs at this posture, while our Republican base cringes.

And one more critical reason for our failures that gets little attention: the major manipulations have been in the primary elections. These elections are where we get set-up to ultimately lose the general elections that follow.

The Republican Establishment's preferred cross-the-aisle gubernatorial nominees have never electrified the Republican base... never mind the many unhappy Democrat, Independent, Libertarian and unaffiliated voters who are quietly waiting for a better option.

In our primary races, the repeated bully-tactic manipulations of the Left, the Establishment Right, and the mainstream media, have never been distilled and clarified for Oregon Republican voters. This is why those manipulations are repeated in every election cycle, always to the benefit of progressive-leftists, as those leftists ultimately determine which Republican will be running against their chosen candidate.

So, in these pages I will carefully chronicle the machinations of this most recent Oregon Republican primary race, a real-life example of how the other side – and our side – works.

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\* From The New Republic website (and keep in mind The New Republic is a seriously Left-leaning publication): an overview of Progressivism compared to Liberalism: "...the historian Sean Wilentz addressed it head-on: Liberals, he argues, recognize the flaws of capitalism, are dedicated to remedying them, and have great achievements to their credit in that regard, notably those of the New Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society. Progressives are meanwhile 'emphatically anti-liberal'—because they are hostile to capitalism and, 'deep down, harbor the hope that one day, perhaps through some catastrophic event, American capitalism will indeed be replaced by socialism.'"

Let's learn from it and not let it happen again.

It is unquestionable that our first next step in climbing out of this electoral hole is to rebuild our own Oregon Republican Party (ORP) from the bottom up, specifically by replacing the current Establishment leadership with President Trump-supporting, grassroots conservatives. There is no way we will be able to stop the progressive Left in Salem without first taking care of our own party's core dysfunction.

Prediction: immediately upon the release of this book I will be labeled a radical extremist right-winger and/or a liar, loser, fraud and fake by Establishment Republicans and those progressives in the Party who are posing as Republicans. I was castigated in the Republican primary race with those allegations, by those same people, and so it's certain it will happen again now. But this time I challenge my accusers in advance: what precisely are my lies? Give supporting evidence of my alleged character flaws. And don't be name-callers, tossing out broad pejoratives if you can't support them. That's grade-school behavior.

And I ask our current ORP leadership one simple question: why should you stay in power after this most recent electoral disaster?

*Really?* You want to continue to lead our party? Are you...*kidding?*

And to these current Establishment power-brokers of the ORP, know in advance that if you randomly swing at me, I will do the same in return except my swing-backs won't be random. They will be direct and fact-based. And if you try to explain-away our current electoral nightmare as the fault of conservative Republicans who don't dance to your tune, I will – simply by relying on plain common sense and by pointing out indisputable facts – make you look foolish.

But back to you and me: In Salem, we will be able to take control of government leadership once we understand the specific elements of the progressive Left's strategic formula that is founded on little more than myth and intimidation, and if – and only if – we simultaneously install a backbone in our own state ORP.

Know this for sure: regular conservative Americans like us are not the fools the political elite think we are....and there are a *lot* of us.

In the primary race, I had zero support from the ORP: not one

phone call or email to offer assistance. Why? Was it simple inefficiency? Or was it because our campaign was dedicated to “the 90%,” the majority of our base that is made up of smart, hard-working truly conservative Oregonians who not only support our President, but who are damn tired of being ignored and then disrespected by elites from both sides of the aisle?

I was hoping this would be obvious, but I suppose it must be said for the record: This book is not about me and any disappointment I might have in losing the opportunity to be the governor of Oregon. Diana\* and I have a wonderful life, without introducing that kind of intense, incredible responsibility. And we did indeed give 110% in trying to win the primary in the early months of 2018, so we don’t feel we somehow failed. *But our disappointment is for you*, the 90% of all Oregon Republicans – and a whole lot of regular people from other parties, as well as the unaffiliated – who yet again have been dismissed by the Establishment powers-that-be, what we call the Ruling Class. It’s outrageous, and it’s what bothers the two of us the most.

Before listing the myths of “blue” Oregon in Part One, the myths that keep progressive in power, note this quote from Knute Buehler in an interview with the Bulletin Newspaper on December 29<sup>th</sup>, 2018, to get a feel for how the Establishment Right has operated until now and how it will attempt to proceed from this point forward. The blame for our losses is cast in exactly the wrong place: you and me, people who have the temerity to support our President. Be hyper-aware of this connivance. It’s going to continue.

Buehler said, *“I think there is a natural temptation for Republicans to retreat, to dig into well-tread trenches, and play the role of opponents to everything, to be the party of ‘no.’ That is not a recipe for future success.”*

In other words, Buehler says *his* recipe is the recipe for success although that recipe just failed for him as it has failed for countless Oregon Republican state-wide candidates over the years. And, he

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\* Here is a blog post profile I did on Diana, early in the campaign: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-86-profile-of-diana-carpenter/>

more-than-insinuates that you and I have ruined the state with our conservative beliefs.

Yes, that interview with Buehler angers me because it is so diametrically wrong on SO many levels. Read the entire Gary Warner/The Bulletin interview here. It's infuriating. <https://www.bendbulletin.com/localstate/6802348-151/after-losing-race-for-governor-buehler-plans-his>

That thought-process does form the root-thinking of leftists, and is the genesis of the ten "blue myths" that I will cover in Part One.

OK, we've laid enough ground-work. Let's proceed.

A proper Preface discusses the pragmatic reasons why the author wrote the book that follows. I'm a mechanical kind of a guy, so here are my ten reasons, point by point. Let's get to it.

1. I want to lay out a simple yet potent plan for finally seizing Republican control of our state government in Salem; to achieve an Oregon red trifecta by 2022. What is a red trifecta? It's the combination of a Republican governor and Republican leadership of both chambers of the legislature – the House and the Senate. And yes, in the spirit of creating the Great Oregon Red Trifecta, we'll also assertively go after our House and Senate districts as well as the other four statewide executive positions coming up for election over the next four years. There are our U.S. congressional districts in 2020, too. And in 2020 and 2022 we'll gear up for U.S. Senate races. Right now, we have a blue trifecta and going back for decades, we Republicans have had little power in Salem.

Our past efforts at gaining solid control have failed over and over so now we must discard those flawed approaches and execute a new game plan, one that has been successfully applied in dozens of other states. And to accomplish this – establishing Republican power and control in Salem – we must have potent ORP leadership dedicated to a single mission: finding, screening, cultivating, endorsing, training, protecting, and promoting great candidates for

public office. We need a farm-team operation, and we must pointedly keep candidates within legal and ethical bounds.

If the ORP can't do this, Oregon will become even bluer than it is now. Starting immediately, our state party must be reconstructed under new leadership. The applecart gets turned over in the ORP executive board elections coming up in Salem on February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019. Yes, I am running for Chair of the organization, and yes, I have a full slate of qualified, enthusiastic fellow officer candidates. I'll talk about the details of all of this in Part Three.

2. Critical to executing the above-described rejuvenation successfully, I want to give our wonderful Oregon Republican grassroots\* conservatives reason to stay emboldened. For a long while, Diana and I, and our close supporters, suspected there was enormous power in our Republican base: more people and more energy than what seemed apparent, and I incessantly talked about it as a candidate in the gubernatorial primary race. Ironic and counterintuitive, it wasn't until after Buehler's nomination victory on primary Election Day last May 15<sup>th</sup> that we knew for sure that *regular conservative grassroots Republicans – literally 90% of our party – wield enormous collective power – are hyper-enthusiastic – and must no longer be channeled into a back corner by our Republican “Ruling Class” Establishment leadership, leadership which represents just 10% of our party.* For sure, due

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\* Grassroots? Here is a great explanation of what it means in the political sphere, by Brent Willis on his Votility blog (<http://www.votility.com/blog/bid/247100/What-is-a-Grassroots-Advocacy-Campaign>) : “A ground level approach to building up an advocacy campaign is referred to as grassroots. As the name suggests, a grassroots approach starts at the roots of the problem and develops to involve all applicable parties. So, while most organizations start with the higher channels in terms of advocating for a new approach or program in an organization, a grassroots approach starts with the group that will be affected by the change. Instead of having the upper level execs or even mid-level management involved in implementing a change through doling out orders, the people who would be most affected by the change have the most involvement through an advocacy campaign. This provides more substance and passion for a cause as the people whom will be most affected directly have a voice and better understanding of why the change must be made.”



to a combination of that untapped power, Donald Trump's compelling Presidency in DC, Knute Buehler's abysmal loss, and a long history of powerlessness in Salem – the Establishment ORP contingent that has been running our party now stands utterly discredited, while the Oregon conservative grassroots iron is scalding hot. It's time to strike.

3. And as a learning opportunity for Oregon conservatives, it's critical to dissect this most recent gubernatorial primary race from the inside, exposing how our leading conservative grassroots campaign was subtly undermined by a strategic vote-splitting effort, combined with a last-minute million-dollar character assault executed by the Ruling Class's preferred candidate. Orchestrated and diabolical, the manipulations were, no surprise, ignored by the mainstream media, and since no one else has stepped up to the plate to talk about it, I'll personally describe what happened.

The #1 lesson? *My loss was not due to unenthusiastic Oregon Republican voters or a "blue" Oregon. It was due to low-brow political connivance – connivances that are simple enough that they can be stopped cold the next time around.* With six weeks to go before Election Day, per scientific polling, (we did a total of seven polls over the course of the 22 weeks of the active primary campaign. You'll find them all in Appendices F through L) we took the statistical lead in the race and were unquestionably on our way to winning the nomination, having spent a fraction of what our opposing "moderate" Republican candidate Knute Buehler spent.

Now that the election is over and Buehler has lost to Kate Brown, I can write and talk about what happened – and we can learn from it in order to quickly turn our great state around. *If we can understand the underlying motivations and the raw mechanics of what occurred within our own party and on the Left, we will be*

*able to prevent this kind of subterfuge from happening again.*

4. I will defend my personal reputation against the bullying attacks of my three competing-yet-cooperating primary opponents. They tried to destroy me personally with lies and innuendo, so I certainly have a right to tell my side of the story, based on facts. (Note that, as a “good Republican,” I had to wait until the general election was over before I could respond to their allegations. That’s why I was silent for the six months of the general campaign, from May 16<sup>th</sup> through November 6<sup>th</sup>, 2018).
5. It’s high-time to assertively challenge a number of



dubious political assumptions that have been floating around the state for decades, each aimed at the minimization of traditional conservatism. It’s critical these myths be debunked (and carefully describing what

happened in this most recent Republican gubernatorial primary election will assist in that debunking).

6. Along with virtually all voters who support President Donald Trump, I've had a bellyful of being dismissed by political/media bullies on the Left *and* the Right. The political leadership of this "Ruling Class" is composed of hardcore Democrat progressives and our very own Establishment Republicans-In-Name-Only. These two distinct contingents – this self-anointed political elite – not only share a visceral disdain for President Trump, but are certain that you and I can't properly operate our own lives, much less the workings of government in Salem. In this, they point their fingers at grassroots conservatives for anything that isn't perfect. And always, down there in the dank corridors of their arrogance, they quietly sneer and titter.

There's the downright nasty side too, the side that has to do with "necessary" personal destruction, and the punishment of those who disagree with their viewpoints.

But now we will fight back and I'm unequivocally stating here that we're not going to take it anymore. And know this: these people will never be convinced so there is no point in arguing with them or in trying to reach them with reason. *Simply, they must be removed from power.*

7. In Oregon, in the wake of over 30 years of progressive leadership, emboldened by an anemic, intimidated ORP leadership, our state continues its descent into a California-at-its-worst, Dante-like Hell. Been in downtown Portland recently? How about Chiloquin or Burns? Talked to a veteran lately? How about just about any parent who has a child in a public school. *Let's do something about it.*

8. Indulge me as I vent my personal exasperation with the

wastefulness of government machinery at all levels. A big part of my professional life's work has been dedicated to rescuing failing private-sector businesses. And because of my avocation – personal immersion in a business organization to create effectiveness, find bottom-line profit, and to teach leaders how to survive and then thrive – my personal exposure to government incompetence over the last eight years has annoyed me beyond words. So much waste! National, state-wide, or local, there is a no less efficient organization than government. (Yes, of course I know government is necessary. Wanting a more limited/more efficient one does not make me an anarchist).

9. It's past-time to challenge the DC political consulting cabal. As sharply demonstrated in this most recent Republican gubernatorial primary campaign – never mind the general campaign where record tens of millions were spent – the big money myth is exposed, so there is this good news: in order to win an important state-wide race, a conservative grassroots candidate does not have to raise multiple-millions of dollars just to hand a big share of it over to political consultancies.

Here, you'll learn that an election can be won for a fraction of the traditional cost, especially as TV and print-media continue their steady slide into irrelevance at the hands of the internet. This opens the door for citizen-candidates who need not be wealthy; need not be beholden to big-money donors. The old days are gone.

10. And what is the overarching great news for regular grassroots Americans like you and me? Over the last two years, the constitution-based American freedom-engine has built up a tremendous head of steam under the guidance of President Donald Trump. And that train is accelerating. It's both safe and smart to support our President!

The immediate and long-term mechanical goals of this book? First, to reconstruct the statewide Oregon Republican Party so it will find, cultivate, endorse, protect, and promote great candidates who reflect the will of the majority of conservative Republicans (as evidenced by their support of the official Republican Party platform), and then, second, win enough elections in 2020 and 2022 to establish the Great Oregon Red Trifecta.

Are you ready?



# INTRODUCTION

As the runner-up in the May 15, 2018 Oregon Republican gubernatorial primary election, I can't come to you touting my great success in being the point-man for immediately overturning decades of Left-generated political myth and intimidation. However, my second-place finish in the primary does lead me to an intriguing story.

The climax of this story came in the last few weeks of the primary campaign when Knute Buehler, the Establishment "moderate" Republican candidate, with not a shred of resistance from the Oregon Republican Party (ORP), spent his remaining war chest of over one million dollars to savagely attack me personally on TV, radio, online and elsewhere. His diabolical multi-media onslaught, designed to portray me as a despicable human being, was wholly based on lies and scurrilous innuendo. It was scorched-earth: an outright character assassination. Compounding the assault, Buehler was not alone in his barrage. He managed to secure the assistance of two other vote-splitting "conservative grassroots" candidates.

Why? Because by April 1<sup>st</sup>, three weeks to go before ballots were to be sent out to voters, per scientific polls, I was winning.

After a vote-splitting effort that wasn't doing the trick, the clear inevitability of my victory was why, in those last weeks, Buehler drained his campaign coffers to incessantly hammer me personally.

His unprecedented, entirely orchestrated onslaught finally shifted the tide against me to deliver him the nomination.

The personal character attacks happened because Buehler had no other way to defeat me. He simply couldn't touch me on the issues. Interestingly, and as you know, this is the way the progressive Left operates: they have little to offer in the way of ideas so they focus on delegitimizing their opponents personally. I agree with calling-out an opponent for gross character flaws evidenced by the facts of that opponent's history, but to outright lie and distort the reality of that opponent's background demonstrates a viciousness in the accuser's own character.

To Knute Buehler, Greg Wooldridge, and Bruce Cuff – the damage that was inflicted on me and my family was immaterial. In their quest for Buehler's victory, it was collateral damage. Ironically, in this Republican primary race, it was a perfect example of the progressive Left's pretentious philosophical chestnut: the-end-justifies-the-means.

So now we have that debauched mentality on our own Republican side. Or maybe it's been there for a while and I just hadn't been exposed to it...

Diabolical indeed.

But here's a prime take-away: Buehler's nomination victory was not a mandate for his particular redefinition of Republican conservatism (state-sponsored abortion, single-payer healthcare, assertive gun control, carbon tax, sanctuary state, expanded government, anti-President Trump, etc.). It was a last-minute, heavily financed manipulation that yet again left conservative grassroots\* Oregonians, like you and me, powerless in Salem.

It had nothing do with "blue Oregon," or "lazy conservatives voters." It had to do with big-money slime.

Am I bitter? Oddly enough, no. Am I disgusted? Yes.

I mentioned it in the Preface: overall, Buehler outspent me nine-

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\* And who exactly are members of the "grassroots?" Michelle Malkin describes us in this way: *"Outside La-La Land and the polarized realm of the Resistance, sane Americans live grounded and healthy lives defined primarily and centrally by family, faith, hard work, quiet charity, devotion to community and self-improvement."*



to-one, but I'll add this additional tidbit: Buehler spent more smearing me in the last ten days of the race than we spent in the entire four and half months of campaigning.

What happened in the primary really was orchestrated. I'm going to set the record straight so it won't happen to future conservative grassroots candidates.

In these pages I will defend my personal reputation against the treachery, but I am especially driven to explain what happened for members of my family and close friends and supporters who, although they would never admit it, were chagrined.

I'll talk about the perpetrators and will be naming names. I was in the vortex of the primary election chaos so I know what I'm talking about. And regarding naming names, I will clearly qualify some of my points with "some people say..." or "one could deduce..." conjectures. But also note that my direct allegations are made only with cold, hard evidence. (My point in saying this? If I get sued, whomever does the suing will not just be counter-sued by me – and to me, the thought of those counter-suits is delicious – but in the end, they will, at a minimum, be paying my attorney fees as well as their own. I've been involved in a total of four lawsuits in my life, one of which was in Federal Court, and as the petitioner in each I won all four. I don't enjoy it, but I am good at it.)

And for sure, this politics-of-personal-destruction manipulation has especially been an assault on regular conservative Oregonians. Diana and I, together with our small campaign staff, feel horrible that the hundreds of thousands of you who supported our campaign through the winter of 2018 were denied the chance to begin to create the Oregon Red Trifecta. But nevertheless – and here's the great news – there is no question that an Oregon Red Trifecta can still happen, albeit over the next four years. It will be carried on the shoulders of this explosive national and international unfolding of conservative grassroots power in this Age-of-Trump. We'll use the vivid lessons-learned in the 2018 Oregon Republican gubernatorial primary contest as a guideline for the future. And we'll win.

Buehler's unsurprising defeat at the hands of Kate Brown has been

yet another colossal waste of a chance to change Oregon leadership to something rational: leadership that is not fixated on an ideological big-government wish-list and driven by identity politics, but instead is laser-focused on the simple well-being of everyday Oregonians.

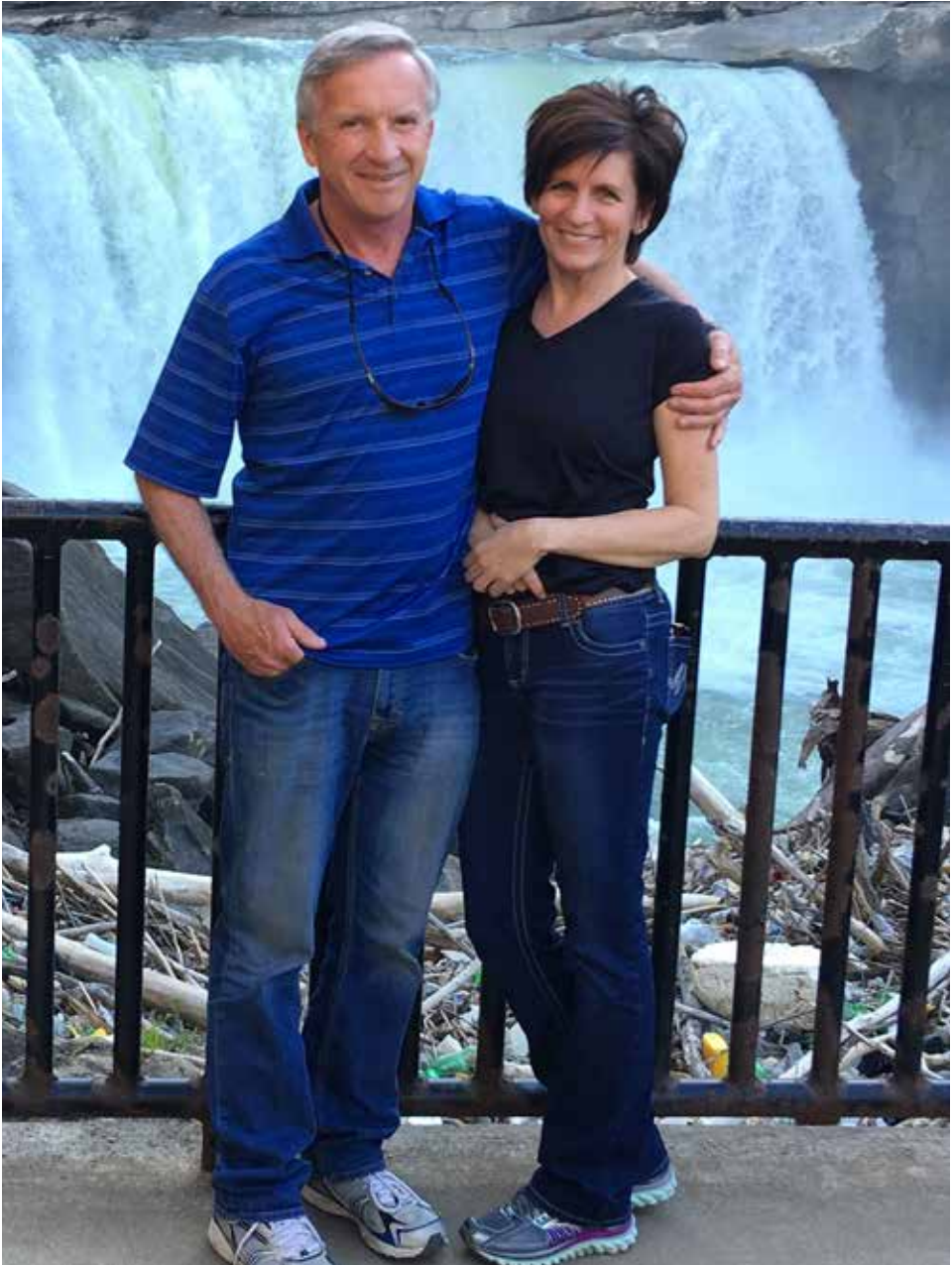
Let's take back the legislature in 2020, and then the governor's seat in 2022. From scratch, and starting now, let's create the Great Oregon Red Trifecta!

The online publish-date of this book is January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019, two months after the general election. I could have released it earlier (I wrote the bulk of it in July and August), but as a "good" Republican, publishing it before the election would have hurt then-nominee Buehler. And, no question, Establishment GOP fingers and the media would have blamed his defeat on me and on the many Oregon conservative grassroots voters who chose, on their own, not vote for him.

Except for a tiny inner-circle of friends, I've kept quiet. I didn't work against Knute Buehler. He lost the race all by himself.

For the record, Knute Buehler never approached me for a general election endorsement. As you read, you'll understand why he couldn't face me to do that. Would I have given my endorsement to him if he had asked? Probably not, for a variety of reasons, some of which are personal. For example, in the Portland Lars Larson debate, in the final stages of his weeks-long mudslinging personal assault on me (which of course was enough reason for me to not endorse him), he publicly declared, with a dismissive smirk, that he would not endorse me should I win the nomination. In any case, neither Buehler or his people ever asked for my endorsement and so I was not faced with the decision of how far I would have to stretch myself in order to remain a good Republican....

Before we go any further, let's get to a critical point of terminology, a "one-layer-deeper" phrase that delivers us a more accurate grasp of today's political landscape. I use the term "Ruling Class" to describe power-brokers and their followers on the Left *and* the Right who have been trying to convince you and me that more government is the answer, that the election of Donald Trump was a mistake, that we



**Diana and me, Cumberland Falls Kentucky, near her hometown**

conservatives must move to the Left if we are to be taken seriously, and especially, that things are OK as-is...and that the last thing we want is change, change that will remove them from power.

In this vein, I urge you to read Angelo Codevilla's book, *The Ruling Class: How They Corrupted America and What We Can Do About It*. You can find it on Amazon or at your local book store.

*The Ruling Class* is short, more of a long essay than a book, and I consider it "required reading" for every voter no matter their political affiliation, as it concisely and pointedly explains that the political war in America isn't so much Left vs. Right, as it is the Ruling Class vs. regular citizens like you and me (what Codevilla calls the Country Class). The book is ten years old, but the profound truth of it has fed down perfectly over the Obama years and into this Age-of-Trump.

For the "elite" Democrats and Republicans who compose it, the Ruling Class is an almost-religion that, in author Codevilla's words, "...speaks the language and has tastes, habits, and tools of bureaucrats. It rules uneasily over the majority of Americans who are not oriented to government." And he goes on to say, "...our Ruling Class grew and set itself apart from the rest of us by its connection to ever bigger government, and above all by a certain attitude."

Here's more from Codevilla: "*The Ruling Class' first tenet is that its members are the best and brightest, while the rest of Americans are retrograde, racist and dysfunctional unless properly constrained.*" And this: "*In sum, our Ruling Class does not like the rest of America. Most of all, it dislikes that so many Americans think America is substantially different from the rest of the world – and like it that way. For our Ruling Class, however, America is a work in progress, just like the rest of the world, and they are the engineers.*"

How did the Ruling Class develop? Its government control orientation is the result of our public educational system – "government schools" – that relentlessly throw down victimization as a core tenet from grade school all the way up to the blue-blood

universities that produce their own Ruling Class leadership, e.g. Harvard, Yale, Oxford, Cambridge.

Back to our story: As you read you will see that the last four weeks of the primary campaign were indeed lawless and noxious, and after the election it took a couple of months for Diana and me to get over it physically and psychologically. But now we are both strong again, ready for the next go-rounds, whatever they may be. Right now, it's the release of this book, and then perhaps a stint as Chairman of the Oregon Republican Party should I win the February 16, 2019 ORP election (and if that, on that day, it still appears to me that the organization can be fixed).

After that? Hard to say, but if Oregon can't be repaired, rural Kentucky always beckons. I especially love the people there: conservative, family-based, God-fearing. And there's this, too: it was a Democrat state for generations, but in 2016, with Matt Bevin the newly elected governor, it became a red trifecta for the first time in 102 years. Five out of its six congressional districts are Republican, and its two U.S. Senators are uber-influential Republicans in DC – Mitch McConnell and Rand Paul. Rural Kentucky is a wonderful place to live, and in the southeast part of the state where we have our second home, progressives and never-Trumpers are rare. How refreshing! In any case, Kentucky serves well as a template for what Oregon could become.

Yet, there is the Republican Party of my home state of Oregon which must be rebuilt from scratch, or things are going to just get worse (if that is possible...).

Back to the 2018 Republican primary: Via five scientific polls, conducted between November 2017 and March 2018, averaged together we found that 89% of Oregon Republican voters support President Donald Trump. So you could ask, how could anti-Trump Knute Buehler – representing the tiny 11% Republican never-Trumper Ruling Class Establishment contingent – wind up being our gubernatorial nominee? You'll find the explanation both formulaic and Hellish.

You know it's true: there is a resurgence of appreciation for America

and its Constitution – patriotism. This is in stunning contrast to the disastrous Obama years that demoralized us, decimated our strength abroad and eviscerated our prosperity at home. Obama minimized our worth both as a country and as individuals. Our rule-of-law was debased; the constitution was abridged in so many ways. But now a majority of Americans grasp what his bad leadership did to our country. And you know what I’m talking about: endless public debt, a tidal wave of ridiculous regulations and restrictions, too-high taxes, tens of millions of good jobs sent overseas, increasingly dangerous and filthy cities, unfettered immigration, rural communities economically destroyed, infrastructure neglected, and the tolerance (and even the encouragement) of recreational drug use.

And especially, there is the identity politics debacle. America was designed to be a melting pot of *individuals*, each sacrosanct in his or her own identity. It was never meant to be a collection of separate groups, each struggling to prove the truth of their victimization.

And so, thank God, we now have Donald J. Trump as President of our Country.

Unfortunately, Oregon Democrat progressives continue to run our state government. This book is about changing that.

And what about Republican leadership in Oregon? Our ORP leaders, legislators – and you and I – have wasted too much time trying to mollify political opposition that will never be mollified.

Democrats nationwide? You know this already, too: Obama also managed to drive his own party deep into self-destruction, and despite their modest success taking control of the U.S. House in this most recent election, Democrats will continue to blindly plunge into the electoral abyss, in the firm grip of the increasingly irrational radical Left.

Through all this and up until now, everyday people like you and me, in all political parties, have paid the bills and reaped the bad harvest of our out-of-control government.

But it’s even more than that. Adding insult to injury, the people who make this country work – you and me – are vilified by political Ruling Class progressives and the Establishment Right, assisted by

the leadership of the elite media, Hollywood, academia, and Silicon Valley behemoths. This unholy alliance of disparate groups is what steers the undeserving Ruling Class. Pretentious, but a very small slice of the American population pie, these are people who truly believe that government should oversee everything, that President Trump is a reincarnated Hitler, and that we conservatives are, in Peter Strzok's descriptor, "ignorant hillbillies."

And who comprises the bulk of the ground-troops of the Ruling Class? A large percentage of public union membership, way too many college students and professors; space-cadet environmentalists, a host of b-list entertainers, and 60's era hipsters who never grew up.

The Ruling Class believes itself to be morally, socially and intellectually superior to us, and as I said, they especially despise Donald Trump as he, without a flinch, slams their smug self-importance right back in their faces. (Here is an early blog post I made about the progressive movement: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-14-tired-of-progressive-far-Left-finger-pointing/>)

These days, the short-cut to identifying a member of the Ruling Class is to ask a simple question: Do you support President Trump, or not?

Here's another cut-to-the-chase question: ask, do you believe political correctness is out of control? Eighty percent of Americans hate PC, per a recent poll. And according to Michael Knowles, "the only supporters of political correctness are rich, over-credentialed Democrat white people," and paraphrasing Knowles only slightly, "we could be headed to a conservative-led coalition of sane voters of all races, genders and beliefs. It could be a revolt."

In Part One of this three-part book, I'll dispel ten Oregon political myths. In Part Two, you'll witness what happened deep within the 2018 Oregon Republican gubernatorial primary campaign (and I guarantee you'll come away with a different perspective of what's up in Oregon politics). In Part Three, I'll describe how we can turn Oregon red by 2022.

In Salem, we'll remove Ruling Class political leadership so they can't do any more damage.

Can you imagine the national impact of Oregon "going red"? It will be a dagger in the heart of the Ruling Class.

And no, in accomplishing this we won't destroy the environment or leave truly needy Oregonians behind. On the contrary, we'll properly manage our natural resources, and as we facilitate a booming economy we'll have plenty of financial capacity for those who truly need help.

We'll clean up downtown Portland, too.

Our success in turning this state around depends on the continued escalation of our party's grassroots enthusiasm. Again: you and I, conservatives who support our President, are 90% of all Oregon Republicans. We can create the Red Trifecta if we clean up our own party and make it strong, keep our eyes focused on the ultimate goal, and we hammer-down on the Ruling Class cabal that now controls the state.

And what about future Republican candidates? Today, what highly qualified conservative would want to run for office in Oregon after witnessing what was done to me in this last gubernatorial primary campaign? In a national or statewide general election campaign, we expect personal attacks from progressives, but good God, this kind of personal disemboweling from fellow Republicans within a Republican primary?

C'mon!

There **MUST** be protections for candidates! If we want truly qualified conservative Oregonians to throw their hats into the ring, they have to know there is strong ORP leadership that will stop character-assassination cold when it first begins, not to mention prevent the late entry of grassroots vote-splitters. And for that matter, an ORP that will forestall candidates who are utterly unserious. (In this last Republican gubernatorial primary, five of the ten candidates didn't raise a single dime in campaign contributions, another raised \$160, and yet another – the big-spender of the unserious candidates – raised \$8,000.)



An ORP with backbone would prevent this kind of multi-faceted embarrassment.

It's not like I haven't seen the primary campaign routine before. In 2014 and 2016 I ran for Oregon U.S. Senate race nominations (dropping out of the 2014 race early in order to endorse and assist another conservative candidate, and coming in second in 2016).

I've suspected this before, but completely believe it today: the failure of leadership within our state ORP is the fundamental reason why Republicans have had such little power in Oregon government over the last decades. In any endeavor, lack of leadership always turns up horrible results – and in this case – those horrible results are the election tallies that have determined power in Salem. Fueled by widely believed un-truths about Oregon's politics, and driven quietly by the Left – and with almost zero pushback from the leadership of the Oregon Republican Party – there are absurdly simple yet invisible political tactics that have been used against conservatives all these years. Yes, there has been something going on behind the scenes! I've touched on this already: the manipulation is a purely mechanical protocol founded on myths and intimidation, and it's powered by nefarious big-money. It's been going on for way too long, and it must be exposed if we are to stop it.

Looking back, it's clear my candidacy was doomed from the start. With the Left as it is, and the ORP as it isn't, I was never going to be permitted to win the Republican nomination for governor. For the Left, too much was at stake, while leadership on the Right remained impotent to the point of complicity.

Even after involvement in two US Senate primary races, I was still a bit naïve as I entered this gubernatorial contest. No more! I have been vetted in the fires of Hell in the form of Buehler's orchestrated Gang-of-Three personal destruction assault, and through all that I now know, deep down, how this works. I'm way better for it.

Our time-frame for taking back leadership in Salem is short – the next four years – and this perfect chance to pull it off may not happen again in our lifetimes. Frenetic radical Democrat progressives across

the country have unwittingly set themselves up for substantial defeats down the line. In this Age-of-Trump, and despite the loss of the U.S. House in this last mid-term election, Republican gains nationally will continue to be from the top of the ballot to the bottom of the ballot, in every state. This last Oregon election was contrived from the get-go, and we really can stop it from happening again. Our state's progressive Democrats are going to continue to come off-the-rails because of everyday people like you and me. They will become even more angry and deranged and confused as their power erodes.

To say the time is right for an Oregon turn-around is a profound understatement.

To be sure, we'll lose a battle here and there, but if we keep the pressure up and stay calm, confident, and focused, we'll win the war.

Today, in a nutshell, what exactly is the current Salem political leadership doing wrong? Very simple: Ignoring the well-being of its citizens, regular every-day voters – of every party. Here's what progressive Democrats want: Medicare for all, unrestricted immigration with no borders, repeal of all Trump tax cuts, and the impeachment of Donald Trump himself. Of course, there's much more, too, each proposition pretty much absurd. The Democratic Party has been hijacked by the far-Left, and they are churned up into frenzy in the face of great national/global news and a President with cajones.

And that frenzy and those cajones are their downfall.

Progressive Democrat leadership is focused on transforming our family and spiritual lives for the worse, rather than changing our economic and civic conditions for the better. Progressives are loud, constantly outraged by us, we who are portrayed as oh-so-inferior in every way. Indeed they are noisy, but always keep in mind they constitute a small minority of our total voter population...even here in oh-so-blue Oregon.

And progressives always seem so relentlessly determined to punish those who disagree with them.

Obviously, I've written this book as a Trump-supporting/America-First Oregon Republican and I direct it to other Republicans of like-

mind, but what about classic non-progressive Democrats (I'd say 70% of that party), the unaffiliated, and voters within the Libertarian, Independent, Constitution, Green and the other parties? There is a churning frustration within those voting segments, too. They are regular Oregonians just like you and me, and they yearn for representation in Salem that will stop dictating, obstructing, and wasting, and instead give them the freedom and opportunity to solve their own personal problems that are, ironically, so often government-created. The challenges they face have to do with income and taxes, regulations, living conditions, medical care, education, public employment retirement (PERS!), infrastructure, safety, privacy, the care of our veterans (especially important to Diana and me), natural resource protection and utilization, other land use, essential liberties guaranteed in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendments, and on and on. Their personal burdens are the down-and-dirty real-life challenges that cross all boundaries of political affiliation.

It's more than obvious that the leadership of the Ruling Class of the Left *and* the Right are unreachable and so I won't waste time here trying to convince them of anything. Instead, I'm going to persuade you that they are a distraction from what needs to be done. And anyway, it's not our job to change their minds.

It's our job to remove them from power.

Call me a "forever-Trumper." I've supported the man since June 2015 when he and his beautiful wife Melania descended that escalator to announce his candidacy. In my bid for U.S. Senate in 2016, I met Donald Trump that April, and soon after, officially endorsed him via press release and social media. This was before that year's Oregon primary election, I was the only Oregon candidate – statewide or local – to publicly endorse him then, and even now in early 2019 as we publish this book, I continue to be one of just a handful of Oregon public figures to unabashedly tout this good man, our Republican President, the President of the United States of America.

Why do I feel connected to Donald Trump? One reason is because he makes sense and he's courageous. But also, he's a lifetime CEO and

job-producer, and so am I. Our shared internal passion is to straighten out bad situations and to launch new ventures: to fix and build in order to “add value for all concerned.” It’s what any good CEO does, and Donald Trump, after a lifetime of victories and defeats, good moves and bad moves – out here with you and me in the real world – fixes and builds better than anyone on the planet.

Yes, the Obama years were devastating, but now those years are history. Today, our beloved America is rebounding fast and hard due to the stoic, powerful constitution-based leadership of President Donald Trump. How incredibly satisfying to watch!

And regarding Donald Trump and DC Republicans, following is a quote from an essay by Wayne Allyn Root, published the day of the Kavanaugh Supreme Court nomination, October 6, 2018:

*“Republicans have always been the party of wimps, cowards and ‘nice guys who finish last.’ Trump changed all that. This isn’t your father’s GOP. This is the party of Trump. The GOP has gone from a party of guys wearing green pants with a yellow shirt, going golfing at the country club...to a party of brawlers, head-bangers and New York street fighters. Now Mitch McConnell, Chuck Grassley, Lindsey Graham and even (gulp) Susan Collins are all bar-room brawlers. They’ve all clearly learned from Trump. Heck, even our judges are willing to get into the ring and go 12 rounds! Everything has changed because of the ‘Trump Rules.’ I’m from the streets of New York. This is my kind of political party! Thank goodness the GOP is now Trump’s Party.”*

I’m originally from New York, too. Maybe it’s a genetic thing.

Here’s Root’s entire piece. It’s a masterpiece: <https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/kavanaugh-confirmed-the-party-of-trump-wins-the-street-brawl-and-these-are-the-lessons>

In the Preface, you found that I want to, “help keep Republican conservatives emboldened.” That’s because after a year of communicating one-on-one with over 200,000 Oregon Republicans during the 2018 primary campaign, it’s clear to us that grassroots enthusiasm to take our government back has not abated, but instead has grown stronger. Just like in the rest of America.

I’ll touch on the most pertinent social, political, media, financial, and

competitive realities and – key to starting to get our Salem government straightened out – how we will give the ORP a backbone, and over the next few years, through the electoral process, shove the big blue beast off the back of the train.

Let's engineer The Great Oregon Turnaround! What will be the end-result, politically? The centerpiece will be that we will move from blue to red in all three branches of our Oregon state government. What does this mean for us? A whole lot less government intrusion into our personal lives and our businesses, a stop to bureaucratic/ideological waste (that will put more money in our pockets), safer streets, forests that are resistant to immolation, and an economy that rip-roars as it offers our young people broad economic fast-tracks to building lives of contribution and prosperity!

We'll create value for all concerned.

If there is a believable vision, motivation won't be a problem.

Of course, to the rest of the country, Oregon has long been considered a political outlier, a polarized "Blue State," relegated to lost-cause status. And yet the stark political distinctions here in Oregon illustrate the subtler cultural and social battles still raging in parts of the rest of the country. For this reason alone, it's a good thing to dissect Oregon Politics; to do a post-mortem of this most recent real-life Republican gubernatorial primary campaign.

Because of the last three decades of Left-control here, there's a LOT of low-hanging fruit, and so once we gain Trump agenda-oriented Republican leadership, the economic and social/civic improvements will come quickly, even more dramatically than what we're seeing in the rest of the United States. And how do we accomplish this? By producing and protecting and promoting the right candidates and in doing that, winning lots of elections...and we'll facilitate this via powerful Oregon Republican Party leadership.

In Part One I'll discuss the ten myths of Blue-Oregon: that Republican voters are powerless, that a true conservative can't win a statewide election, and that a few heavily populated left-leaning counties determine the political fortunes of the state.

And as I said earlier, it's clear now that our Republican voters are not disenfranchised – that they have *not* given up on politics or on getting things turned around.

No longer should Republican candidates waste time trying to explain themselves to the Ruling Class progressive far-Left or even to our own Establishment Republicans. (I say it's high time for all conservatives to stop being so ingratiatingly reasonable with the opposition.)

And I'll point out that Republican grassroots candidates don't have to embrace traditional mainstream media (which in these days is no more than a thinly disguised progressive arm of the Democratic Party). I will point out that social media must be included as a mandatory element of any campaign equation, and that winning a statewide election does not require huge amounts of money...which of course means candidates needn't sell their souls to special interests: corporate, political, or otherwise.

These "Blue Myths" are what I thoroughly discussed during the primary campaign. What I'm getting at here is not political theory, it's reality, and I will easily prove each myth for the lie it is.

This is the terrible truth of past Oregon electoral failures: because we haven't confidently and publicly disputed these myths, we've endured decades of hard-left rule in Salem.

Through these pages, as you consider my arguments and evidence, think about dropping any emphatic ideological menu you might be packing around. Stand back, consider the situation, and make up your own mind. Just fall back on your own common sense, and then be courageous.

But then again, maybe you've already done that....

Issues? I won't go into an array of specific political stances here, but instead refer you to my website "Issues" page. As grassroots, Trump-supporting conservatives, it's my guess we agree on most everything: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/issues/>.

On a more conversational level, here is my "Sixty-in-Sixty" essay series: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/>.

While you're on the website, be sure to sign up on the mailing list. I will never share your information with anyone.

Having referred you to my website for details on my positioning, I will mention here that the crisis in our national forests is the single issue that keeps me awake at night. *Oregon could, literally, go up in flames if we don't take action immediately.* Consider the situation in Curry County over the last few years as a precursor to what could happen throughout the rest of the state if an immediate CCC-scale mechanical clean-up is not conducted. And as this book is published in mid-January 2019, wildfires stay in the headlines, as seven thousand homes have burned and scores of people have died in Northern California. Here's the horror story: <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-missing-paradise-fire-california-20181119-story.html>. Note that the per-acre fuel-mass in a California wildfire is as little as 1/1000<sup>th</sup> of the mass of our Oregon Douglas fir and pine forests. The shameful mismanagement of our Oregon forests must be corrected immediately or we're going to have unspeakable tragedy.

Here's an over-view blog post I wrote last summer: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-112-the-wildfires-continue-to-rage-and-the-solutions-remain-the-same/>)

And go to Appendix C to read Court Boice's cogent plea for new management of the forests of south coastal Oregon, Curry County to be exact.

And one other very obvious but so-often overlooked fact that must be calculated into every political discussion: The progressive Left in particular is obsessed with raising taxes. One could logically conclude that the Left's ultimate objective is to have all of us pay as much of our personal and corporate income as possible to big government so, in return, that big government can dictate our personal and business lives.

Boil it down to this: If you are for higher taxes, vote Democrat. This view of taxes is perhaps the quintessential difference between the Democratic Party Ruling Class and the Country Class.

Me? I'm the author of several books – one is about business management, *Work the System: The Simple Mechanics of Making More and*

*Working Less*, now in its third edition and twelfth printing, and it's been downloaded over a million times – and I've created and continue to operate several small businesses here in Bend, Oregon, and one in Romania.

As an expert in recognizing and then repairing organizational dysfunction, I know for sure that government – a uniquely onerous breed of business – is by nature, profoundly inefficient.

Based on my business book, I also operate a consulting operation in which, over the last seven years, my on-the-ground business partner Josh Fonger has worked with over seven hundred small businesses, helping them to survive and then thrive. Josh has had a near-100% success rate with our clients.

My approach to Reality? I work hard to see the world as it *is*. Too many politicians, the vast majority of them on the progressive Left, but significant numbers in our own Republican Ruling Class contingent, operate from the positioning, “this is how things *should* be, and it's my task to show you little people the truth of it,” instead of, “THIS is how it *IS* for all of us! Let's use reality-based solutions to make things better for you hard-working taxpayers.”

See Appendix P for more about me.

So, this is what we must tackle first: we must replace our current ORP leadership in order for the party to begin to find and then churn out solid conservative candidates for the myriad of elections that determine control in Salem. Infiltration by progressives, along with near-complicit Republicans, has driven the statewide ORP into impotence. Rudderless, it has become a tool of the Left as too many regular conservative Oregonians have mistakenly bought into the myth that we have no power.

I will describe what a potent ORP would look like – what it should and should not do – and how it can come alive to deliver us the Great Oregon Red Trifecta. The time is here, NOW, and it's my passionate hope that in the February, 2019 intra-Party elections we will elect new leadership that will take us in the bold new direction I describe in these pages.



Once we accomplish this leadership shift, we'll immediately go to work on the ground, identifying, vetting, coaching, protecting, and promoting strong candidates for the 2020 Oregon Senate and House, CD districts, the US Senate, and statewide executive contests of Attorney General and Treasurer. Our success in Salem will go way down-ballot too, into the heart of the governance of our smallest communities.



# PART ONE

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## DEBUNKING THE BLUE OREGON MYTHS

*“This is your last chance. After this, there is no turning back. You take the blue pill—the story ends, you wake up in your bed and believe whatever you want to believe. You take the red pill—you stay in Wonderland, and I show you how deep the rabbit hole goes. Remember: all I’m offering is the truth. Nothing more.”*

—MORPHEUS (LAURENCE FISHBURNE) FROM THE MOVIE, THE MATRIX  
(Warner Brothers/Village Roadshow Pictures, 1999)



# CHAPTER 1

## Myth #1: The political war in America is Between Democrats and Republicans.

I'm a fan of the red pill. How about you?

Knowledge is power. Use your own common sense to understand the following myths and you will become confident, like us, that we can turn Oregon around.

The underlying conflict is not between Republicans and Democrats, or even the Right and the Left. It's between the political elite class and regular Americans who make this country work, the Country Class.

I can prove the above to you instantly, right here, now. Simply ask yourself this question: What do progressive Democrats and never-Trumper/Establishment Republicans both want?

They want their own personal political worlds to stay as they are. They want to stay in power – they don't want you and me, the conservative grassroots to have political power.

Neither of these contingents wants things to change. For better or worse, they want to retain the status quo.

It's the swamp they want.

This is as good a place as any to throw in a quote from Daniel Greenfield: *"The swamp dwellers like the slime too much. And they will do whatever they can to stop elections from overturning their powers and privileges."*

So, let's go deeper. On one side is the self-selected elite contingent: the Ruling Class. These are the small minority of Democrats *and* Republicans who endlessly and condescendingly explain to us how-things-should-be in America, not *how they are*. These people, especially on the Left, almost always have a problem with our American institutions and traditions. These people crave power, and they are not good listeners.

On the other side, here we are: you and me, the conservative grassroots.

Without pretension, our membership also crosses political boundaries. We can be defined as regular Americans who simply want safety and prosperity for our families. We love our country with no reservation. We don't have anything to prove, nor do we have bones to pick. We'll listen if a speaker is rational.

Regardless of party affiliation, the great majority of Americans are conservative grassroots, and yes, this majority of Americans wants things to change.

Ruling Class members, Left and Right, the distinct minority, will never read this book. In fact, many will priggishly sniff, and will look upon you with disdain for reading it.

Ruling Class adherents, one way or the other, have their futures and financial well-being dependent on big-government.

And yes, they hate Donald Trump.

They walk among us. The Ruling Class contingent has its own PC-language and attitudes. In your own life you know exactly who they are.

How does the descriptor "progressive far-Left" fit in? It's the Ruling Class's driving force, these are the front-line propagators of what I call, the Unfairness Doctrine: *"You have been unfairly victimized even though you don't know it, and unfortunately you are not educated (like us) and are therefore incapable of fixing this for yourself. So, because we care so much for your well-being, we are here as a public service to guide and defend you. All we ask is that you vote for us."*

The especially loud progressive segment comprises about 30% of the Oregon Democratic Party, and therefore less than 15% of the states' total voter population.

It's true: in Oregon, we are being ruled by the leadership of less than 15% of our population, assisted by the Never-Trumper/Ruling Class Right which is 10% of Republicans and therefore a miniscule 3% of the total voting population. (Yes, this Republican conclave is also insufferably frustrated with you and me.)

The remaining 90% of Republican voters? You can call us, "forever Trumpers."

Needless to say, Donald Trump does not belong to the Ruling Class,

and he never will. He's from Queens, New York City, and he will never play their game. Why is the Ruling Class – left and right – attacking him with such venom? He's upset their applecart, and of course they won't go down without a fight, a fight that has devolved into a personal destruction assault. We watch that fight every time we catch up on the news.

Is there a Ruling Class in Salem? Oh yes. And it's also an apple cart ready to be tipped over.

Some say that Knute Buehler, Oxford Rhodes Scholar and surgeon, was the quintessential Ruling Class candidate, as he avoided contact with the 90% of the Republican constituency that supports our President, and as he unceremoniously rejected the official Oregon Republican Party Platform that was created by that same constituency.

Is this Ruling Class vs. regular Americans conflict, a war?

Yes, a culture war.





## CHAPTER 2

### Myth #2: Oregon is different from the rest of the Country

Only in one's head.

In my work and my writing, I emphasize the importance of discovering exact base reality, whatever it may be, and then building from that reality. In getting one's bearings – and trying to accomplish anything at all – it's worse than useless to build on bad information: “garbage in, garbage out.” Why, for instance, have we Oregonians been so convinced that the Left is impenetrably monolithic, and that we must be oh-so-careful about discussing our own conservative and Christian beliefs?

Reality dictates otherwise.

Most of the rest of the United States has “gone red.” Throughout the primary campaign, I began my stump speeches with this fact. Audiences were surprised, and yet the evidence of this reality is right there for anyone to see. Too many grassroots Republicans have swallowed the assumption of a “permanent Blue Oregon” for no other reason than our own propensity for being intimidated. Per the 2018 election results, nationally:

- There are twenty-three “Red Trifecta” states, and fourteen blue
- The majority of our governors are Republicans
- The majority of our state Senates are Republican controlled
- The majority of our state Houses are Republican controlled
- Republicans have solid control of the U.S Senate
- The President is Republican

Under Donald Trump, the official federal government positioning now? Overseas, strength will replace appeasement. Nationally, a surging economy will replace economic malaise, and the rule of law will be paramount.

Obama's “fundamental American transformation” of reduced freedom, anti-constitution rulings, and apology, is over.

Sanity has returned, and people all over the country, and now in Oregon, have noticed.

For the record, let's consider the actual successes of the Trump administration: overseas, there is no more appeasement and apology. We are defending our manufacturers and workers via strong trade protective actions, the TPP is gone, and with Mexico and Canada, NAFTA has been renegotiated into the USMCA – a fair and equal trade deal that is very much more in our favor than it was (and, indeed, with this agreement, Mexico will pay for "The Wall" – many times over). Involvement in the Paris Climate Accord is no more, ISIS is essentially eliminated (remember, the horror of whole families dying together in vats of boiling oil and rows of men beheaded in unison?), NATO members are substantially increasing their contributions. North Korea's official attitude has taken a 180 degree turn with nuclear facilities being dismantled, the Iran deal is terminated, and China and Russia are on notice with our non-apologetic sanctions, and the U.S. embassy is now in Jerusalem. Strict border security will be achieved soon too, despite the nonsensical caterwauling of the Left. And, in less than two years, a total of seventeen overseas hostages have been returned to the U.S. due to President Donald Trump's personal involvement.

Nationally? The U.S. is now exporting more energy than any other nation, the Keystone and Dakota Access pipelines are under construction, nonsensical regulation on business continues to be dramatically reduced, DACA has been halted, "net-neutrality," is over. The Supreme Court is now a strong majority-constitutional/constructionist body. A new tax package lit the economic fuse with GDP growth now approaching 4%. Our overall unemployment is the lowest it has been in 49 years (the lowest ever for minorities), middle-class income is at an all-time high; Wall Street equity has increased by well over 10 Trillion dollars.

The lists go on and on. Incredible!

The point is this: the positive results noted above affect everyone, *including* Oregonians!

The misconception that Oregon is different is a result of an our own lack of attention, the mainstream media, and our chronic willingness to cave in to the demands of Ruling Class politicians.

Except for fringe crazies on the Left, regular Oregonians – no matter their party affiliation – live their lives in the same way everyone else in America lives their lives, and they want the same things, as I said, starting with safety and prosperity for their families.

The take-away? Be bold and proud, and be sure of yourself. Don't hesitate to say what you believe. You are part of the conservative majority that includes significant numbers of Independents, unaffiliated, Libertarians and, these days, more than a few Democrats. Oregon is NOT different. We've just been intimidated into thinking it is.



## CHAPTER 3

### Myth #3: Oregon is a Liberal State and we MUST Move to the Left if we are to win elections!

That theory is precisely wrong, whether analyzing the outdated Right vs. Left clash, or the newer and more accurate Ruling Class vs. Country Class matchup. History proves it in both comparisons.

Here's the classic mantra, from the Republican Ruling Class 10%: *"before it's too late, we have to stop moving to the Right! We must move more to the center! We must STOP the right-wing extremists of the party!"* (Remember that, in this PC culture, "center" is the code-word for "Left.")

There you go: in the red vs. blue comparison, we must become more blue!

Ok, even with this outdated red vs. blue/Left vs. Right argument, continuing to do what we've been doing for so many years is preposterous. I ask Establishment Republicans, in what ways, specifically, have we moved to the Right? Seriously. Give me examples.

Truth is, of course – and as evidenced by the Buehler candidacy – we've moved dramatically to the Left over the years, and we can see where it has taken us.

Be ready for this move-to-the-center dictate to, unabated, continue to be the Ruling Class's prime Left vs. Right argument. I cringe every time I hear it. Here are two very recent examples...

I noted this Knute Buehler quote in the Preface but it is worth repeating here: he said *"I think there is a natural temptation for Republicans to retreat, to dig into well-tread trenches, and play the role of opponents to everything, to be the party of 'no,'" Buehler said. "That is not a recipe for future success."*

Jessica Gomez, failed senate candidate from Medford, said this to an obscure progressive political blogger on the same day: *"The Party is getting smaller, not bigger, and those remaining loyalists are trying to take over the party machinery and move it even further to the right."*

OK, so we haven't moved Left enough? Apparently, Knute Buehler was not progressive enough.

But what about the bigger and more accurate comparison, that this is not red vs. blue, but Ruling Class vs. Country class? In this comparison, we have the Ruling Class Republican Establishment and Democrat progressives agreeing completely with each other that change is not necessary. Things are fine as-is. You and me, the Country Class? We are adamant that change must happen NOW. Big change! And remember, this isn't just about Republicans. This is about regular people of all ideologies and political parties. Each one of us in the Country Class, no matter the party affiliation, is getting hammered with taxes, regulations, bad schools, crime, illegal immigration problems, and on and on...

So, whatever comparison one wants to use, and of course I believe the Ruling Class vs. the Country Class analysis is much more valid than the red vs. blue/Right vs. Left comparison, both powerfully argue that the ORP applecart must be flipped over, and flipped over NOW.

And get ready for this: In this campaign for control of the ORP, I am going to be called a "divisive extremist." And so will you if you support me. Get ready for it.

It's nuts! The Ruling Class Establishment on our side has nothing – no history of success, and no plan for the future that is different than what they've done up until now.

I published this post in early February 2018 on our Make Oregon Great Again website: *"THE LEFT DOES NOT WANT TO FACE A REAL CONSERVATIVE! Tell me again exactly WHY we need a 'moderate' in order to beat the radical progressive far-Left? That's what they want us to think! They know we can win. So, they act like we don't exist. They prop up 'moderate' Republican primary candidates with one hand, while demoralizing conservative Republicans with the other. It's their ongoing campaign strategy to divide and depress us. They've done it every election since 1986 – and we've played along every time."*

If we must insist on weighing the political leanings of the populace based on registered political affiliations alone, and assume straight-ticket voting, then yes there is a disadvantage for Republicans in the

voter registration numbers. But this means little! In a general election, it's the votes that count, and it doesn't matter where those votes come from.

It's the primary elections that we grassroots conservatives must win!

Let's break this down. Yes, as of this writing, and per the Oregon Secretary of State ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Oregon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Oregon)), Democrat voters outnumber Republican voters 36% to 26%, but there is another 35% segment comprised of Unaffiliated and Independent voters who, according to some scientific polls, have moved conservative by a margin of 60-40. (There are many formerly beleaguered ex-Republican conservatives in those ranks). There are Libertarians and the other parties, too, loving President Trump's message of limiting government's overreach. And regarding Democrats: they are not bullheaded, straight-ticket voters. Over twenty percent of Democrats will be voting our way in 2020 if we properly present the message. I can't imagine even 1% of Republicans voting Democrat, can you?





## CHAPTER 4

### Myth #4: We Must Learn to “dialog” with the Progressive Left (Even Though They Hate Us)

Have you heard this? *“Being outraged doesn’t make you right.”*

Why do Ruling class progressives (and Ruling Class Republicans, for that matter) castigate conservatives for every problem that crops up, especially when we go out of our way to be reasonable? It’s not because it’s true. It’s because it works: we conservatives ARE reasonable people, and a big part of being reasonable is to patiently listen and consider opposing viewpoints. You and I have always been ready to “cross the aisle.” But now, after hashing and rehashing the same old arguments for literally decades, it is high-time we see this let’s-have-a-conversation rationale for what it has always been: a tactical distraction device of leftists.

So, let’s *end* the discussion. Let’s stop offering to “meet-halfway” with people who will never do that in return.

And you know what? Sometimes it’s OK to stop analyzing every single political thing and instead just ask ourselves the simple question, *“exactly what kind of a country do I want?”* It’s OK! We can ask that question about any number of issues and we are not required to give explanations! There’s no one standing-by insisting on that except for the Ruling Class, and only if we allow them to get away with it... distracting, distracting, distracting!

I mean this literally: There is no winning with this tiny minority, so discussion with them is literally a waste of time. Instead, let’s use that time to talk to rational voters – the other 85%.



## CHAPTER 5

### **Myth #5: Republican candidates NEED the mainstream media.**

Baloney. No longer must we rely on the Establishment/Ruling Class media's hyper-biased reporting. Instead, let's communicate directly with each other more accurately and more thoroughly, online. The media assaults on conservatives are not going to stop anytime soon, and so we will never be able to reason with them anytime soon, either.

Does the Left-leaning mainstream media include Google, Facebook and Twitter? Yes, in their power to discriminate via shadow banning, ad approval delays, and overt search-engine manipulation. But we will work our way around these private enterprises too, technically and legally.

Interestingly, in this most recent general election as we tried to run Facebook ads for Patti Adair who ran for commissioner in Deschutes County, none of the four ads were approved by Facebook until the day after the election. (Patti, a force-of-nature with Trump-like gusto – and opposed by virtually all of the local mainstream media and the majority of heavy-hitter Establishment, trade, political, union organizations in the county – defeated a deeply ensconced 10-year Establishment Republican in the primary race, and then went on to win the general election.)

So, why should we allow the media to filter and then ignore/redefine our messaging if we can communicate directly with each other? Now, especially with print and TV, we can simply ignore them while we call them out for the duplicitous louts they tend to be. It's what President Trump has done. He's largely bypassed them; talking to you and me one-on-one.

Who doesn't trust the mainstream media? Most people. A recent poll shows that 92% of Republicans, 53% of Democrats, and 79% of Independents do not have faith in these organizations.

A prime strategy of the Left/mainstream media is to hype one crisis after another, and then demand conservatives address their

concerns *right now*! Their warnings can be delusional, if not deranged. The oceans are rising! Millions will die! Donald Trump is leading us to Armageddon! Europeans are angry with us! The homeless problem is, like all of our problems, caused by selfish conservatives! And yes, there is always the victim-fallback: Everyone is exploited (except white Christians).

Don't fall for it.

The real crisis? It's three-fold: the brainwashing of our children, our continued loss of liberty, and ever-growing government.

Let's simplify this: The Oregonian, The Register Guard and the Statesman Journal are certain that Trump supporters are bigots, crazy and/or ignorant. I could list some other smaller Left-embracing papers too. But, some others have Op-Ed people who are reasonable, e.g. The Pamplin Media Group, the Roseburg Beacon, and the Pendleton Record.

In any endeavor, being distracted and/or submissive to a third party is no way to operate. By eliminating the elite media-middlemen, and instead going straight to voters, the message will be perfect, and it will be delivered immediately. For instance, as this book is published I have over 90,000 Oregon Republican Facebook followers. Counting family members, that's over 200,000 Republican voters we're reaching on a regular basis. If I stay in politics, we'll easily be at 150,000 Followers by 2020. More on this in upcoming Myth #6.

Never backing down, point-by-point we will ignore the far-Left media's distorted interpretations, and instead, one-on-one, expose Ruling Class progressives for who they are. Our assertive counter-assault will focus on the obvious failures of current far-Left leadership, including fiscal insanity, over-taxation and over-regulation, rural and city-center poverty, forest non-management, government-funded abortions, horrible public schools, anti-small business policies, sanctuary state lawlessness, tolerance of on-the-street drug abuse (along with the crime and public filth that always tags along), and on and on....

The take-away regarding Mainstream Media? It's that truth doesn't matter anymore. Here's a cynical but reliable rule-of-thumb for any

conservative political candidate in America: “The mainstream media is my Enemy.”

Mainstream media? *It really is fake news.*



## CHAPTER 6

### **Myth #6: Social Media has a minor role to play in a campaign.**

That's what you hear from political consultants. I had nine opponents in the primary election, none of whom knew anything about the proper application of social media. Our campaign gained 74,000 Facebook followers in six months, giving us a total of over 93,000 by primary election day last May 15<sup>th</sup>. The "reach" to Republican voters was incredible, and to get to this point over the four and one-half month campaign, I personally authored posts and answered comments four to six hours every day. These were direct, one-on-one contacts with voters. The end-result? We attribute two-thirds of my vote to these online efforts. There are 700,000 registered Republicans in Oregon and, counting associated family members, with this technology we reached, literally 70% of them, multiple times each. (See the quite fascinating social media statistics for my primary race, in Appendix O).

Think about this: *"Just because a candidate is clueless about social media, doesn't mean social media is useless."*

I could have knocked on doors for six hours a day, reaching maybe 100 households. With Facebook, in that same six hours I was able to reach over 1,000 households.

Knute Buehler and Greg Wooldridge went the "click-farm" route, to gather a bit over 10,000 followers each, with very few of those subscribers giving a whit about a Republican Primary election in Oregon, because very few of them were from the U.S..

This is important and illustrates my point about the utter cluelessness of candidates and the general media when it comes to social media: In a December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2018 interview with The Bulletin, Knute Buehler stated he would *"continue to speak out about long-ignored issues in the state..."* And said he plans to use tools left over from his campaign: *"I have a big following on Facebook and Twitter."* Truth is he has, comparatively speaking, zero following. He either knows that fact and is BS'ing the newspaper and readers, or he simply doesn't understand simple statistics. For instance, he made a political post

on December 28, 2018 and six days later, on January 3<sup>rd</sup> of this new year he had 21 Likes, 4 Comments and 4 Shares. Those were typical numbers he realized all through his campaign. In contrast, I did a post on that same day, and in that same interval had 2,654 Likes, 197 Comments, and 97 Shares.

And Knute Buehler, even after another six months of campaigning for the general election, was yet to reach 15,000 followers by November 6<sup>th</sup>, while I have over 90,000 followers... eight months after we stopped campaigning.

And old-school political pundits (that is *most* political pundits) *really* don't get it. Here's Jim Moore, director of the Tom McCall Center for Policy Innovation at Pacific University, in a Bend Bulletin interview on May 13, 2018, just before the primary elections. He said, "*The demographics of the primary are older than the general election,*" Moore said. "*...if they are on Facebook, it's likely just to check up on what their grandchildren are doing.*" Baloney. Here's what our marketing chief, Marcello, found: 56.96% of the Facebook page audience was composed of people over 55 (54,800 total), almost 50-50 between men and women, with an average of 20,000 interactions (Likes, Loves, Shares, Comments) per month.

Moore is correct about demographics and Twitter usage, but his thoughts regarding older Facebook users are flat-out wrong, (and more than a little condescending.)

Jim Moore might think about getting caught up on what's-happening-now.

I remain astounded at the social media obliviousness out there, an obliviousness that seems to have no boundaries outside the tiny realm of those who use social media to actually accomplish something.

But being successful in social media isn't a simple thing, and success does require more than hard work. There are three vital requirements: First, the candidate's technical operators must be careful not to spam. They must abide, for instance, with Facebook's guidelines, policies, and codes of conduct. Facebook is ruthless about shutting down pages if their rules aren't followed (as Bruce Cuff, to his chagrin, found out more than once in this most recent gubernatorial primary campaign).



The best social media people carefully work within the rules while gaining the maximum benefit at the lowest cost, always remembering the Facebook bias against conservatives.

Second, the technical specialist must know how to target audiences, test and analyze results, experiment while being ruthlessly consistent, and maintain a hard-wired, fail-safe editing protocol.

And yes, the necessary third requirement is the candidate's investment of significant numbers of hours per day communicating with voters.



Diana and Justy

But here's the catch: good luck finding adept technical and management people to get all of this done properly. The complication is that the vast majority of young social media-savvy operatives are progressive Democrats. I know what I'm talking about here: I'm majority-owner of a social media marketing company, PathwayOne, that specializes in business and conservative-only political social media marketing. There is a huge demand for conservative social media professionals. There just aren't many out there.

Notwithstanding the above, with just Facebook alone – and if the

candidate is viable and stays out of trouble – the effort will (and I’m not joking) add 60% or more to the final vote count and, with this, the candidate will very probably win.

I know that sounds incredible, but it’s true. It’s just that few know anything about the technology and its potential.

We attribute 60,000 of my total of 90,000 votes to our social media/Facebook efforts. The cost per vote? A bit more than a dollar each.

Yes, we did some regular mass media with mailings and radio, but these traditional expensive methods can be significantly notched back in favor of using more effective and inexpensive social media, talking one-on-one with voters.

Political consultants are not keen on social media because it’s so inexpensive. They make a 15% commission on ad-buys and so social media is a tiny fraction of the money they can make compared with expensive print and broadcast media. More on this in the next chapter.

Should the candidate use surrogates to engage on social media? Our judgement is, no. The candidate must personally do the huge bulk of the interaction. But having said that, in the last weeks of the primary campaign, Diana handled a significant share of the incoming inquiries and comments, always identifying herself, building up her own legitimacy and ultimately, an enthusiastic personal following.

Rule of thumb: Whatever the medium, never, ever BS your constituents. Voters will quickly discover even a small fraud and your candidacy will be doomed. Respect your voters and never lose their trust.

As I mentioned earlier, in the primary race, via social media, we communicated directly with a total of over 200,000 separate Republican voters. It’s incredibly potent, but I’ll say this again, too: there are no short cuts: you must do it right and you must work hard at it.

And remember this critical distinction: social media is not a marketing tool. It’s a communication vehicle. Its purpose is to allow you to communicate back and forth with people; not to sell them something (although that is what will happen, indirectly, as you sell yourself by just being a good listener and taking the time to respond...).





## CHAPTER 7

### Myth #7. A successful statewide campaign will be expensive.

From an article published in the Portland Tribune, 10/8/2018: *“An analysis of campaign finance reports shows typical spending, with the bulk of money going to advertising and marketing firms, political consultants, television and radio buys, data analytics and software. Buehler’s campaign has spent big on advertising — which can include anything from materials for campaign signs or branded gadgets to television ads. And a lot of the larger expenditures went out East. So far in 2018, Buehler has spent \$4,266,909 on broadcast advertising through Strategic Media Services of Arlington, Va. FP1 Digital, a public affairs firm in Alexandria, Va., received \$627,315. The campaign spent \$623,371 on Red Maverick Media, a Harrisburg, Pennsylvania political consulting firm. Brown has spread money around more evenly, and as of Oct. 4 still had \$3.5 million on hand, compared to Buehler’s \$2 million. Her largest payments have gone to Washington, D.C., with \$2,396,188 going to buy airtime through Buying Time LLC and \$416,880 going to digital marketing firm Rising Tide Interactive LLC.”*

Here’s a perfect example of digging down to base reality and then working back up from that reality-point: Ask, is it a causal relationship between raising lots of money, and winning? Or is it simply a correlation? These days, if the campaign is run properly, and notwithstanding those who spend nothing or next to nothing (including, as I mentioned earlier, seven of the ten 2018 Republican gubernatorial primary candidates), I’d say the connection between winning and money-spent is a loose correlation only. Yet within today’s political world there are two factions wallowing in the past who will laughingly/violently disagree with me: too-much-in-a-hurry mainstream media people, and self-serving political consultants.

Count on it: Mainstream media Op-Ed writers and political consultants will declare there is, without question, a causal relationship between raising lots of money and winning.

In the past, in a typical big race, the money/win connection was most-times true, but as we approach the 2020’s, incredibly effective

and inexpensive social media renders that model obsolete. Yes, Knute Buehler and his consultants, and the Oregon mainstream media, will disagree as they cite Buehler's primary victory over me (ignoring the big-money, the smearing, and the vote-splitting). But in the big picture it is the opposite. One's ability to purchase votes can't guarantee a win if the opposing side can inexpensively reach the same constituents with issue positions that make more sense.

There is a catch, though, an exception to the above and it was exemplified in the primary campaign: a big-money candidate can successfully conduct a last-minute multi-media mudslinging crusade that can bury the low-budget opposition. Here's where a vital ORP should step in. Much more on this later.

I mentioned this earlier: When the final tallies were complete, Buehler had spent nine times more than what we spent, \$4,000,000 vs. \$452,000. And in the end, he spent \$28 per vote (144,000 total votes) while we spent \$5 per vote (90,000 total votes).

Buehler's largest cash donor, Phil Knight, gave him \$2.5 million. From the Oregonian, November 20, 2018: *"Buehler's largest individual donor was Nike co-founder Phil Knight, who gave the Bend Republican \$2.5 million directly, and also sent \$1 million to the Republican Governors Association."* And then, within days, the National Governors Association gave back that one million dollars to Buehler (plus an additional 2.5 million).

Buehler still lost the general election.

(And it must be asked: in his role as governor, would Buehler have been obligated to Knight?)

For the record, our largest cash donation was \$8,000, and I received a half dozen contributions of \$5,000 each. 98% of our donors gave less than \$200.

As I also said previously, as I passed Buehler in the polls and then, with less than a month yet to go in the race, he spent over one million dollars – the remainder of his war chest – to slime me personally with lies and distortions...*he essentially purchased the nomination...*and call it Karma, this sell-my-soul-to-the-devil tactic was a contributing reason

to why he lost to Governor Brown in the general election. (Although I kept quiet about it, voters on both sides of the aisle noticed.)

Yes, of course part of the reason Buehler won the primary election was that he outspent us nine-to-one while falsely maligning my character, but the third equally important factor that delivered Buehler's victory was the introduction of "grassroots candidate" Greg Wooldridge. Many insiders say, and they site powerful anecdotal evidence, that Wooldridge was covertly inserted by the Buehler people to split the conservative vote. And as I mentioned, the ORP did not take an interest in commenting on the baseless slander, or in confronting this last-minute intrusion. (Much more about all this, soon.)

My primary point here is that in a clean election campaign, if the message is right, and the candidate is willing to spend time engaging voters, and there are no wild-card surprises (like a massive slime-campaign and/or the introduction of a vote-splitter), a traditional hyper-expensive mass-media effort – TV, radio, and print – is not necessary.

And here's something else about running a parsimonious campaign: Being able to demonstrate thrift within a campaign is powerful evidence to voters that the candidate will be frugal when holding office.

Buehler had, I'm estimating, a staff of twenty, including both in-house and out-of-state consultancies and fundraisers.

In our campaign, we had two full-time and one part-time paid staff members and a number of volunteers who prepared and placed signs. We raised \$112,000 even though our focus was not on fund-raising (more on this in Part Two). The other \$340,000 was a combination of in-kind contributions and my own cash. The operation was in-house and in-Oregon. And unlike both Buehler and Wooldridge, we did not employ professional fund-raisers.

98% of our time was spent interacting with voters, not raising money. By the end of March, just four weeks before ballots were to be delivered, and after spending only 10% of what Buehler had spent, we took the lead in the race....

And remember to figure this important element into the spending

equation: a political consulting firm will typically take, besides their high monthly fee, a 15% cut of all media ad purchases. And with this, naturally the consultant will tell his client/candidate it's about who can raise the most money, and so they will want the candidate to spend most of his or her time, dialing-for-dollars and engaging professional fundraisers. How best to spend all that money, according to the consultant? On expensive traditional print and postal mailings, of course...and *not* inexpensive social media.

To the consultant, that 15% is everything.

Knute Buehler and Kate Brown? To their in-state and out-of-state political and media consultants, they were ATM machines. Together, they raised and spent \$40,000,000.

A big-time political consultant is a mercenary. An astute observer could accurately conclude, from the "follow the money" rule of thumb, that the majority of state-wide and national-level campaign consultants really don't care about the particular ideology. What they care about is whether their candidate can raise big money. Yes, election wins are important to consultants, but always remember that these in-the-moment people will not be in your world because they think you are a nice person and you deserve to hold the particular office you seek.

The one-layer-deeper truth is that, like stock brokers, consultants get paid whether the client wins or loses.

Be prepared for their insistence that you spend most of your time on the phone raising money. And with this, the collateral damage will be the minimizing of your day-to-day exposure to voters. And be prepared for them to tell you what message to deliver, per their alleged polls and focus groups...and their typically left-leaning, Establishment Ruling Class philosophies. Best bet? In your campaign, be careful of traditional political consultants. If nothing else, stay in charge of your message, remain skeptical, and avoid the 15% ad-buy arrangement.

So if you are considering running for office, be smart and be willing to step out of the typical formulaic campaign box. It's not about how much money you can raise. It's about how many votes you can gather.



## CHAPTER 8

### Myth #8: Donald Trump is a Liability.

Never mind that he is our President, elected by us....

Don't succumb to the media's wishful thinking about his alleged tentative viability, and instead look at the facts and it will be easy for you to make the decision to stay on-board the Trump train.

Boil it all down and what is the single character-attribute that made him President?

He's courageous and assertive.

In a leader, do we want a street-fighter or a group-hug facilitator?

I am weary of hearing various incantations of the following blather, especially from some of our own grassroots voters: *"I love his policies and what he's done for the economy, my family, and our world stature, but I wish he would stop tweeting."* And, "why can't he be more dignified?" For



It's the little things that provide steady satisfaction. Staining the deck in our Bend home.  
October 2018.

those of my friends who support President Trump in this way, here's my message to you: If you proclaim to have our President's back, but at the same time feel compelled to add a negative qualifier, it will be seen as a sign of weakness, completely negating your positive comments. Do you say this about your spouse to your friends?: "I love him (her) so much, but..."

Either you have our President's back or you don't. No quibbling. No apologizing. Donald Trump in DC – and our Red Trifecta movement here in Oregon – need your unqualified support.

## CHAPTER 9

### **Myth #9: There is nothing we can do about inefficiency in government.**

Yes, of course government is essential for a wide array of services and infrastructure necessities that can't be provided by the private sector (military, judicial, roads, social safety nets, utilities, public emergencies, clean air and water regulation, police, etc.) but, government is mechanically wasteful, and it always will be.

Why? Five reasons:

1. The people who create and manage our government entities are spending other people's money
2. Politicians and bureaucrats too often have personal ideological agendas in conflict with the well-being of taxpayers
3. There is no competition for the services they provide
4. Complexity. It's the "one layer deeper" reality: the more complex the system, the more apt that system is to be inefficient and to break, and to be a hotbed for corruption
5. The necessary cash flow is easy-money per bureaucratic whim

Can something be done? Yes. For instance – for the right leaders – there is much low-hanging fruit in the Oregon bureaucracy. Yet meaningful long-term improvement will lie in a significant reduction in the physical size and convolution of our government agencies.

(Regarding government inefficiency, here's a blog posting I made early in the primary race: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-29-the-oregon-red-trifectas-smaller-and-enormously-more-efficient-government/>.

And, here's another: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-87-drain-the-oregon-swamp/>

Although we can't completely stop the waste, we can dramatically reduce it. Without question, that process is well underway nationally, under the tutelage of President Donald J. Trump.

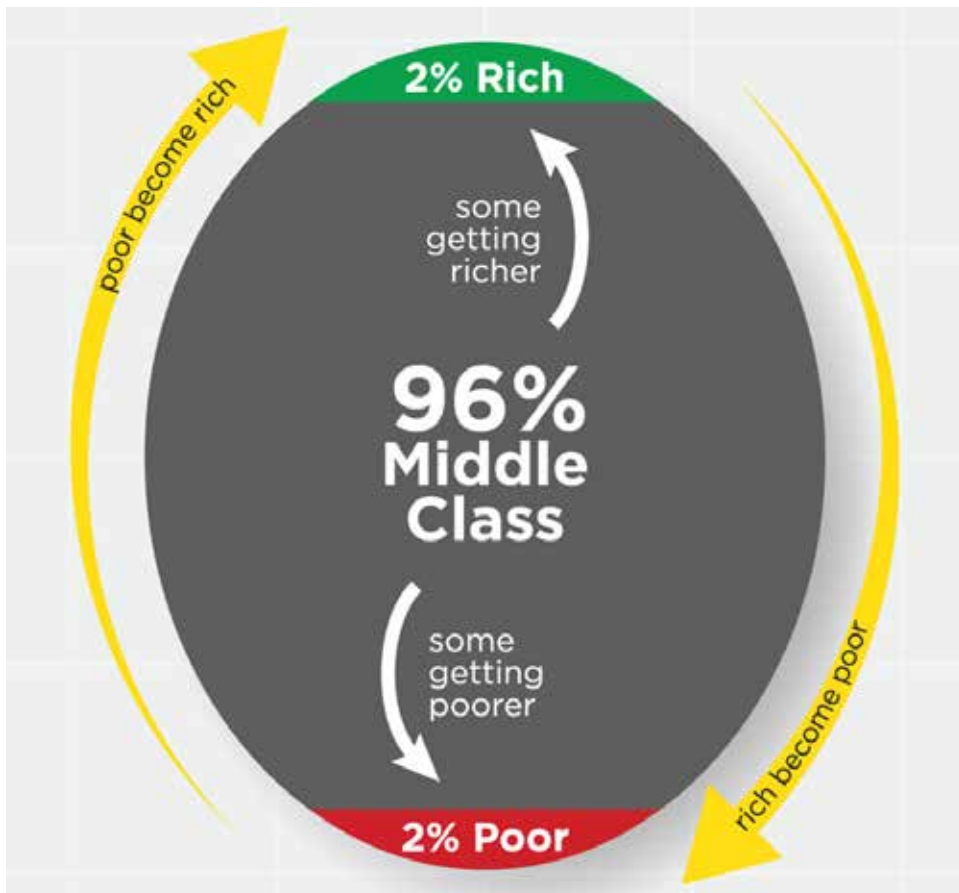


## CHAPTER 10

### Myth #10 The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Poorer

Horsepucky. America is not an old European kingdom. Nor is it some kind of ancient Indian caste system. In the chart below, I've illustrated the 2% of top earners (green, at the top of the oval), and the lowest-earning 2% (red, at the bottom of the oval). Then note everyone else, the remaining 96% -- the middle class. Here's the key point: see the arrows that indicate movement up and down the economic scale? The poor sometimes strike it rich. The rich sometimes lose everything. Some people in the middle go up a bit, while others go down a bit.

In America, there is constant movement! There is no "permanent rich." There is no "permanent poor!"



In my own life, I spent nearly twenty years pumping gas, scrubbing other people's toilets, riding on the back of garbage trucks, digging ditches by hand, selling door-to-door, flipping hamburgers. There were literally dozens of other equally low-level jobs, too (see Appendix P). Then, at the age of 50, I figured things out and went from the bottom of the scale to the top of the scale in the course of just a few years. Been there ever since.

Could I slide back to the bottom of the oval? Of course, and I am always watching out for that possibility.

You and I can't stop others from using drugs and/or alcohol, or from making other bad errors-of-judgement, causing their fiscal and social worlds to crumble. It's not our fault or society's fault when that happens. It's the individual's fault, and society is not required to bail that person out. Yes, I understand there are those who by no cause of their own – children, the elderly, and physically and mentally wounded veterans, for example – find themselves at the bottom of the heap. Our wealthy society certainly has the wherewithal to help those people who are truly in need and have not self-destructed.

In any case, don't buy into the inane platitude that the-rich-get-richer-while-the-poor-get-poorer. This is America! You don't live in North Korea or Cuba. In the United States, more so than anywhere else on earth, you can create the life of your dreams if you will simply pay close attention to the mechanics of how things operate, put off instant gratification, work hard, and create value for those around you.\*

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\* Maybe get my book, *The Systems Mindset: Managing the Machinery of Your Life*. Or, if you're a business owner or manager within a business, get *Work the System: The Simple Mechanics of Making More and Working Less* (updated for 2019-2020). Download them for free at [www.thesystemsmindset.com](http://www.thesystemsmindset.com) and [www.workthesystem.com](http://www.workthesystem.com)

# PART TWO

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## RULING CLASS CHICANERY IN THE 2018 OREGON REPUBLICAN PRIMARY RACE

*“The welfare state is not about the welfare of the masses.  
It’s about the egos of the elites.”*

—DR. THOMAS SOWELL

Before you continue: know that my Facebook Page and website are jammed with information. Please “Like” my Facebook page: (<https://www.facebook.com/samcarpenterfororegon/>). And on the website, (<https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/>) be sure to add your name to the mailing list. I will keep you up to date, day-by-day.

*Note: Although the following narration of the 2018 Oregon Republican primary campaign is generally presented in chronological sequence, you will see much back-and-forth in the timeline, and when necessary, repetition of important details in order to round-out a particular context or point. And also, regarding the necessary repetition, there’s this: this is a guidebook, and there is no question that sections of it will be excerpted and passed around online. So, with that, I want those separate sections to contain full information so they can stand on their own.*

*This section of the book, Part Two, is hyper-detailed. As you go through the chapters, trust that in the end – in the final summary chapter, Chapter 27 – the disparate puzzle pieces will fit together.*



## CHAPTER 11

### Relentlessly on the Road...and on the Laptop

Starting January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2018 and ending May 15<sup>th</sup>, 2018, Diana and I traveled by car to every corner of Oregon, visiting voters one-on-one and attending county and private Republican voter meetings of one format or another. Many times, there were six or eight gatherings in a single week. Occasionally there would be 200 in an audience, but not often. Usually only 20 or 30. We'd be on the road for five or six days, staying in motels usually, then head back to our home in Bend for a day or two. LOTS of miles! Oregon is a big state!

In time, generous supporters allowed us to use their second home in SE Salem. It was a life-saver because the trip from Bend to Oregon's major population centers to the west always included winter mountain pass crossings.

We also had a wonderful operational base in La Grande at the Bob and Sharon Beck ranch. NE Oregon is a long, long way from Bend.

The meetings we attended typically lasted two hours or more,



Campaign photo from 2018 gubernatorial primary race.

and my presentation time was often just three minutes. There were one-on-one, coffee-shop meetings, interspersed. It was grueling, but we stuck to the torturous routine knowing Republican conservatives were hyper-enthusiastic and that our polling was good and getting better. Momentum built quickly through January and into February, and our plan for talking to as many Republicans, both in groups and one-on-one, was paying off exponentially. And in the four and one-half month time-frame, we spent enormous time communicating with voters individually via Facebook (“Sam Carpenter Make Oregon Great Again”), building quickly to 30,000 followers, then 50,000, consistently adding over 500 new followers every day. Near the end of the campaign we were adding over 1,000 every 24 hours. We would exceed 93,000 by primary Election Day, May 15<sup>th</sup>, while none of our opponents had exceeded 12,000.)

By mid-March, the grassroots were on fire and our conservative audiences grew larger and hyper-enthusiastic. April meetings in Florence and Eugene especially stand out to Diana and me. Wow!

Physically and emotionally it was brutal. Most times, Diana would drive and I was on the phone, writing up blog posts, or getting back to people online. With our SUV set up as a WI-FI hotspot, and both of us equipped with new Apple Mac Pros, we put 25,000 miles on the car during the 22-week active campaign. Our message was classic conservative: pro-life, limited government, lower taxes, fewer regulations, end sanctuary state status, 2A as-written, pro-School Choice, pro-Trump, a balanced budget, and especially we told everyone we met that there was plenty of evidence to suggest that we really could turn this state inside-out; that we really could “Make Oregon Sane Again.” (Maybe in a future political race, “MOSA” would make for a good hat...).

In all of this, we did not personally bash our opponents publicly or personally. Not once.

## CHAPTER 12

### One Layer Deeper: It's Not About Money. It's About Votes.

The concept of “one-layer-deeper” is a fundamental thread within my writing and public presentations, and it’s the root reason I have done well in the private sector. My various business teams’ strategy is simple: understanding that “the world is a collection of systems,” we carefully analyze conventional wisdom about how a particular system unfolds over time – in its own 1-2-3-4 linear sequence – to reach its particular end-point.

Once we thoroughly understand the separate elements and the sequence of steps in a process, we burrow “one layer deeper” to see if there is a hidden and more fundamental system-element that is actually determining the end-result of that process – a system-element that has gone undetected or has been purposely hidden.

The status quo belief about how a system unfolds into an end-result is very often substantially wrong, (e.g. PERS, forest fires, gun control... socialism, etc.).

This systems-inquisitiveness is something all good CEOs possess, with Donald Trump being the prime example.

So, in business, we look at a systematic problem, determine *exact* reality (whether we like that reality or not), and then act in accordance with that reality. And typically the best solution is simple, inexpensive, fast, and invariably that solution only requires one or more minor tweaks in that system...and in our daily and business lives, that systems-solution most often *does not* involve big-brother government intrusion.

In fact, social or economic problems are too often *generated* by complex and asinine government involvement.

Note Ockham’s Law: “*the simplest solution is invariably the correct solution.*”

Big government is convoluted. That makes it inefficient. (I love the term “limited government,” the primary thread of the Constitution; the ultimate aim of our Founders.)

For leaders, sometimes the process of one-layer-deeper analysis is learned. Most often, it's innate.

On the competitive business stage, the emphatic status-quo assumptions of one's opponents are a good thing: we quietly watch them continue to believe what they believe about a particular process, while we use system-thinking to go deeper to find the actual hidden driver of the end-result. Then we quietly act on that reality.

For the typical political candidate, systems-thinking too often takes a back seat to fear, personal ambition, the fire-killing of the moment, and/or intimidation from insiders and outsiders. Only occasionally do these factors have anything to do with the actual down-and-dirty mechanical protocols necessary to drum up a majority of votes in an election.

So our first and most important one-layer-deeper conclusion regarding winning the Oregon 2018 gubernatorial primary race, was that what mattered most was...votes! Votes are the primary goal, not money, as our main opponent Knute Buehler, the mainstream media, and virtually every campaign consultant insist.

With this understanding, we decided that our strategy was not to spend our time and energy seeking cash contributions. Instead, we would amass a winning number of votes, one-by-one. Yes, Oregon is a physically big state, but we knew the nomination could be won in this way if we were willing to travel hard and to use some of the traditional media tools, but critically important would be to also employ the new online social media platforms as they are meant to be used: to communicate back-and-forth with voters; not to deliver sales-pitches.

As part of this focus on actual votes, we would not kiss the rings of the Oregon political elite in the ORP hierarchy, the legislature, the donor class, or anyone else. We would spend our time communicating with everyday Republicans. Then, after winning the nomination we would continue our heavy voter-communication efforts, but leave enough room in our schedule to make the necessary connections with political movers-and-shakers, raising money and looking for endorsements.

Of course, there would be no compromise in our beliefs. We would

not put-a-finger-to-the-wind to determine our positioning. We knew for sure there were enough voters out there, of all political stripes, who felt the same way we felt about the issues. We would just be ourselves, warts and all. Voters immediately pick up on political duplicity.

Yes, there would be single-issue voters who perhaps would reject me based on one particular stance, but we still believed we could amass



Red pilling with the U of O College Republicans, February 2018

a majority of votes in the primary election and then in the general election.

A secondary benefit of not compromising one's beliefs is that the candidate will be consistent in his or her positions, simply referring back to core beliefs without having to try to remember, issue-by-issue, some clever consultant/polling/focus group-generated stance. In this way, the candidate does not get caught up in identity politics...and can't get tripped up in self-inflicted stance-contradictions.

And here was our further one-layer-deeper calculation: because

front-runner Buehler's fundamental positions were mostly opposite that of the Republican base, we knew we could win a majority of votes by just pointing out his positions to voters. So, in addition to proposing to Republican voters that, "Sam Carpenter will be an excellent governor, and here's why..." the task was to inform those voters of Buehler's stances: that he was anti-Trump, pro-choice/pro-taxpayer funding of abortion; that he advocated single-payer healthcare, was pro-gun restriction, pro-carbon tax, pro-sanctuary state, pro-big government... and he clearly was not an advocate for campaign finance reform (as confirmed by his later acceptance of a multi-million dollar donation from a single donor.)

No lies. Just the truth.

So, in our strategy there was no need for us to attack Buehler personally; to stretch the truth, or to tell fibs. This was a Republican primary election and he clearly held progressive beliefs. All we had to do was point those beliefs out, issue by issue. No need for us go to the gutter. Good thing we didn't have to resort to that because we would have never gone there anyway. (You can see some of our ads in Appendix R.)

Our game plan for landing a winning majority of votes by May 15th by talking to individual voters was in stark contrast to Buehler's. He avoided county Republican meetings in favor of raising money, and many say, in order to avoid hostile "Country" Republican voters who didn't care for his decidedly non-conservative stances.

But our primary task on the campaign trail was to convince Republican voters that there really could be an Oregon turn-around; that regular people – all across the state, and across all political ideologies – could finally take back controlling power in Salem.

## CHAPTER 13

### Internal Communication Tools and Protocols.

With lots of staff and consultants, a typical serious state-wide political campaign has always been incredibly complex and expensive.

But our campaign team was tiny: simple and super-efficient. This smallness had everything to do with the unique communication tools and protocols we employed; ones we've incessantly tested and refined over the last three decades in my national and international businesses and non-profit overseas 501C3 organization (and are fully described in my book *Work the System: The Simple Mechanics of Making More and Working Less*, which you can download for free, text or audio, at [www.workthesystem.com](http://www.workthesystem.com)).



L to R, that's Justy and me. Then, the heart of the team:  
Ashley, Office Manager; David, campaign manager; and Chloe, all-round go-getter.

We had a full-time paid staff of two: Campaign Manager David Gulliver (in Salem), and Office Manager Ashley Tilden (in Bend), and one part-time paid staffer, Chloe Baker, (in Bend). Also, we had a

half dozen on-and-off part-time volunteers and a few outside service providers including our own online marketing firm, Pathway One, headed-up by CEO Marcello Scacchetti, based in Romania and the U.S. We had a half-dozen enthusiastic, hard-working volunteer teams in the field too, erecting signs.

We did not employ an outside political consultant.

This leanness is the prime reason why, by April 1<sup>st</sup>, after we had taken the lead in the scientific polls, our campaign had spent 10% of what Knute Buehler had spent. More on polls in following chapters.

Our budget and staff were relatively miniscule not because we didn't have enough money, but because of our protocols, tools and talk-to-voters approach. Our super-efficient "campaign machine" is what worked best to reach voters.

We were able to accomplish tasks with minimal expenditures of time and energy. Regarding internal communications, in the course of the campaign we rarely had to make real-time phone calls to each other. Not once did we have an everyone-in-one-place physical meeting or a campaign-wide video or audio conference, yet everyone was up to the minute aware of exactly what was going on.

One of the tools we used is what we call "Electronic Voice Mail," (EVM) in which individual or group voice messages can be sent via email. Ninety-eight percent of the use of EVM is via cell phone using either the IOS or droid native (no cost) voice-messaging apps. We also used group email extensively. Our platform was cloud-based (Google) G Suite.

With these simple methodologies, any one of us could instantly send a voice or email message to each other or to anyone or any group of people, day or night; on the move or at home, and so this meant no telephone-tag while everyone knew exactly what was going on. There were other tools and methodologies too, but EVM and group-email were 80% of the reason we were able to get tasks accomplished fast and effortlessly. Very simple.

The more intangible benefit of our communication methodology was that our operation was calm, not frenetic like most campaigns. And



when I say the average campaign is frenetic, I mean *insanely frenetic*, with ego-clashes, huge gobs of wasted money, too many staffers and volunteers going in too many directions, critical information not shared, voter inquiries overlooked and/or ignored, consultants harping at managers, managers harping at volunteers, candidates harping at managers *and* consultants, media foul-ups, travel nightmares, confusion with vendors...and too much coffee and alcohol consumed in attempts to get things done and to stop the anxiety (and of course, excess caffeine and alcohol always makes things worse).

We didn't have any of that.

OK, OK. Maybe some of us drank too much coffee...

One of our tenets was "POS." Don't fear, it's not the acronym you are thinking it is. In our world, it stands for "Point of Sale." That means our communication and task completion, whatever it was, happened *right now*. The idea was to get all the wheels spinning at maximum thrust, *immediately*. Nothing was put off until later. (*See Chapter 15 in Work the System* for details regarding this protocol.)

The other maxim that we brought to bear every time there was something to be done, was "AUTOMATE-DELEGATE-DELETE." This screening motto synchronized perfectly with the individual and group messaging tools, which enabled us to...automate-delegate-delete. We would consider this maxim every time a new recurring task appeared. (Could we automate the task so it would be performed in the future without human intervention? Could that recurring task be delegated to a subordinate or to an outside agency? Or – our favorite – maybe in examining the outcome of that task we decide it's not worth the effort or complication and it should not be done at all.)

You get the idea. There's more, of course, but not much. It's all very simple....



## CHAPTER 14

### Overview: Left-Generated Chicanery (The Oregon Formula)

In the primary race, nine of the ten Republican primary candidates were considered conservative grassroots. The tenth was “moderate,” Knute Buehler.

Seven of the candidates had no prayer of winning the nomination. Yes, despite Myth #7, noted in Part One, *some* money is necessary. Five candidates didn’t raise any contributions whatsoever; a sixth raised \$160 total, the seventh, Bruce Cuff, raised \$8,000. Yet, each of these candidates qualified for seats at meeting and debate forums simply because they had filed for the race with the Secretary of State.

The eighth candidate, Greg Wooldridge? Filing late in the campaign and allegedly heavily funded by dark money from California, some said that he had no desire to win the nomination. My guess is that he did think he had a chance at winning, but was unaware he was being used for another purpose. Or maybe he *was* aware. More about this soon.

The first six candidates were consistently polling at less than 1% each. These candidates, showing up at the meetings, unwittingly fulfilled an important goal of the Ruling Class progressive Left and our own Ruling Class Establishment Right: their presence created chaos and made conservative Republicans look silly. It was tedious. They gobbled up time with pretty much the same stances on everything (but yes, there were some far-out proposals and off-topic/strange haranguing, too). In the end, these six candidates, combined, garnered barely 3% of the total vote.

It was draining and embarrassing for organizers and meeting attendees. Knute Buehler skipped most meetings.

These Republican county meetings always seemed interminable, but we knew they were important. These small audiences mattered.

Knute Buehler got an early start in the campaign, declaring his candidacy in early August, 2017. Although not the gregarious, chummy

sort, he was adept at raising money, doing it on his own and especially with the help of professional fund-raisers.

Some conservative analysts – and you can include me – instantly surmised that Buehler was the progressive Left’s *much*-preferred Republican nominee choice because, like almost all Republican gubernatorial nominees going back 30 years, he could never win the general election. There were two obvious reasons: first, because much of the Republican base would not vote for him because of his leftist positions,\* and second, because progressive Democrats already had their uber-leftist candidate, sitting governor, Kate Brown. (Here’s an early blog post I made on this aspect of the race: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-75-kate-brown-would-crush-knute-buehler/>)

In these Trump years, progressive Democrats really, really did *not* want a pro-Trump conservative Republican nominee who – aggressively using simple, fundamental free-market, conservative-based logic – would tear Kate Brown to pieces on the debate stage and everywhere else.

As I mentioned, Buehler rarely showed up at the county and private meetings, his team declaring him too busy elsewhere. But again, he and his consultants knew his Left-leaning positions on issues would be met with disdain by regular conservative grassroots audiences. Why should he waste his time? Why should he risk embarrassing attacks from his own base when they were never going to vote for him anyway? He had nothing to offer grassroots conservative Republicans because he was courting Left-leaning Democrats, Independents and the unaffiliated. With the old-school comparison, Left vs. Right, he had to choose one or the other. There was no middle-ground. To his short-term benefit, this decision to move Left also saved Buehler from having to endure the physically and mentally draining, on-the-road, meat-grinder campaign circus. And yes, as it turned out, given the combination of

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\* It is accurate to say that most Republicans held their nose and voted for Knute Buehler – but he needed ALL of them and probably only had two-thirds.

progressive Left chicanery and the ineptness of the ORP, it worked for him in the short-term and he ultimately won the nomination.

But in the end, the way he mechanically secured the nomination was the death-knell of his general campaign against Kate Brown.

From the beginning, Buehler had three specific stances that – for sure – would cause him to lose a huge segment of his Republican grassroots base:

First, the life/choice issue. Here's what he said in an August 20, 2018 Bend Bulletin interview: *"My experience is that while people of conscience may hold firm views on abortion rights, most Oregonians manifest their positions moderately and with thoughtful consideration for other points of view."* ([https://www.oregonlive.com/opinion/index.ssf/2017/08/knute\\_buehler\\_distorted\\_aborti.html](https://www.oregonlive.com/opinion/index.ssf/2017/08/knute_buehler_distorted_aborti.html))

Interesting that Buehler distinguishes between people-of-conscious who he suggests are not thoughtful and are resistant to other points of view, and people who apparently *don't* have consciences, but are open-minded and thoughtful.

The bottom-line in all of this, and to cut through his cluttered argument, was that he was proud of his stance on the unfettered killing of babies in the womb, even supporting tax-payer funding of abortion without restriction.

The Republican base was not amused.

His second unpopular stance was his disdain for President Trump. Noted earlier, literally nearly 90% of the Republican base supports our President (and equally important, so do meaningful segments of non-Republicans).

Third, his leftist stances were indeed opposite the official Oregon Republican Party platform. Just look at his positioning, and never mind that he registered as a Republican.

The man campaigned as a progressive.

Once he secured the nomination, what would Buehler's campaign strategy be for winning the general election? He hoped Kate Brown's "failed leadership," would drive Left-leaning voters to vote for him, a "new kind of Republican." And he followed the decades-old myth-

based presumption of the unwitting Oregon Republican Establishment, the media, and DC Republican political consultants: the fiction that Oregon Republican candidates must lean-Left in order to win statewide elections and ultimately gain power in Salem. Never mind that this strategy – that necessarily includes defying the core values of the Republican base – has never, ever worked.

What about looking at this with the more precise Ruling Class vs. Country Class analysis? Buehler would never admit he was a member of the Ruling Class, and in fact, I've never heard any denizen of this club admit their own membership.

But it was easy for Country Class people to see what was up. Buehler was constantly accused of commiserating with the elites on “the other side.”

One has to give credit to the progressive Left for successfully selling this cunning fantasy to Establishment/Ruling Class Republican leadership for all these years; for convincing them that it is logical to ignore the opinions and attitudes of their own Republican base in favor of the opinions and attitudes of progressive Democrats.

So, nine of the ten Republican candidates were considered “conservative grassroots.” The tenth, Buehler – the leftist hardly bothering to disguise himself as a conservative – stayed home and watched, no doubt in silent mirth, as we remaining contenders slogged through meeting after meeting. Ultimately, two of the nine – me and Buehler's pal Wooldridge – split the huge bulk of the conservative vote and that directly resulted in Buehler emerging as the last-man-standing.

And one has to give Knute Buehler points for being so adroit, for winning the Republican gubernatorial nomination by middle-fingering the huge majority of the Republican voting base, as he courted blue-county Democrats.

Where was the Oregon Republican Party?

Sitting by, letting chaos reign.

Here it is: This primary election was just the latest iteration of a thought-out, deliberate strategy propagated by the Left over the



Ineffective dog whistle to Democrats/middle finger to conservatives.  
Knut Buehler's sea-of-blue: bus, signs, and garb. LOVE the hound, though.

decades: infiltrate and exploit weak Republican party leadership in order to make sure a pro-choice, pro-gun-control, pro-big government, don't-criticize-the-Left softie becomes the Republican nominee. And in 2018, having that Establishment candidate tout himself as anti-Trump was a perfect added bonus. The Republican base would not vote for this man Buehler, and neither would Trump-sympathetic voters from other parties or from the ranks of the unaffiliated.

Buehler would lose in the general election for sure, and Kate Brown would get four more years.

It's simple and brilliant political chicanery by the Left, with the wheels greased by our own anemic and near-complicit Oregon Republican Party leadership.

But there is a critical additional factor regarding Buehler's victory: the vote-splitting ploy that I mentioned earlier. In these Trump years, the Left factions supporting Kate Brown decidedly did NOT want her to face a solid conservative/pro-Trump candidate in the general election. There had to be insurance, and the simple ploy – another machination that went unchallenged by our weak Republican Party leadership –

would be to insert a sufficiently-funded, believable pro-life grassroots vote-splitter to go along with the other minor vote-splitting candidates. In this case, it was a-little-bit-hapless Greg Wooldridge who, as our campaign began to gain serious traction in the polls, predictably materialized in early-February as a late-comer into the race. (Oh yes, we'll get to those poll numbers soon...).

Wooldridge would poke along in his low-energy campaign, waiting to absorb the pro-life conservative vote that would become available when, near the end, Buehler would unleash his last-minute million-dollar smear campaign directed exclusively at me. (And that is what ultimately happened, with Woodridge's polling going from 4% to 20% in just the last weeks of the campaign.)

Wooldridge's participation in the race combined with Buehler's slime-a-thon guaranteed the conservative vote would be split, thus insuring Buehler – the single Left-leaning, pro-choice, anti-Trump candidate – would win the nomination, and almost certainly without a plurality of total primary votes.

And yes, this proved to be another brilliant yet diabolical strategy by Ruling Class Buehler and his consultants.

From an article in the Bend Bulletin newspaper before the primary election, May 3, 2018, by Gary Warner, political writer: *“Buehler, a Republican moderate, is hoping to win, in part, by splitting the conservative vote between Carpenter and retired naval aviator Greg Wooldridge, of Portland.”* (<https://www.bendbulletin.com/newsroomstafflist/6213262-151/in-first-attack-on-a-gop-opponent-buehler>).

And long after Buehler's nomination, five months later on September 28<sup>th</sup> as the general election approached, Warner said this: *“Carpenter and Greg Wooldridge split the conservative vote in the primary, allowing Buehler to go on to the general election against Brown....”* (<https://www.bendbulletin.com/localstate/6546734-151/trump-playing-role-in-oregon-governors-race>)

OK, one more time: On December 9, 2018, after the general election, in The Bulletin, progressive Warner penned yet another article after interviewing a cadre of never-Trumper Republicans (you are correct:



I was not invited to comment for the article): *“As the party’s standard-bearer, Buehler ran as a pro-choice, pro-LGBTQ moderate Republican. He benefited from a primary vote split between conservatives Sam Carpenter and Greg Wooldridge that allowed him to move on to the general election by winning a plurality of the vote.”*

With all the facts on the table, and way before the election, more than a few conservative politicians figured out what was up with the late entrance of Wooldridge into the race.

And the only scenario better than the standard vote-splitting ploy, would be to have *two* grassroots vote-splitting candidates – enter Bruce Cuff – who would, in the last weeks, drop out of the race to endorse Wooldridge and then chime in on the attacks on me. (In coming chapters 21 and 22 I will get to the seedy machinations of primary election vote-splitters Woodridge and Cuff.)

For now, here’s the big one-layer-deeper revelation: over the decades, a fundamental tenet of the Left’s political chicanery – their formula – has been to control and undermine our Republican primary elections, all the while distracting conservatives by propagating the myths of “blue Oregon,” and “disenfranchised conservative Republican voters.”

The take-away? Our defeats in general elections have been pre-determined because of manipulations within our primary elections.



## CHAPTER 15

### Distracted by the Oregon Unity Argument.

Here's a great quote, from Brian Eno: "*Withdrawing in disgust is not the same thing as apathy.*"

Now that the gubernatorial general election is over, it finally can be said: as governor, Knute Buehler would *not* have been "the lesser-of-two-evils."

If Buehler had won, although that's not precisely what the Left wanted, there would be a substantial silver lining: the conservative grassroots of Oregon would be destroyed once and for all. How could conservative Republicans take issue with a leftist Republican governor? It would have been the end of us as our Republican party lurched Left. This is why Buehler's loss was, in the long-term, not a horrible outcome: now we have a distinct foe in Kate Brown et al.

No grey area between Democrat progressivism and the rest of us.

No more crossing-the-aisle.

No more pretending this isn't war.

Friends have said, "*if Buehler wins to become governor, we'll hold his feet to the fire about conservative principles.*" My response was this: if he would not pay attention to conservatives during the Republican primary campaign, it is insane to assume he would start doing it as governor.

I touched on this point (Myth #1, in Part One), but will add more detail here. The current Ruling Class Establishment leadership of the ORP (representing 10% of the Republican Party) has consistently blamed Republican losses on the conservative grassroots (90% of the party) for being disinterested and not voting. In their view, lazy Conservatives ("uppity" Christians in particular) who don't vote for Ruling Class pro-choice, Left-leaning nominees are the reason Republicans have no power in Salem. Yes, the low conservative gubernatorial voter-turnout theory may be true, but the argument is a disrespectful sham for a simple one-layer-deeper reason: why should a conservative voter feel compelled to vote for a candidate who violates their most personal beliefs?

And there is the Trump-factor. Never-Trumpers have a visceral dislike of our President, and they can't understand how any sane Republican could support him. Forever-Trumpers quickly pick up on the insulting insinuations of these Republican ten-percenters, and they do not respond well to suggestions their support of the President demonstrates a lack of intelligence, or that they should blindly support a Trump-hating candidate.

And I know this for certain: a whole lot of Oregon conservatives became very tired of being accosted by the leadership of their own party with both the vote-for-the-lesser-of-two-evils plea, and the not-voting-is-a-vote-for-Kate argument.

How could there possibly be unity?

We started hearing this Ruling Class Republican Establishment blather about one month before the general election, with one of the county Chairs sending a "*what is WRONG with you people!?*" group email message to all of that county's PCPs (Precinct Committee Person). In the message, the chairperson lamented that only ten to twenty percent of PCPs seemed interested in working for Republican victories on November 6<sup>th</sup>.

It's SO predictable! This finger-pointing is completely in line with the Ruling Class conjecture that you and I are unintelligent, and for that matter, ethically inferior, morally suspect, disloyal, *and lazy*. (Here's their vision of us: we're cleaning our guns while watching Fox News, pausing now and then to slurp from a can of Budweiser. And yes, on the table next to the Budweiser is a Bible...).

(Regarding Left-wing finger-pointing, here is a blog post I made in September 2017, prior to filing for the race. You can expand my point to include Ruling Class Establishment Republicans: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-14-tired-of-progressive-far-Left-finger-pointing/>)

The gubernatorial election outcome, and the associated electoral devastation that went far down-ballot, was not due to problematic conservative voters. The horrible outcome was because the Republican

candidate for governor didn't represent the beliefs of 90% of Oregon Republicans...and the base's disgust with the candidate was tangible.

Of course, the ultimate deep-truth, as I've said, is that for the past three decades, in statewide gubernatorial races, rarely have we been given a truly conservative candidate. The exceptions: Kevin Mannix in 2002, a seriously credible conservative candidate – with chops – who suffered from a strong Libertarian who took enough votes to insure his defeat. Then there was Dennis Richardson who, in 2014, won the Republican nomination, but did not tout his conservatism in the general election. He lost that contest. But in 2016, interestingly, by wholly embracing his conservatism, he won the 2016 Secretary of State election.

Following is an example of the Left-wing pitch; a pitch that is precisely wrong. How easily we have been manipulated! This was published in the Oregonian, post-election, on November 12, 2018:

The Heading – and perhaps the letter itself – are compliments of the Oregonian Op-Ed staff:

*“REPUBLICAN PARTY TRUMPED*

*“Speaking as an ex-Republican, I have no doubt in my mind had there been anyone other than President Donald Trump in the White House, Rep. Knute Buehler would have won the governorship. Try as he might to distance himself from Trump, Buehler just couldn't make the sale.*

*“Gov. Kate Brown and her fellow Democrats shrewdly and skillfully wouldn't let him get away with it. The stink of the Trump presidency will taint any candidate who runs for office as a Republican, especially in a statewide race in deep blue Oregon. The sooner Oregon Republicans get off this right-wing train wreck of a party and moderate their views, the sooner they once again can claim to be in the mainstream of Oregon politics.”*

[https://www.oregonlive.com/opinion/index.ssf/2018/11/readers\\_respond\\_republican\\_par.html?ath=%3C%=%20recipient.ehash%20%%3E](https://www.oregonlive.com/opinion/index.ssf/2018/11/readers_respond_republican_par.html?ath=%3C%=%20recipient.ehash%20%%3E)

Translation: We'll have unity when you Neanderthal Republicans get a clue that we are right and you are wrong.

So, in Buehler we were provided with yet another Left-leaning

elitist who could not win a general election. It truly IS hard to hold our collective noses to vote for this kind of candidate. There is the Life issue especially: Christians, Diana and me, and a whole lot of other Oregonians, will not cast a vote for a pro-choice candidate.

Unity? Are you kidding?

To be clear, it's not just that Buehler was simply pro-choice. I know many Christian conservatives can and have voted for pro-choice candidates in the past as a matter of pragmatism, but what sets Buehler apart is that he wasn't JUST pro-choice but ADAMANTLY pro-choice, even supporting taxpayer funded abortion without restriction. He made that one of the major focuses of his campaign. This was his elitist Ruling Class coming out. I think if he had just said, right off the bat, *"hey, I'm pro-choice, but I don't think abortion should be a major issue when we have to deal with PERS, miserable schools, and the homeless,"* and then left it at that, many of his evangelical Christian\* conservative critics wouldn't have been so angry with him.

The 10% Republican Establishment implores us – you and me, the unruly 90% – to step in line with their vision. They declare, "we MUST unite!"

No! Their version of unity would have 90% of the party cave-in to see things *their* way.

That will not happen. Not now or ever.

*If the 10% truly wants unity, they will step in line with us, the 90%.*

Or perhaps, and I'll risk being crass here, they would be more philosophically comfortable becoming progressive Democrats.

You and Diana and me? WE are the Republican Party, the 90%! We hold our families and America dear, we work hard, and we're honest. We're firm yet patient and we don't compromise what we believe yet we try hard to see both sides of any particular issue. We take care of ourselves, play by the rules, won't take a handout, don't take guff, don't like expanding government, value our personal and national sovereignty, revere the Constitution as-written, demand the right to

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\* Here's a fascinating synopsis of the evangelical voter block which, no big surprise, is way more pro-Trump than the media has described: <https://www.frc.org/updatearticle/20181127/bloc-buster>

arm ourselves in order to protect our families, support our Republican President without equivocation, and are always ready to help someone in distress...and a whole lot of us go to church on Sundays.

In any case, again, here's the nutshell take-away: over the decades, a fundamental tenet of the Left's political chicanery – their formula – has been to control and undermine our Republican primary elections, causing divisiveness in our ranks, all the while propagating the myths of “blue” Oregon, and “disenfranchised conservative Republican voters.”

In any circumstance, You and I attend to reality and we try to do the right thing.

In all of this, we 90% are already unified!

The Ruling Class Republican elite – the 10% – has had more than enough time to see who we are – to see who their party really is – and to get this right.

We can't wait any longer for them to wake up. No more discussions. We must take firm charge of our party leadership *now*.

And in that, and to end this chapter: as this book is published in mid-January 2019, I am running for Chair of the Oregon Republican Party. The intra-party elections will be in mid-February. I will be running against the Ruling Class Establishment candidate, Bill Carrier, the current Chairman of ORP, someone aiming to keep the current ORP Establishment/Ruling Class power-structure in place, despite that power structure's astounding leadership failures.

Bill's a good guy but, let's not ask for more of the same. Must I bring up Einstein's theory?

The difference between Bill and Me? Bill does what he is bidden to do by his superiors in the Republican Ruling Class. Me? I will do the bidding of the 90% and I don't give a damn about the Ruling Class, Left or Right.





## CHAPTER 16

### Corner Painting: The Disparagement of Donald Trump.

Knute Buehler had his eye on the governorship for a long time, some say for decades. He would work his way up the ladder. He would do two terms in the House and then move ahead to the gubernatorial race.

He won his first two-year term in the Bend, District 54 House seat in 2014. In his 2016 re-election campaign, presuming that any support for then-presidential candidate Donald Trump would kill his chances of holding on to his seat, Buehler wagered huge personal political capital by damning Trump personally. His website tirades against the President still stood as of general Election Day, November 6, 2018. If one looks at the dates of Buehler's initial attacks upon the President – near the end of his 2016 state House District 54 campaign – one might conclude he experienced some last minute emotional panic that supporting Donald Trump would be his downfall in that race.

If he was to run for governor, he could not lose his House seat.

Buehler *did* retain his seat. However, with Trump's surprise presidential election victory on that same Election Day – and still systematically working himself up the ladder toward a Republican gubernatorial candidacy in 2018 – Republican Buehler found himself in the odd political position of benefiting if his own newly elected Republican President was taken down by Democrat opposition. If that happened, Buehler could say, *"I-told-you-so! Now, in 2018, elect me Oregon governor for being so prescient!"*

So, with Trump's victory, what exactly were Buehler's options? Should he have said his judgment on the man during his 2016 campaign had been wrong? Not a chance: he'd bury himself as a flip-flopping opportunist (and yes, I'm being cynical here: Buehler *is* a Rhodes Scholar *and* a surgeon, so his assessment of Donald Trump could *not possibly* have been wrong). His only other choice was to continue to disparage our President and, as I said, to hope he would fail...which ultimately proved to be entirely inconvenient for Buehler as Donald Trump has

certainly *not* failed, and 90% of Oregon Republicans still support him as do significant segments of Independent and unaffiliated voters, and more than a few Democrats. As this book is published in January 2019, President Trump's popularity approaches 50%, historically a record for a non-wartime President two years into office. (The only other Republican President to score higher at this point in a first term was George H. W. Bush, in the midst of the Desert Storm military operation in late 1990.)

In taking his never-Trumper positioning in the spring of 2016, Buehler thrust himself into an unholy alliance with Democrat far-Left progressive leadership and found himself running in the 2018 Republican gubernatorial primary as the leader of the Republican contingent of the Ruling Class (which, of course, especially prides itself on hammering President Trump).

Is it no wonder Buehler was defeated in the 2018 general election? Ordinary people like you and me – as well as the major scientific polling companies and the progressive Left – had calculated this outcome a long time ago.

As a side-note: in a Bulletin interview on December 29<sup>th</sup>, 2018, Buehler confirmed he won't vote for Donald Trump in 2020. (<https://www.bendbulletin.com/localstate/6802348-151/after-losing-race-for-governor-buehler-plans-his#>.)

BTW, Bud Pierce, the Republican nominee in the 2016 gubernatorial special election, painted himself into the same anti-Trump corner with a late primary campaign disownment of President Trump, retracting the endorsement he had given him previously. And, unsurprisingly, presidential candidate Trump stopped campaigning in Oregon within days of Pierce's retraction, a loss of an estimated \$20,000,000 to the state's economy. And the loss was not just to the economy: 100% of that expenditure would have been used for Get-Out-The-Vote efforts for Donald Trump and – by extension – every Republican down-ballot. And it would have been on top of what money Republicans already had.

Pierce was defeated by Kate Brown by eight points in the November

2016 general election, approximately the same margin by which Brown defeated Buehler in 2018.

Arrggghhh!

Once declared – most often due to pride or personal/industry peer-group pressure – it's near-impossible for the political Ruling Class elite to reverse their previous damning critiques of President Trump, and so even now a contingent of Republican political figures continue to belittle the man as they ignore the incredible transformations taking place in our America. They brush off the list of benefits that regular people like us have received via Donald Trump's leadership.

The Ruling Class' continued insistence on our President's unworthiness is such a shallow thing, the quintessential paint-oneself-into-a-corner dilemma. Their hope is to salvage their declining political careers via a Donald Trump take-down, after-which they could point out how they each cleverly predicted that outcome.

Or, maybe they really feel Donald Trump is a bad man.

Who knows their reasoning, and what does it matter? They climbed on the wrong train and their political careers are sliding downhill fast.

Or...their political careers are already outright *over*: 45 U.S. House Republicans retired from their seats in the months before this last mid-term election, most of them quite sure they did not want to be around when the House was lost to Democrats due to a Trump crash-and-burn. Ironical that in their group-retirement, leaving the defense of their seats to new-comer Republican candidates, *they caused* the actual loss of the House (Incumbents win 98% of their re-election battles). But yes, with that, and everything else, Donald Trump has not crashed and burned, but has instead thrived as his agenda keeps rolling out into the real world that all of us inhabit.

Isn't it incredible how big egos and dogmatic stances can carry such power over common sense? After the 2016 Presidential election, why couldn't Buehler have just looked at the mechanical facts and admit that he was wrong, and then climb on board the Trump train? Why did he continue to build his own house-of-cards even while it was collapsing? Well actually, if we go one-layer-deeper, those are easy questions to

answer: Knute Buehler doesn't see the world as a conservative. The kill-shot Brown repeatedly used against Buehler in her 2018 campaign? *"Knute Buehler, you're a mini-Trump!"* How was Buehler to answer? It was a classic Catch-22: Should he have damned the President even more vehemently, thus completely and utterly alienating the Republican base as well as a solid segment of Independent and unaffiliated voters? Or, should he have suddenly begun to praise our President which would have buried him as a flip-flopper?

Wooldridge's view of President Trump? In his governor candidate announcement interview he answered a question to a Register-Guard reporter with this: "Do I abhor him? No." (<https://www.registerguard.com/rg/news/local/36404983-75/portland-political-conservative-makes-late-entry-into-oregon-gubernatorial-race.html.csp>)

Not a ringing endorsement.

What a waste of an opportunity for conservatives to take the governor's seat and then work toward winning back the Legislature in 2020! Statewide ORP leadership has been manipulated into this nominate-a-moderate dance for thirty years. One would think that after all this time, the last thing we Republicans would do is nominate yet another "moderate" Republican, one who – to boot – disparages our sitting Republican President.

Painting themselves into impossible-to-escape political corners prior to the 2016 elections, Buehler and Pierce, and many other candidates nationwide, calculated that Trump had no chance of winning the Presidency – that the Republican base would reject him – and they each would squeeze through to election victory via the "anti-Trump vote." Did they sell their souls as sanctimonious political opportunists, or were they really making heart-felt stances based on conscience... or were they indoctrinated by the hard-core anti-Trump mainstream media. Or, was it all-of-the-above?

## CHAPTER 17

### No-Show Knute.

About mid-March, after 10 weeks of active campaigning, David Gulliver, our campaign manager, came up with the #NoShowKnute hashtag. Of course, because it was based on Buehler's attendance record at the regular county-wide Republican Party meetings, the conservative base understood how spot-on that moniker was. My bet is that Diana and I attended five times as many public campaign events as Buehler. As the grumbling from the base escalated, and the mainstream media's questioning became too much to ignore, Buehler's campaign doubled-down on the classic self-important, missing-candidate excuse that he was too busy meeting with other people with whom appointments had been made months in advance; that he could not be everywhere at once. Yeah. Right.

In the few Republican gatherings that he did attend, he almost always came in at the last minute and left early, clearly avoiding engagement with grassroots conservatives.

Those in the Republican grassroots base will tell you Buehler avoided these meetings because he did not want to deal with questions about why, as a Republican candidate, his political stances were outright leftist. The ORP membership had carefully developed an official platform, but Buehler ignored it – and in doing so, middle-fingered the Republican conservative base. His efforts in the general campaign would be aimed especially at moderate Democrat, Independent, and unaffiliated voters whom he gambled were dissatisfied enough with Kate Brown's performance to instead vote for him.

Whoops.

In the primary, the ORP leadership stood by silently and watched this happen, understanding their own platform – carefully put together by their own members – was being ignored and even mocked.

My analysis of Buehler's meeting absences is more cynical: I believe Ruling Class Buehler had decided to outright reject the conservative grassroots base from the beginning. He didn't do it out of meanness or

fear. He was being ruthlessly pragmatic, and he did it for two reasons: first, because he knew the conservative base would never buy into his leftism (pro-choice, anti-Trump, pro-sanctuary state, big-government, etc.), And second, he didn't want the Ruling Class progressive Left and Republican Right to mistakenly see him as a grassroots conservative. He did everything he could to distance himself from the bulk of his base (sounds crazy, yes?).

Maybe the most thumb-in-your-eye signals of this posture were his campaign bus and his yard signs: all blue, without a hint of red....

Whatever Buehler's reasoning, I can't think of a better recipe for losing an election than to blatantly ignore your own base.

A prominent political friend of mine from way back, former State Representative Jeff Kropf, told us the nutshell-truth, just days after the primary election. His analysis and prediction were precisely correct, and he said, in a clearly annoyed tone of voice, *"There are two rules in political campaigning. First, know where your votes are and second, don't piss off your base. Unfortunately, Buehler isn't doing the former and is enthusiastically accomplishing the latter. If he keeps it up, it's going kill us down-ballot in the general election like we've never seen before."*

This is exactly what happened. (Good call, Jeff...).

Most times, a Republican candidate will swing right for the primary, and back toward the middle for the General. Republican Buehler swung left in the primary, and even further left in the general. Amazing to watch.

## CHAPTER 18

### Backhanded Manipulations of the Ruling Class.

At the risk of being discounted as a conspiracy theorist, I believe it's more than likely that the Ruling Class, Left and/or Right, had everything to do with how three of the Republican gubernatorial candidates – Knute Buehler and Greg Wooldridge particularly, were introduced, encouraged, and/or coddled. (But I admit that I am not sure if any of them even knew they were, essentially, pawns.)

And if the above seems far-fetched, think about this: If they could get away with it, *of course* the progressive Left would insert itself into our Republican gubernatorial primary campaign! *Of course they would!* It's such a simple and inexpensive way to keep themselves in charge of electoral outcomes. It's the intrigue-part of waging any war: infiltrate the other side to promote chaos, and in this case our Republican primary election, in order to produce a leftist-masked-as-a-conservative nominee who could not possibly win the general election...no matter how inept the sitting progressive Democrat governor might be.

In this approach, a huge additional benefit/insurance policy would be that if Kate Brown crashed-and-burned in the campaign, the progressive Left would still have a Left-leaning governor, albeit a Republican one.

Brilliant and heinous.

But the backhanded manipulations were on our side, too: Oregon Right to Life (ORTL) inserted itself into the primary election via Greg Wooldridge, facilitating his vote-splitting candidacy. A moderate Republican candidate could not directly pull this off, but an off-Broadway organization like ORTL could possibly accomplish it without backlash.

In their dodging and weaving and ineffectiveness, it's almost as if ORTL were a front for NARAL. Know this: *Oregon is the only state of fifty states that has zero legal protection for the unborn.* Surely the name "Oregon Right to Life" sounds caring and sensitive, but it's just a name. *What has*

*ORTL actually done over the decades to protect the unborn?* What good is a well-named organization that accomplishes nothing?

How much has ORTL accepted in donations over the last decades? What has it actually produced, tangibly, in the real-world, with that money?

Instead, Diana and I enthusiastically support Oregon Life United which, in this most recent election, via referendum, attempted to stop taxpayer-funding of abortions. It was a LOT of work to gather signatures. (See <https://www.oregonlifeunited.org/>).

And where was the Oregon Republican Party leadership while all this was happening? Not leading and pushing back, but standing on the sidelines watching the Republican gubernatorial primary campaign self-destruct like a train wreck in slow motion. Yes, make no mistake: sides were taken in the Primary campaign....

And although we Oregon Republican voters have swallowed much unfounded Left-generated propaganda (as summarized in Part One), and many of us refuse to vote for a “moderate” gubernatorial candidate for one personal reason or another, the truth is that the end-result of grassroots vote-splitting combined with campaign big-money mudslinging is always going to be the same: the single Left-leaning Ruling Class Republican candidate is going to win the primary election, most often against an array of grassroots opponents, many unqualified to run, and without a plurality of the total vote, and then this progressive-lite nominee will always lose the general election thus keeping progressive Democrats in power.

Yes, with the above paragraph I’ve repeated myself. But I did it because this particular mechanical point is essential to grasp.

***The primary races are our downfall! The inevitable failures in statewide general elections lies there!***

*Knute Buehler won the Republican nomination with just 46% of the Republican vote*, most of his support coming right at the very end of the campaign. I took 29%, losing to Buehler by 17%.

Although Wooldridge’s polling had been down to 4% by late March, he ended up with 20% on Election Day six weeks later, absorbing a huge



portion of my expected conservative vote. (Reacting to the massive Buehler/Wooldridge personal attacks on me, a large block of pro-life conservative voters who would never have voted for pro-choice Buehler, moved to the open arms of anointed-by-ORTL, Wooldridge.)

Wooldridge's vote-splitter candidacy, and Buehler's three-week, million dollar/multi-candidate attacks aimed exclusively at me, were the two factors that effectively locked me out of the nomination. I would have won with just one of those connivances, but not both.

Yes, if Wooldridge and Cuff had supported me instead of Buehler, I would have won the primary election, no problem: with Wooldridge's 20%, plus my 29%, plus those voters who reluctantly turned to Buehler despite his slime campaign and pro-choice stance, we would have won by a fat margin. I'd say my percentage would have exceeded 60%.

Buehler's and Wooldridge's campaigns were a win for Buehler: a perfect big-money, vote-splitting, smear-based success. Much more on this in a following chapter.

Again: Buehler's defeat was not a result of some kind of Republican base demoralization, or because of the "big blue counties." It was diabolical-scale theater orchestrated by a mercenary Ruling Class leftist candidate and his Ruling Class consultants, the Left itself, and the impotence – if not quiet approval – of Oregon Republican Party leadership.

Can something be done so this doesn't happen again? Yes! And it starts with electing new leadership to create a brand new, Trump-centric, grassroots-driven Oregon Republican Party. We'll cover the simple strategy in Part Three.



## CHAPTER 19

### **Bogus Polls: Straw, Prom King, and Purchased.**

10/19/16, Investor's Business Daily: *"Donald Trump has managed to pull ahead of Hillary Clinton by a 1.3 percentage point margin...41.3% to 40%."*

10/19/16, Bloomberg: *"Clinton has a 9-point lead...Clinton at 47% and Trump at 38%...(expect) a landslide loss for Republicans in the Electoral College."*

There are scientific polls, then there are ones that we call, "bogus polls." In the recent Oregon gubernatorial primary race, all three types of bogus polls were used regularly.

First, there are bogus straw polls, which Diana coined as prom-king polls. These are taken at small gatherings where, because the samples are so tiny, stacking of votes can be arranged in a way that guarantees a scheming candidate will win.

Prom-king polls are often taken via informal paper ballots or even just a show of hands from the audience. They are the opposite of scientific.

They are a perverse yet effective way to get noticed. If their results suit the particular candidate's agenda, they will be published by that campaign – and by sympathetic mainstream/Establishment media – as if they were meaningful.

Greg Wooldridge pulled off this illusory effect perfectly at the Republican progressive-lite Dorchester convention in Salem in early March, four weeks after he entered the race, where several members of the Dorchester board, as well as a significant segment of the attendees, were on his team. At least one, Derrick Kitts, was on the Wooldridge campaign payroll. Kitts and Wooldridge were able to stack the audience with Wooldridge's pals rather than reflect a real cross-section of Republican primary voters.

The straw-vote tally, which was done behind closed doors, was 40% for Wooldridge, 30% for Buehler, and 20% for me. The remaining 10% of votes were split among other candidates. The total number of votes split up among all of the candidates was only about 140, so it didn't take

many votes to put Wooldridge in the lead, as he had invited many of his Portland speaking-club compatriots to attend and vote in his favor.

At this time, in early March, Wooldridge's Facebook page and website had just been launched, with meager information about the man and his positions. Per the Secretary of State's office, his campaign financial account was brand new too, having shown its first activity barely two weeks prior to the Dorchester meeting.

So, the results were not an indication of reality in the real-world, yet they provided a nice media take-off for Wooldridge. His never-Trumper team milked the faux-victory incessantly to a complicit mainstream media that sited Wooldridge's Dorchester victory all the way to the actual election the following May. Whether Wooldridge knew it or not I can't say, but in any case, the vote-splitting ploy was off to a fast start.

(Speaking of the mainstream media, and in lieu of wasting a whole chapter on that bunch, I will interject this simple fact here: *the mainstream media IS the progressive Democratic Party*. A whole chapter is not necessary because this is such a simple thing. I mentioned this point in Part One, Myth #7, and touch on it elsewhere in these pages, but I'll say it again now with more gusto: the vast bulk of the mainstream media is the enemy of conservatism, and they are responsible for 90% of the distempered political conflict in this country.)

If a prom-king poll result doesn't fit the mainstream media's agenda, the poll is outright ignored. That happened with, for example, the last two taken just before the primary election. Both polls occurred at local gatherings in April. Neither one was sullied by any particular campaign and, another no-big-surprise, both showed me in a substantial lead.

One was at an Executive Club meeting in Portland. At the end of the meeting, the results were announced but were ignored by the media and the Republican Ruling Class Establishment. The other one was at the Marion/Polk County candidate forum in Salem. There, the Establishment organizers simply didn't announce the results, even to their own meeting attendees.

Here's an interesting anecdote regarding the above-mentioned Polk

and Marion County prom-king poll in which Buehler, Wooldridge and I were in attendance, among a couple of hundred interested Republican voters. The tallying of the votes was delayed until most attendees had left. Buehler had exited early, as usual, but not Wooldridge or me. The late-afternoon crowd was thinning. Finally, the party representative in charge of the poll, from the Polk County Republican Party (I don't recall his name), quietly approached and covertly showed me the handwritten results on a crumpled slip of paper. He sidled up to me and carefully sheltered that tiny piece of paper in the palm of his hand so no one could see it but the two of us.

We both looked down.

I had 41 votes. Wooldridge had 25 votes and Buehler had 5. I asked this Party representative when he would make the announcement of my victory to the remaining attendees. He replied that he wasn't going to publicly declare the results, because *"we don't want to hurt anyone's feelings."* Good grief. Either he was the most sensitive soul on earth or, just possibly, the Establishment was stacking the deck after-the-fact. It is interesting also that, AM 1430 KYKN was there for the duration of the event – and could have announced the results live on the air – but the vote tally was not disclosed until just after the radio team shut down.

There is a second type of bogus prom-king poll, "online polling." It's executed on social media where a survey can be set up instantly by anyone at any time. In this iteration, there is overt online vote-lobbying by the person who posts it (*"Hey, my friends, go to this link \_\_\_\_\_ and vote for \_\_\_\_\_. Be sure to SHARE with OUR friends!"*)

The results are guaranteed unless an opposing candidate finds out about it. When that happens, that opposing candidate's online followers are mustered to vote and the results are then skewed in that new direction. This happened with Wooldridge supporter Bill Post who put up a poll on his own Facebook page. We found out about it within a few hours after Post put it up. We instantly submitted this "voting opportunity" to our – at the time – 60,000 Facebook followers (not *"BOTS from California,"* as Post claimed later).

I may be off a bit but my recollection is that Post had maybe 7,000

followers at the time, and so we completely obliterated his contrived survey. Bill took the poll offline early as we “electorally” pummeled Wooldridge.

And to be fair, we made some of our own prom-king polls in Facebook groups, too. Our campaign used them just as much as other campaigns did, and that while not in any way scientifically valid, we recognized the usefulness of them for PR purposes...especially when one has ten times more followers than the closest competitors.

We never claimed they were accurate representations of reality.

There is a third form of bogus poll. We call them “purchased polls,” that are created out of thin air and are purely marketing pieces for whomever pays for them. Sometimes the “polling” company that executes them is brand new. Other times the company has been around for a while but has a bad reputation due to a history of producing prostituted polls of this kind.

These “have-poll-will-travel” propagators, who usually work for a particular candidate through that candidate’s political consultant, are unapologetically mercenary and facts don’t figure into their calculations, only desired results.

For example, one of these polls was (again, big surprise...) generated for Wooldridge. It was released with great fanfare in mid-September 2017, *five months* before Wooldridge’s entrance into the race – and six months before he had a website or Facebook page – to instantly cast him as the “front-runner,” should he decide to run.

It was contrived. Fake news.

Results? Wooldridge 31%. Buehler 28%.

But what made it especially “fake”?

It was an online survey sent to people who were subscribers to the polling company – so it was an entirely biased, not-close-to-random, sampling. For another thing, although I was already becoming successful on social media, and was clearly working towards filing for the race in October, I was not even included in the poll.

And the Wooldridge consultant who touted it, Derrick Kitts?\*

He was not only a vice president of the alleged polling company, he was to become a paid employee of the Wooldridge campaign. (And regarding Kitts, it's noteworthy that weeks before the 2016 presidential election, he publicly called for Donald Trump to drop off the Republican ticket.)

Kitts and his never-Trumper gang enthusiastically publicized the profoundly dubious results.

It was a joke. However, the media ate it up because they were not just looking for something to write about in the race, they saw in Wooldridge someone who all campaign-oriented, leftist media-types want: a conservative vote-splitter. The mainstream media enthusiastically cited those "poll" results ad infinitum, in the same way they cited the profoundly fishy Dorchester poll results.

The point that most Oregon politicians missed, and that predicted Buehler's certain defeat in the general election, was that there were no national scientific polls performed in Oregon. Did the big-boy pollsters know what the ultimate outcome in Oregon was to be? Yes they did, and the simple lack of interest in the Oregon race by these major national pollsters foretold the end-result more accurately than any bogus polls that were actually conducted.

Yes, one must look one-layer-deeper.

By late March, we took the lead\*\* in our scientific polling and, unquestionably, Buehler's own internal polls indicated that too. It was clear that our numbers were continuing to build steadily, while both Buehler and Wooldridge's numbers were suddenly declining. (See chart on page 101, and Appendices F through L).

This turn-of-events was all under the radar to the outside world. Mainstream media would not touch this turn of events – a Trumpster in

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\* Per online Zoominfo, Kitts is Vice President of Government Affairs at iCitizen Corp. His decidedly Left-leaning work experience includes "Senior Director, Partnership Marketing – NBC Universal-MSNBC/Morning Joe." See <https://www.zoominfo.com/p/Derrick-Kitts/-2138678235>

\*\* Here's a blog post David Gulliver put up on April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2018 <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-93-triton-poll-analysis/>

the lead – with a ten-foot pole. But inside the Buehler and Wooldridge campaigns there was panic.

Time was now passing quickly and our momentum was building to a perfect crescendo.

A little more about the media, particularly newspapers: Because they tend to be incredibly partisan, and because they are suffering financially as their medium's popularity diminishes, they typically do not have the resources to double-check the veracity of pollsters, much less the methodology or the voter-pool sample, and so they wind up satisfied with pollsters' claims that their polls were conducted scientifically, on "likely voters."

What constitutes a likely voter? Are the polled individuals Democrat or Republican? And if mixed, what is the mix breakdown? Was the survey done in Multnomah County or Union County or even in Oregon? Was it a cross-sample of all voters? Or worst of all, was it contrived from nothing at all by a hired-hand "pollster," or maybe a journalist hungry for a story that reflects a personal political agenda?

Aside from their failure to have the resources to investigate properly, there is no question that for newspapers, pure partisan politics is the reason why they go with one poll and ignore the next one. They have a story to tell, and by-gosh, they're going to tell it, and damn the integrity of the evidence as long as the results fit their political preferences, which almost always lean Left.



## CHAPTER 20

### Scientific Polling: Reflecting Reality.

This is important: nationwide, *regarding the 2018 elections, 40% of purported “scientific” polls were flat-out wrong in their predictions.* Why? Because they were not scientific. They were politically driven, bogus polls.

Polls simply can’t be trusted unless they are done in-house or by a major, well-respected polling firm that specializes in...measuring reality. (That’s why they have grown to be “major.” They consistently turn out accurate results.)

In the course of the campaign we arranged for seven Triton Polling scientific surveys. Triton Polling is a northwest regional firm with impeccable credentials. At the time each poll was taken, the results were clear indications of voting probabilities of Oregon Republicans in that particular moment. To recap: in January Buehler was leading, but late in the month his numbers began to decline and, by late March, our steady upward momentum had put me into the lead, albeit a very slight one. Our momentum was steadily upward while Buehler’s was declining.

Buehler certainly saw this happening via his own internal polls\*

Here are the precise details: On March 26<sup>th</sup>, Cuff polled at 4%, down from 6% one month prior. And in that same March 26<sup>th</sup> poll, Wooldridge had dropped to 4%, down from 8% one month prior. In that same time-frame, Buehler had dropped from 31% to slightly less than 23%.

At this point, March 26<sup>th</sup>, I polled at just over 23%, up from 18% the month before. This is where I took the lead over Buehler.

These polls were not contrived polls like Wooldridge’s early iCitizen online survey or his later Dorchester prom-king poll, both of which falsely showed him far in the lead.

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\* To our knowledge, Buehler never posted an internal poll – but surely a candidate with tens of millions to spend and plenty of political consultants on the payroll HAS polling! So why would he never publish any of them? Obviously, Buehler’s polls were paralleling ours.

In my first conversation with Lee at Triton Polling, I told him, *“We are not interested in using polls to promote my candidacy. What we want to know is reality. No wishful thinking. Don’t sugarcoat anything. We need to work with facts whether we like them or not.”*

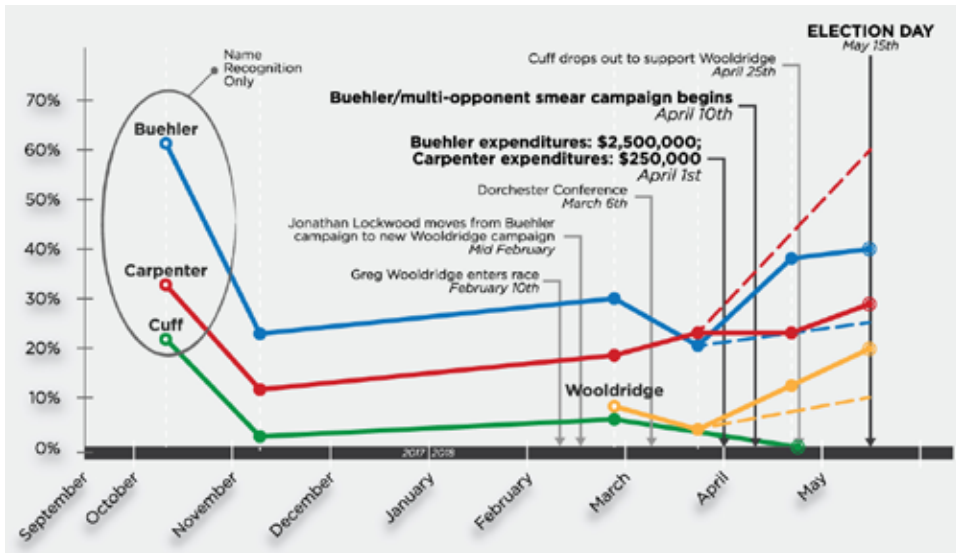
Lee promised complete objectivity and without exception fulfilled that promise over the duration of the campaign. I enjoyed working with his first-class professional team as they made sure the polls were accurate representations of voter sentiment...whether I personally liked the results or not.

An important part of each survey was to precisely sample via population density. To illustrate, there were many more samples taken in Multnomah County than in Union County. Our commitment to correct sampling went right down to Democrat/Republican and male/female ratios, and beyond. You can see how the sampling was scientifically performed by looking at the data at the end of each polling report (see Appendices F through L).

Here are the results of five of those seven polls, the ones in which we asked Republican voters “how you would vote, if you were voting today?” Also listed are the actual election results on May 15<sup>th</sup>. The active campaign season stretched from Fall 2017 through May 15, 2018:

- October 9 (Triton: name recognition only. See appendix F): Buehler 64%, Carpenter 34%, Cuff 23%
- November 9 (Triton. Appendix G): Buehler 24%, Carpenter 12%, Cuff 2% (Wooldridge not included as he was not in the race yet)
- February 26 (Triton. Appendix J): Buehler 31%, Carpenter 18%, Wooldridge 8%, Cuff 6%
- March 25 (Triton. Appendix K): Carpenter 23.1%, Buehler 22.9%, Wooldridge 4% (Cuff soon withdrew from race to endorse Woolridge)
- April 22 (Triton. Appendix L): Buehler 39%, Carpenter 24%, Wooldridge 12%
- May 15 (official election results. Appendix M): Buehler 46%, Carpenter 29%, Wooldridge 20%

Here's a chart showing the above results, with comments.



So, as we had predicted months before, and as was confirmed by the March 25<sup>th</sup> Triton poll, we had surged from being way behind Buehler to slightly ahead. But that slight edge was a precursor: Our momentum was consistently building; our upward trend steady and powerful. Meanwhile, Buehler's numbers had gone negative, and Wooldridge's and Cuff's had hit bottom. (What can't be seen on this chart were – starting in March – the standing ovations we received just entering a meeting room without having said a word, and the packed-house raucous flag-waving meetings that invariably followed).

As I took the lead in the March 25<sup>th</sup> poll, it was exactly four weeks before the mail-in ballots would be sent out to voters.

Note this: By April 1<sup>st</sup>, after we had taken the lead in the scientific polls, Buehler had expended \$2,500,000 while our campaign had expended 1/10<sup>th</sup> of that, \$250,000. Our campaign spending reflected our ability to do more with less, and to manage budgets carefully. But more than that, it demonstrated that our message was on-target and we were reaching voters.

The grassroots were on fire! We were going to win the nomination, no problem.

But then, two weeks out from the ballot mailings, Buhler unleashed his slime campaign. More about that in following chapters.

But for now, let's further analyze the chart. When Buehler's surprise monkey-wrench mud-slinging campaign began about April 10<sup>th</sup>, Buehler's and Wooldridge's falling trajectories immediately reversed sharply upward. At this point my trajectory also continued upward, but only slightly, as Buehler's and Wooldridge's aligned attacks cannibalized votes that had been headed my way.

Those attacks wound up having their desired effect in synchronization with the Wooldridge vote-splitting campaign. The two seemingly unrelated tactics were beautifully choreographed. Diabolical as it was, Buehler and his consultants had this all figured out...although, with this scheme, they were also dooming Buehler in the general election.

On the chart, note the dashed lines showing the probable primary election results if Buehler's million-dollar smearing campaign had not happened. (And note that in these projections we are being generous to Buehler and Wooldridge, as we show their polls recovering a bit from their steep downward trajectories in March.)

The Oregon grassroots vote was, and is, as powerful as ever, but my Republican Ruling Class primary opponent's election victory was secured through vote-splitting manipulation, personal attacks on me, and big dollars to fuel it all. This was an enormous loss to hardworking grassroots Republicans all across Oregon because a nominee was selected who could not possibly win the general election.

The Oregon Republican Party could have stopped it from happening.

*How could any highly-qualified conservative candidate envision running for statewide office in Oregon while the ORP leadership remains the way as it is now? Why would anyone want to go through all this, in front of family and friends?*

It's time for an ORP house cleaning.

It really is this simple: Republican grassroots voters can win general elections if the right candidates are cultivated, encouraged, protected and promoted by a statewide Oregon Republican Party that, under new leadership, will support our President and represent 90% of the Republican Party, not just 10%.

Blaming our continual losses on alleged Republican voter antipathy – or a few blue counties – is a distraction from reality.

Maybe re-read Part One. It will make even more sense to you now.

The one-layer-deeper reason we haven't won statewide races has been exploitive and depraved, but fixing this roadblock quickly is, no question, possible. We'll talk about how we can do that in Part Three.



## CHAPTER 21

### Vote Splitting and Oregon Right to Life.

AP story regarding Greg Wooldridge, May 11, 2017, four days before Election Day: [https://www.oregonlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2018/05/blurred\\_source\\_of\\_greg\\_wooldri.html](https://www.oregonlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2018/05/blurred_source_of_greg_wooldri.html)

*“SALEM — Anonymous campaign donations are banned in Oregon, but nearly half the money raised by a leading Republican gubernatorial candidate cannot be directly traced because it comes from two out-of-state corporations.*

*“The two corporations have donated \$125,000 of the \$288,000 raised so far by candidate Greg Wooldridge, who lists ‘the sunshine of accountability’ as part of his campaign platform.*

*“What the functions of the corporations are — and who is behind them — was a mystery only partly cleared up by the campaign after the donations were made. One is tied to a California real estate executive, but the other, listed as a Nevada firm, had its business license yanked, an Associated Press review found.”*



WHY are these people so damn pleased with themselves?

Greg Wooldridge and campaign crew in a Portland area tavern on Primary Election Night, happily celebrating their distant third place, albeit successful vote-splitting effort.

Portland, May 15, 2018

Go here for another similar article, from Oregon Public Broadcasting, also dated May 11<sup>th</sup>: <https://www.opb.org/news/article/greg-wooldridge-campaign-finance-oregon-anonymous-donation-law/>.

Through the campaign, Wooldridge didn't hesitate to tout his Naval officer credibility as he repeatedly blathered on about what he called, "*the sunshine of accountability*."

Yeah. Right.

As we look back on what happened, it's painful to review the active hypocrisy – what our three opponents apparently considered "the rules of this particular game." We are not so much angry at what happened, as stunned at the lengths some candidates will go to win races or, if not destined to win, to seek retribution for some imagined slight.

Or maybe sometimes there are other more ignoble reasons.

## **NO RULES, AND THE CHAOS FACTOR**

Diana and I realize now, without question, via our own inside-the-meat-grinder participation, that in the professional political game there simply are no rules. Any ploy is permissible as long as one can get away with that particular ploy. We are both from the private sector, so this kind of thinking is foreign to us. This naiveté hurt us, not so much because we could have gone down that road and didn't, but because we really didn't see the fiendish steamroller approaching. Naïve? Maybe. But ask yourself, if you were the leading conservative candidate in a Republican primary race, would *you* have seen this coming? Maybe this expose will save future grassroots candidates from some serious grief.

And we marvel that a political campaign team can be sucked so far into a fake world of hearsay and gossip that they become driven to blind hate. In the campaign, as our momentum surged, we watched the opposing teams' anger build and build, based on rumor-mongering and a ruthless desire to win...and God-knows what else. In the first couple of months of the campaign, the various candidates/staff were reasonable and friendly with each other. But then, in the last stages, all vestiges



of diplomacy fell away and campaign people said and did things they could never walk-back.

And there is the chaos-factor, honed to a fine art by the Left media: if the preferred candidate seems to be losing, promote a storm over nothing at all because at least that's garnering publicity and who knows what the positive outfall might be? Creating chaos and instituting personal destruction are the only fallbacks for a candidate who can't win in the arena of ideas. Remember the Hollywood maxim: "bad publicity is better than no publicity at all."

There's another maxim too, a favorite of mine that is a chapter title in my book *Work the System*. It's called "Gun-to-the-Head-Enlightenment." What the heck, the losing side says, what have we got to lose by going scorched-earth? We're going to lose anyway so why not go hog-wild and see if something comes of it? (Remember the final fight scene in the first *Hunger Games* movie?)

Wooldridge finally did come out in tepid support of our President, in the Lars Larson debate just four days before Election Day. Why would he reverse his positioning so late? Hey, the election deadline was just four days away! Why not? It was a last-minute opening to play both sides of the aisle and to further bite into my grassroots base, all to the benefit of Knute Buehler. Wooldridge knew, from his own polls and/or others, that he didn't have any hope of winning (he had dropped to 4% by the end of March). But then again, in the opinions of more than a few politicians – and whether he knew it or not – winning the nomination wasn't why he was in the race.

## THE SORDID DETAILS

Following are the unpleasant details of the long-term vote-splitter ploy within the 2018 Oregon Republican primary campaign. I'm simply going to describe what happened on-the-ground. Let's start with Oregon Right to Life (ORTL), the endorsement of which has always been coveted by Republican grassroots candidates.

In September of 2017, before I filed for the race, I called ORTL to talk to their director about my potential candidacy. At the time,

ORTL touted themselves as the most visible pro-life/anti-abortion organization in Oregon.

I was transferred to the newly appointed Director. In our chat, I told him I was thinking of running for governor and would like to know what would be necessary to vie for ORTL's valuable endorsement. It was a pleasant conversation and the banter rolled along with the Director listening carefully and answering my questions thoughtfully.

He said the ORTL endorsement would be more than six months out, but that he appreciated that I had contacted him so early.

Then, just before we hung up, he asked me a strange question (and I thought it strange in that moment, not just in retrospect). He asked, *"do you know a guy by the name of Greg Wooldridge? He's been in here, visiting our office. He's a retired Navy pilot and officer. Seems like a sharp guy. He's thinking of running for governor, too."*

I answered truthfully, that I had never heard of him.

After we finished talking and hung up, I turned to Diana and told her that a slightly odd thing had just happened. Why, I asked her, would the Director of ORTL be praising another potential candidate as I was clearly contacting him in order to tout my own qualifications for candidacy? It just didn't seem proper. Almost rude. Remember, this was in September, 2017, five months before Wooldridge would actually file as a candidate. I let it go, though. Not a big deal. It just cast a bit of a dark cloud over the conversation.

Keep this in mind, and I mentioned this in a previous chapter: in Mid-September, concurrent with my first conversation with ORTL's Director, a bogus "iCitizen" poll was conducted by Wooldridge supporters, touting Wooldridge as the leader in the contest.

I filed for the race on October 25<sup>th</sup>. In early November, I called the director again. At the end of another pleasant back-and-forth, out of the blue, he asked me the same strange question, and I paraphrase only slightly: *"Do you know this guy Greg Wooldridge? He seems sharp."* Now I had a burning suspicion that I would not be winning the ORTL endorsement.

Something was going on behind the scenes, and we began to connect the obvious dots.

Continuing to lurk quietly in the background, Wooldridge was still three months out from filing for the race. Call me paranoid, but at this point it was my presumption that he was waiting in the wings to see if I, Sam Carpenter, a Trump-supporting candidate, would challenge Buehler in the polls. And then I asked myself, if this is so, who is encouraging/compensating him to be there, waiting, “just in case Carpenter’s polls take off”?

Then, on January 14<sup>th</sup>, Diana and I attended an ORTL rally at Pioneer Square in Portland. I was the only Republican gubernatorial candidate to show up. After we listened to the various presentations, we made our way through the dispersing crowd to the makeshift backstage area to meet the Director in person for the first time. Nice guy. Again, we had a pleasant talk, and *again*, as we were about to step away, he asked us about Wooldridge, even though Wooldridge had not yet filed for the race and was not at the event. It was January and this was a statewide race and it would soon be a little late to start campaigning. Buehler had filed the previous August, and I had filed in October (and what some politicians called a late entry)

It was mid-January. WHY had Wooldridge not filed for the race yet?

Something was definitely going on behind the scenes. It was precisely at this point, at the Portland ORTL rally, that we became certain that Wooldridge would be a shadow-candidate who might or might not run; a backup grassroots spoiler ready-to-go just in case my Trump-supporting, grassroots campaign should take-off. And then, again we asked ourselves, if this is true, who exactly is behind it? Buehler, or Buehler-supporting Ruling Class Republicans, or the progressive Left, or ORTL, or some combination of the above?

It was in the first week of February as my polls really began to surge against Buehler that Wooldridge finally and predictably jumped into the race...after hovering in the background for five months. My polling surge and Wooldridge’s entrance into the contest: odd coincidence? You tell me...

In late February, Diana, David Gulliver, and I would go through the standard candidate interview process at the ORTL headquarters in Keizer, engaging with the Board of Directors. We left the meeting knowing it had been a good interview and that there was no question about my qualifications: The Director and the Board knew without a doubt that I was “pro-life from conception.” They also were aware that I was a veteran of two U.S. Senate statewide campaigns, and that Wooldridge had never run for office.

But we knew for sure, sitting there with the Board, that the endorsement had already decided. For the Board of Directors, the interview with us was a no-getting-out-of-it requirement. The most we could hope for was that ORTL would endorse both Wooldridge and me, but we doubted that even that would happen.

It is notable that Wooldridge, as he made his last-minute candidacy announcement in early February, didn’t have a campaign website or Facebook page set up, ready to go. On that day, a Wooldridge spokesperson said that the pages were “under construction.” In fact, it was weeks before they appeared, and when they did show up, the pages were of minimal content and amateurish; his positions cookie-cutter and bland. Although he had been lurking in the background for at least five months, Wooldridge’s sudden entrance was obviously knee-jerk; unprepared, as if maybe he was calculating his entrance into the race might not be necessary. Or maybe, as some say, it was because his candidacy was never meant to be a winning one.

In any case, throughout his campaign, right to the end, his online presence was minimal and bland.

Oregon Secretary of State’s records show there was no financial activity in the Wooldridge campaign until February 15<sup>th</sup>.

The ORTL Board HAD to know all that...

On March 9<sup>th</sup>, with our polls continuing to advance, the ORTL endorsement did indeed go to Wooldridge. ORTL would not consider endorsing the two of us. Just Wooldridge. *What the Hell*, our small team members asked each other, annoyed, but by then we were not surprised.

The ORTL Director called me that day and said the Board had decided Wooldridge, *“would be better able to raise money for his campaign.”*

That’s all he said. That was the ORTL’s Board of Director’s reasoning.

When I asked the Director why the Board didn’t endorse both of us, he said they *“did not want to split the pro-life vote.”* Looking back, that was an especially ironic statement since that’s exactly what Wooldridge did in the primary – split the vote – as he was powered along by the ORTL endorsement (and poised to absorb the pro-life votes that would be driven from me via Buehler’s intense mudslinging in the last few weeks of the campaign).

In any case, a few weeks passed and despite the ORTL endorsement, Wooldridge’s numbers tanked. Surprising even to us, and as I mentioned previously, on March 25<sup>th</sup> he polled at only 4% which was one-half of the 8% he had been polling exactly one month before, 3 weeks after he had filed for the race. We thought, this can’t be comforting for Buehler, Wooldridge, or ORTL.

But it sure felt good to us.

The scientific polls we had conducted clearly displayed our power and momentum, and as I pointed out in the previous chapter, there is no question that Buehler’s internal scientific polls were showing our power and momentum, too. In any case, we were surely headed for the primary win with our campaign strategy of talking to voters, and with a small budget...and despite the obvious Wooldridge vote-splitting incursion.

Although we had taken the lead, our small team continued to hammer 24/7. One could never know what might be lurking around the corner.\*

And sure enough, in the second week of April, on the heels of our seizing the lead in the polls, the big-money, three-candidate smear assault began. It changed everything.

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\* Regarding *how* we were winning, read a blog post I made in late March, 2018: See Appendix B

## QUESTIONS

In the end, when all the dust had settled and the primary election was over, a host of questions materialized.

If ORTL was committed to making sure a Pro-Life candidate won the primary election and ultimately took control of the governor's office, why did they not do their due diligence? With tens of thousands of lives – literally – at stake, wouldn't they have conducted their own polling to gather the facts?

ORTL would have gathered that Greg Wooldridge had no chance of winning the nomination (a fact that everyone knew...including Greg. He was polling at 4% in late March). So why did ORTL not try to persuade Wooldridge to throw his support behind me, a Pro-Life candidate who was polling at 23% and had a real chance of winning? Even if Wooldridge had refused to pull out, then why would they not have endorsed me as well? Or for that matter, why did they feel that Wooldridge's "life begins at conception" stance was sincerer than my own "life begins at conception" stance? Or for that matter, Bruce Cuff's?

Lest there be any confusion, Diana and I are pro-life and believe strongly in the need to elect pro-life leaders to the state government. We enthusiastically supported Measure 106, as well as Oregon Life United's petition drive leading up to it, in a variety of ways including financially. We had encouraged others to do the same.

## CHAPTER 22

### The Gang of Three.

ORTL appeared to be a broker for the promotion of Wooldridge, not the instigator.

Again: was Wooldridge's candidacy inspired by the progressive Left, the Ruling Class Republican Establishment, ORTL, and/or by Buehler? (Buehler and Wooldridge always seemed so chummy, never hammering on each other....).

In early-February, just as Wooldridge was filing for the race, Buehler's media consultant, Jonathon Lockwood, an LGBTQ activist and widely-described "conservative bomb-thrower," immediately left Buehler's campaign to go to work for the brand-new Wooldridge campaign. Coincidence? Lockwood has said publicly that Buehler did not fire him. Collusion? For sure, one can call this point anecdotal, but this was a powerful anecdote, and there was starting to be more than a few of them.

Interesting that Wooldridge took his entire Facebook page down within days after the primary election, dumping all 12,000 followers. Easy come; easy go. Some might say I should have done the same with my Page – to be part of "Team Knute." But I knew for sure Buehler was going to lose in the general election, and I had 93,000 loyal followers. And since I intended to stay politically active, I transformed my Page from a primary-campaign Page to a for-Oregon Page. Many candidates do this adjustment after a loss, to keep the infrastructure for a future campaign, and/or to continue being a force. Even in losing a race one builds up a following, and this had been my second full go-round. But Wooldridge obviously had no desire to continue working to promote conservative causes once his role in the primary ended. In fact, it crossed our minds that he might have something to hide in case there was kickback should his real intentions later be questioned and then investigated. Good thing we recorded everything he and Buehler did.

The vote-splitting effort was embarrassingly clumsy in its execution.

But now let's talk about Bruce Cuff. This 2018 contest was his third gubernatorial primary race. In early October of 2017, before I filed, I called Bruce from our second home in Kentucky. I remember that conversation like it was twenty minutes ago, even where I stood in our house as we talked. Bruce had already entered the race. We had a downright friendly conversation – we knew each other from previous campaigns, running in different races. In our chat, I pointed out that the two of us were grassroots candidates and saw things the same way in the most important areas (pro-life, pro-Second Amendment, anti-sanctuary state, strong military, etc.). I continued, saying that if we both stayed in the race to the end, we would split the grassroots vote and hand the nomination to Republican-Establishment Ruling Class golden-child, Buehler. He emphatically agreed, acknowledging that Buehler saw things the opposite of how we saw things.

Then he said he had thought of this vote-splitting possibility already and had a perfect solution, and he said that he had already shared his plan with others.

Bruce said we should both campaign through the winter and then split the cost of a scientific poll in the first week of March, just before the Dorchester political conference. Then, whichever one of us was behind in our closed-poll would drop out and support whomever was polling best; whoever was the strongest grassroots conservative. Bruce went on to say that if he was behind at that point, it would be a good time for him to drop out because the \$3,000 voter pamphlet fee to the Secretary of State would be due right after Dorchester and if he was behind in the polls he would prefer not to have to pay that fee. (In the end, Cuff raised only \$8,000 in primary campaign contributions).

Bruce's idea sounded great to me because in his 2016 gubernatorial primary run he had landed 11% of the total vote. At the time of our discussion, I was quietly certain I would come out significantly ahead in the March poll, and could use those Bruce Cuff grassroots votes. We even talked of sharing the stage and "relaxing with it." And I remember Bruce agreeing with me that although Knute Buehler's stances were



opposite of ours, we would never gang up on him because it wouldn't be right. He adamantly agreed.

It was a good plan and the call ended hospitably.

All I had to do was trust Bruce.

Whoops.

Of course, Bruce can call me a liar about that conversation – it was a non-recorded phone chat – but he can't deny making public statements to at least two women's groups at approximately the same time he talked to me, in October 2017. One was Carol Leek's "Oregon Women for Trump" (<https://www.facebook.com/TheRealOregonWomenforTrump/>)

He told the groups exactly what he told me, that he would drop out in the first week of March if another grassroots candidate led him in a private scientific poll. Then, he would support that candidate. There are numerous individuals in these groups who have come to me on their own, who remember his assertions.

But then, in late January, just before Greg Wooldridge finally filed for the race with the Secretary of State's office, Bruce was all of a sudden not talking to me anymore. I thought this strange as I had given him no reason to be angry. In fact, at one point, in November, I had called him to offer assistance with dealing with Facebook the first time they shut him down for spamming.

By late January we started to understand what could be happening. (Also, remember that by this time we became utterly certain of Wooldridge's purpose). Whatever sly intrigue was going on, we now knew that Cuff had become part of it – whether he knew it or not.

In late February, I still had heard nothing from Bruce, but commissioned the scientific poll as we had agreed, unbiased and fair, through Triton polling. (Cost? \$2,200. You can see the results of all of our polls in appendix F-I). The poll result? Buehler was at thirty points, I scored eighteen. Wooldridge was at eight...and Cuff was at six.

Sure enough, at the Dorchester Conference ten days later, when I approached Bruce with the hard-copy results of that poll – I had out-scored him 18 to 6 – he denied that we ever had agreed upon the

arrangement and with witnesses watching, refused to take the Triton poll hard-copy results as I attempted to hand them to him. Instead, he turned his back and walked away without saying another word. He had called me a liar and clearly was not going live up to the agreement he himself had suggested back in October the previous year. He would be staying in the race.

I was put off by Cuff's double-crossing and for the remainder of the campaign I would exchange brief pleasantries with him but – without making a fuss of it – would not shake his hand. And in this, numerous times and always in a public setting with people watching, he went out of his way to try to shake my hand. I refused and people saw that. His story to followers was that I was “on the attack,” and that truly I was a “bad person.”

And Bruce Cuff DID stay in the race until late April when he dropped out to support Wooldridge. From that point on, Buehler, Wooldridge and Cuff were in full-attack exclusively on me, and they were, no question, successful in assisting Buehler to secure the win.

What do you think? How would you have handled this? In retrospect, here's what I should have done: Back in October at the time of my conversation with Cuff, confirmed the arrangement in writing. Just a casual back and forth email exchange would have been enough. Relying on a promise Cuff made in a phone conversation was a profound error-of-omission on my part.

It's the little things that we fail to do that can cause enormous problems later on. My bad.

## CHAPTER 23

### Frivolous SOS Complaints.

I will go into painful detail.

As the personal smearing began to ramp up in late March, there were two complaints filed against me to the Secretary of State (SOS). One charge was submitted by Ben West of Wilsonville (per the Secretary of State, by his own public statements, and by his admission to Diana and me personally).

The other was a Christopher Fay, of Beaverton, confirmed by the Secretary of State's office.

The complaints were filed one week after I had passed Buehler in the polls.

West, a long-time Portland gay rights activist was a supporter of Knute Buehler and, as he explained to us, a close friend of Jonathan Lockwood, Buehler's former, and at the time, Wooldridge's new media specialist.

West formally complained to the Secretary of State's office, in writing, that that I had falsified my Voters Pamphlet in my 2016 candidacy for U.S. Senate. Once the complaint was filed, West and associated Buehler campaign supporters publicly and gleefully proclaimed I was under government investigation for fraud.

As a cheap political attack, a political operative can file an official complaint to SOS regulators about an opposing candidate, and that complaint can be about nothing at all. Once the complaint is filed, notice of the ensuing SOS investigation is immediately made public by that operative. In this case, the headline was, *"Sam Carpenter is being investigated for fraud by the Secretary of State."*

West declared to the Secretary of State's office that I had lied about where I graduated technical college. He said I falsely claimed to have graduated from Syracuse University.

The school I graduated from in 1974 (45 years ago!), the "New York State Ranger School," a forestry tech vocational school in upstate New York, was and still is affiliated with Syracuse University ("The State

University College of Forestry at Syracuse University.”). Although the name was changed in 1972, to the “State University of New York, ESF Ranger School,” the schools today remain separate but intertwined, sharing credits and classes.\*

I never stated I was a Syracuse graduate, but said I graduated the NYS Ranger School which was affiliated with Syracuse University.

West’s “investigation” was sloppy indeed. He could have found the simple truth in a 30 second Google Search before he filed the complaint to the Oregon Secretary of State’s Office. But if he had done that, how could he tout that I was “*under investigation*,” and that I had falsified my voter’s pamphlet in order to “*enhance my resume as a Syracuse University graduate?*”

Has West apologized? No. But he emailed me shortly after the primary election, as if nothing had happened, unabashedly asking if I would help publicize one of his foster-care events.

Upon SOS’s investigation with Syracuse University, the allegation was outright dismissed as the University stated this was a common confusion, and I had indeed graduated from the technical school that had been and still is affiliated with Syracuse University. But that investigation and resolution came weeks after the election was over.

So, in those last weeks of the campaign, yet another arrow was added to the Buehler smear campaign-quiver. The charge of fraud was enough for West.

A rabid Buehler supporter, and part of the Buehler-inspired personal-destruction roadmap, West proceeded to exploit the fakery on his personal Facebook page, West wrote, “*(Carpenter) is caught in a litany of ethical violations currently being investigated by the Secretary of State*”

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\* From Wikipedia: “With the formation of the State University of New York (SUNY) in 1948, the State College of Forestry became a specialized college within the multi-campus SUNY system. The college’s name was changed to State University College of Forestry at Syracuse University. In 1972, with burgeoning public interest in environmental education, the College’s name was changed again, to the State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry (SUNY-ESF). Today, the college retains a close relationship with Syracuse University, but is autonomous, unlike some other state-supported colleges at private institutions in New York state. ESF students not only take courses, enroll in concurrent degree programs, and enjoy other benefits of the college’s association with Syracuse University, but also may take courses at Cornell’s state-funded colleges, and at the SUNY Upstate Medical University.”

*and, directed at me, he declared that he had “...fact checked your educational background, and you lied!” etc.*

BTW, to this day, 45 years after my graduation from that tech school, I still routinely receive Syracuse University alumni newsletters.

The second complaint, according to the Secretary of State’s office, was that I did not earn an A.A. degree at that same tech school, as I had described in the Voter’s pamphlet. That is correct. In the voter’s pamphlet, it was a typo. My act of fraud? My degree was actually an A.A.S. degree. Either way, these are simple two-year technical degrees. This was another ridiculous complaint about nothing at all that was also later, *after the election*, dismissed as essentially, frivolous, by the SOS’s office. But, you guessed it: immediately upon Fay’s submission of the charge back in early April 2018, this second complaint, all by itself, allowed my opponents to advertise that, yet again, *“the Secretary of State’s office is investigating Sam Carpenter for another act of fraud!”*

Completely untrue, all of it. Every nuance of it...

But, the damage was done, and that was the point.

Interesting that both complaints were received by the Secretary of State’s office on the same day, April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2018. We thought, isn’t it an amazing coincidence that two such independent, civic-minded citizens should stumble across two counts of such dastardly fraud, both counts related to each other, and delivered to the SOS’s office at precisely the same time...and barely a week after scientific polls showed me taking the lead?

Did Buehler know about this maneuvering? Who’s to say? We’re back to anecdotal evidence again, but with the Buehler-Wooldridge-Lockwood-West connection, one would be naïve to not consider this possibility. But in any case, this can’t be denied: with Buehler’s Rhodes Scholar education, a center-piece of his I’m-so-intellectual braggadocio as the perfect Republican candidate, it would also be hard to believe that he wouldn’t somehow find a way to scoff at my two-year technical degree. (Back in late-March, he must have laid awake at night, wondering how a man without a bachelor’s degree could be defeating him, a Rhodes Scholar and surgeon.)

If you are thinking of running for office, and you are a grassroots conservative, get ready for these kinds of childish yet brutal personal assaults.

The SOS complaints were just two elements of the character-destruction formula vigorously executed by the two campaigns to reinvent me as deceitful and shallow. “Slippery Sam,” was the term Buehler coined in his million-dollar attacks against me in those final weeks. Wooldridge was a key player in this, and Cuff blithely joined in to support Wooldridge.

After the primary election, Wooldridge immediately climbed on the Buehler train, but then disappeared. Cuff disappeared too, making only one post on his Facebook Page over the ensuing eight months.

## CHAPTER 24

### Faux Outrage and Moral Preening: Self-Appointed LGBTQ Bullies.

“Cry baby,” per the Urban Dictionary: *“People who are extremely sensitive and tend to be triggered easily, consequently ending in tears.”*

Earlier in the book, in another context, I laid out this reasoning and it’s worth repeating: *“Just because you’re outraged doesn’t mean you’re right”*

My campaign manager, David Gulliver, was attacked viciously by LGBTQ activists associated with the Buehler Campaign *and* the Wooldridge campaign. As I’ve mentioned, one perpetrator, Jonathon Lockwood, began his “bomb-throwing” with the Buehler campaign and then shifted over to the brand new Wooldridge campaign to do the same thing – right when I was surging against Buehler in the polls. And I’ve talked already about Ben West’s efforts to malign my character with manufactured evidence. There were a number of other unprincipled attackers too, intertwined in a ginned-up, I’m-a-victim hate-cabal.

Here’s the thing: Membership in the LGBTQ “community” doesn’t give a member immunity from being called-out for being a cry baby, and it doesn’t legitimize hysterical moral exhibitionism.

Lockwood launched an all-out attack on David as a *“homophobic bigot,”* and a *“hater,”* spreading this message across numerous LGBTQ-oriented websites, social media platforms, and magazines and to anyone else who would listen. Why? It started with an online post by David, mentioning offhandedly and without judgment that Lockwood is an LGBTQ activist – a truthful statement per Lockwood himself as well as numerous LGBTQ blogs (that always described him in heroic terms). This mere acknowledgement of fact is apparently all it takes now to be branded a bigot and a hater and to have one’s character viciously attacked (especially if one happens to be on an opposing campaign).

But why was David writing about Lockwood? Simple: he was questioning why Lockwood was helping to raise money for a radical progressive far-Left socialist candidate in Portland who was running in

a race against well-known conservative Republican and USMC veteran Bruce Broussard. That's a pretty valid question, don't you think?

Here's a post I did about this progressive-generated hullabaloo: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-85-pettiness-on-the-campaign-trial/>

Back here in the real world, David has for many years taken heat from some of the religious right in our own Republican Party for his long outspoken support of marriage equality. At the ORP platform convention in 2015, David argued for removing opposition to gay marriage from the party platform, winning praise (at the time) from Ben West himself, and other gay activists. But ironically, West, working as a Buehler surrogate during the 2018 primary campaign, joined in on Lockwood's assault.

Another attack on David came after the publication of a semi-boorish comment David made in a *private* message to someone he thought he could trust. Was the comment uncalled for? Yes, and David apologized for it when it was made public. But that's not the underlying problem here. The bigger problem is, are we now going to be scrutinized and judged for every statement ever made in a *private* conversation, taken out of context? Here's what happened.

A self-proclaimed "Carpenter campaign supporter" turned out to be an infiltrator. For several months, she posed as an enthusiastic volunteer, ingratiating herself not just with us, but also with several conservative grassroots organizations with whom we closely associated. But it was all a lie. We later learned she had been in constant communication with the Wooldridge campaign. She spent months combing through hundreds of e-mails and private message conversations with David, looking for anything she could use to smear us once the campaign heated up. And for all this effort? She succeeded in finding only one use of an out-of-line pronoun, made in a heated conversation during an intensely emotional *private* back-and-forth with David.

This one comment was her "big reveal," to demonstrate that David and I were haters (the insipid pejorative used by the PC contingent



when there is any slight deviance from their self-contrived language decrees).

These self-appointed LGBTQ spokespeople blew the comment completely out of proportion as stark evidence that David was a despicable human being.

In any case, a valuable lesson was learned: keep it clean 24/7 – and trust no one in politics.

Another cry-baby, I'm-SO-offended accusation: This same cabal accused us of using profanity on social media. The opposition could only isolate the word, “dumbass” used in one instance out of literally hundreds of thousands of online exchanges. (Over the last month of campaigning we consistently reached over 400,000 people per week with our posts.) David used the word once in a particular Facebook comment discussion near the end of the campaign. In fact, jokingly, I used the word myself, in that back-and-forth social media banter. Here's the thing: “dumbass” is hardly a vulgar term. It's a socially accepted descriptor. Per the Urban Dictionary, a dumbass is *“Someone who holds a stupid, illegitimate or completely baseless opinion with a perplexing amount of self-righteousness.”* And the word is referring to a donkey, not a human anatomical body part.

As an aside, an astute, much-loved, and successful fourth generation rancher from La Grande, Sharon Beck, laughingly told me that *“in many cases, dumbass is a perfectly serviceable term.”*

Ha!

Something else: I found, 10 days before the general election, on October 27<sup>th</sup>, that U.S. Senator Orrin Hatch, from Utah, perhaps *the* most revered senior conservative in the Senate, called Obamacare supporters, the, *“stupidest, dumbass people.”* <https://www.cnn.com/2018/03/02/politics/orrin-hatch-obamacare-comments/index.html>

(As I read Hatch's quote to Diana, she quipped, *“it looks like Trump doesn't just have a backbone, he's got a supply of backbones and he's handing them out to Senators...”*)

The first well-known public use of “dumbass” was on the popular TV series of twenty years ago, *“That 70s Show.”* It was coined by the character Red Forman, the tough-nut dad, much like Archie Bunker, who called everyone who was an idiot (everyone else on the show) a “dumbass.” It’s a pop-culture classic. Google it.



Red Forman, from the TV series, *That 70s Show*.

The objective of the LGBTQ attacks? First, to recast David as a horrible person, and from that, of course, I would obviously be just as horrible for not firing him.

There’s this common-sense thing about quacking, waddling, and looking like a duck...so I’ll add this obvious question: Lockwood, are you really a conservative or are you a progressive plant in our conservative world? Ben West, what about you?

I’m not accusing. Just asking.

The common thread of the Buehler/Wooldridge I’m-SO-offended camp was that any small kick-back or innocuous comment coming from our campaign was exploded into some kind of raging jihad on the “gay community,” or some other victim group. Blogs, publications, rumor-mill: it was all used to attack David and me personally, labeling

us as vile, per the Left's PC standard protocol of being offended by anything and everything.

And from this developed the meme that I am always on the attack; always ready to destroy my opponents. Really? Then, Sam-haters, give me real-world examples of this behavior.

Just one.

And while I'm talking about these habitually-offended Portland-area activists, I might as well include this groovy travelogue about Portland. I'm guessing all of this is fine with these guys, in the spirit of tolerance. Take the time to watch it. It's good. <https://youtu.be/aSw79yRnDVs>.

I put it on my Facebook page, and in just a few days it had over 100,000 views.

And what the heck, as I digress for a moment, for all you folks who are so proud of Portland's weirdness, here's another video that popped up just before publication of this book: <https://www.frontpagemag.com/fpm/272426/escape-portland-daniel-greenfield>

Did any of the blog "journalists" who castigated David and me with lies and innuendo make the effort to contact either of us for our side of the story? Nope.

Not once.

Were we imperfect sometimes? Of course. So what? No candidate and team is perfect, but there is a difference between nuanced bickering, and full-scale hysterical "you're a hater!" personal attacks based on minutia. The former is expected; the latter is a big-baby temper-tantrum.

The attacks were not in defense. They were full-bore offense, with the goal of stopping our momentum by destroying David and me personally. Know this: If you enter a political race in Oregon and you become a threat to the Republican Establishment Ruling Class candidate, you can count on this happening to you.

Get ready for it.

I've always thought the combination of the worst two human

traits is arrogance and stupidity. Here, with these self-anointed moral policemen, it's personified.

Have you seen this kind of attack before? I'm guessing you have. But if not, just watch CNN or MSNBC for five minutes anytime of the day or night and you'll get a belly-full. I'm guessing Donald Trump stays sane through the endless 24/7 scolding by fully grasping that these people are deranged. That's my stance too, and so I might get a bit distracted out of morbid curiosity, maybe roll my eyes a bit, but my head stays down and I keep working.

These perpetrators are lightweight bullies.

*The Left's ploy of being perpetually offended is a well-worn distraction technique, covering up their own harsh, bullying attacks.*

BTW, for what it's worth, here's a Jonathan Lockwood quote as he describes his new political consulting business, reported in Colorado Politics, February, 2018:

*"I believe that people are like bright flames when they are born into this world, to provide light to the darkness that is around us. In life, we can burn bright, or grow dim, or we can become the truest forms of ourselves to burn blue, with intensity and power.*

*"My firm will help people harness their truest selves, share that intensely, and back it up authentically, with the public and with the media. My firm will also take on clients who are in need. We all have the right to defense in the courts of law, and we should all have the right to defense in courts of public opinion, now more than ever in today's hyper-polarized world."*

The reporter went on to say, *"The self-described intense, Italian, Sagittarius from Denver who identifies as LGBT said he plans to stick around in Oregon, where he amped up the rhetoric at the state Capitol last year."* (Lockwood left the state as soon as the primary campaign was over, leaving behind a nasty testimony, declaring, *"Salem is a disgusting gutter."*)

<https://www.wweek.com/news/state/2018/09/12/professional-republican-bomb-thrower-jonathan-lockwood-takes-some-parting-shots-at-oregon/>

And, this: Lockwood says he wants to *"help people tell their stories, and ignite change through storytelling."*

Incredibly sappy, coming from a bomb-thrower.

The Denver Post Editorial Board has described Lockwood as, *"Flat out Deranged."*

Good grief. Again, is Lockwood a progressive registered as a Republican? I don't know. In any case, great hire, Republicans Buehler and Wooldridge...

And one more thing, a message to political operative Lockwood, et al: No matter how much you caterwaul under the guise of being oh-so-sensitive and being oh-so-victimized, know this: no one I know gives a damn who you or anyone else sleeps with. Stop insisting that we care.



## CHAPTER 25

### **An Islamic Terrorist/Stolen Valor Fraud from Kentucky.**

As the survivor of two Oregon U.S. Senate statewide primary campaigns, we knew rumors and test-attacks were part of the campaign game, so at first we didn't pay attention to them. They were lame: I was accused of being a terrorist, of not being a resident of Oregon, of being rude and profane, a fraud, pals with Jane Fonda, Viet Nam war protestor, draft-dodger, and stolen-valor fraud; that I don't pay my taxes, and of course that that my campaign team consisted of bigots, homophobes, misogynists, racists, white supremacists, etc, etc..

I found it all insipidly humorous, but must admit some annoyance at the accusation that I voted for Barack Obama.

There was a steady line of attack worth mentioning specifically because of the special irony of it, and because it continues to this day: the target of the scorched-earth attacks was *me*. I challenge anyone to point out where I have personally attacked anyone. These operatives should stop hiding behind generalities that I went "scorched earth" when I had been on the receiving end of exactly that, overtly and repeatedly by Buehler, Wooldridge and Cuff. I responded to those stupid accusations pointedly, but that pointedness does not indicate I precipitated an attack. Better to call it a counter-attack.

And BTW if I get a snarky remark in social media, I'll snark right back. (Maybe that's part of the reason I have 90,000+ Facebook followers. My Page can get quite entertaining.) I have to be hard-pressed to ban anyone, but I'll finally do it if someone clearly demonstrates they are Ruling Class trolls. But then again, sometimes I just let these people rant because it's entertaining.

The alternative to fighting back is to lay low and hope nobody attacks in the first place. To heck with that. That's not me. (Here, while we're on the subject, for those of you who seem to want to personally attack me for whatever reason, I'll be more specific so you know what you're getting into when you slime me with lies and innuendo: figuratively or literally (your choice), if you jab me in the face, I'll jab you back twice

as hard and then before you can regain your balance, I'll follow up with a hard right-hook. Nothing personal you understand. Just abiding by your own rules of the game.)

But, despite all that mudslinging, and including Wooldridge's split-the-vote incursion, by the end of March I had become an existential threat to the Buehler campaign. I had taken the lead in the scientific polls. And with that, the ridiculous and incessant rumor-mongering of Buehler's people – and cooperating so-called grassroots opposition candidates, Wooldridge and Cuff – began to get seriously goofy, as they searched for the ONE THING that would stick; that would take me down.

Complete fabrications. Stupid stuff...from fellow Republicans.

Note that none of these three candidates – Buehler, Wooldridge and Cuff – were attacking each other.

In the final weeks of the primary campaign, I created and constantly updated a page on my website called, "Accusations." It was our ad-hoc attempt to debunk the tsunami of false allegations and exaggerations. You can find it here: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/accusations>

Here's what I said, paraphrased slightly, when opposing campaign operatives began floating the idea I am not an Oregonian; that I live in Kentucky:

*"My wife Diana's mother, who is in her mid-80's, and Diana's grown daughter, live in Stearns, Kentucky. Stearns has been Diana's hometown for 42 years. I met her in Arlington, Virginia in 2015 at a political conference. In late 2016 and early 2017, we had a vacation home built in Stearns. It was complete, in August 2017. Diana moved to Oregon with me in December, 2017. Yes, she is registered to vote in Oregon, as a Republican.*

*"As of November 28, 2018, I have been a full-time resident of Bend for exactly 40 years; an Oregonian for 44 years. As a single parent, I raised my two children in Bend and have had my Bend business, Centratel, with 50+ employees, for 35 years."*

Character assassination and personal destruction in politics? Here's another outright lie, circulated extensively by Knute Buehler's crew in



the last weeks of the campaign, with a video created by candidate Greg Wooldridge (who, remember, continually touted his own unassailable character), that accused me of being a “stolen valor” fraud. It was alleged by Buehler and Wooldridge that I had claimed to have attended Army “Ranger School.”

Wooldridge enlisted another military veteran to read a contrived script to create a mushy, preposterous video. This was a despicable accusation: big on emotion and with no basis in reality, and in those last weeks of the campaign these ads were blanketed all over Oregon, online, on the radio, and in other forms on TV and in newspapers. Of course, by that time it was too late and I had virtually no way to defend myself before Election Day. The ORP did nothing (they *could* have immediately talked to me to find out if the accusations were true; they *could* have issued a press release and used social media to express their dismay with Buehler’s bullying tactics and to state the simple fact that the allegations were untrue...).

I was simultaneously maligned on multiple media outlets. The Wooldridge video has remained online since the primary race, despite my repeated personal requests to the campaign organization to take it down. The election is over and these are flat-out lies, I told them. (Update: We just checked, and as of January 6<sup>th</sup>, just prior to publication of this book, the video had finally been taken down.

For further details and my last-gasp attempt to respond to the unfounded charges, see my May 11<sup>th</sup> Facebook post with real-life Viet Nam war hero, Ty Raddue at <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-107-ty-raddue-true-american-hero/>

The stolen valor accusation is not new to Oregon Republican politics. In 2014, ORP Chair candidate and former State Representative Wally Hicks endured the ORP leadership’s ridiculous whisper campaign that spread false rumors about his military service. Though Wally (whose full name is Matthew Walter Hicks) graduated from Annapolis in 2000 and served as a Marine First Lieutenant in the Iraq War in 2004, per Wally and numerous others, rumors to the contrary were deliberately spread throughout the Central Committee before the election. Wally

says, *"...such rumormongering is characteristic of the ORP leadership's almost communistic tactics for winning elections to officer positions. The National Committeeman, who grew up in China, has boasted of following Mao's strategy*



Wally Hicks

*of luring one's opponent to a field, waiting for the grass to dry, and then lighting a match."*

And in 2016, the ORP target was Joseph Rice. In his own words:

*"The most despicable thing I have witnessed in this all-volunteer organization are the Maoist tactics employed against those viewed as a threat to their position in the form of the 'whispering campaign!'"*

*"I have served my nation honorably for 17+ years as a Commissioned Army Officer, helicopter pilot and continued to serve as the Executive Officer of the 186 BN, Oregon State Defense Force. I was recruited by the Conservative base of the ORP to run for Chair in 2016. This immediately launched a whispering campaign that I had not served in the military, was never a helicopter pilot, made false claims, about my three tours in Afghanistan as a contractor and I was 'stolen valor.' I have endured four surgeries and dozens of medical procedures to my right leg for an injury I sustained during my third tour in Afghanistan. A number of ORP Executive Committee members were actively involved in a*

*smear campaign attacking my integrity with false claims and innuendo. (I have written documentation to prove it.)*

*"Never once did any of them ask me directly to see my military records or documents.*

*"One County Vice-Chair went so far as to call former co-workers from Afghanistan asking if I was ever in the military or a helicopter pilot. I found this behavior from ORP leadership disgusting and cowardly. Attorney General Candidate Daniel Crow, a former Judge Advocate with the United State Army, wrote a lengthy opinion rebutting the whisper campaign against me." (see Appendix E for Crowe's assessment).*

*"There are many good, decent, Conservative members in the Oregon Republican Party. Unfortunately, we have broken leadership that berates, bullies and lies. It is an act of cowardice to accuse someone of 'stolen valor' who has served with honor and integrity, for their own personal gain. I will walk with a limp the rest of my life due to my service to country. I am proud*



Joseph Rice

*of my service and make no apologies for it. I find it sad that small-minded, shallow people participate in the 'whispering campaigns' without verifying the truth. It says more about them, then the person they gossip about. If we continue to forsake our Conservative platform, fail to choose leaders, but instead prom*

*kings and queens, the ORP has no future as an organization. It will be the counties that become the strength of the ORP and our future”*

As for me, although I tried to enlist, I never served in the military and have always been very clear about this. My public statement has always been that I had attempted to enlist in the Army in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1971 – 48 years ago(!) I had passed a battery of written tests that made me eligible, according to the recruiter, to go into Army special forces. (Back then, in the heated throes of the Viet Nam war, a new enlistee could qualify for the equivalent of special forces boot camp, with the opportunity to try to qualify as an elite service member, and in my case, it was the Army. Or other times, one ended up with special forces duty without formal training at all. Chalk it up to the fog-of-war....

In any case, a week before my scheduled induction in early 1971



With Ty Raddue, Viet Nam veteran and hero, May 11, 2018, post Lars Larson debate. See above video here: <https://www.facebook.com/samcarpenterfororegon/videos/1704831839596173/>

at the age of 20, I was disqualified from enlisting because of a minor brush with the law two years prior.

My “Ranger School” attendance was at the NY State Ranger School three years later! It’s a forestry tech school in upstate New York, as I

have previously described, not an element of our military. Buehler and Wooldridge conveniently convoluted that part of my personal history with my efforts to enlist three years earlier, to accuse me of stolen valor.

Shallow and stupid.

And of course, even back in the early '70's, there was no "Army Ranger school." There was no "Navy Seal school," or "Green Beret school," either. That is ridiculous.

These days, entering military special forces takes not just guts-of-steel, but years of preparation within the regular military, as well as a higher education and a flawless personal history. No more do outsiders just walk in to see if they can qualify, like back then in the early 70's as the much-less-than-popular Viet Nam war was raging. But even back in those days I would have to go through a physical and mental nightmare to qualify for special forces. At the time, I knew very well, at the tender age of 20, that my invitation to go to San Diego for boot camp/training did not guarantee that I would have the fortitude and skills to qualify to become a member of the military elite. But, I wanted to try.

Ty Raddue, (U.S Army, 4<sup>th</sup> ID, RVN 1968/1969. See video), offers a simple explanation that ties into what I said above. He states this, about certain nefarious Army Recruiters: *"Sam, my guess is that you encountered an Army recruiter who lied to you – a starry-eyed military hopeful. My guess is that after you enlisted you would have been inserted into regular ground-force duty."*

Note that my dad, Tom, saw action in the Pacific in WW2. His brother, my uncle Steve, served in the Marines in the Pacific, WW2; another brother of my dad, George was a career man in the National Guard. More uncles, from my mother's side: Elton, saw action in Korea and came home permanently disabled; Hank was a navel Lieutenant Commander when he retired, having served in the Pacific, WW2; Edward was in the Navy, again in the Pacific, disabled in a reconnaissance mission ashore, WW2; Morris was an infantryman in the Army in Europe, WW2, also disabled; Joe, recently deceased, the last of my living uncles, was in the infantry in the Army in the Battle of

the Bulge in France, taken as a Nazi prisoner, to be freed by Russians the very day of his scheduled execution.

My position re stolen valor charges? It's the same as former U.S Army Judge Advocate and current Veteran's advocate, Daniel Crowe's position, and I quote him here: *"In my mind, a knowingly false allegation of 'stolen valor' is as detestable as the act of stealing valor itself, as false allegations undermine the credibility of future truthful ones in the same manner that false allegations of rape undermine the credibility of future allegations of that horrid crime. (I do not shy away from the analogy, as it fairly equates the level of detestation professional Soldiers carry for those who would trifle with the solemnity of military service.)"* (See Daniel's full statement in defense of Joseph Rice in Appendix E).

Here was another rumor-mill gem from my Republican opponents' political operatives: that I'm in cahoots with Islamic terrorists because for the previous 13 years I've had a 501(c)3 non-profit organization based in Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir, a country just to the east of Pakistan. Here's what I say on the Accusations page: *"I have a 501(c)3 non-profit in Azad Kashmir, assisting impoverished back-country schools."* See [www.kashmirfamily.org](http://www.kashmirfamily.org).

Good grief.

And Buehler et al blanketed the airwaves with the utter distortion that I have 21 court liens filed against me for unpaid taxes. Here's the actual truth (that can be verified via the Deschutes County Clerk's records): in the early 90's – that's pushing 30 years ago – I had trouble paying payroll taxes in my business in Bend, Centratel. I actively initiated contact with the IRS and the Oregon Department of Revenue to arrange to pay back the debt over time. Both government entities were good with that. In the process of setting up a payment schedule with the state *and* the federal government, each entity informed me that claims would be filed against my business *and* against me personally, a normal government protocol for a business in a delinquent-tax situation. This one overdue-tax incident resulted in eight separate liens (two government agencies filing separate claims against my business and me personally)

I paid back every cent of what I owed over the next couple of years and of course the liens were immediately removed by those tax agencies. I had a similar challenge in 2004 when, without my knowledge, my bookkeeper at the time failed to pay payroll taxes for a number of months. I again initiated contact with the IRS and the state. A single claim was filed by the IRS, and I again subsequently paid back the taxes and penalties in a couple of years, and the lien was lifted.

(These tough business-survival days were the genesis of the book I wrote in 2008, *Work the System: The Simple Mechanics of Making More and Working Less*, which goes into detail about how to take a failing business and turn it into a stand-alone money machine. The book is in its third edition, and as I mentioned in the Introduction, over the last eight years, my partner Josh Fonger and I have assisted over seven hundred small businesses to, “survive and then thrive.”)

A third incident was when I filed a suit against a Bend legal firm in 2014 for their sub-par legal services. The attorneys countered by placing a lien on my house. They later removed it when I won the suit (and also provided me a substantial cash settlement).

So, due to two rough times in my business, almost three decades ago, I had 9 claims, not 21 as Knute Buehler’s ads declared, as they suggested I still owed the money and that my whole world was caving in. Buehler lied.

Claims can occur in a struggling small business! It’s not uncommon for an entrepreneur who is fighting for survival to be saddled with liens, but they also come with regular business activity too. When a business borrows money it’s standard banking practice to place a lien on existing assets. Anyone in business knows this. In fact, my debt-free business of 35 years, Centratel, garnered one from our bank just a few months back when I borrowed 100K to go with my own 100K cash, in order to pay for an HVAC replacement in the business building I own in downtown Bend. That replacement is complete as 2019 begins but the lien will remain until the 100K debt is paid off..

Again, why did my political opponents resort to flat-out lies and distortions directed at me personally? *They had nothing else.* I’ve



explained that it was Buehler's hail-Mary/throw-caution-to-the-wind last-ditch effort to salvage his nomination. I was going to win, hands-down, and Buehler and his Ruling Class could not let that happen. Of course, the consultants on those campaigns hoped that after they took me down and Buehler won, I would fade into the woodwork, or if I didn't stay silent, they would just have to somehow try to clean up their mess should I take legal action...and/or expose them by writing a book like this one...

At the time, the only thing that mattered to Buehler's operatives was winning the impending primary election. Ethics or potential lawsuits be damned.

I could sue Buehler for this. Wooldridge, too, for his part of this B.S. The laws are lenient in the realm of political mudslinging...unless the outcome of the election is decidedly changed due to that mudslinging...

And beyond that, also remember the ORP did nothing to stop this mudslinging that ultimately took me out of the race. BTW, here's ORP president Bill Currier's written response to my complaint about ORP's non-action regarding the Buehler/Wooldridge smear campaign. On June 19<sup>th</sup>, 2018, Currier wrote to me, saying: *"If I could do it all over again I would take a stronger stand with all of the candidates about the rules of engagement, and the importance of the long game."* Oh great. Of course, it's a toothless statement, as he suggests *"all of the candidates"* had taken the low road; that somehow it was the general atmosphere that was at fault and every candidate took part in the sliming.



## CHAPTER 26

### The Lars Larson Debate Semi-Debacle.

In Portland, on May 11<sup>th</sup>, four days before the primary election, I participated in a debate with Knute Buehler and Greg Wooldridge on FM News 101.1 KXL-FM. It was broadcast through the state via syndication.

Diana and I entered the studio ten minutes before the scheduled starting time and immediately noticed Wooldridge, Buehler, Cuff, and their various operatives, supporters, and family (e.g. Buehler's wife, Patricia), huddled together, relaxed, chatting, laughing. Standing and sitting in the small theater, they took up most of the first row of seats and the narrow open floor space closest to the stage.

The two of us were alone. I had told David to take the day off, that we could handle it. (My mistake). Diana sat in the third row. The time had come to begin the debate and I stood at a lectern facing Larson, the moderator, with Wooldridge on my left and Buehler on my right. Without dissecting everything that was said, along with the body language, it was obvious that I was the target.

In the debate, neither Buehler nor Wooldridge attacked the other, but instead continuously disparaged me, snickering quietly, self-assured. I hammered back. Buehler's team, Wooldridge's team (including Bruce Cuff and Jonathan Lockwood), and their other various campaign operatives/sycophants, sat in the front row incessantly staring me down. But those attempts at intimidation didn't bother me. By the time of the debate I was used to it and expected it.

In the course of the debate, Wooldridge, with a self-satisfied little grin that I will never forget, turned to me and said (and I only slightly paraphrase), "*You are a stolen valor fraud.*" He knew it was a lie, and he knew I could verify it was a lie...but he also knew we were just four days from the election and I would never have time to repair the damage.

Paraphrasing again, he also said that, "*...his team had contacted Army authorities in San Juan Puerto Rico about my attempt to enlist there in 1971.*" He said they could, "*find no evidence of my claim.*" So, here was his logic: people



Lars Larson gubernatorial debate, May 11, 2018.  
L to R: Knute Buehler, me, Greg Wooldridge

were to believe Wooldridge's campaign people were investigating me, in the final weeks of the campaign, to see if they could validate my story: to show I had *not* lied about trying to enlist? Really? His people were directed to DEFEND me? But because they could find nothing, I WAS guilty?

This is like saying, "a bank was robbed and I can't find evidence it was not you. therefore, you are guilty!"

ARRRGGGHHH!

In 1971, and as I've mentioned, I had worked with an Army recruiter in San Juan (who, no doubt, is deceased by now). And anyway, because of Wooldridge's tenure as an officer in the Navy, he knows full well that no information would be released to him or anyone else. My attempt at enlistment was 48 years ago!

Lies, distortions and the assumption that voters are stupid.

Wooldridge used his record as a military officer to give credibility to his accusations. His performance was disgraceful. Again, to quote Daniel Crowe: *"...a knowingly false allegation of 'stolen valor' is as detestable as the act of stealing valor itself, as false allegations undermine the credibility of*

*future truthful ones in the same manner that false allegations of rape undermine the credibility of future allegations of that horrid crime.”*

Buehler’s and Wooldridge’s deportment? Here’s video of the debate: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5WFU27n266k>.

There is a point near the end of the event where I half-answered a question about whether I would enforce a gun-control law that would severely restrict the use of certain weapons. I failed to answer the question fully, in the moment thinking back on former President Obama and of current Governor Brown, and how they decided, based on their ideologies, what laws to enforce and what ones to ignore.

I had forty seconds to answer and in that brief time I said it was my job as governor to enforce the law whatever it is, but I failed to add that the initiative petitions (IP 43 and IP44) we were discussing would *never* become law because they were unconstitutional; that if the measures made the ballot and were passed, as governor, I would ask my AG to file an immediate injunction to prevent them from being enforced until the courts said they were constitutional (which would never happen). We would run it all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary. And even then, should the Supreme Court find it constitutional (not a chance), county sheriffs would make the final decision about whether to enforce it or not. (Would they enforce it? No way.)

IP43 and IP44 were much ado about nothing. Neither came close to qualifying for the ballot.

For the record, here’s a very short video I recorded in late April with gun rights advocate friends, pertaining IP43 and IP44. It best illustrates my position: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K-RBWdH\\_M\\_g](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K-RBWdH_M_g)

I am 100% pro-Second Amendment as-written. Don’t talk to me about nonsensical gun control measures. For details about my stance, go here: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/issues/sam-carpenter-on-gun-control-policy/>

The other factor that influenced my answer is that I am a stickler for the rule-of-law, and especially the U.S. Constitution. My book *Work the System* is about written, pointed and decisive protocol in a business, and about not getting distracted by every wind that blows.

In the debate, both Buehler and Wooldridge, without qualification, said they would break the law.

Part of the one-layer-deeper/simplicity approach tenet is to understand, deep in one's guts, that personal errors are most often the result of very elementary personal influences: too little sleep, not eating right, not exercising, working too hard – and not due to some profound existential outside influence. And so it was with the incomplete answer I gave Larson. Although the answer to his question was not incorrect, it was incomplete: a result of my utter physical and mental exhaustion from road-tripping for four and a half months.

And as I stood there, I was annoyed by the obvious gang-up and the childish innuendo from Buehler and Wooldridge. My bad answer was near the end of the debate. Yes, in a sense I cracked, and yes I wish I had done a better job with that answer.

For any serious candidate, the physical and mental exhaustion of campaigning is a very real thing. If you're going to run for office, best to allow for it in advance.

From his seat in the front row of the debate, Jonathon Lockwood, being his usual bellyacher-self, called Kevin Starrett of the Oregon Firearms Federation to tell him of my bad answer. Starrett's knee-jerk response was to instantly downgrade my OFF rating of B (the highest rating a non-office holder can be assigned), to F, even before the debate was over. Then, Lockwood announced OFF's action to Lars Larson between questions.

Lars Larson? Some have said it was a set-up, in order to trap me. It wasn't. So, I'm OK that he drilled me hard about the ballot measures. In fact, Larson, in his own inimitable in-your-face way, and thinking quickly, generously gave me a second opportunity to give a proper answer, but I could not get past my basic premise that following the law is a governor's prime responsibility.

(Here's a Facebook post I put up regarding gun control in March, 2018, two months prior to the debate: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/point-89-they-want-to-take-our-guns/>)

The debate ended and then Diana and I left the venue, with Buehler,

Wooldridge, Cuff, et al, huddled all together by the front door of the studio, quietly and happily chatting away as they watched our quiet departure...

Here is a post I made immediately after the debate: <https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/newsroom/bungling-real-problem-political-chicanery/>

Regarding the immediate backlash from my bad answer on IP43 and IP44: the Facebook/social media assaults from my political opponent's attack crews began instantly. We were 72 hours from Election Day, and Friday night until the early hours, and all of Saturday and into Sunday, Diana, David and I fended off the Facebook onslaughts that castigated me for being, "a traitor to gun owners everywhere." I was called every name in the book. It was an incessant hammering until we finally took stock of what was happening and began to recognize names. Some of these operatives had come to our Page scores of times, with what looked like first-time comments, making it seem like it was the end of the world; that everyone hated me. But, on Sunday morning we began to ban the obvious zealots. We blocked sixty or so individuals and by late Sunday morning the onslaught virtually stopped.

In the final election tally, we estimate I lost maybe five overall points due to my incomplete answer. Most people had already voted, and not all that many watched the debate. And many actually liked my partial answer, understanding the point I was trying to make.

In any case, the other three sides had been desperately waiting for some kind of a faux pas and I gave them this one just four days before the election.



## CHAPTER 27

### The Ruling Class Scorched-Earth Campaign: Watch for It.

*“...with courage, an open mind, a tolerant heart and a thoughtful voice.”*

—Self-description, From Knute Buehler’s 2018 campaign website

I said this in the Preface and it’s worth repeating: *“Over these last months, I’ve realized that if I had not written this book, the events of this primary would have been known to maybe only a couple of dozen people who were closely watching, and so the same diabolical (I’ve learned to like that word) manipulations would continue to be repeated cycle after cycle. For that reason, more than anything, I consider the publication of this book a public service to grassroots conservatives.”*

I’ll fit the puzzle pieces together in this summary-chapter. As you read, remember that our Oregon Republican downfall can be traced, one-layer-deeper, to our primary elections. With the wrong nominees in our general elections, losing is a foregone conclusion.

I especially direct this chapter to those in the conservative grassroots who contemplate running for office in Oregon, Statewide or Local.

But to start, here’s the tongue-in-cheek (but time-tested) roadmap for the aspiring Republican Ruling Class Moderate candidate who must overcome a solid grassroots conservative competitor in a primary election. With this, I’ll talk to that candidate directly...

1. In a diplomatic way, as a Ruling Class Republican candidate, you must convince donors that regular conservative Oregonians are not smart enough to understand that Ruling Class progressive Democrats control the state, and so we need to compete with them on their own level, using their rules.
2. You must identify as a “New kind of Republican.”
3. Ignore the Republican Party platform. Quietly assure your

Ruling Class pals, both Republican and Democrat, that yes, you are certain the document is real, but also certain it was created by Neanderthals.

4. Avoid Republican primary gatherings so your true identity is kept on the low-down. Anyway, these people are not going to vote for you. Instead, spend your time in the cities hobnobbing with the elite, raising money.
5. If there are two presentable conservative grassroots candidates, each having some kind of reasonable funding, that's a very good thing: the conservative vote-splitting will happen without your assistance. If there is only one conservative candidate, you **MUST** enlist another one because you **MUST** have at least two believable conservative candidates. Three would be best....
6. Gather or create evidence (compile a dossier!) for each of these conservative candidates to use in the slash-and-burn assault that will begin one month prior to the election.
7. Six weeks out from the election, Identify the leading conservative
8. Prepare for your assault
9. Five weeks out, and by whatever means necessary, enlist the cooperation of the trailing conservative(s). Or, better yet, if you've really been doing your job, perhaps he or she (or they) are already on your team
10. With big-dollars, perform a scorched-earth attack on the leading conservative.

Done!

That's it. Very simple. You split the conservative vote. You win!

However, there's a caveat: you're going to lose the general election because, through all this, Ruling Class progressives and their fellow Democrats will have been laughing at you, while the Republican Country Class will have become disgusted.

THIS is how the Left wants things to go down! Very simple.



You need to know how this works.

It's a perfect formula that guarantees general election victory... for progressive Democrats, and only because of weak Republican leadership.

Now I'll talk to you, the potential grassroots conservative candidate, using my experience in this last gubernatorial primary campaign as a loose biographical guide.

Let's put the pieces together.

## DEEP

Voting in the November 2016 Presidential election, Knute Buehler wrote-in John Kasich while disparaging Donald Trump on a very personal level.

In the spring of 2018, to win a primary election, Knute Buehler disparaged me on a very personal level.

With conservative politics in Oregon the way they are now – with dominant progressive Democrat political control in Salem and feeble state Oregon Republican Party leadership in opposition – if you are a grassroots/forever-Trump conservative running for major office in a primary election (statewide, congressional district, state House or Senate), and you become a direct threat to the ORP-approved leading Republican Establishment Ruling Class candidate in a primary election, know for sure that if you make a mistake or have any baggage whatsoever, your opposition will be coming after you. Those mistakes and that baggage will at first be hoarded by your moderate opponent, and then later, hyper-exaggerated. A few weeks before election day, your “moderate” opposing candidate will attack you personally, using every media outlet possible (and know that media will be happily complicit in the attacks).

And if you make no mistakes or have no baggage, it will be created out of thin air or cantankerously constructed out of stray unrelated events from your past. The opposing candidate will tear you down and humiliate you in front of everyone you know and multitudes you

don't know. Yes, and there's a good chance that a strategically-placed conservative vote-splitter (or two) will mysteriously appear.

The Ruling Class Establishment Republican *will* try to destroy you personally. It's what they are doing to our President, even more than two years after he was inaugurated.

Get ready for it.

The progressive Left really, really doesn't want a President Trump-supporting candidate running for state-wide or any other major office for the simple reason that, with a level playing field, that candidate would very probably win the race.

And keep this in mind: The Ruling Class Republican Right, our very own self-anointed smart-people, don't think a real conservative can win, and anyway, they have a visceral dislike for our President.

These people – this 10% of our base – will not be your friends.

There will be plenty of money available to your opposing Ruling Class candidate to be used against you in an October surprise-type coup-de-grace via a gigantic multi-media slam (because that will be the only way to stop you),

Diana and I endured this and we now realize it wasn't just aggressive campaign tactics. These attacks were propagated by people who are mercenaries to the core.

Politics draws in the most amazingly diabolical folks.

A strong, respected ORP would not let the above scenario unfold.

In my case, as an illustration, the ORP should have challenged Buehler on his first day of mudslinging attacks, demanding that he pull the ads, via a conversation, and if no response to that, then a press release and social media and an official withdrawal of ORP approval. And before that, the ORP would have stopped Wooldridge's last-minute entrance into the race, and before that, would have talked to the seven pseudo-candidates, attempting to convince them not to enter the race at all.

Can the ORP actually stop someone from running for office? No, of course not. But it can wield influence via personal conversation and by withholding or withdrawing approval of a candidate. (Yes, the

details of this new ORP responsibility, noted in upcoming Part Three, must to be worked out, but you get the idea.)

If you are THE qualified grassroots conservative candidate, you NEED a powerful ORP to protect you.

## DEEPER

I've talked of lies and innuendo within a campaign, but let's dig down a little deeper.

What I've just described creates a new almost impassible roadblock, the roadblock that stops aspiring grassroots conservatives from becoming candidates: the legitimate fear of widespread humiliation and personal destruction.

Following is a blow-by-blow analysis of how real-life Ruling Class operatives get ginned up for the character-destruction of an opponent.

It's painful to read, but mandatory to understand.

As our campaign unfolded it began to occur to us that over time, bad moves, innuendo, rumor, and out-of-context words are sought-out and then collected by the moderate campaign's operatives. These negatives – truth or lies, it doesn't matter – are, figuratively speaking, put into a for-future-use bank account. The attack-ready bank account balance builds as deposits are collected, these deposits carefully fondled within the campaign organization, internally hashed over and over, again and again...

Yes, of course any good points of the opposing grassroots candidate are ignored.

Ads are quietly prepared, then the onslaught is unleashed just a few weeks before election day.

This last-minute transfiguration of the grassroots opponent into Satan himself, someone to be literally feared and despised, is endemic to the Ruling Class campaign business – progressive Democrats especially, but now also on our side.

And yes, its success is based on the fact that fifty percent of voters don't pay attention to politics until it is shoved in their faces close to election time via complicit Ruling Class mainstream and online media.

This is pure Saul Alinsky technique. It's in his book.

How can anyone, under any circumstances, personally justify character-assassination? Ruling Class Candidates, with their entire campaign staff following along – all prodding each other into a frenzy under the guise of moral superiority and public service – convince themselves that their conservative opponent truly is a horrible person.

*They come to actually believe their opponent's newly manufactured fictitious character...*the one they themselves created out of nothing at all.

In the Ruling Class candidate's freneticism, truth or fairness become irrelevant. What matters is that the Republican Establishment "moderate" Ruling Class candidate, can convince him or herself that the competitive conservative grassroots opponent deserves to be destroyed personally.

If the ORP doesn't get some backbone, God help the next conservative grassroots primary candidate who is polling well.

What was my re-manufactured character? Small-town, incompetent, uneducated, liar, out-of-my-league, shady, flat-out mean, and yes, all the usual Far Left derisive personal descriptors. And not too far into the mudslinging, the inevitable "he's a hater" epithets emerged. In the end – and this is incredibly ironic – as the epithets and rumors ranged far and wide, I was suddenly accused of doing exactly what they had been doing: mud-slinging, scorched-earth, personal destruction.

Scary Ruling Class stuff, but standard character assassination fodder, aimed exclusively at the person, not the issue. But at least there is a silver lining: in withstanding these kinds of attacks, one is totally vetted for the next electoral go-round.

Personal-destruction jihad is exactly what the Ruling Class – DC progressive Democrats, Republican anti-Trumpers and the national press – are doing to President Donald Trump in this moment. It was what they attempted to do to Brett Kavanaugh.

It's what some people do to win political power when they have nothing else.

It doesn't matter if what they say is true or not. What matters is how much personal damage they can inflict in order to utterly destroy the

opposition and thus win the race. Really, it's a kind of attempted murder and it's a level of nastiness that Diana and I don't fully understand.

But not understanding it is OK. One must just know it happens, and then be prepared for it.

Before I filed for candidacy, on October 17, 2017, I published the following on my Make Oregon Great Again website ([www.makeoregongreatagain.com](http://www.makeoregongreatagain.com)), referring to the general campaign, should I win the nomination: *"Once I file for the gubernatorial race, my intelligence and moral bearing will be publicly challenged by the progressive far-Left contingent, and more often than not those assaults will include the standard epithets: that I'm intolerant, bigoted, a selfish rich-guy, stupid, etc. I just want you to know in advance that my family and I are expecting it."*

But in the primary campaign, we were not expecting this mudslinging from fellow Republicans. A slime-attack from an opponent was unexpected enough, but we never dreamed there would be a coordinated attack from two other candidates: Wooldridge with his sappy, ridiculous stolen valor video and Bruce Cuff too, chiming in: *"Sam Carpenter is a disgrace and should immediately drop out of the race."*

Yes, we were taken off-guard.

In an Interview with the Associated Press in early January 2019, after he had lost in the general election, Buehler said, regarding his future intentions in the public arena, that he hopes to *"bring civility to politics."* Arrrrggghhh!

(<https://www.kgw.com/article/news/politics/buehler-plans-to-stay-engaged-in-oregon-issues/283-8c4d8641-3fb3-47c7-a182-0d55bdd21f17>)

Some say Buehler is a progressive who entered the governor's race as a Republican in order to protect Kate Brown. I wouldn't go so far as to say that. He clearly campaigned against her, desiring to win for himself.

But in his stances, he IS a progressive, and scorched-earth is what progressives do when they have nothing else.

In the end, here's my view: Buehler is a big government leftist – just look at his positions on the issues. But, in his mind, because he is

just a little bit less-so than Kate Brown, he felt he would be a “better” progressive big-government leftist than her. So, he ran against her – and used the Republican Party as his vehicle – not caring one whit about our party or our platform, but simply using our Republican Party as the means to appear on the ballot against her. If Buehler had entered politics 10 years earlier, in the tail-end of the George W. Bush era, he’d have been a Democrat.

If your moderate opponent sounds like a leftist, call that positioning out loud and clear from the beginning. Don’t let up. Keep that opponent on the defensive.

At some point, a large enough collection of anecdotal evidence adds up to real evidence, evidence there is fishiness going on. As grassroots conservatives, let’s not be afraid to tie the evidence together into useful conclusions that can be acted upon.

I remind my fellow grassroots Republicans that this IS war...and winning it begins with establishing assertive leadership in our party organization, an organization that can fend off these progressive intrusions from whichever side of the aisle they may emanate.

As a public justification for attacking me, Buehler accused me of lying, yet he never identified even one of those alleged lies. That’s because there were no lies.

In your campaign, expect the same generalities and be ready to challenge back...but then again, if these accusations come at the end of your campaign, you won’t have much time. Maybe best to get in front of them and let your opponents know you are expecting their barrage.

Or, maybe the ORP will take care of this problem before it emerges.

## DEEPEST

This is from Knute Buehler in a May 6<sup>th</sup>, Oregonian article by reporter Jeff Manning. Buehler said to Manning, as he accused me of lying (which, as I’ve said, was itself a lie): *“I’m joining... a chorus of voices in condemning Sam Carpenter – including (fellow GOP candidates) Greg Wooldridge and Bruce Cuff – for his false attacks and repeated lies.”*

There was no “chorus of voices.” And there was not a single “false

attack” from me against any candidate. No lies, either. We were SO careful about that.

Expect this treachery.

As I was being ripped apart with lies, I was incessantly accused of being a liar.

Expect the other side to accuse you of precisely what they themselves are doing themselves.

If you take the lead, be on hyper-defense mode. Treachery will be at-hand.

As I approach the end of this agonizing but necessary summary-chapter, here’s an ironic twist, from a Knute Buehler flier we received at our house in mid-August 2018. In his own words, aimed at Kate Brown, Buehler inadvertently describes his own three-week, damn-the-torpedoes mudslinging tactics against me back in the May primary election. When we first read the following, Diana and I were speechless at the raw duplicity. But in the end, thinking it through, we took grim personal satisfaction at the final “live by the sword; die by the sword” outcome.

Buehler said: *“Just a few weeks ago, Kate Brown released a vicious TV attack that had no bearing in fact whatsoever. Why? Because the latest polls indicate we’re in a dead-heat race and gaining momentum.”*

Do I hear and echo?

And in an interview with Gary Warner of the Bulletin on December 29<sup>th</sup>, 2018, just before publication of this book:

Warner writes: *“Buehler appeared at the Sentinel Hotel in Portland to concede: ‘Tonight, I lost the election, but I do think this competitive governor’s race has made all of us better,’ Buehler told the subdued crowd. ‘Democracy has won. Competition is good for all of us.’”*

*“Buehler said he called Brown and got her cellphone voicemail.*

*“I never received a call back, Buehler said.*

*“I think it highlights what we said throughout the campaign, that Gov. Brown lacks leadership skills,’ Buehler said. ‘People are supposed to be gracious in victory and realize the value in the healing process after an election. It’s a*

*time to take a step in improving the state of Oregon for all the people who voted in the election.”*

Gag.

For the record, I never received a call back from Knute Buehler when he won the primary. So much for leadership skills, graciousness, and the healing process.

Buehler lost to Brown by 120,000 votes. Live by the sword, die by the sword...

And although I’m not going to go into detail about Buehler’s loss in the general election, I will say this about our observations of the heated big-media back and forth attacks in the final weeks of the campaign. The big question between the two opposing candidates devolved into this: who was the most pro-choice candidate, Kate Brown or Knute Buehler? Using big-media and millions of dollars each, they passionately vied against each other for ownership of that identity.

Has abortion-enthusiasm become a competitive sport?

*How did our Republican presence in Oregon come to this?*

Of course we lost the 2018 gubernatorial election! *Of course we did!*



# PART THREE

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## HOW WE TAKE CONTROL IN SALEM

*“Government is not to be our master. It’s to be our servant. And I’ve had a bellyful of the Ruling Class’s unrelenting insistence that we working people are not smart enough and not sophisticated enough to do our own thinking and to operate our own lives. It’s an arrogant generalization.”*

—Sam Carpenter

—FROM MY SIXTY-IN-SIXTY SERIES, OCTOBER, 2017

(<https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/sixty-in-sixty/>)



## CHAPTER 28

### Time is Running Out.

Here in Part Three I'm going to work through some germane points and will finish up with a chapter that describes how we can turn this state around, but know this from the beginning: we don't have much time! I'm publishing this book in mid-January 2019, our ORP leadership elections are in mid-February...and eight months later, THIS Fall, candidates will be lining up to run in the 2020 elections for all of the House seats, one-half of the senate seats, a U.S. Senate seat, and the Executive positions of Attorney General and Treasurer. And of course, there will be a multitude of county and municipal elections, too.

So, you'll see in the last chapter that my (quite pointed) posture is this, and I hope it doesn't put you off: after the ORP elections, we simply don't have time to negotiate how we're going to get this organization turned around. For this reason, I've spent the last six months writing this book and coming up with a plan so you can see it in advance and then decide if you like it or not – before the ORP elections. The information in this book, my website, and my Facebook page is precise and thorough.

If you elect me Chair on February 16<sup>th</sup> and I accept the position, my team and I want to hit-the-road-running on that same day.

In that, here's what I ask: if you have significant problems with the proposals I will present here, or even about me personally (yes, the personal attacks against me continue...), re-elect the current leadership so you can go into the future getting more of the same results you've received in the past.

I can only do so much and I've gone overboard here, in this book, to describe why we are so powerless in Salem and what I think we can do to quickly reverse this situation.

This is the very best I can do!

But back to the timing: electorally and in every other way, we Republicans are in serious jeopardy in Oregon and there is no more time for ideological back-and-forth within our party. I am willing

to lead the charge, but only if I feel our membership wants change and my slate gets the tools and resources necessary to fix this broken organization. Make sense?

## CHAPTER 29

### A Eulogy for The Progressive Left.

In their leftism, progressive Democrats have taken advantage of our conservative reasonableness. You and I pride ourselves in being calm and thoughtful, in coming to logical conclusions after considering all the facts, while progressives outright dismiss us in a frenzy, convinced we are intellectually, socially and morally inferior.

Arrogance and stupidity.

Leftism really *is* a secular religion, a denomination of true-believers who are convinced that correct thinking is on their side and therefore non-believers must be converted, ignored or, if necessary, personally destroyed.

The stupidity part is simple to explain. In their zealousness, progressives are addled by their own arrogance. It's a circular thing.

It's amazing to watch, this leftism. It's a house of cards that – no matter these most recent painful election results in Oregon – will crumble if we pay attention and install a backbone in our Republican Party leadership.

And once in Salem “goes red,” it will be a final confirming signal to the rest of America that liberty and freedom really are going to reign supreme.



## CHAPTER 30

### The Well-Trodden Path to Defeat.

And there is another key to winning the Democrat vote. My guess is you know this already, but for the record: a Republican candidate can't win over Democrats by pretending to be a Democrat – Democrats already have Democrats to vote for, so that's what they will do. We win over Democrats by changing their minds about issues so they vote Republican – and we can only do that by successfully demonstrating the virtues of Republican beliefs.

The certain truth: Republican candidates who bend over backwards to ingratiate themselves to the Democrat Left, while simultaneously thumbing their noses at the Republican base, are being politically naïve and duplicitous, or they are full-bloom progressives in disguise.

Either way, the Left will laugh and the Right will be disgusted.

THAT is no way for a Republican to win in Oregon or anywhere else. Potential candidates who contemplate doing this should seriously reconsider their political affiliation.

For Knute Buehler, his failure in the general election began with his early-on vilification of Donald Trump, a focus on raising money instead of engaging voters, an abandonment of the Republican Party platform, and his savage and deceitful attacks on me in the final weeks of the primary campaign.

Republicans noticed. They can smell a leftist campaign a mile away. Here's a blog post I put up last December 10<sup>th</sup>:

*"WHYKNUTEBUEHLERLOSTPORTLAND(ANDTHEELECTION)"*

*"Buehler's ultimate demise? Consider deep-Portland, where in some areas he tallied just 7% of the total vote. (How did THAT happen? He catered to the Left, he thumbed his nose at his own base...and his travel bus and yard signs were oh-so-blue...).*

*"Here it is: his lightweight-progressive, 'I'm one of you!' stance was unconvincing enough, but it was his never-Trumper positioning that buried him in the metro-regions. Having long-ago painted himself into the anti-Trump*

*corner, he couldn't tap the solid subset of Democrat, Independent, Libertarian and unaffiliated voters who would have quietly voted for him if he had not disparaged the President.*

*"Surveys show a good chunk of non-Republican voters support President Trump's economic, national security and other policies.*

*"A mere 10% better showing in the metro-areas, combined with the solid backing of excited grassroots Republicans, would have won him the election.*

Check this out, a summary of Portland neighborhood voting in the general election, Brown vs. Buehler: <https://www.oregonlive.com/expo/news/erry-2018/12/7d868907cf5609/portlandarea-neighborhoods-kat.html>"

These gross errors are precisely what we must NOT do in the future. We can learn from this most recent gubernatorial electoral debacle that precipitated a decimation of the Republican down-ballot vote across the state.

Specifically, we must turn our legislative chambers around in 2020 by going down a bold new road, and then do the same in 2022 in the gubernatorial race.

This will be our Oregon Red Trifecta.

The philosophical distinctions between Kate Brown and Knute Buehler were minor. Whoever was to win, little would change. However, ironically, as I have said, there is an advantage in Kate Brown's win: the conservative waters are no longer muddied.

Now there is stark distinction between conservatism and leftism. We are poised to finally take back the state because there is, all of a sudden, two vivid sides to the battle: on one side is the Ruling Class, the small top-down minority contingent of Democrat progressives AND Republican Establishment-types who demand that America be ruled by government decree, and on the other side there is us: the majority bottom-up segment that wants the government to take a back seat as our Founders fought so hard to ensure.

And know this for sure: Kate Brown and her legislature now assume they have a mandate to do whatever they want, and that means they are going to make bad decisions over the next two years, decisions that will exasperate wide swaths of the electorate of all political parties.



This will of course bode well for Republicans in the elections of 2020 and 2022, provided we're, so to speak, locked and loaded.

It's a critical point so I will ask these questions again: with a Buehler win, where could we as Republican conservatives gone? Challenge a Republican governor? There would have been no conservative political resuscitation of Oregon, at all, ever. The conservative grassroots would have been finished.

However, a Buehler win predictably did *not* happen. The reality is that we've been watching this same Republican Establishment go-to-the-Left strategy for over 30 years, and today the current Republican Ruling Class has been utterly discredited. The doors are swung open, ready for us to walk through.

The future of the ORP and the legislature belongs to the conservative grassroots...if the conservative grassroots wants it.

So, this is the perfect time: are we going to finally straighten out our Party and our state, or not?



# CHAPTER 31

## Ideas to Outright Dismiss.

Do we want to win elections or do we want to be distracted? Here are some stances that we must abandon because they will be a waste of the time and energy we'll need to take back this state via the only means available: elections.

### **DONALD TRUMP IS A LIABILITY IN OREGON.**

He's our President! He won the electoral college by a significant margin! And literally 90% of Oregon Republican support him! Never mind the media and those never-Trumpers within our Party who continue to try to convince us he's an anathema to winning elections in our state. Let's stop that reticence NOW!

### **STATEWIDE ELECTORAL COLLEGE**

No! It's been discussed for a long time, mostly by rural Oregon. First of all, it is not ever going to happen legislatively, so there is hardly any point in discussing it. Second, giving power to rural counties over the metro areas is not any more "right" than the way it works now, except that at least the way it is now, every citizen has one vote. Third, here's the problem with the concept that advocates don't want to discuss: if one looks at the national electoral college, each state has electoral votes in accordance with the population base, (plus two electoral votes, one per US Senator). Thus, with the implementation of a county-by-county electoral college here in Oregon, nothing would change. The metro areas would retain dominance (e.g. California has a huge number of electoral votes and Wyoming has very few).

### **STATE OF JEFFERSON/SPLIT-UP THE STATE**

Look it up on the web, and here's what you will find: "*Q. Can there ever be a State of Jefferson? A. No, Jefferson will not become the 51st state. It*

*is illegal for a state to be incorporated in the Union if it already falls under the jurisdiction of other existing states. Therefore, unless California and Oregon's legislature gives it permission to secede, it cannot."*

So, it is never going to happen, and the very, very few conservatives who publicly soap-box for it make the rest of us conservatives look flaky.

### **EVERY TIME CONSERVATIVES LOSE AN ELECTION IT'S DUE TO VOTER FRAUD/LET'S DEMAND A RECOUNT, ETC.**

Where does one go with this? Voter fraud is a completely demoralizing assumption with questionable basis in fact. Yes, if we ascend into power, we'll look hard at it, but agonizing about it now just drains energy away from what we must do to actually win back that power. Recounts? They don't happen unless the vote margin is minuscule (e.g. Buehler's loss was nowhere near miniscule). Again, going anywhere with this is a legislative impossibility. Let's not waste our time with it.

### **SENDING CALIFORNIANS BACK TO CALIFORNIA**

A very, very small contingent of angry Oregon conservatives believe this is a great idea. It makes us look downright deranged. Stop it.

## CHAPTER 32

### Precisely Identifying the Opposition.

Below is a post I did back in October 2017, two months before I began active campaigning, and seven months before the primary election in May 2018.

What I discuss in the post is what we *have* to do if we are to win elections: We must address ALL Oregonians while specifically separating progressive Left Democrats from everyone else. We must isolate progressives, and then hammer them hard...without attacking the whole body of Democrat voters (the majority!) who do not deserve to be hammered.

THIS is key to how we win. THIS is key to how we own the future.

Here's the one-layer-deeper truth: we Republicans have, without thinking, inadvertently made enemies of a huge swath of the populace.

We can change that.

Here's the post, part of my Sixty-in-Sixty series.

"POINT #60: WE CONSERVATIVES MUST STOP HAMMERING ON THE BROAD DESCRIPTORS, 'DEMOCRATS' AND 'LIBERALS'

"THESE AMERICANS ARE NOT THE ENEMY. MORE CORRECTLY, OUR NEMESIS AND TARGET IS THE 'PROGRESSIVE FAR-LEFT.' YES, PROGRESSIVES HAPPEN TO BELONG TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BUT THEY ARE LESS THAN HALF OF DEMOCRATS...MAYBE 15% OF ALL VOTERS."

*"Most Democrats and liberals are quietly aware that it's their current progressive far-Left leadership that has let them down, a leadership that has not represented them properly.*

*"They are being held hostage.*

*"So, I'm not going to bash 'Democrats' and 'Liberals.' The huge majority of them are our friends and neighbors, and are ready to vote for our candidates if we avoid the hard ideology...and if we would stop insulting them for what their leadership has done.*

*"Regular non-progressive main-stream Democrats are over-taxed and*

*over-regulated, too. They experience the outfall of illegal immigration, off-shoring and bad trade deals, lawlessness, limited upward mobility, drug abuse, and expensive health care, just like you and me. Obviously, they live in houses and apartments, have children, jobs, hopes, expectations and fears just like us.*

*“These Democrats – and there are a LOT of them – won’t come to us if we belittle them. Let’s not confuse them with their current far-Left leadership... whose incompetence is only exceeded by their hostility to other points of view.*

*“We conservatives have been wrong-headed. The people we must remove are far-Left progressive Democrat political leaders who are supported by only a tiny minority of the population.”*

THIS more accurate definition of Oregon voters is how we can affect the 70% of Democrats who are not progressives – many of whom will vote our way if we give them sensible, non-ideological, every-day reasons to do it! THAT is how we get enough "other side" votes to win elections!

## LIBERALS VS. LEFTISTS

What I missed in my post is that the term “leftist” is also a good descriptor of our opponents, and that classic Liberals are actually very close to being conservatives (think, JFK).

This distinction is spelled out perfectly in a video by Dennis Prager, produced in September 2018, one that Prager produced at the request of my friend and long-time supporter, Patrick Martin of Portland. Thanks Patrick! <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tlIjMJBSnRE>

Patrick spelled it out well in the email he sent me along with the above link to Prager’s video:

*“I think the Liberal Left needs to see this just as much as anyone on the right. What I mean by Liberal are those who aren’t far Left progressives also known as ‘leftists.’*

*“I know many liberals and they’re good people, heck, my kids are liberal but not one of them is a leftist.*

*“I think it’s of the greatest importance to unite our nation through accurate communication, unlike the liberal-bashing we’ve been trained by leftist to do. We are helping leftist do their job to destroy America every time we slam*

*'liberals'! Everyone should know the difference between a liberal and a leftist so we can start communicating and heal the divide in our land. 'United we stand' aren't just words.*

*"Thank you, Sam.-Patrick."*





## CHAPTER 33

### Important yet Impotent: the Oregon Republican Party.

So, WHY, precisely and simply, have we Oregon Republicans been such losers in statewide races over the past thirty years, and in the legislature for the last fifteen? You've already read about a major element of the reason in Part One: it's the "blue myths" yes, but those myths set the stage for the other prime reason for losing year-after-year: a Republican Party leadership vacuum. As you've learned, the problem is not so much that conservative voters are outnumbered or discouraged. The problem is that we haven't produced enough solid conservative candidates to get excited about, especially in our statewide elections. Instead, we've been given candidates who come across as apologetic and wishy-washy. To date, the Oregon Republican Party leadership has done little to cultivate – never mind screen, encourage, coach, protect, or promote – candidates who can win. Why? Because these candidates might just seem to be...a bit too conservative.

This is our own Republican Ruling Class version of fear-mongering!

Our Republican Establishment Ruling Class says, *"We're the smart ones, and we smart ones know that Oregon is a blue state and a competitive Republican candidate must move to the left in order to secure Democrat, Independent and unaffiliated voters."*

Just looking at history – and most pointedly these recent gubernatorial primary and general elections – it is flat-out obvious that going to the left doesn't work. It didn't work for the Buehler candidacy, it hasn't worked for three decades, and it's not going to work in the future.

As already mentioned, in some Portland districts, progressive-lite Knute Buehler won less than 7% of the vote.

Look at us! We'll be doomed to the same electoral outcome in the 2020 and 2022 races unless we change our ways, *now!*

Concerning our general deportment going forward, here's a new rule-of-thumb: "progressive Democrats lose when they are exposed. Republican conservatives win when they stand up tall."

Here's another critical stance: *This IS war*. progressives readily admit it. So, since they have defined this particular game, let's stop trying to "have a conversation," beg for "a-place-at-the-table," or ask them to "meet-us-in-the-middle." Instead, let's push back hard.

Let's beat them at their own game!

This past gubernatorial general election, where our nominally Republican candidate touted his leftist positions on just about everything, is only the latest example of the failure of this cross-the-aisle line of thinking, and of the ORP in general. By disavowing his actions publicly, the ORP could have stopped this faux Republican.

(I can't ignore this: Buehler, in the general campaign, touted himself as a "different kind of Republican." This begs the question, just how does he describe Republicans like you and me?)

Our failed current ORP leadership – the "moderate" Executive Officers – must exit. The time for that to happen is this upcoming ORP organizational election on February 16, 2019. What about the rest of the 21-member Executive Committee? Let's talk. Do you support the ORP platform as written? Do you support our President? If you do hold those two stances, please consider staying with us...

The Oregon Republican Party has no employees, a part-time volunteer chairman, a tiny budget, an unmanned headquarters office in Wilsonville that is, essentially, a storeroom, and most visibly: a website that has not been updated since before the general election last November. (Oh wait. I see today as I write this on January 10<sup>th</sup> 2019, it's been updated on the heels of much back and forth with current leadership about this sort of thing...).

The ORP as it stands today has significant debt that it can't pay back, and it's incapable of raising proper funds. And so it is not just a failure as an organization, on the precipice of its own insolvency, it can't get to its primary purpose which is to fight successfully against the progressive Left.

The current ORP can't do that if it can hardly support itself!

The ORP Executive Committee convenes once a month but, really, what has been accomplished for us out here, in the real-world? It's been

a lot of back-and-forth political posturing, with the age-old backbiting between conservatives and not-so-conservatives. It just goes on and on as our state continues to sink.

And the Party Platform which has been developed over the years in intense ORP gatherings? In 2018, it was completely ignored by the gubernatorial candidate. To Buehler, the Platform was a handicap and an embarrassment. Our carefully constructed platform was a waste of everyone's time. Why have an ORP at all if this is the way it's going to be?

Buehler's General Election Loss was, as I've repeatedly pointed out in these pages, inevitable: "moderate" Republican Buehler alienated his Republican base as he ignored the Platform and scurried for Democrat and Independent/unaffiliated voters who, in return, rolled their eyes. (At least progressive Democrats stand up for what they believe and are willing to fight tooth and nail for their platform.)

There was no way Buehler could win. It's just that simple.

Exactly as in my own gubernatorial primary race last year, President Trump's travails demonstrate the progressive Left's ultimate Alinsky-tact perfectly: If one can't win on the merits of one's ideas, personally destroy the opponent by any means necessary. Now that protocol has inserted itself onto our side of the fence.

Reading and studying about the Republican Establishment Ruling Class is one thing. Experiencing the wrath of it is something else altogether. The 2018 Oregon Republican primary election has been described as the *"most heavily funded, vicious, scorched-earth statewide primary campaign in Oregon history."* That's true, but note that the heavily-funded, vicious, scorched-earth tactics emanated 100% from Buehler's Republican Ruling Class Establishment.

*Not a shred of the "vicious scorched-earth" rhetoric came from my campaign although that was the incessant accusation of the very people who were conducting it. It's a false accusation that has carried over into this ORP campaign, too. Between now and the ORP elections in mid-February, watch for it!*

Why? Because they have nothing else, and sometimes it works....

Let's move on and learn from this. Let's, right now, begin the necessary repair work. Within the next four years we can secure the Great Oregon Red Trifecta!

## MY FIRST INTERVIEW, AS I RUN FOR ORP CHAIR

Following is a January 7<sup>th</sup> written interview I did with Gary Warner of the Bulletin. (I thank David Jaques for working back and forth with me on this last-minute submission, as Warner was up against a deadline and I was stone-cold exhausted from my 18 hour days trying to finish this book):

From Gary:

Hi Sam. I've seen on your website where you have laid out your effort to replace Bill Currier as state GOP chair.

I'd like to get an update today on how that effort is going. I'm aiming for a story for tomorrow. Can you give me a call today or shoot me a message back with answers on the following?

GW: How do you think Bill Currier has failed as GOP chairman?

SC: *Bill Currier has had his shot at strengthening the Oregon Republican Party and delivering results; getting Republicans elected to office. Sadly for our Party and for Oregonians his efforts were ineffective, and came up short. As the head of the Executive Team for the ORP, Mr. Currier demonstrated absolutely no leadership in challenging the Republican nominee for governor, Knute Buehler, who should have been called out on any number of issues, which ultimately led to his defeat. As the top of the ticket in Oregon, Buehler's running hard against the adopted state party platform – and our grassroots conservatives – led not only to his own defeat, but a defeated down-ticket as well. If a coach of a collegiate or professional team came up with back-to-back losses going 0-16 over four years, the only reasonable correction would be, change the coach and leadership staff of the team.*

GW: How is your attempt to replace him going? Are you getting firm commitments for the Feb. 16 vote?

SC: *My team has a powerful outreach and constant communication with*

*well over 100,000 Oregon Republicans and their families, and their feedback has been overwhelmingly in support of our vision and plans to win a Republican majority in Salem. With the new officers at the county level, following the elections last month, we are very confident that they too embrace our plans to make the ORP relevant again across the state. Due to the current executive staff at the ORP withholding the list of newly elected officers and their contact information, we had to go to considerable effort to compile that data ourselves, in order to communicate with them, and frankly conduct a campaign for their support in February. We achieved this, and even Mr. Currier has admitted that*



**Sam Speaks to the Umatilla Hispanic Advisory Committee, Monday March 19, 2018. Members Manual Gutierrez and Hector Ramirez look on**

**-Jade McDowell/East Oregonian**

*we may now have more complete data than he does. This is but one example of the huge shift in management style that I and my executive team will bring to the ORP. It will be open, transparent and accessible to the entire state central committee. The ORP will again be a servant to the county and Congressional district organizations as well as elected PCPs.*

GW: As chair, how would you handle current lawmakers who don't endorse all aspects of the state party platform or don't vocally support President Trump?

SC: *I applaud every single one of our Republican lawmakers for their willingness to endure the Democrat supermajorities. As ORP chair, it won't be my job to question their stances. The caucus will handle that. It will be my job to head up an ORP that will recruit, screen, train, protect and promote candidates who are faithful to Republican ideals and to our state and national platforms and leadership. Last election we had 16 out of 60 house districts with no Republican candidate. It's a sad state of affairs...one we will not repeat again. I'm especially looking forward to the recruitment of new Republican voters in our state, especially the younger millennials, as they become the future of our party.*

## CHAPTER 34

### The Grassroots Revitalization of the Oregon Republican Party.

I especially direct the following to Voting Members, Delegates, and Alternate Delegates so they can “vet” me. I am giving complete information here, four weeks before the election. With this, should I end up being your Chair, there will be no surprises after the election.

It’s critical that our ORP membership knows exactly what my team and I want to do before the election so we don’t have protracted, controversial struggles after the election. There are lots of details here, and some of those details WILL be misinterpreted and/or taken out of context. That’s OK. I’ll take those bullets, all the while providing further details and/or defending myself against unjust criticism or deliberate misinterpretation.

As I said, we don’t have time for bickering. Only eight months after the ORP election in mid-February, candidates for the 2020 statewide and local elections will be lining up....

This really is an existential-level decision time. There is a broad, solid line between your two options, and you must choose:

Keep things the way they are or go in a new direction.

This chapter will be, for the purposes of the upcoming leadership elections, my slate’s Strategic Objective. Also, it’s a listing of what I will need in order to effectively serve as your Chair. Yes, with this proposal I am to some degree flexible to make changes and additions between now and the elections.

Keep in mind that, with the chairmanship, I am not going to be paid.

**But should I win the chairmanship in the February election, there’s this: I will only accept if it is evident we can truly turn the organization around.** If my team can’t acquire adequate tools and personnel, repairing ORP will be impossible. If I do win, I will make the decision to accept the position at the same February 16<sup>th</sup> meeting,

based on a variety of factors, all listed in this chapter, noted in bold print.

Here's a critical factor that I will personally measure before taking this on: **what is the level of enthusiasm for change from the majority of Voting Members and Delegates?**

Presuming that sufficient support for my leadership and slate of officers exists, here's what I think should happen.

**The ORP must:**

1. Always pursue the prime objective of winning control of the legislature, the governorship and other four executive offices by finding, cultivating, training, protecting and promoting solid candidates. We can no longer be distracted by intra-party bickering. Let's do our job.
2. Ramp-up PCP participation and meet membership guidelines (by county), engaging their help in critical programs and projects
3. Review, update and streamline structure, goals, and Bylaws. Let's run this organization like a business, lean and disciplined, always using our resources and time wisely.
4. Transform internal communications and outside marketing to incorporate the latest cutting-edge technology
5. Provide Point-of-Sale administrative support for county and Congressional District Republican organizations. The county and District organizations are the heart and soul of the Oregon Republican Party
6. Execute a thought-out, professional organizational and operational plan for GOTV (Get Out The Vote) efforts, including candidate messaging and database security
7. **WE ARE LOSING THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN THE PRIMARY RACES!** In election cycles, via a special committee of perhaps six executive board members, publish objective and brief assessments regarding statewide and congressional district primary candidates (does the candidate support



the party platform, have a clean legal record, support the Republican President, if the candidate has been in previous campaigns does he/she have a successful record of fund-raising? etc.). The single focus will be on win-ability in general elections. Then, on the ORP website, we would publish objective and brief “approval” statements regarding the candidates who meet the basic necessary qualifications to actually win the general election. There would be no approval or mention of candidates who, in the panel’s conclusion – supported by objective, tangible facts – stood no chance of winning. (It is a wasted opportunity – not to mention a waste of time and money – to nominate a candidate who can’t possibly win the general election.). Yes, of course we can’t prevent someone from running for office, but we, as an organization – The state Republican Party! – can choose whom to approve based on simple objective criteria. The specifics on this plan will be determined in the days after the organizational election in February, then presented to the Executive Board.

8. In order to discourage obvious vote-splitting intrusions, and/or mudslinging, take a stand via press release, email, and a powerful social media machine in order to instantly update candidate assessments.
9. Redesign the website, keep it up to date, communicate constantly with membership via the various social media and other communications tools, while protecting privacy, and provide an easily accessible roster of Central Committee members (perhaps, each with an ORP-domain email address). Make the ORP an easily operable “structured machine,” so the next new Executive Board will have a smooth time managing the organization.

Our positioning will follow these guidelines:

1. Must reflect a bottom-up mentality where our base, via the

- county membership, reigns supreme, as reflected in the ORP Platform
2. Keep the Party Platform front-and-center (pro-life, pro-2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment, pro-legal immigration, support ICE, police and Vets, no sanctuary state, etc...).
  3. Publicly and without equivocation, support Republican President Trump (as 90% of Oregon Republicans already do).
  4. Whole-heartedly support our nominees and current office holders

Now I will go into further detail regarding tools and personnel, and more about what my team, and I personally, will need.

As it stands today, a major mechanical problem with the ORP is that the Chairman position is not paid, is part-time, and is saddled with feeble technology and protocol. In this, the foundation of the chairmanship position is seriously flawed. How can a major activist organization be expected to function successfully when the leader is unpaid, part-time, and the communication methodologies are, compared to Democrat organizations, in the dark-ages?

*My leadership team must be given the ability to lead the ORP with the most effective, cutting-edge online tools and protocols available.* For example, I operated my gubernatorial primary campaign as a “business-machine,” and it’s how I came to take the lead in the race within 90 days, spending literally, 1/10<sup>th</sup> of what our main opponent Knute Buehler spent...and with 1/10<sup>th</sup> the staff.

Note that I own a world-class social media marketing business, PathwayOne ([www.pathwayone.com](http://www.pathwayone.com)) with three employees and a working partner. It’s based in the U.S. and in Romania. Also, I own a two-person consulting company that specializes in fixing small businesses. We’ve worked with 700+ businesses over the last eight years, with 99% success in helping them survive, with most going on to literally thrive. (see [www.workthesystem.com](http://www.workthesystem.com)).

Think about this not-so-anecdotal illustration: In my role as Chair, how could I reach an enormous number of Republicans instantly and

at minimal cost? For one thing, and as an illustration of my thinking, it won't be via dozens of appearances at Lincoln Day Dinners, where Diana and I would take a minimum of a day, and more likely two days, to talk to 60-100 Republicans for 20 minutes, with little one-on-one contact with those attendees. (The meetings last approximately two hours, with all of us sitting quietly listening to speakers for 95% of that time).

To ask a chairman, paid or unpaid, to devote enormous time on efforts that have minimal effect because of outdated protocol and technology, is just not smart.

The better use of that one to two-day expenditure of time and energy would be to reach tens of thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of Republicans, online. Yes, and with this, there would be plenty of back-and-forth personal communication with any Republican who wanted it (that isn't happening so much now...).

Today does not lie in 1965. Today resides in 2019.

Let's use the same cutting-edge tools that Democrats use in order to multiply our positive impact by a factor of ten times over what it is now.

Chapter 13 of this book describes the basics. Not all of them, but you'll get the idea.

Also, to get an idea of how our online appearance could be, take a look at my political Facebook page: (<https://www.facebook.com/samcarpenterfororegon/>) and my website (<https://www.makeoregongreatagain.com/>).

Note that by using the communication tools-of-today, my Facebook Page following is approaching 100,000. In my primary campaign efforts, I regularly reached hundreds of thousands of voters with minimal effort. (400,000+ per week.) (<https://www.facebook.com/samcarpenterfororegon/>).

For more detail about how I manage an organization, read my book, *Work the System: The Simple Mechanics of Making More and Working Less* ([www.workthesystem.com](http://www.workthesystem.com)). You can download it from the website, pdf or audio, for free.

The economies of scale in what I am suggesting are enormous.

The ORP's current archaic internal and external communication protocols are a primary reason it is failing in its mission.

**I am willing to head-up this organization, but only if I can operate it as a business,** a business that will not just stand on its own legs and use modern technology, but a business that will become highly successful.

I'm a CEO. It is not my job to head-up a social club. I am friends with many people, but am not the cocktail party's center of attention. My head is almost always down, into the business of repair and creation or organizations. With the ORP, my mechanical focus will be to lead it into permanent hyper-effectiveness and this requires the creation of a simple, solid, documented structure that can be passed on so the next leaders are not faced with organizing from scratch.

I want the ORP to be lean-and-mean. To appreciate the lean business approach, we only need to look at President Trump's accomplishments of the past two short years

I know you agree with me that the ORP is not a club, and it doesn't exist for the satisfaction of a few. It's an organization designed to do one thing: represent the majority of Oregon Republicans in order to win back Republican control of the legislative and executive branches of our government in Salem as well as get control of our U.S. Congressional and U.S. Senate seats. (The state judicial will eventually follow along.) Everything else the ORP may accomplish is superfluous in comparison.

And know that I will want to eliminate the superfluous.

Another requirement: There are very, very few conservative social media marketing companies. And as I've mentioned, I happen to be the majority owner of one. **I must be able to use my company, PathwayOne, for technical assistance, marketing and web design.**

And before my Ruling Class opponents pile on, know that I will employ it at no charge to the ORP. I will personally absorb and pay the cost, only asking the ORP cover its own Facebook, Twitter, etc. advertising, and some of the small overhead costs such as the hosting and database platform expenditures. The ORP will pay those organizations directly. As with me personally, PathwayOne will not receive a dime.

Something else: **I must have a slate of officers with whom I can work with effectively in order to reach our goals.** This is critical as I don't have the time or the desire to cope with infighting within the party leadership. The difference in philosophy and methodology that I am offering is decidedly advanced from what is currently employed. A mix of old and new at the executive leadership level of ORP will not work for me.

**My choice for Vice-Chair is Wally Hicks of Grants Pass. Secretary, Gayle Ostgard of Sherwood. Treasurer, Tracy Cheeseman of La Grande. These are the people I want on my Executive team.**

If elected, will I decline the chairmanship should anyone in the above slate not be elected? Maybe, maybe not. It depends. Please don't make this difficult for me

Here's something else: I'm 69 years old and have a rich life outside of politics. Diana and I like to travel, and we have a vacation home in Kentucky near her family. (Yes, Bend is our primary residence. I've lived there for 40+ years). I am willing and able to do what is necessary to achieve the above goals, but **I am also expecting to live my life as I am living it now; free to travel, free to manage my time as I want... and that means being able to operate from virtually anywhere I am physically located.**

Most of the time we'll be in Bend.

Remember I am taking this on with no salary, and in fact am willing to personally contribute my company's marketing expertise, probably amounting up to \$5,000-\$10,000 per month.

What about my personal business, Centratel, in Bend, as well as my small publishing, consulting and social media marketing businesses? They operate with little input from me. Among all of them, I maybe work two hours per month. I am financially stable and have time to spend on whatever I want to spend it on, and in this proposal I am offering to donate significant personal time and money to install some serious structure and backbone, into the ORP.

With each of us recognizing that our Republican Party presence in

Oregon has been steadily sliding downward over the last dozen years and is now, near extinction, we must ask, can the ORP be rescued?

As you decide how to vote on February 16<sup>th</sup>, consider carefully each side's campaign approach. *Look at the overall delivery and distinguish between personal attacks vs. the presentation of historical facts, new ideas, and possibilities for the future.*

Yes. I am positive we can turn things around. So here, I formally ask for your vote in this upcoming February election.

The stars are in alignment and all of the right players are on the field together!

And to borrow a line from Donald Trump, when he spoke directly to those suffering under failed leadership: *What do you have to lose?*

Let's start now, together, to create a new Oregon Republican Party!

## CHAPTER 35

### The ORP Doll House

*April 1, 2019. Author's note. This final chapter is published on the heels of the Mueller Report release. With that, it's clear that Donald Trump continues to triumph over the DC Democrat progressive/Republican anti-Trump deep state. On a micro-scale, Diana and I tried to do some of that same out-maneuvering of the Oregon deep state. So far, we have failed. (I'm no Donald Trump!) As we consider withdrawing from politics, I dedicate this final chapter to the people who have supported us through thick and thin, and as a forewarning to potential Republican grassroots candidates here in Oregon and elsewhere.*

I lost the Oregon Republican Party chairmanship election in the February 16, 2019 Central Committee organizational elections held in Salem. No surprise. The ORP's last-minute electioneering against me hinged 100% on the 2018 Republican gubernatorial primary campaign treachery and lies of candidate Knute Buehler. Outspent ten to one in that race, Buehler's big-money-politics-of personal-destruction tact has perhaps tarnished my reputation, at least in the Oregon political world.

That's OK. My family and I will survive.

In any case, Diana and I now have zero allegiance to the statewide ORP that, we finally understand, is literally a front line for the progressive Left. With the current Republican Ruling Class leadership, the ORP is the enemy of the grassroots conservatives who comprise 90% of the party.

In any case, our ultimate allegiance lies with President Trump.

If there is to be salvation for the Oregon Republican Party, it will come from within those county party organizations that have not been corrupted by the anti-Trump/leftist leadership of the state organization. And that salvation can only happen when current Ruling Class Executive Committee members are replaced with true conservatives who represent the base of the party.

But at this point, salvation is a long shot...

Are we bitter? Nah. Not really.

Disappointed? Profoundly.

As you read this final chapter of the book, see the one-layer-deeper reason Oregon is descending into a Democrat progressive hell-hole at super-sonic speed. The reason is ridiculously simple, yet invisible. And so far, this reason is fully grasped by only a few politicians on our side.

## **BULLY TACTICS: THE ORP RULING CLASS'S PURGE OF GRASSROOTS CONSERVATIVES**

We've seen the outfall of the Mueller "investigation." I'm here to tell you that similar deep-state forces have long been at work here in Oregon. And not just within the Democrat progressive left contingent, but also imbedded in our own party.

ORP "establishment" Ruling Class leadership continues to press the party hard to the Left with the majority of 21 Executive Directors conned and/or strong-armed into believing this is the best tact for winning statewide races.

Never mind that this "move-to-the-middle" approach is opposite the official Oregon Republican Party Platform and the wishes of the huge bulk of Republican voters who have not missed the fact that this stratagem has not worked even once in over 30 years of Oregon elections.

So why does party leadership keep pressing Left? The subtle reason is diabolical.

Read on, and I'll put the pieces together.

Here in April 2019, under the ORP guise of "Blue Oregon" and "uninterested Republican voters," nearly all grassroots conservatives have been purged from the ORP's Executive Committee ranks.

Former ORP Vice-Chair establishment Republican Chris Barreto made a very public announcement last Fall that she was retiring from ORP Executive Committee involvement. Yet, on February 16th at the Central Committee meeting, she quietly re-joined the Committee to replace recently appointed Finance Chair, Patti Adair.



Patti, a grassroots conservative and an accomplished fundraiser/political organizer, as well as Deschutes County's most recently elected county commissioner, wasn't notified by Chair Currier that she had been replaced. To add further insult to injury, there was no attendee package prepared for Patti when she arrived at the above mentioned Central Committee meeting. In her rude dismissal, the message was clear.

To the disgust of her grassroots supporters, Patti was gone before she arrived.

And now, as I predicted back in February, there is an Executive Committee ambush to recall Marylin Shannon as Oregon National Committeewoman. Marylin is a forty-year veteran of Oregon Republican conservative politics. She's a grassroots icon, and a direct link back to "how things used to be" in our state.

So, what is the problem?

Simple: Patti and Marylin are conservatives.

The Executive Committee's baseless attacks on Marylin, fueled by conjecture and innuendo, are in full swing as this chapter goes to print. The vote is scheduled for the next Central Committee meeting in McMinnville on Saturday, April 6<sup>th</sup>.

Already, multiple county chairs have petitioned the ORP Executive Committee to withdraw the petition for Marylin's recall. It seems to these chairs that the ORP has bigger problems to tackle than this purely politically-motivated bullying effort to expel yet another highly qualified (and especially esteemed) grassroots conservative Committee member.

If the ORP Ruling Class can successfully oversee Marylin Shannon's ouster, do not be surprised if Chris Barreto, rising like a phoenix from the ashes of her voluntary and well-publicized retirement, also takes over this important RNC Oregon Committeewoman seat.

You're asking, WHY would Executive Committee members of the ORP, who have presided over the literal loss of the state, have the nerve to ask to stay in power when they clearly will be unable to reverse the steam-rolling political disaster that happened under their own watch?

Actually, that's an easy question to answer. It's because for the two or three people who are orchestrating the ORP's powerlessness, the continued loss of the state to the Left is precisely the goal.

And the rest of the ORP Executive leadership? Good people, but hoodwinked.

## REPUBLICAN PRIMARY ELECTION MANIPULATIONS OF THE ORP RULING CLASS

This is key: step-by-step, we've lost our state in the primary elections. Why have we consistently been losers in general elections? It's because, in the important statewide and Federal races, *our Republican nominees have been, by-design, left-leaners.*

Republican "moderate" candidates simply can't win general elections! These nominees are pretenders. As they walk away from the conservative base and acquiesce to the Democrat Left, both Democrat and Republican base voters see their disloyalty and spinelessness and they vote accordingly.

Regardless of party affiliation, who wants to vote for a pretender?

A Republican nominee who campaigns as a Democrat-lite? It's a sure-fire way to lose an election. And, here's the thing: it's a well thought-out primary tactic endorsed by our very top ORP leadership.

As he middle-fingered the Republican Party platform, and with zero resistance (and even encouragement) from our top ORP leaders, Knute Buehler's failed 2018 gubernatorial candidacy was a perfect illustration of this deliberate tact.

In his general election loss, some Portland districts rewarded him with a mere 6% of the vote.

The state ORP's personal-destruction whisper campaign against me in these more recent ORP elections is another example of how our ORP leadership operates.

Other tactics? Here's one that is especially potent: *The failure to stop (or rather, the encouragement) of vote-splitting.* Go back to chapters 14 and 21 to review details.

But there's another ploy too, one that I've briefly mentioned: *to allow*

(if not encourage) “*useful idiots*” to secure a nomination, and then quietly watch that candidate do zero campaigning in the general election that follows. “Capture and hold” is a great strategy to insure the Democrat will win.\*

Yet another tactic: to *make no effort to find Republican candidates*. Over 25% of our Oregon House races had no Republican candidates whatsoever.

As chaos reigns, mostly our top ORP leadership stands by and watches silently. This do-nothing approach is a strategy. No longer should we attribute this non-action to uselessness or incompetence.

It’s deliberate.

Another key to understanding how all this works: *Chaos and disunity within the party is literally the goal*, as it obscures what is really happening. Who stirs up this chaos? Just a couple of Republican leaders who – and I’ll be diplomatic here – do not represent the organization’s base membership.

How can the 10% of the base that comprises the anti-Trump Republican Establishment Ruling Class ever satisfy the conservative 90% that hates their leadership and who supports our president?

They can’t. And the chaos that ensues due to that internal dissatisfaction IS the goal!

Here’s my analogy: just a couple of Ruling Class individuals within Top Oregon Republican leadership have relegated the Republican base to be as innocuous in the Oregon political world as an eight-year old child playing quietly with a dollhouse. It’s fun for the child, and it certainly occupies the child’s time, and the child may even think the play is important. But the preoccupation, time-consuming as it might be, has zero effect on the world outside the child’s bedroom.

Diana offers this analogy, too. The Oregon Republican Party is an ant farm, with the Republican ground-troop ants busy building

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\* Mark Callahan has executed this strategy twice in the past two election cycles. He won the nomination for Oregon U.S. Senate in 2016, and then the CD2 nomination in 2018. In each case, after his primary victory, he did literally nothing to either raise money or campaign for the general elections that followed. Thus, in his inaction, he made it easy for the Democrat progressive nominees to win both those races.

tunnels no one cares about except the ants doing the work. Every so often, progressive left operatives within our party will pick up and then vigorously shake the farm and the ants get even more preoccupied and distracted as they try to repair the damage; to stop the chaos. It's all a useless waste of time and energy because in the big picture, no one outside the ant farm gives a damn.

The job of the Ruling Class, Left and Right, is to keep those ants busy, occasionally assuring them that what they do actually matters when, in the big picture, it doesn't matter.

And while all this chaotic distraction is occurring, the Ruling Class caterwauls about the lack of unity within our party, of course blaming grassroots conservatives for not towing the Ruling Class line.

It's infuriating to watch the 10% ORP Ruling Class leadership pretend to represent its 90% conservative Republican base. Truth is, these very few people in leadership hold conservatives in utter contempt. In their eyes, like in the eyes of any Democrat progressive, you and I are not their intellectual, spiritual, and moral equals.

## **GRASSROOTS REPUBLICANS OUT IN THE COLD**

Facts are facts: Even though I had been outspent by Knute Buehler ten to one, statistically I was the leading candidate in the 2018 Oregon gubernatorial primary race until the final three weeks of the contest. Then, a very tiny contingent of Republican ruling class operatives\* unleashed a massive personal-slime campaign of lies and innuendo on me personally. (See chapter 27).

I also led the ORP leadership race until the final three weeks when an identical mudslinging whisper-campaign was unleashed by a handful of current board members and their outside sycophants.

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\* Bad actors, mostly anti-Trumpers, directly or indirectly associated with the Knute Buehler 2018 Oregon gubernatorial Republican primary race's perfectly executed vote-splitting/personal-smear effort: Greg Wooldridge, Jonathon Lockwood, Bruce Cuff, Russ Walker (consultant to Wooldridge), Dan Lavey (consultant to Buehler), Jeff Grossman, Bill Post, Ben West, and Derrick Kitts. In this nefarious group, add Mark Callahan, and of course there was – always laying low – the political mastermind of ORP chaos, Solomon Yue.

The means justifies the ends. It's always about power. Never mind the facts.

In my view, and I am certain of it, the goal of the current top ORP leadership is to install Leftist Republicans in the Executive Committee in order to insure Lefties are nominated in statewide and federal races. Conservatives are to be banned.

Why? Ironically, because a good conservative would win, and winning is not the goal.

I am a conservative Trump-supporter, and the Ruling Class – Left and Right – could not allow me to be nominated for governor or to take leadership of the ORP. It would not be permitted. No way!

Here it is: *The ORP's carefully orchestrated move-to-the-Left tactic is deployed by Leftist pied-piper infiltrators imbedded at the very top of our Party. They want leftist nominees, not because these nominees can win, but because these nominees will always lose.*

The rest of the Executive Committee and the majority of the State Central Committee? As I've said, these essentially good people really do think that shifting to the Left is what we must do to win statewide races. They are good people; just misguided.

*This calculated move-to-the-Left ploy – and the associated purge of grassroots conservatives from ORP's top-leadership – guarantees Oregon Republicans will continue to lose critical elections.*

Progressives laugh at us, while our conservative base seethes.

We've been watching this scenario for too many years. How much more proof do we need?

The upcoming 2020 elections? Watch for repeat performances, including from many of the same bad actors.

And I'll state again that the Left's killer-manipulations are always in the primary elections where can't-win "moderate" Republican nominees are carefully channeled into the general elections so they can lose to their Democrat opponents.

And for posterity, this seemingly obvious fact must be stated categorically: *Of course*, progressive leftist Democrats don't want us

to win elections! And, *of course* that's why they want our candidates to ignore and annoy our conservative base!

It's been so, so simple for the Left to stop us cold! They recognize this is war (while we do not), and so, as warriors, they conspire. War almost always includes some degree of espionage from opposing sides. But in this particular war the espionage is one-sided from Democrats because our side is so distracted by our own internal chaos...and the political myth that we must move Left (see Chapter 1).

Internally, we're too angry and disorganized and distracted to even start to fight the other side.

Equally disturbing is that the huge majority of Oregon Republican voters know for sure that the continued shift to the Left is what has killed the Republican Party and led to disaster electorally. Correctly suspecting Leftist infiltrators at work at the very top, our voters fully understand that – other than the infiltrators – two-thirds of ORP central committee leadership has unknowingly drunk the Kool-Aid.

Wait. Maybe *this* is the ultimate galling insanity: the obedient media, progressives, and our own anti-Trump contingent points to the ORP's "continued move to the right" as the reason for our electoral losses. Truth is, our conservative principles as reflected in the ORP platform have remained unchanged through the decades. This is not debatable: Our ORP leadership has moved hard Left despite the relatively unchanged conservative party platform – a product of the conservative base. And in this, the media, their progressive Democrat masters, and our own Ruling Class never-Trumper contingent, blame the incessant election losses on grassroots conservatives who, they declare, have "moved hard right!"

And there is no question that our unflinching support of Donald Trump further convinces those people that we are ill-informed, naïve and reactionary. In fact, fully confident, most recently they blamed the mere existence of Donald Trump for Buehler's loss.

In his campaigning, Buehler apparently didn't hate our president enough.

Incredible!

## THE ORP'S FAUX TRUMP-ENTHUSIASM

And regarding the new-found support of President Trump within ORP leadership: the Executive Committee's Trump-enthusiasm only began in the second week of January, 2019 when I took the statistical lead in the ORP chairmanship race. The previous three years? The ORP hardly mentioned Donald Trump. One ORP press release that did hit the streets just before the 2016 general election was downright derogatory to the man. Then, in June of 2017, as the economy surged due to Trump's electoral victory eight months prior, two back-to-back ORP press releases came out in his support.

Then, for whatever reason, that brief eruption of support stopped cold and President Trump was ignored again. The ORP website reverted to hardly mentioning his name until January 8, 2019, five weeks before the ORP Central Committee leadership elections...and in the face of what seemed like my impending victory for Chairman. In that brief period, the ORP churned out three press releases in support of our president.

But, the ORP's limited enthusiasm for our president that started just weeks before the ORP leadership elections doesn't matter. My prediction: in a year from now, in the Oregon Republican U.S. Senate primary campaign, for example, there will be one "moderate" never-Trumper candidate vs. four to six rag-tag grassroots Trump-supporting conservatives. Those grassroots candidates will split the conservative vote thus delivering the nomination to the moderate (who will go on to lose the general election against the Democrat progressive nominee).

And it's likely no credible Republican grassroots conservative candidate will be in the running. What serious primary election candidate, leading in the polls halfway through the contest, would want to endure hell-fire attacks on their personal reputation, only to lose in the final weeks of the campaign?

And if I'm wrong and in the primary race there happens to be a particularly solid, courageous grassroots conservative U.S. Senate candidate, expect a well-funded last-minute "conservative" pro-life

vote-splitting candidate to enter the race. The vote-splitters' sole task will be to absorb a big chunk of the conservative candidate's votes that will be driven away by the inevitable no-holds-barred, last-minute mudslinging by the ORP's chosen moderate candidate.

Perhaps Knute Buehler and Greg Wooldridge will do an encore.

In any scenario, the Trump-supporting conservative vote will be split and the single designated "moderate" candidate will be the nominee. Wittingly or unwittingly, this nominee will be defeated in the November general election.

Yet again, ORP leadership will stand back and do next to nothing while all this happens.

Watch for this pattern in all of the important upcoming contests.

With current ORP leadership, here are the races we could lose in 2020: Treasurer, Attorney General, a U.S. Senate race, and four out of five Congressional Districts. And perhaps our single sitting Republican congressman, Greg Walden, will be defeated. The Democrat supermajority legislature could stand as-is, or more probably will become even more lopsided.

Again, there will be a large number of House races without Republican candidates.

The Mueller report's utter vindication of Donald Trump? It won't matter. Hey! This is Oregon, and we'll beat to our own progressive drum until Hell freezes over.

Yeah right. Keep Portland weird.

The Oregon gubernatorial race of 2022? A mere formality for the Democrats as our Republican ants scurry about...

Oregon conservative Republicans have been neutered by their own party.

## **IN SUMMARY: THE PLOY**

As noted, with the ORP infiltrated and managed by a couple of Left-leaning operatives, leadership positioning is opposite that of literally 90% of Oregon Republican voters, voters who are profoundly disappointed with current Salem government and the state ORP.



These Oregonians want BIG change. Despite the ORP's new-found (and to be short-lived) ORP Trump-enthusiasm, nothing tangible is going to change in election outcomes until we replace our current top ORP leadership. As things stand now, we're going to continue to lose important general elections because of the ORP's failure to find viable conservative candidates due to their...

1. overt and covert preference for "moderate" Republican candidates
2. conscious decision to allow chaos to reign in primary elections
3. failure to quell personal-destruction mudslinging against conservatives\*
4. encouragement of vote-splitting and "capture and hold" shenanigans
5. deliberate lack-of-action used as a tactic

### **SOLOMON YUE: CRAZY-MAKER EXTRAORDINAIRE**

The chief protagonist of the Oregon anti-Trump Ruling Class contingent is Solomon Yue. See Appendix S for a 2010 letter by former ORP Chair Bob Tiernan. It says it all, and it was written nine years ago...

Remember that chaos is key to creating an inefficient and therefore useless organization. (My bet is that Solomon Yue has a Mao quote to substantiate that point...).

Note that in my candidacy for ORP Chair, Bob Tiernan and three other past ORP presidents, plus a former U.S. House Representative, endorsed me and my slate. This action was in blunt opposition to existing ORP Ruling Class leadership. I didn't personally ask any of them for their support. Unknown to me, they worked together and did it on their own. See Appendix T to read their endorsement letter.

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\*The Republican Ruling Class's character destruction protocol: using mainstream media henchmen, the ultimate aim is the personal annihilation of any viable conservative candidate who challenges their strangle-hold on power. The leftist-style attacks hinge on treachery and lies, always smothered in a bath of PC/virtue-signaling. The ultimate task is not just to defeat conservative candidates in primary elections, but to destroy them personally – and therefore politically – so they never reappear. And yes, so they will serve as examples of what will happen to any future grassroots conservative candidates who have the temerity to challenge Ruling Class authority.

I won't go into all the details of what I know about Yue except the following, because it's so recent (and because it's so annoying): in his presentation at the 2019 Central Committee Organization meeting in Salem last February, Yue went on and on about a recent discussion he said he had with Stephen Moore, Chief Economist for President Trump. In his presentation to the ORP Central Committee, Yue crowed that he had schooled Moore on President Trump's intentions, China economics, super-power status, etc.

Gag me with a fork.

I've been personally acquainted with Steve for ten years. At my request, he's come from DC to Oregon more than once to speak to Republican groups to which I've belonged. I've visited with him in California, Portland, and Washington DC. Steve has stayed with Diana and me in our home in Bend. I will speculate, diplomatically, that Solomon Yue is not someone Steve Moore would describe as either a follower or a mentor. I will opine further that the two have zero in common, personally and otherwise.

Beyond Bob Tiernan's letter, there is a significant body of evidence from multiple sources to support the contention that nearly two decades of ORP chaos has stemmed from Solomon Yue's iron-grip, manipulative leadership.

Remember. Chaos is the prime objective.

If there is to be a recall effort, it should target National Committeeman Solomon Yue, not National Committeewoman Marilyn Shannon. But, of course the ORP Executive Board would never allow that to happen. Yue owns the Board.

## **NEGLECTED CONTRIBUTIONS (AND THE BIG LIE)**

The ORP has very little money, barely enough to operate. And there's debt. Why are there so few contributions? Because the ORP does not accomplish anything of real value for the people of the state. Oregon is – administratively, legislatively, and judicially – ruled by Democrat progressives. Why should anyone contribute to the Republican Party?

Do donors truly want more of the same?

According to ORP Chairman Bill Currier, as he listlessly stated at the ORP Central Committee meeting in February, the problem is that the ORP, under his leadership, just needs more time to convince donors to give more money. He droned, “Donors want consistency in leadership.” And we are to believe that Bill Currier’s unprecedented third two-year term should be just the ticket!

Currier is a failure at fundraising, having brought in, literally, less than \$11,000 in his most recent three years as Chair. Check it out for yourself at the Secretary of State’s page, but following is the over-view. Really, does anyone think donations are going to suddenly start rolling in because Currier has another term?

### INCOMING FUNDS TO ORP\*

PACs, etc.	\$ 255,261
Businesses	\$ 7,450
GOP Counties/Districts	\$ 2,301
Individuals/Misc.	\$ 3,585
TOTAL (3 years)	\$ 268,597

So now Bill Currier has a third two-year term. Never mind that no ORP Chair in the past 40 years has served more than two terms. And, never mind that he’s overseen the literal destruction of the Oregon Republican Party and the evaporation of a conservative presence in Salem.

No question about it, donors will not be impressed with two more years of the same non-accomplishment by a useless political party. Watch: there will continue to be minimal contributions.

I know it and you know it.

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\* Summary of transactions based upon interpretation of the categorization in Orestar. Note: ORP “bucketing” may change categorization slightly. This summary assumes that funds channeled through the ORP for candidate postal mailings do not constitute “fund-raising.” It assumes the same for County organization and PAC input.

The utter lie that Currier personally raised \$1,500,000 in contributions in 2018 should have, all by itself, ended the current ORP Regime in this last February's elections. The huge bulk of that total amount was because gubernatorial candidate Knute Buehler used the ORP's 501C3 non-profit mailing discount to send out several million brochures. The rest of the total was from a couple of other candidates who did the same thing.

In itself, this scheme is possibly an illegal undertaking. Someone should look into that.

Legal or not, it was "contribution laundering." And in any case, *when did a candidate ever make a contribution to their own party?* Good God! *Candidates SEEK contributions!* Representing this money as a Bill Currier fundraising triumph is a flat-out fabrication.

And note: those who are politically aware unanimously agree that a political party Chair's primary job is to raise money. In glaring contrast to the Currier performance, note that Perry Atkinson, in his four-year stint as ORP Chair, raised nearly three million dollars in actual contributions.

## **WILL THERE BE ANY VIABLE GRASSROOTS REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES?**

Forget it. No time soon. What sane person would risk sending their personal reputation through the meat-grinder after seeing what ORP leadership allowed Knute Buehler do to me in the 2018 Oregon Republican primary election?

The Oregon Republican Party COULD monitor, police, and channel primary campaigns to a meaningful degree.

Does anyone believe the Democrats don't control their own internal goings-on?

The ORP has become a diabolically leaderless, dysfunctional organization, unwilling to recruit and protect conservative candidates.

Yes, at least for now, our state is lost. We can't fight the progressive beast if we don't have leaders willing and able to enter that fight.

## GUIDELINES FOR FUTURE CONSERVATIVE EFFORTS

For guidelines for the future – if the current ORP leadership appcart could somehow be flipped over – go back to Chapter 34. There I outline mechanical strategies for a new ORP; strategies that are underwritten by a return to conservatism, fighting back rather than cowering, and overt support of President Trump.

The 90% must take back control of our party.

## EPILOG

I've been a resident of Oregon for 45 years, and these days the following lyrics haunt me as I've watched our beautiful state's descent into a progressive Hell-hole...and as Diana and I consider departing from politics and perhaps from Oregon itself. This is from the song, "*Wooden Ships*," composed by David Crosby, Stephen Stills and Paul Kantner, circa 1968.

*Horror grips us as we watch you die  
All we can do is echo your anguished cries  
Stare as all human feelings die  
We are leaving, you don't need us  
Go take a sister, then, by the hand  
Lead her away from this foreign land  
Far away, where we might laugh again  
We are leaving, you don't need us  
And it's a fair wind blowing warm out of the south over my shoulder  
Guess I'll set a course and go*

As it is, the Oregon Republican Party is not protecting us against the Democrat progressive Ruling Class. And in fact, diabolical, it has been helping to ensure Oregon's decline in every aspect that affects you and me: from massive debt, to encroachment on our 1st and 2nd amendment rights, insane taxation, free-form abortions, hellish forest fires, street-chaos and filth in the cities, rural poverty, lack of opportunity for our children, and on-and-on.

Today, the progressive Left owns Oregon, and their operatives have

corrupted and therefore neutered the ORP, the single organization that could fight back the Left.

With many thanks to our supporters, please understand we may very well decide that we just can't afford – financially, physically, or psychologically – to continue this political fray. We've done everything we could to help turn this wayward ship around. Maybe this book will assist future conservative grassroots warriors to move ahead, confidently and unafraid, to take firm control of their ORP, reclaim Salem, and then to do what must be done for the people of Oregon.

# APPENDIX A

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*Isn't It Interesting?*

Sometimes, asking a question provides an answer. Isn't it interesting that...

1. Buehler ran on the Republican ticket as a Leftist when he knew – and everyone around him knew – he didn't have a prayer of winning
2. it almost seemed Buehler was *trying* to lose the general election. Rejection of the Oregon Republican Party's platform; attending a gay pride parade when single-sex marriage is already legal and there is no pending legislation and Democrats already have a bisexual candidate: Kate Brown; dismissing Trump in a visceral way, calling for the retraction of the Kavanaugh Supreme Court nomination two days before his Senate confirmation; after years of supporting the tax-kicker, changing his mind 12 days before the general election, etc.
3. Buehler and Wooldridge never took hard shots at each other; that neither candidate attacked the other in public or in their publicity pieces. (And if they took an occasional dig at one another it always was anemic, ineffectively suggesting they were trying to appear to be normal opponents.)
4. Wooldridge lurked in the background of the campaign early on, at least back as far as September, 2017, but did not file for the race until my momentum began to build in February
5. Wooldridge had no substantive policy points on either his websites or Facebook page
6. Wooldridge and Cuff – by their own admission, proud grassroots candidates – would climb on the Buehler Establishment bandwagon when they knew absolutely that if they would have endorsed me, Oregon Republicans would have had a grassroots nominee
7. Wooldridge and Cuff would guarantee themselves everlasting scorn from fellow Republicans for splitting the grassroots vote, ensuring Buehler's nomination
8. Buehler missed 90% of Republican forums and meet-and-greets



9. neither Knute or Greg ever spoke ill of the Left and, instead, offered weak "Kate Brown is bad for Oregon" platitudes
10. except for in-passing remarks, never did Buehler or Wooldridge speak of the importance of turning the Salem Legislature red
11. that Buehler's yard and field signs, and his travel bus, are green on blue, without a trace of red?
12. both Knute and Greg were primarily backed by deep-pockets. (Buehler: Phil Knight, \$3,500,000. Wooldridge: out-of-state Daybreak Investments, etc. \$150,000+)
13. Buehler is on record everywhere, including his own webpage, horribly disparaging his Republican President
14. that Greg Wooldridge said, "I don't abhor Donald Trump" as some form of support for our President
15. in October 2017 Bruce Cuff publicly stated to numerous conservative groups and individuals that he would have a runoff poll with me in the first week of March so we would not split the grassroots vote. Then, in that first week of March, 2018, called me a liar to my face and jumped up on the Wooldridge/Buehler bandwagon?
16. in the last weeks of the campaign, Buehler accused me of being a liar and then never explained what those lies were. Not one.
17. the last two straw polls before the election, (Polk/Marion County candidate forum, and the Executive Club) showed me in a decisive lead, yet were not published?
18. Greg Woodridge took down his Facebook page within two weeks of the primary election. (Usually a losing politician renames their social media in anticipation of continued contact with followers)
19. after Wooldridge and Cuff endorsed Knute Buehler after Primary race, committing to help him with his campaign in the general election, they had near-zero presence.
20. that after 30 years of failure to protect regular conservative

Oregonians, and this latest gubernatorial catastrophe, the ORP leadership still expects to lead the party.

## **APPENDIX B**

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*Early Campaign Facebook Post: Why we're  
Winning and How We're Doing It*

January 25th, 2018

Here are polling results...and the details of how we're running the campaign. From this, you'll have a good idea how I'll perform as governor: transparent, under budget, and ahead of schedule.

First: the polls. We're leading. Following are the overview details. Keep in mind our campaign has expended only about 10% of what our major Republican rival has, spending money (and time) much more efficiently, resulting in a very close race.

Here's the breakdown: Via a number of scientific polls, we are neck and neck in the Primary race. But two separate polls – one Zogby and one Triton – show me just one point behind Kate Brown in the General election (with my Republican opponent 3 points behind).

These numbers dispel the myth that in the Oregon gubernatorial race, the Republican candidate must be for the same old business-as-usual big government in order to win, and confirms that the winning candidate **MUST** have a solid pro-family/pro-prosperity/limited government stance.

What about Facebook, which is a super-accurate profile of the populace? Growing at an average of 250 Likes per day since the beginning of the campaign, this page has just exceeded an incredible 60,000 total. This triples the total of Governor Kate Brown, who is just now reaching 20,000. My closest Republican opponent lags behind with just 10,000.

Yes, the grassroots ARE on fire....

Now, about how we're operating the campaign:

Are we running a "conventional" Primary campaign? Not according to the average DC GOP campaign consultant (consultants who have, collectively, over the last 30 years, had a horrible track record in trying to win Oregon statewide elections).

Yet, my campaign IS conventional in a business sense, led by a candidate who is knowledgeable and involved with the prime goal of creating value; always front-and-center, where money and time are carefully managed, and where campaign staff and voters are treated like gold.

We have a business plan called the Carpenter Campaign Strategic Objective. It's brief and to the point. Here are some key elements:

Staff: This Primary campaign operation has, in addition to me, three full-time staff managers, a half-dozen key volunteers, over 300 on-the-street volunteers, and a number of hired and pro-bono outside political operatives. Without exception, every single person in the campaign is from Oregon. Our monthly budget is approximately \$25,000. (More on expenditures below.)

My personal role: Keep in mind I am a business turn-around specialist and have started numerous businesses from scratch (and for that matter, I can't wait to get inside the state government-machine to work with our new Republican-controlled legislature to get things cleaned up. Believe me: the dust will fly...).

I am the candidate, but am also the consultant and operations chief of this Primary campaign – the CEO and the COO of it. During the week, I manage the operation and strategize with my managers. These leadership duties require approximately 2 hours of my time each day. I also spend a minimum of 4 hours per day writing and creating copy for advertising, and handling correspondence. And each day I spend 4-6 hours communicating with voters. Weekends? Each day I work maybe 6 hours, continuing my communication with voters.

Do I get a day off? Not often, but Diana and I find time to walk, exercise, go to church, hang with friends and family, and get out to the dog park with our coonhound, Justy. We eat well too, thanks to Diana's fine southern cooking. In all of this, we're staying balanced and remaining healthy. Diana holds our personal lives together, spending long hours covering household, logistic, and traveling basics while I focus on the campaign. And all the while, she is directly involved with campaign strategy and operation. I could not do this without her.

My managers and I are continuously "building the machine" of the campaign. I am expert at delegating, and at automating what can be automated (without losing the human touch). I am also ruthless about eliminating tasks that are not paying off. This campaign's strategy differs from that of traditional campaigns in which the candidate is

shuffled off to the sidelines to be managed by the campaign consultant, spending 8 or more hours per day – on the phone and in-person – talking to donors; raising money (most of which those candidates pay back to the consultant!)

Typical campaigns expend \$50,000 or more per month on key consultants and managers alone. In this Primary, we're spending zero. But yes, in the General campaign, we will be adding a couple of key upper-end managers and a number of mid-level staffers, hopefully all from Oregon.

Time with voters or donors? Here in the first three months, and as part of the original business plan, I have deliberately NOT spent long hours each day raising money. Instead, those 4-6 hours per day (and sometimes 10 or more hours) have been spent communicating with voters via social media, email, telephone and in person. This is why we lead in the polls! We are succeeding much more efficiently than other candidates, and doing more for less money, by focusing on what matters: connecting directly with the people of Oregon.

So per our Strategic Objective, fund raising begins now, in late January. We've spent three months establishing me as the leader (I announced October 25th), and now it's time to begin to raise money. You'll be hearing from us soon in this regard!

Primary Campaign Expenditures: we've spent \$50,000, approximately \$40,000 from me personally, and the other \$10,000 from donations that have trickled in. To date, our closest Primary opponent has exceeded a staggering \$800,000 in total expenditures. We are 3 1/2 months from the Primary election. We'll win it spending less than \$250,000 total, painting a picture of what will be done in office: accomplishing more while spending less.

General Election Campaign: So, once the Primary election is won, we'll go into big-league campaigning. A large part of my personal campaign role will shift away from everyday management and into heavy-duty fund-raising. However, the largest chunk of my time each day will continue to be expended communicating directly with voters... AND on-the-ground campaigning with swing-district Republican

House and Senate candidates, as part of the Oregon Red Trifecta movement.

We will win the General campaign spending less than \$4,000,000 (We expect Kate Brown will spend three to four times that amount...but you saw first-hand how the big-money tact worked out for Hillary...).

What about the Oregon Red Trifecta in which we will also win the Oregon House and Senate? That fund-raising machine is being built separately and you'll soon see it go public nationwide after the primary election.

We MUST take the House and the Senate if we are to get things straightened out!

This is our plan. We will come out on top because we have the winning message of limited government and increased efficiency that will Make Oregon Great Again and bring prosperity back to the hardworking people of our incredible state...and we know how to get that message out. And we will do it for a fraction of the cost of our competition, because that's how I do things...and I will do this for you too, when I get to Salem.

The dust will fly.





## **APPENDIX C**

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*Oregon on Fire, an Open Letter from  
Court Boice*

I'm Court Boice, a county commissioner in the Southwest corner of Oregon -- Curry County. We are rural, we are remote and some say even a frontier. I ask anyone who might hear or read this challenge to take a deep look into what has happened to our magnificent forested areas. We grow the highest quality and fastest growing Evergreen Trees on the planet (Douglas Fir!). As you likely know, two years in a row we've been hit extremely hard by massive and unimaginably hot "catastrophic" (which some label) "Nuclear Forest Fires." The 2017 Chetco Bar and 2018 Klondike Fires (191,000 and 175,000 acres) were both within our Rogue River - Siskiyou National Forest, a region once recognized as the most wild, most unique, most rugged, most beautiful, and most productive National Forest in America. For the last two fire seasons combining Curry and Josephine Counties, almost 450,000 acres have been lost - totally destroyed. If even possible, it will take 40 years for any measureable healthy Oregon Forests to return to proper ecological balance. Because of these abnormal fires, our Douglas Fir, true fir and pine may never again return to our robust conifer forests, leaving the future to hardwood forest dominance. Tragically, our poorly managed and most volatile ground fuels promise more Catastrophic Fires.

No County in Oregon has been hit harder. The history is clear and is our correction, protection and direction.

While I'm thankful we didn't lose any structures in the Klondike Fire, the collective losses to date are staggering. I've unfortunately been unable to get aid nor assistance for the nine families that lost their homes in the Chetco Bar Fire, one year ago August. Our citizens of course are saddened, well aware of the enormous number of birds and wildlife incinerated. Scientists estimate, whether large or small -- twenty-two, four-legged animals inhabit an acre, average. This means that ten million sentient beings were incinerated in those 450,000 acres! TEN MILLION! There was horribly compromised water and air quality, destroyed fish habitat, and trillions upon trillions of microbiological-organisms obliterated within the severely damaged soil. Not to mention our great number of back-country decommissioned miles of roads gone, plus the horrible loss of our priceless "carbon storage."

Half of our rare Oregon redwoods burned, recreational options ruined for two generations, and many Native American cultural locations forever gone! Then – adding insult to injury – the ludicrous low limits of “allowable” post-Fire burned timber salvage acres which has left yet more un-checked fuels for the next “Monster Fire.”

Can we afford more wilderness and road-less areas? The policies of limited or no-access makes it almost impossible for the Forest Service to fight these fires after the first dozen days. Those fires in the wilderness areas with heavy fuels are driven by heavy winds, low humidity, high temperatures! Every time. It’s inevitable. We know it’s coming! The most intimidating wind explosions which over those three months brought the awful deforestation of our landscape and further destruction to Oregon’s heritage. We’ve withstood this devastation six times now in thirty-one years, representing what could be termed an awful tradition! The last two summers particularly have left us choking in the smoke, and our rural lives painfully paying in “mega ways,” matching these “mega fires,” sacrificing so much, and most notably our health. Welcome to our world, Portland!

The people who call this place home know this: we must wisely manage and wisely harvest or we’ll suffer every summer to come from breathing and drinking the fire debris, and so will our regional neighbors. We understand there are fires that are good and there are fires that are evil. To those who would prefer “scientific” debates – I ask -- who cares more for the Land than those who live closest to it? We will continually proclaim, “these nightmares must stop,” as the “ground fuels” become more and more dangerously dense. Soon, if we don’t do something NOW, the “nuclear fires” will know no boundaries and rural and urban Oregon will burn as one. We ask our Oregon Leaders to take aggressive action with our federal partners and not waste one day, not even one hour!

We only have to look at the two consecutive years of heart-stopping and almost unspeakable tragedies in California. The hundreds of lives and thousands of homes lost. We shouldn’t need to be reminded that history offers clear warnings. Obvious data leaves no doubt that the

‘Cal’ out-of-control ground fuels are minor compared to the dense load of Forest out-of-control ground fuels in our Oregon backyards -- especially mine. The possible staggering economic losses are almost impossible for my citizens and county to even attempt to calculate, much less overcome, and we cannot afford that expensive and time consuming analysis anyway! Metro Oregon; listen to your rural voices! You are our hope, and we are your hope!

We ask all who care to simply assess the 2017 and 2018 fires in this part of the State. They have tragically cost the U.S. Forest Service and Oregon Department of Forestry combined, nearly \$300 million to combat. These once beautiful Oregon Forests, the envy of the entire world, sadly continue that transition from sacred and beautiful natural resource assets to the most dangerous of liabilities. I’m thankful we now have experienced, strong, and committed leadership in our Rogue River – Siskiyou National Forest, and I submit to the entire Country – my strong but humble opinion – that the Oregon Department of Forestry is simply the very best of the fourteen Western States.

And now I’m confident that our U. S. Forest Service can again return to Great Agency status! The USFS and the Oregon Department of Forestry need our strong public support. Again, our state must lead!

I was born in Gold Beach and am part of a past logging family. I raised my sons in the Rogue River Wilderness with no roads (jet boat and raft access only). I doubt you will find any Oregonians that have a greater appreciation for what we have here. That’s why I will fiercely fight to protect what’s left and why I’m dedicated to help prevent future disastrous nuclear fires! I’ve spent countless hours in recent years educating myself with a focus toward improving our federal forest management policies, and offering insight on how these fires evolved, including our other two “non-normal” fires (the largest in Oregon History, Biscuit ‘2002’, 498,000 and Silver ‘1987’, 110,000 acres). It’s difficult to illustrate or put into words the levels of devastation.

For almost four decades now, on our watch, many of us have attempted to accommodate that small, fringe, but powerful cadre of environmental zealots. Those who “protect” the environment at any

and all costs, ignore the hard facts, and have put themselves in the position of owning these horrible consequences. These serial litigators with their obstructionist tactics often file law suits before the managing agencies barely begin their management efforts. These activists have trashed their own once respected environmental community reputations. Now they must come to the table of reality and completely change their misguided agendas, and incinerate those policies that have left us with these massive, miserable, and life threatening failures. But, for now, their inclination to control nearly everything continues unabated. They are attempting to teach us to simply accept that this is the era of catastrophic fires, and the frightening results that they themselves have created.

Things look bleak, and the crucial Long-term solutions will be on a dark path unless all Oregonians pull together for determined and immediate resolution which must include a sustained yield future timber supply for Curry County mills and all Oregon mills. Rural communities simply can't survive economically without an adequate and predictable supply of federal timber. If true that our Northwest region will be allowing additional annual timber harvest contracts within our public lands, better days may be ahead. I must add however, that unless we vigorously implement every prudent and proven tool – and yes admittedly some are ancient, but fully proven – every means possible to better manage our National Forests, change outdated federal policies, and fiercely challenge illogical paths, our forests, that “great Oregon advantage” will see further ludicrous loss.

I believe we're headed for even greater risks as we march toward the 2019 fire season.

We have a small window open to plan for the next brutal fire season – many wise, insightful, and caring citizens have been doing everything possible to responsibly and respectfully ask for assistance. How will Oregon respond? The time to act is immediate; the need for tough new action should be without any opposition! My people simply cannot accept a third consecutive nuclear fire season. Our county is united.

We will do more than our part to help unite Oregon and challenge our great state to unite the West!

The next fires season is only a few months away ...

*Solutions ...*

*New Approach – New Model -- Catastrophic Fire Prevention ...!! We cannot save our forests by incinerating them.*

1. Reduce Ground Fuels – immediately put people to work – 100' Thinning and Fuels reduction on each side of every back country road.
2. Increase Herbivores – Reduce Oregon Cougar Population by half ... No Wolves on the West Side of the Cascades. We must bring back the deer and elk that consume the dangerous fuels.
3. Increase Roads and Trail Access -- Our forests inhabit very rugged terrain. The wilderness fires are very difficult to extinguish after the first two weeks because of such poor access.
4. Increase Timber Sales -- One of the most valuable tools available to stop nuclear fires. Our trees are growing out of control -- we'll never be able to harvest these trees as fast as they grow! It's the great Oregon advantage – incredible renewable resources!
5. Wildland Urban Interface – It's certainly acceptable to live in rural areas, however property owners have to take more responsibility to "fire-wise" their homes and land. (Do it for your neighbors, too.)
6. Increase Allowable Burned Timber Salvage -- The final ruling on the Chetco Bar Fire is to salvage 2.5% of the total burned acreage. Not only is the wanton waste shockingly unacceptable, but it leaves yet a greater level of additional fire fuel as each dead snag is extremely explosive...and we have literally millions of them just in the Kalmiopsis Wilderness! It is crucial that we develop strategies for SW Oregon to reduce fire risk and tie severely limited access and firefighting to post-fire salvage. The two are not mutually exclusive.
7. New Litigation and Lawsuit Reform -- Stop those lawyers who continually win by default, preventing sound forest management. They are getting wealthy, and in the process compromising our children's futures.

*We have a unique opportunity to deliver on these policies to our citizens, by offering solutions that restore responsible natural resource management and rural timber base jobs.*

Court Boice





# APPENDIX D

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*David Jaques Editorial*

# THE BEACON

ROSEBURG



VOL 11 ISSUE 46

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 2018

## Editorial It's time cut the RINOs from the herd

Oregon just suffered a major setback in the November general election. And the reason is the republican consultants' fascination with all things RINO (Republican In Name Only). And leading the herd over the cliff in 2018 was the quintessential RINO, Knute Buehler.

You could talk to any republican in the run-up to the November General Election about the race for Oregon Governor, and the Republican nominee, and the very best you could come away with was, "He's better than Kate Brown" or "He's a RINO, but I'll hold my nose and vote for him anyway, it beats the alternative".

What these comments (and there were other variations, but with the same theme) all had in common was they were not happy with the nominee, but felt they had no choice. Kate Brown was a disaster!

The irony is that Kate Brown, who came in under a cloud of suspicion, being appointed for the remainder of Kitzhaber's

term, and has since been embroiled in scandal after scandal, was a very weak incumbent, and should have been easy prey for any credible challenger. And on top of that, it was the most expensive gubernatorial campaign in Oregon history at more than \$20 million combined. So what happened to Buehler?

It's simple; he started out day one by alienating his base. The first issue was his obvious support of abortion on demand. But the Rhodes Scholar wasn't happy with a moderate 'abortion should be rare but available' stance, oh no, he made it clear that he favored abortion right up to the day of delivery and at no cost to the victim! He said he would not support changing a single law on the books in Oregon supporting the "right to abortion" including late term, partial birth abortions, even when used simply for sex selection. Even for illegal aliens in our state, and most fantastic of all, at taxpayer expense!

On the issue of

abortion the two KB's, Kate Brown, and Knute Buehler, were trying to show who was the most lenient when it comes to the prospect of killing the unborn.

Buehler even went so far as to state he would not even support Measure 106, which didn't in any way limit or restrict abortions; rather it simply would have put an end to taxpayer funding of the elective procedure. I hold Buehler directly and personally responsible for Ballot Measure 106 losing by a two-to-one margin, in part due to his dragging the entire republican ticket down, and causing the conservatives to sit this one out.

By contrast at the national level, pro-life senate candidates were the solid winners in their races.

Oregon had a solid pro-life candidate for Governor in Sam Carpenter, but the RINOs in the ORP collaborated with Buehler's campaign and threw in a spoiler at the last minute, Greg Wooldridge, which split the conservative

pro-life vote and put another RINO up against a weak Kate Brown. I am convinced that had Carpenter been the nominee he would have crushed Brown!

One thing is for certain, it would have been a race with stark contrasts, not a "me too" snooze fest like the Kate and Knute.

Buehler wasn't just a rabid pro-abortion progressive, he also catered to the LGBTQ crowd, marching in their parade and changing his logo to a rainbow. He was weak, very weak on the second amendment, and he favored increasing spending on primary education, which means more tax increases. He also was against President Trump from the word go, including opposing his Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh. One might ask since he ran completely against the Republican Party platform, why didn't he switch parties and run against Kate in the primary?

Republicans in this state had better come to grips with the fact that if they are going to win

any races in the future; statewide, local, or federal, they have got to get back to basics. Now with a Democrat supermajority in the Oregon House and Senate and a socialist Democrat governor, Republicans must face the fact that they had better change their losing strategy, and start backing grassroots conservatives, if they have any hope of turning the state red. A RINO will not win in Oregon. It's time for a shake-up at the Executive Committee level and to elect new officers who support our values, and who will recruit and support candidates who will do the same.

The 2020 elections will start in earnest this spring and the ORP must be prepared to support our president and win back control of the Oregon legislature.



## **APPENDIX E**

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*Daniel Crowe Report regarding  
Joseph Rice*

Daniel Zene Crowe  
PO Box 850  
Mount Angel, OR 97362

February 10, 2017

Dear Janice:

At your request, I reviewed a military service packet which you forwarded me from Mr. Joseph Rice. The packet included several documents provided by Mr. Rice, including his DD214 (Certificate of Release or Discharge from Active Duty), Separation Orders from the Maine National Guard dated 12 August 1997, and several letters of recommendation.

My military background includes almost 30 years of active and reserve military service in the U.S. Army. As a Judge Advocate, I have served as a military prosecutor, defense counsel, and chief of justice since 1998; in addition, I was the legal advisor on Army military justice to U.S. European Command from 2004-2009, and in 2011.

As a Veterans' Advocate here in Oregon, I am intimately familiar with people falsely purporting to be Veterans. Usually, frauds can be discerned relatively easily, especially if they claim membership in one's own military service. I consider myself somewhat of an authority on detecting these types of fraud, as I have (unsuccessfully) defended several Soldiers accused of fraudulently altering military documents. (These were actual Soldiers, and even their alterations were quite easily detected.)

The task you gave me was to review Mr. Rice's proffered military records to ascertain whether there was anything in them that indicated "stolen valor." Coinciding with Mr. Rice considering running for a leadership position in the Oregon Republican Party, a whispering campaign was initiated which questioned his service. This whispering campaign bore a striking resemblance to a similar campaign against Wally Hicks when Mr. Hicks ran for a leadership position in the Oregon Republican Party.

In my mind, a knowingly false allegation of "stolen valor" is as detestable as the act of stealing valor itself, as false allegations undermine the credibility of future truthful ones in the same manner that false allegations of rape undermine the credibility of future allegations of that horrid crime. (I do not shy away from the analogy, as it fairly equates the level of detestation professional Soldiers carry for those who would trifle with the solemnity of military service.)

Because I am not performing this task in an official capacity, I did not access official military databases. I could not appropriately do so, as this was not an official inquiry. Therefore, the confidence interval of my assessment is not 100%, but closer to 97%.

I can say without hesitation that Mr. Rice is either the best, most thorough forger I have seen in my almost 30 years of affiliation with the U.S. Army, or he is completely truthful. (I go with "completely truthful.")

As the old adage goes, "if you tell the truth, you don't have to remember anything." To even attempt to have altered these documents would have been an incredible amount of work; and, even then, it would have almost certainly have left tell-tale gaps or inconsistencies. I found none. That doesn't mean there is no conceivable possibility of fraud, since I suppose anything is possible; but it does mean that any fraud would be on a level of excellence that defies probability by several orders of magnitude.

Based on the foregoing, I am comfortable rendering the following opinion:

It is infinitely more probable to me that those who engaged in the whispering campaign have unclean hands than does Mr. Rice.

If needs be, I am prepared to restate all of my reasoning and conclusions under oath.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Daniel Zene Crowe', written over a horizontal line.

Daniel Zene Crowe



## APPENDIX F

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*Poll results*  
*October 9 (name recognition):*

*Buehler 64%,*  
*Carpenter 34%,*  
*Cuff 23%*



**Top Line Results**

**Survey of Likely Oregon Republican Primary Voters**

Conducted: 10/7/2017 through 10/9/2017  
Survey Type: Automated (IVR) Telephone  
N = 1,006  
Margin of Error at 95% Confidence Level: +/- 3.1%  
Weighting Applied: Gender, Age

Q1. Are you registered to vote in Oregon?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	1006	100.0	100.0

Q2. How likely are you to vote in the May 2018 Oregon primary election?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Somewhat Likely	24	2.3	2.3
Very Likely	316	31.4	33.7
I always vote	667	66.3	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

Q3. In which party primary will you vote?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican	1006	100.0	100.0

Q4. How would you rate the job performance of President Donald Trump?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly approve	676	67.1	67.1
Somewhat approve	241	24.0	91.1
Somewhat disapprove	34	3.4	94.5
Strongly disapprove	44	4.4	98.9
Not sure / don't know	11	1.1	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

% total approve 91.1  
% total disapprove 7.8

Q5. Do you recognize the name Kate Brown, do you have a positive or negative impression of Kate Brown?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive impression	53	5.2	5.2
Negative impression	887	88.1	93.4
Heard of Kate Brown but no opinion either way	44	4.4	97.8
Never heard of them	11	1.1	98.9
Not sure / don't know	11	1.1	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

% total recognized 93.4  
% total not recognized 5.5



**Q6. Do you recognize the name Sam Carpenter, do you have a positive or negative impression of Sam Carpenter?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive impression	89	8.8	8.8
Negative impression	18	1.8	10.7
Heard of Sam Carpenter but no opinion either way	233	23.1	33.8
Never heard of them	634	63.0	96.8
Not sure / don't know	32	3.2	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

% total recognized 33.8

% total not recognized 66.2

**Q7. Do you recognize the name Knute Buehler, do you have a positive or negative impression of Knute Buehler?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive impression	289	28.7	28.7
Negative impression	35	3.5	32.2
Heard of Knute Buehler but no opinion either way	316	31.4	63.6
Never heard of them	337	33.5	97.1
Not sure / don't know	30	2.9	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

% total recognized 63.6

% total not recognized 36.4

**Q8. Do you recognize the name Greg Wooldridge, do you have a positive or negative impression of Greg Wooldridge?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive impression	38	3.8	3.8
Negative impression	32	3.1	6.9
Heard of Greg Wooldridge but no opinion either way	241	23.9	30.8
Never heard of them	652	64.8	95.7
Not sure / don't know	43	4.3	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

% total recognized 30.8

% total not recognized 69.2

**Q9. Do you recognize the name Bruce Cuff? and do you have a positive or negative impression of Bruce Cuff?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive impression	30	3.0	3.0
Negative impression	24	2.4	5.3
Heard of Bruce Cuff but no opinion either way	180	17.9	23.2
Never heard of them	734	73.0	96.2
Not sure / don't know	38	3.8	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

% total recognized 23.2

% total not recognized 76.8

**Q10. Do you recognize the name Lori Chavez-Deremer? and do you have a positive or negative impression of Lori Chavez-Deremer?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive impression	28	2.8	2.8
Negative impression	112	11.1	13.9
Heard of Lori Chavez-Deremerbut no opinion either way	168	16.7	30.6
Never heard of them	658	65.4	96.0
Not sure / don't know	40	4.0	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

% total recognized 30.6

% total not recognized 69.4

**Q11. Voting history**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
I vote in every single election	841	83.6	83.6
I vote in most elections	165	16.4	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

Q12. Age			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-34	40	4.0	4.0
35-44	57	5.7	9.7
45-54	119	11.8	21.6
55-64	238	23.7	45.2
65-74	285	28.3	73.5
75-84	190	18.9	92.5
85+	76	7.5	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

Q13. Gender			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	514	51.1	51.1
Male	492	48.9	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

Q14.Party affiliation			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican party	1006	100.0	100.0

Q15. Race			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
White / Caucasian	859	85.4	85.4
Hispanic	22	2.2	87.6
African American	11	1.1	88.7
Asian	3	.3	89.0
Other	42	4.1	93.2
Prefer not to answer	69	6.8	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

CD			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	167	16.6	16.6
2	316	31.4	48.0
3	103	10.3	58.2
4	234	23.3	81.5
5	186	18.5	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	

County			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
BAKER	14	1.4	1.4
BENTON	18	1.8	3.2
CLACKAMAS	87	8.7	11.9
CLATSOP	15	1.5	13.4
COLUMBIA	26	2.5	15.9
COOS	34	3.3	19.3
CROOK	11	1.1	20.4
CURRY	10	1.0	21.4
DESCHUTES	44	4.3	25.7
DOUGLAS	62	6.2	31.9
GILLIAM	1	.1	32.0
GRANT	8	.8	32.7
HARNEY	6	.6	33.3
HOOD RIVER	5	.5	33.8
JACKSON	55	5.5	39.3
JEFFERSON	8	.8	40.2
JOSEPHINE	47	4.7	44.9
KLAMATH	44	4.3	49.2
LAKE	11	1.0	50.2
LANE	66	6.6	56.8
LINCOLN	13	1.3	58.1
LINN	32	3.2	61.3
MALHEUR	16	1.6	62.9
MARION	84	8.3	71.2
MORROW	6	.6	71.8
MULTNOMAH	66	6.6	78.4
POLK	27	2.7	81.1
TILLAMOOK	9	.9	82.0
UMATILLA	27	2.7	84.7
UNION	18	1.8	86.5
WALLOWA	2	.2	86.7
WASCO	10	1.0	87.7
WASHINGTON	85	8.4	96.1
WHEELER	1	.1	96.3
YAMHILL	38	3.7	100.0
Total	1006	100.0	



## APPENDIX G

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*Poll results  
November 9:*

*Buehler 24%,  
Carpenter 12%,  
Cuff 2%*



Top Line Results

Survey of Likely Oregon Republican Primary Voters

Conducted: 11/7/2017 through 11/9/2017

Survey Type: Automated Telephone (IVR)

N = 972

Margin of Error at 95% Confidence Level: +/- 3.1%

Weighting Applied: Gender, Age

Q1. Are you registered to vote in Oregon?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	972	100.0	100.0

Q2. How likely are you to vote in the May 2018 Oregon primary election?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Somewhat Likely	31	3.2	3.2
Very Likely	292	30.0	33.2
I always vote	649	66.8	100.0
Total	972	100.0	

Q3. In which party primary will you vote?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican	972	100.0	100.0

Q4. How would you rate the job performance of President Donald Trump?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly approve	659	67.8	67.8
Somewhat approve	180	18.5	86.3
Somewhat disapprove	47	4.9	91.2
Strongly disapprove	58	6.0	97.2
Not sure / don't know	27	2.8	100.0
Total	972	100.0	

Total % approve 86.33  
Total % disapprove 10.86

Q5. Do you recognize the name Sam Carpenter, and do you have a positive, negative, or neutral impression of Sam Carpenter?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive impression	161	16.6	16.6
Negative impression	24	2.4	19.0
Heard of Sam Carpenter but no opinion either way	274	28.2	47.3
Never heard of him	487	50.1	97.4
Not sure / don't know	25	2.6	100.0
Total	972	100.0	

Total % positive 16.6  
Total % negative 2.4  
Total % aware 47.3

**Q6. Do you recognize the name Knute Buehler, and do you have a positive, negative, or neutral impression of Knute Buehler?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Positive impression	200	20.6	20.6		
Negative impression	38	3.9	24.5	Total % positive	20.6
Heard of Knute Buehler but no opinion either way	267	27.5	52.0	Total % negative	3.9
Never heard of him	441	45.3	97.4	Total % aware	52.0
Not sure / don't know	26	2.6	100.0		
Total	972	100.0			

**Q7. Do you recognize the name Bruce Cuff, and do you have a positive, negative, or neutral impression of Bruce Cuff?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Positive impression	34	3.5	3.5	Total % positive	3.5
Negative impression	15	1.5	5.0		
Heard of Bruce Cuff but no opinion either way but no opinion either way	185	19.1	24.1	Total % negative	1.5
Never heard of him	712	73.2	97.3	Total % aware	24.1
Not sure / don't know	26	2.7	100.0		
Total	972	100.0			

**Q8. If the Republican Primary election for Governor for Oregon was held today, and the candidates were Knute Buehler, Sam Carpenter, or Bruce Cuff...for whom would you vote?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Knute Buehler	237	24.3	24.3		
Sam Carpenter	115	11.9	36.2		
Bruce Cuff	19	1.9	38.1		
Not sure / don't know	602	61.9	100.0		
Total	972	100.0			

**Q9. Knute Buehler is a highly recognized orthopedic surgeon and is a two term Republican State Representative from Bend. Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to support Knute Buehler?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely	269	27.7	27.7	Total % more likely	60.0
Somewhat more likely	314	32.3	60.0	Total % less likely	11.4
Somewhat less likely	81	8.3	68.3		
Much less likely	30	3.1	71.4		
Not sure / don't know	278	28.6	100.0		
Total	972	100.0			

**Q10. Sam Carpenter is a successful entrepreneur, multi-business owner, business turn-around specialist, author and speaker. Carpenter has started numerous businesses, created hundreds of good-paying jobs, and over the last seven years, rehabilitated hundreds of businesses that were on the verge of failure. Considering this, are you more or less likely to vote for Sam Carpenter?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely	291	29.9	29.9	Total % more likely	68.3
Somewhat more likely	373	38.4	68.3	Total % less likely	7.1
Somewhat less likely	39	4.0	72.2		
Much less likely	30	3.1	75.3		
Not sure / don't know	240	24.7	100.0		
Total	972	100.0			

**Q11. Knute Buehler recently said on his Facebook page "As a Republican, I feel a special obligation to speak-out against the actions of the President of my Party – even a candidate I didn't support." "Being inexperienced, ill-tempered and even incompetent are not crimes, but impeding or obstructing justice is, so we need to fully understand what President Trump has done." Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to support Knute Beuhler?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely	74	7.6	7.6		
Somewhat more likely	79	8.1	15.7	Total % more likely	15.7
Somewhat less likely	183	18.8	34.6	Total % less likely	69.8
Much less likely	495	50.9	85.5		
Not sure / don't know	141	14.5	100.0		
Total	972	100.0			

**Q12. Knute Beuhler is a moderate Republican and is pro-choice and pro-gay marriage. In 2015, Buehler wrote and worked hard to pass legislation that allows pharmacists to give birth control to minors over the counter without their parent's knowledge or consent. Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to support Knute Beuhler?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely	74	7.6	7.6		
Somewhat more likely	66	6.8	14.4	Total % more likely	14.4
Somewhat less likely	178	18.3	32.7	Total % less likely	75.0
Much less likely	550	56.6	89.3		
Not sure / don't know	104	10.7	100.0		
Total	972	100.0			

**Q13. Sam Carpenter ran for U.S. Senate in 2016 and lost in the Primary race by six percentage points. Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to vote for Sam Carpenter.**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely	136	14.0	14.0		
Somewhat more likely	232	23.9	37.9	Total % more likely	37.9
Somewhat less likely	131	13.5	51.3	Total % less likely	18.2
Much less likely	46	4.8	56.1		
Not sure / don't know	427	43.9	100.0		
Total	972	100.0			

**Q14. Sam Carpenter is seen as a political outsider, never having heled elected office. Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to vote for Sam Carpenter?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely	278	28.6	28.6		
Somewhat more likely	279	28.7	57.3	Total % more likely	57.3
Somewhat less likely	102	10.5	67.8	Total % less likely	14.0
Much less likely	34	3.5	71.3		
Not sure / don't know	279	28.7	100.0		
Total	972	100.0			

**Q15. Sometimes over the course of a survey opinions can change. I'm going to ask you again about the Republican primary election for governor of Oregon. If the Republican Primary election for Governor for Oregon was held today, and the candidates were Knute Buehler, Sam Carpenter, or Bruce Cuff ...for whom would you vote?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Knute Buehler	114	11.7	11.7
Sam Carpenter	433	44.6	56.3
Bruce Cuff	38	3.9	60.2
Not sure / don't know	387	39.8	100.0
Total	972	100.0	



**Q16. Voting history**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Vote in every single election	746	76.7	76.7
Vote in most elections	218	22.4	99.2
Do not vote regularly	8	.8	100.0
Total	972	100.0	

**Q17. Age**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-24	39	4.0	4.0
25-34	57	5.9	9.8
35-44	115	11.8	21.7
45-54	229	23.5	45.2
55-64	274	28.2	73.4
65-74	186	19.1	92.6
75-84	72	7.4	100.0
Total	972	100.0	

**Q18. Gender**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	500	51.4	51.4
Male	472	48.6	100.0
Total	972	100.0	

**Q19. Political Party Affiliation**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican Party	972	100.0	100.0

**Q20. Race**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
White / Caucasian	841	86.6	86.6
Hispanic	9	.9	87.5
African-American	3	.3	87.8
Asian	14	1.5	89.3
Other	41	4.2	93.4
Prefer not to answer	64	6.6	100.0
Total	972	100.0	

**Portland to Eugene vs Rest of State**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Blue Counties - Portland to Eugene	498	51.2	51.2
Rest of State	474	48.8	100.0
Total	972	100.0	

**Region**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Portland metro	257	26.4	26.4
Willamette Valley	265	27.3	53.7
Coast	95	9.7	63.4
Southern	161	16.5	80.0
Central/Eastern	195	20.0	100.0
Total	972	100.0	

County			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
BAKER	5	.5	.5
BENTON	26	2.6	3.1
CLACKAMAS	105	10.8	14.0
CLATSOP	12	1.2	15.2
COLUMBIA	18	1.9	17.1
COOS	26	2.7	19.7
CROOK	11	1.2	20.9
CURRY	10	1.1	22.0
DESCHUTES	35	3.6	25.6
DOUGLAS	44	4.6	30.1
GRANT	8	.9	31.0
HARNEY	4	.4	31.4
HOOD RIVER	7	.7	32.1
JACKSON	72	7.4	39.5
JEFFERSON	7	.7	40.2
JOSEPHINE	44	4.6	44.7
KLAMATH	32	3.3	48.1
LAKE	2	.3	48.3
LANE	65	6.7	55.0
LINCOLN	11	1.1	56.1
LINN	34	3.5	59.6
MALHEUR	19	2.0	61.6
MARION	90	9.2	70.9
MORROW	14	1.4	72.3
MULTNOMAH	64	6.6	78.9
POLK	24	2.5	81.4
SHERMAN	3	.3	81.6
TILLAMOOK	17	1.7	83.4
UMATILLA	27	2.8	86.2
UNION	7	.7	86.9
WALLOWA	5	.5	87.4
WASCO	15	1.5	88.9
WASHINGTON	80	8.3	97.2
WHEELER	2	.2	97.4
YAMHILL	25	2.6	100.0
Total	972	100.0	

# APPENDIX H

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*Poll results*  
*December 3 (Issues)*



Top Line Results

Survey Oregon Registered Voters

Conducted: 11/29/2017 through 12/3/2017  
Survey Type: Automated Telephone (IVR)  
N = 2,119 total  
Republican Voters: 649N  
Democratic Voters: 881N  
Independent Voters: 589N  
Margin of Error at 95% Confidence Level: +/- 2.1%  
Weighting Applied: Gender, Age

Q1. Are you registered to vote in Oregon?					
		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Q1. Are you registered to vote in Oregon?	Yes	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Q2. How would you rate the job performance of President Donald Trump?							
		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q2. How would you rate the job performance of President Donald Trump?	Strongly Approve	65.8%	8.6%	34.1%	33.2%	Total % approve	46.5%
	Somewhat Approve	20.6%	5.4%	17.0%	13.3%	Total % disapprove	52.2%
	Somewhat Disapprove	3.7%	4.9%	7.3%	5.2%		
	Strongly Disapprove	8.6%	79.7%	40.2%	47.0%		
	Not sure / don't know	1.2%	1.4%	1.4%	1.3%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q3. If the election for Governor of Oregon was held today, would you vote to re-elect Kate Brown, a Democrat, or would you vote for the Republican candidate?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Q3. If the election for Governor of Oregon was held today, would you vote to re-elect Kate Brown, a Democrat, or would you vote for the Republican candidate?	Definitely vote to re-elect Kate Brown	4.2%	66.1%	24.1%	35.4%
	Probably vote to re-elect Kate Brown	5.1%	12.0%	12.6%	10.1%
	Probably vote for Republican	31.9%	11.2%	20.9%	20.2%
	Definitely vote for Republican	55.6%	5.0%	30.9%	27.7%
	Not sure / don't know	3.2%	5.7%	11.5%	6.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

**Q4. Do you believe Oregon has too much regulation on businesses or not enough regulation on businesses?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Q4. Do you believe Oregon has too much regulation on businesses or not enough regulation on businesses?	Too much regulation	75.5%	22.6%	53.3%	47.4%
	Not enough regulation	5.5%	30.3%	15.1%	18.5%
	Not sure / don't know	18.9%	47.1%	31.6%	34.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

**Q5. Do you support or oppose Sanctuary laws that protect undocumented immigrants from federal immigration authorities?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Q5. Do you support or oppose Sanctuary laws that protect undocumented immigrants from federal immigration authorities?	Strongly support	8.5%	52.3%	23.8%	31.0%
	Somewhat support	7.4%	25.2%	16.3%	17.3%
	Somewhat oppose	11.9%	6.6%	10.9%	9.4%
	Strongly oppose	67.0%	11.6%	44.1%	37.6%
	Not sure / don't know	5.2%	4.3%	4.9%	4.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Total % support 48.2%  
Total % oppose 47.0%

**Q6. Do you support or oppose local and state law enforcement turning over undocumented immigrants who have committed crimes to federal immigration authorities?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Q6. Do you support or oppose local and state law enforcement turning over undocumented immigrants who have committed crimes to federal immigration authorities?	Strongly support	88.0%	34.6%	65.0%	59.4%
	Somewhat support	5.5%	26.3%	16.0%	17.1%
	Somewhat oppose	1.7%	14.9%	7.5%	8.8%
	Strongly oppose	2.0%	19.0%	5.8%	10.1%
	Not sure / don't know	2.8%	5.2%	5.8%	4.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Total % support 76.5%  
Total % oppose 18.9%

Q7. Do you support or oppose tax payer funding of abortion coverage in Oregon?						
		Political Party Affiliation			Total	
		Republican	Democratic	Independent		
Q7. Do you support or oppose tax payer funding of abortion coverage in Oregon?	Strongly support	7.4%	50.5%	24.9%	30.2%	Total % support
	Somewhat support	8.6%	22.9%	15.5%	16.5%	
	Somewhat oppose	10.9%	8.7%	12.4%	10.4%	Total % oppose
	Strongly oppose	70.1%	12.8%	40.4%	38.0%	
	Not sure / don't know	2.9%	5.0%	6.8%	4.9%	
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Q8. Do you support or oppose "school choice" or "school voucher" programs where parents receive tax credits to help send their children to a private school?						
		Political Party Affiliation			Total	
		Republican	Democratic	Independent		
Q8. Do you support or oppose "school choice" or "school voucher" programs where parents receive tax credits to help send their children to a private school?	Strongly support	49.6%	11.2%	33.3%	29.1%	Total % support
	Somewhat support	16.2%	10.0%	19.4%	14.5%	
	Somewhat oppose	12.3%	22.2%	13.8%	16.8%	Total % oppose
	Strongly oppose	15.9%	47.8%	27.7%	32.4%	
	Not sure / don't know	6.0%	8.7%	5.9%	7.1%	
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Q9. Which should be a higher priority for Oregon government: protecting the environment at all costs or utilizing our natural resources wisely to create jobs and economic growth?						
		Political Party Affiliation			Total	
		Republican	Democratic	Independent		
Q9. Which should be a higher priority for Oregon government: protecting the environment at all costs or utilizing our natural resources wisely to create jobs and economic growth?	Prioritize the environment	8.2%	57.7%	26.5%	33.9%	
	Utilizing our natural resources to create jobs and economic growth	85.8%	31.9%	62.6%	56.9%	
	Not sure / don't know	6.0%	10.4%	10.9%	9.2%	
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Q10. Do you support or oppose stricter gun control laws in Oregon?						
		Political Party Affiliation			Total	
		Republican	Democratic	Independent		
Q10. Do you support or oppose stricter gun control laws in Oregon?	Strongly support	10.2%	67.1%	30.1%	39.4%	Total % support
	Somewhat support	8.9%	12.5%	14.8%	12.0%	
	Somewhat oppose	12.3%	5.4%	10.5%	9.0%	Total % oppose
	Strongly oppose	65.5%	11.7%	41.3%	36.4%	
	Not sure / don't know	3.1%	3.3%	3.2%	3.2%	
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

**Q11. The Public Employee retirement system, known as PERS, is currently underfunded by an estimated \$25 billion. How concerned are you about the PERS deficit?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q11. The Public Employee retirement system, known as PERS, is currently underfunded by an estimated \$25 billion. How concerned are you about the PERS deficit?	Very concerned	45.0%	39.7%	38.4%	41.0%	Total % concerned	67.9%
	Somewhat concerned	18.6%	33.6%	26.0%	26.9%	Total % not concerned	23.5%
	Not concerned	13.1%	14.8%	14.5%	14.2%		
	Not at all concerned	14.5%	4.4%	10.9%	9.3%		
	Not sure / don't know	8.8%	7.5%	10.2%	8.6%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q12. If state leaders do not find a solution to the \$25 billion PERS deficit, Oregon taxpayers may well have to pay higher taxes and the state will be forced to make severe cuts to every program resulting in larger classroom sizes, laying off police officers, firefighters, and more. Considering this, how concerned are you about the PERS deficit?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q12. If state leaders do not find a solution to the \$25 billion PERS deficit, Oregon taxpayers may well have to pay higher taxes and the state will be forced to make severe cuts to every program resulting in larger classroom sizes, laying off police officers, firefighters, and more. Considering this, how concerned are you about the PERS deficit?	Very concerned	53.8%	54.1%	48.1%	52.4%	Total % concerned	77.6%
	Somewhat concerned	22.0%	29.1%	23.1%	25.3%	Total % not concerned	17.3%
	Not concerned	8.8%	9.3%	11.7%	9.8%		
	Not at all concerned	10.5%	4.5%	8.7%	7.5%		
	Not sure / don't know	4.9%	3.0%	8.3%	5.1%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q13. Oregon and many other states have seen an increase in major forest fires in recent years. Which of the following options do you think is the best way to reduce future forest fires?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q13. Oregon and many other states have seen an increase in major forest fires in recent years. Which of the following options do you think is the best way to reduce future forest fires?	Selective logging to thin forests	15.2%	6.7%	8.3%	9.8%		
	Comprehensive efforts to remove underbrush	4.9%	9.3%	6.6%	7.2%		
	A combination of selective logging to thin forests AND comprehensive efforts to remove underbrush	67.7%	55.7%	64.2%	61.7%		
	Not suppressing the fires and instead letting them burn out naturally	3.8%	7.4%	4.6%	5.5%		
	Another option	4.2%	7.1%	10.2%	7.1%		
	Not sure / don't now	4.2%	13.8%	6.1%	8.7%		
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q14. Do you agree or disagree that the Oregon government is spending our tax dollars wisely and efficiently?"**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q14. Do you agree or disagree that the Oregon government is spending our tax dollars wisely and efficiently?"	Strongly Agree	1.5%	11.2%	2.9%	5.9%	Total % agree	31.7%
	Somewhat Agree	7.5%	44.2%	18.5%	25.8%		
	Somewhat Disagree	19.8%	19.8%	25.5%	21.4%	Total % disagree	60.9%
	Strongly Disagree	66.2%	15.1%	46.7%	39.5%		
	Not sure / don't know	4.9%	9.8%	6.5%	7.4%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q15. Democrats have had one party control of the Governor's office and State Legislature for over a decade. Do you support:**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q15. Democrats have had one party control of the Governor's office and State Legislature for over a decade. Do you support:	Continued Democratic control of Oregon	3.4%	68.6%	23.1%	36.0%		
	Divided or mixed government with Democrats and	35.0%	21.6%	46.6%	32.6%		
	Republican control of Oregon government						
	Not sure / don't know	4.3%	4.4%	7.0%	5.1%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q16. Recently a new Oregon law took effect that allows pharmacists to give birth control to minors over the counter without their parent's knowledge or consent. Do you support or oppose this law?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q16. Recently a new Oregon law took effect that allows pharmacists to give birth control to minors over the counter without their parent’s knowledge or consent. Do you support or oppose this law?	Strongly support	13.3%	54.0%	33.7%	35.9%	Total % support	53.5%
	Somewhat support	13.3%	21.7%	16.3%	17.6%		
	Somewhat oppose	13.3%	8.7%	14.1%	11.6%	Total % oppose	43.4%
	Strongly oppose	56.5%	12.7%	33.0%	31.8%		
	Not sure / don’t know	3.7%	2.8%	2.9%	3.1%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q17. Do you support or oppose Oregon laws allowing the recreational use of marijuana?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q17. Do you support or oppose	Strongly support	18.5%	47.8%	41.2%	37.0%	Total % support	56.2%
	Somewhat support	12.3%	24.2%	19.6%	19.3%		



Oregon laws allowing the recreational use of marijuana?	Somewhat oppose	14.5%	11.0%	11.7%	12.3%	Total % oppose	40.3%
	Strongly oppose	50.8%	12.8%	25.7%	28.0%		
	Not sure / don't know	4.0%	4.1%	1.9%	3.4%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q18. Suppose a candidate adopts the slogan "Make Oregon Great Again..." Does this make you more likely or less likely to support this candidate?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q18. Suppose a candidate adopts the slogan "Make Oregon Great Again..." Does this make you more likely or less likely to support this candidate?	Much more likely	28.0%	6.7%	14.9%	15.5%	Total % more likely	29.4%
	Somewhat more likely	25.2%	7.2%	11.4%	13.9%		
	Somewhat less likely	7.7%	15.3%	12.1%	12.1%	Total % less likely	49.2%
	Much less likely	10.9%	59.7%	32.3%	37.1%		
	Not sure / don't know	28.2%	11.1%	29.4%	21.4%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q19. Regarding economic, social, and security issues Oregonians face, do you believe that the solution lies in more government intervention or less government intervention?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q19. Regarding economic, social, and security issues Oregonians face, do you believe that the solution lies in more government	More government intervention	4.3%	30.3%	13.1%	17.5%		
	Less government intervention	83.8%	31.2%	62.5%	56.0%		
	Not sure / don't know	11.8%	38.5%	24.4%	26.4%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q20. How likely are you to vote in the May 2018 Oregon primary election?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q20. How likely are you to vote in the May 2018 Oregon primary election?	I always vote	86.0%	85.9%	73.0%	82.4%		
	Very Likely	12.8%	11.6%	17.7%	13.6%		
	Somewhat Likely	1.1%	2.3%	7.0%	3.2%		
	I never vote	.2%	.2%	2.4%	.8%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

**Q21. In which party primary will you vote?**

		Political Party Affiliation			Total		
		Republican	Democratic	Independent			
Q21. In which party primary will you vote?	Republican	93.5%	6.4%	24.3%	38.1%		
	Democratic	3.1%	88.2%	16.3%	42.2%		
	Other	3.4%	5.4%	59.4%	19.8%		
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		

Voting history					
		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Voting history	I vote in every single election	68.7%	67.8%	61.9%	66.4%
	I vote in most elections	29.6%	29.5%	32.8%	30.5%
	I do not vote regularly	1.7%	2.7%	5.3%	3.1%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Age					
		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Age	18-34	6.5%	7.8%	13.1%	8.9%
	35-44	12.3%	12.7%	16.1%	13.5%
	45-54	18.8%	17.0%	18.8%	18.1%
	55-64	22.8%	23.8%	25.6%	24.0%
	65-74	22.9%	23.6%	18.0%	21.8%
	75-84	11.7%	10.8%	6.6%	9.9%
	85+	5.1%	4.2%	1.7%	3.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Gender					
		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Gender	Female	47.9%	61.0%	39.7%	51.1%
	Male	52.1%	39.0%	60.3%	48.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Party					
		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Party	Republican	100.0%			30.6%
	Democratic		100.0%		41.6%
	Independent			89.6%	24.9%
	Another party			5.8%	1.6%
	Not sure / don't know			4.6%	1.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pro life / pro choice					
		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Pro life / pro choice	Pro-life	64.7%	14.3%	36.8%	36.0%
	Pro-choice	26.7%	79.5%	49.9%	55.1%
	Neither	5.9%	4.1%	9.2%	6.0%
	No opinion either way	2.0%	1.0%	1.5%	1.5%
	Not sure / don't know	.8%	1.0%	2.5%	1.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Political ideology					
		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Political ideology	Conservative	71.8%	8.5%	24.8%	32.4%
	Liberal	3.2%	48.8%	8.5%	23.7%
	Moderate or independent	19.8%	35.6%	58.0%	37.0%
	Another view	2.5%	4.8%	6.6%	4.6%
	Not sure / don't know	2.8%	2.3%	2.0%	2.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Race/Ethnicity					
		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Race/Ethnicity	White / Caucasian	85.2%	87.6%	71.5%	82.4%
	Hispanic	1.2%	1.8%	4.9%	2.5%
	African American	1.5%	2.3%	1.7%	1.9%
	Asian	.6%	.8%	.7%	.7%
	Other	6.0%	4.7%	9.5%	6.4%
	Prefer not to answer	5.4%	2.8%	11.7%	6.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Portland to Eugene vs Rest of State					
		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Portland to Eugene vs Rest of State	Blue Counties - Portland to Eugene	55.1%	69.6%	63.9%	63.6%
	Rest of State	44.9%	30.4%	36.1%	36.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Region		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
Region	Portland metro	27.8%	40.7%	38.9%	36.3%
	Willamette Valley	27.2%	28.8%	25.1%	27.3%
	Coast	10.0%	9.4%	7.5%	9.1%
	Southern	15.5%	10.4%	13.2%	12.8%
	Central/Eastern	19.4%	10.6%	15.3%	14.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

County		Political Party Affiliation			Total
		Republican	Democratic	Independent	
County	BAKER	.6%	.2%	.8%	.5%
	BENTON	1.7%	3.5%	2.4%	2.7%
	CLACKAMAS	11.2%	10.1%	9.7%	10.3%
	CLATSOP	1.9%	1.7%	1.0%	1.6%
	COLUMBIA	2.2%	3.3%	1.9%	2.6%
	COOS	2.9%	1.5%	1.7%	2.0%
	CROOK	.6%	.2%	.8%	.5%
	CURRY	1.4%	.7%	.7%	.9%
	DESCHUTES	2.8%	3.6%	5.4%	3.9%
	DOUGLAS	5.7%	1.8%	5.1%	3.9%
	GRANT	1.1%	.6%	.2%	.6%
	HARNEY	.8%	.1%	.2%	.3%
	HOOD RIVER	.2%	.3%	.2%	.2%
	JACKSON	6.7%	5.8%	4.4%	5.7%
	JEFFERSON	.8%	.8%	.7%	.8%
	JOSEPHINE	3.1%	2.8%	3.7%	3.2%
	KLAMATH	2.9%	1.4%	2.2%	2.1%
	LAKE	.9%	.3%		.4%
	LANE	7.6%	11.0%	6.1%	8.6%
	LINCOLN	.6%	1.7%	1.7%	1.4%
	LINN	3.7%	3.2%	5.9%	4.1%
	MALHEUR	1.6%	1.1%	.7%	1.1%
	MARION	8.2%	7.2%	6.3%	7.2%
	MORROW	.5%		.5%	.3%
	MULTNOMAH	6.7%	20.7%	17.5%	15.5%
	POLK	2.6%	1.6%	2.4%	2.1%
	SHERMAN	.3%		.3%	.2%
	TILLAMOOK	.9%	.5%	.7%	.7%
	UMATILLA	1.7%	.8%	1.4%	1.2%
	UNION	2.8%	.7%	1.7%	1.6%
	WALLOWA	.8%	.1%	.2%	.3%
	WASCO	1.4%	.5%	.3%	.7%
	WASHINGTON	9.9%	9.7%	11.5%	10.3%
	WHEELER	.3%			.1%
	YAMHILL	2.9%	2.4%	1.7%	2.4%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%



# APPENDIX I

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*Poll results*  
*Jan 23 (limited name recognition)*



Top Line Results

Statewide Survey of Likely Oregon Voters

Conducted: 1/21/2018 through 1/23/2018  
Survey Type: Automated Telephone (IVR)  
N = 625  
Margin of Error at 95% Confidence Level: +/- 3.9%  
Weighting Applied: Gender, Age, Political Party Affiliation

Q1. Are you registered to vote in Oregon?			
	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	625	100.0	100.0

Q2. Do you recognize the name Sam Carpenter, and do you have a positive, negative, or neutral impression of Sam Carpenter?			
	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive impression	58	9.2	9.2
Negative impression	49	7.9	17.1
Heard of Sam Carpenter but no opinion either way	147	23.5	40.5
Never heard of him	360	57.5	98.0
Not sure / don't know	12	2.0	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

Total % aware	40.5
Total % not aware	59.5

Q3. Do you recognize the name Knute Buehler, and do you have a positive, negative, or neutral impression of Knute Buehler?			
	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive impression	95	15.1	15.1
Negative impression	108	17.3	32.4
Heard of Knute Buehler but no opinion either way	165	26.4	58.8
Never heard of him	248	39.7	98.5
Not sure / don't know	9	1.5	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

Total % aware	58.8
Total % not aware	41.2



**Q4. In which party primary will you vote?**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican	239	38.2	38.2
Democratic	282	45.1	83.3
Probably will not vote	22	3.6	86.8
Not sure / don't know	82	13.2	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Q5: If the Republican Primary election for Governor for Oregon was held today, and the candidates were Knute Buehler or Sam Carpenter...for whom would you vote?**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Sam Carpenter	50	21.0	21.0
Knute Buehler	60	25.0	46.0
Not sure / don't know	129	54.0	100.0
Total	239	100.0	
Question not asked	387		
Total	625		

**Q6: If the 2018 general election for Governor of Oregon was held today, and the candidates were Sam Carpenter, Republican candidate or Kate Brown, Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote?**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Sam Carpenter	269	43.1	43.1
Kate Brown	276	44.1	87.2
Not sure / don't know	80	12.8	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Q7: If the 2018 general election for Governor of Oregon was held today, and the candidates were Republican Knute Buehler and Democrat Kate Brown.... for whom would you vote?**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Knute Buehler	264	42.2	42.2
Kate Brown	280	44.8	87.0
Not sure / don't know	81	13.0	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Q8: Do you use social media such as Facebook or Twitter? If so how regularly do you use social media?**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Do not use social media	253	40.5	40.5
Use social media once a month or less	43	6.9	47.4
Use social media once a week or less	92	14.8	62.1
Use social media every day	237	37.9	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Q9: What is your voting history?**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Vote in every single election	476	76.1	76.1
Vote in most elections	134	21.4	97.5
Do not vote regularly	16	2.5	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Q10: What is your age?**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-34	51	8.2	8.2
35-44	83	13.2	21.4
45-54	113	18.1	39.5
55-64	149	23.9	63.4
65-74	140	22.4	85.8
75-84	65	10.3	96.1
85+	24	3.9	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Q11: What is your gender?**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	324	51.8	51.8
Male	301	48.2	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Q12: What your political party affiliation?**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican Party	208	33.3	33.3
Democratic Party	267	42.8	76.1
Independent, or not a member of a party	138	22.1	98.1
Another party	5	.8	98.9
Not sure / don't know	7	1.1	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Q13: How do you describe yourself?**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
White / Caucasian	498	79.6	79.6
Hispanic	16	2.5	82.2
African-American	15	2.5	84.6
Asian	9	1.4	86.1
Other	40	6.4	92.4
Prefer not to answer	47	7.6	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Portland to Eugene vs Rest of State**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Blue Counties - Portland to Eugene	390	62.4	62.4
Rest of State	235	37.6	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Region**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Portland metro	230	36.8	36.8
Willamette Valley	160	25.6	62.4
Coast	51	8.1	70.5
Southern	96	15.3	85.8
Central/Eastern	89	14.2	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

**Congressional District**

	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	115	18.4	18.4
2	150	24.0	42.4
3	106	17.0	59.5
4	147	23.4	82.9
5	107	17.1	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

County			
	Count	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
BAKER	3	.5	.5
BENTON	19	3.1	3.6
CLACKAMAS	55	8.8	12.4
CLATSOP	10	1.6	13.9
COLUMBIA	5	.7	14.7
COOS	11	1.8	16.5
CROOK	4	.7	17.2
CURRY	7	1.1	18.3
DESCHUTES	25	4.0	22.3
DOUGLAS	27	4.3	26.6
GRANT	6	1.0	27.7
HARNEY	3	.5	28.2
HOOD RIVER	2	.3	28.5
JACKSON	48	7.7	36.2
JEFFERSON	2	.3	36.5
JOSEPHINE	21	3.4	39.8
KLAMATH	12	2.0	41.8
LAKE	2	.3	42.1
LANE	51	8.2	50.3
LINCOLN	10	1.6	51.8
LINN	21	3.4	55.3
MALHEUR	3	.5	55.8
MARION	28	4.4	60.2
MORROW	2	.3	60.5
MULTNOMAH	102	16.3	76.8
POLK	17	2.7	79.5
TILLAMOOK	8	1.3	80.8
UMATILLA	13	2.1	83.0
UNION	6	1.0	83.9
WALLOWA	2	.3	84.3
WASCO	5	.8	85.1
WASHINGTON	71	11.4	96.5
YAMHILL	22	3.5	100.0
Total	625	100.0	

## APPENDIX J

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*Poll results  
February 26:*

*Buehler 31%,  
Carpenter 18%,  
Wooldridge 8%,  
Cuff 6%*



**Top Line Results**

**Statewide Survey of Likely Oregon Republican Primary Voters**

Conducted: 2/22/2018 through 2/26/2018

Survey Type: Automated Telephone (IVR)

N = 1,019

Margin of Error at 95% Confidence Level: +/- 2.9%

Weighting Applied: Gender & Age

Q1: Are you currently registered to vote in Oregon?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	1019	100.0	100.0

Q2: How likely are you to vote in the May 2018 Oregon primary election?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Somewhat Likely	36	3.5	3.5
Very Likely	329	32.3	35.8
I always vote	654	64.2	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	

Q3: In which party primary will you vote?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican	1019	100.0	100.0

Q4: If the Republican Primary election for Governor for Oregon was held today, and the four candidates were Knute Buehler, Sam Carpenter, Bruce Cuff, and Greg Wooldridge, for whom would you vote?			
[ Candidate order rotated ]			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Knute Buehler	311	30.6	30.6
Sam Carpenter	184	18.0	48.6
Greg Wooldridge	85	8.3	56.9
Bruce Cuff	66	6.4	63.4
Other	373	36.6	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	

**Q5: How would you rate the job performance of President Donald Trump?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Approve	723	70.9	70.9
Somewhat Approve	183	18.0	88.9
Somewhat Disapprove	31	3.1	92.0
Strongly Disapprove	64	6.2	98.2
Not Sure / Don't Know	18	1.8	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	

Total % approve 88.9

Total % disapprove 9.3

**Q6: Do you use social media such as Facebook or Twitter? If so how regularly do you use social media?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Do not use social media	453	44.4	44.4
Use social once a month or less	77	7.6	51.9
Use social media once a week or less	135	13.2	65.2
Use social media every day	355	34.8	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	

**Q7: What is your voting history?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Vote in every single election	784	76.9	76.9
Vote in most elections	228	22.4	99.3
Do not vote regularly	7	.7	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	

**Q8: What is your age?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-34	40	3.9	3.9
35-44	59	5.8	9.7
45-54	119	11.7	21.4
55-64	242	23.7	45.1
65-74	289	28.4	73.5
75-84	193	18.9	92.4
85+	77	7.6	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	

**Q9: What is your gender?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	515	50.5	50.5
Male	504	49.5	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	

**Q10: What is your political party affiliation?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican Party	1019	100.0	100.0

**Q11: How would you describe yourself?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
White or Caucasian	893	87.6	88.1
Hispanic or Latino	10	1.0	89.0
Black or African American	21	2.1	91.1
Asian	5	.5	91.6
Another not listed	35	3.5	95.1
Not sure	50	4.9	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	

**Region**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Portland metro	291	28.6	28.6
Willamette Valley	260	25.5	54.1
Coast	96	9.4	63.5
Southern	163	16.0	79.5
Central/Eastern	209	20.5	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	

**Congressional District**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	182	17.9	17.9
2	309	30.3	48.2
3	102	10.0	58.2
4	226	22.2	80.4
5	199	19.6	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	

**Portland to Eugene vs Rest of State**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Blue Counties - Portland to Eugene	551	54.1	54.1
Rest of State	468	45.9	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	



County			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
BAKER	13	1.2	1.2
BENTON	16	1.6	2.9
CLACKAMAS	109	10.7	13.6
CLATSOP	15	1.5	15.0
COLUMBIA	24	2.3	17.3
COOS	19	1.9	19.2
CROOK	17	1.6	20.8
CURRY	10	1.0	21.9
DESCHUTES	50	4.9	26.8
DOUGLAS	64	6.3	33.0
GRANT	9	.9	33.9
HARNEY	7	.7	34.6
HOOD RIVER	7	.7	35.3
JACKSON	67	6.6	41.9
JEFFERSON	9	.9	42.8
JOSEPHINE	32	3.1	46.0
KLAMATH	26	2.5	48.5
LAKE	7	.7	49.2
LANE	65	6.4	55.6
LINCOLN	19	1.8	57.5
LINN	45	4.4	61.9
MALHEUR	12	1.2	63.0
MARION	80	7.8	70.9
MORROW	5	.5	71.4
MULTNOMAH	66	6.4	77.8
POLK	15	1.5	79.3
SHERMAN	2	.2	79.5
TILLAMOOK	9	.9	80.4
UMATILLA	21	2.1	82.5
UNION	15	1.5	83.9
WALLOWA	7	.7	84.6
WASCO	10	1.0	85.6
WASHINGTON	109	10.7	96.4
WHEELER	4	.4	96.7
YAMHILL	34	3.3	100.0
Total	1019	100.0	



## APPENDIX K

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*Poll results  
March 25:*

*Carpenter 23.1%,  
Buehler 22.9%,  
Wooldridge 4%*



**Top Line Results**

**Survey of Oregon Likely Voters**

Conducted: 3/19/2018 through 3/25/2018

Survey Type: Automated Telephone (IVR) Survey

N = 2,048

Margin of Error at 95% Confidence Level: +/- 2.2%

Weighting Applied: Gender, Age, Party

Q1. Are you registered to vote in Oregon?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	2067	100.0	100.0

Q2. How likely are you to vote in the May 2018 Oregon primary election?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Somewhat Likely	93	4.5	4.5
Very Likely	636	30.8	35.3
I always vote	1338	64.7	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

Q3. In which party primary will you vote?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican	761	36.8	36.8
Democratic	941	45.5	82.4
Other	365	17.6	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

Q4. How would you rate the job performance of President Donald Trump?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly approve	481	63.2	63.2
Somewhat approve	141	18.5	81.7
Somewhat disapprove	116	15.3	97.0
Strongly disapprove	23	3.0	100.0
Total	761	100.0	
Non-Republican Primary Voters	1306		
Total	2067		

Total % approve 81.7  
Total % disapprove 18.3

**Q5. Do you recognize the name Sam Carpenter, and do you have a positive, negative, or neutral impression of Sam Carpenter?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Positive impression	180	23.7	23.7	Total % positive	23.7
Negative impression	22	2.9	26.6		
Heard of Sam Carpenter but no opinion either way	201	26.4	53.0	Total % negative	26.4
Never heard of him	339	44.5	97.5		
Not sure / don't know	19	2.5	100.0		
Total	761	100.0			
Non-Republican Primary Voters	1306				
Total	2067				

**Q6. Do you recognize the name Knute Buehler, and do you have a positive, negative, or neutral impression of Knute Buehler?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Positive impression	191	25.1	25.1	Total % positive	25.1
Negative impression	79	10.4	35.4		
Heard of Knute Buehler but no opinion either way	249	32.7	68.1	Total % negative	32.7
Never heard of him	227	29.8	97.9		
Not sure / don't know	16	2.1	100.0		
Total	761	100.0			
Non-Republican Primary Voters	1306				
Total	2067				

**Q7. Do you recognize the name Greg Wooldridge, and do you have a positive, negative, or neutral impression of Greg Wooldridge?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Positive impression	43	5.6	5.6	Total % positive	5.6
Negative impression	22	2.8	8.5		
Heard of Greg Wooldridge but no opinion either way	248	32.6	41.0	Total % negative	32.6
Never heard of him	420	55.3	96.3		
Not sure / don't know	28	3.7	100.0		
Total	761	100.0			
Non-Republican Primary Voters	1306				
Total	2067				

**Q8. If the Republican Primary election for Governor for Oregon was held today, and the candidates were Knute Buehler, Sam Carpenter, and Greg Wooldridge...for whom would you vote?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Knute Buehler	144	22.9	22.9
Sam Carpenter	145	23.1	46.1
Greg Wooldridge	26	4.2	50.3
Not sure / don't know	312	49.7	100.0
Total	628	100.0	
Non-Republican Primary Voters	1439		
Total	2067		

**Q9. Knute Buehler is a highly recognized orthopedic surgeon and is a two term Republican State Representative from Bend. Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to support Knute Beuhler?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely to support	369	17.8	17.8		
Somewhat more likely to support	485	23.5	41.3	Total % support	41.3
Somewhat less likely to support	233	11.3	52.6	Total % oppose	36.5
Much less likely to support	521	25.2	77.8		
Not sure / don't know	460	22.2	100.0		
Total	2067	100.0			

**Q10. Sam Carpenter is a successful entrepreneur, multi-business owner, and business turn-around specialist who has created hundreds of good-paying jobs. Considering this, are you more or less likely to vote for Sam Carpenter?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely to support	382	18.5	18.5		
Somewhat more likely to support	632	30.6	49.0	Total % support	49.0
Somewhat less likely to support	307	14.8	63.9	Total % oppose	27.0
Much less likely to support	251	12.1	76.0		
Not sure / don't know	496	24.0	100.0		
Total	2067	100.0			

**Q11. Greg Wooldridge is a former U.S. Navy pilot, social conservative, and motivational speaker. Considering this, are you more or less likely to vote for Greg Wooldridge?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely to support	378	18.3	18.3		
Somewhat more likely to support	456	22.1	40.4	Total % support	40.4
Somewhat less likely to support	278	13.5	53.8	Total % oppose	41.5
Much less likely to support	580	28.0	81.9		
Not sure / don't know	375	18.1	100.0		
Total	2067	100.0			

**Q12. Knute Buehler wrote on his Facebook page "As a Republican, I feel a special obligation to speak-out against the actions of the President of my Party – even a candidate I didn't support." "Being inexperienced, ill-tempered and even incompetent are not crimes, but impeding or obstructing justice is, so we need to fully understand what President Trump has done." Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to support Knute Beuhler?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely to support	451	21.8	21.8		
Somewhat more likely to support	497	24.1	45.9	Total % support	45.9
Somewhat less likely to support	268	12.9	58.8	Total % oppose	42.9
Much less likely to support	618	29.9	88.8		
Not sure / don't know	232	11.2	100.0		
Total	2067	100.0			

**Q13. In 2015, Knute Buehler wrote and worked hard to pass legislation that lets pharmacists to give birth control to minors over the counter without their parent's knowledge or consent. Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to support Knute Buehler?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely to support	425	20.5	20.5		
Somewhat more likely to support	513	24.8	45.3	Total % support	45.3
Somewhat less likely to support	305	14.8	60.1	Total % oppose	44.7
Much less likely to support	619	30.0	90.1		
Not sure / don't know	206	9.9	100.0		
Total	2067	100.0			

**Q14. Sam Carpenter ran for U.S. Senate in 2016 and lost in the Primary race by six percentage points. Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to vote for Sam Carpenter?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely to support	222	10.7	10.7		
Somewhat more likely to support	412	19.9	30.7	Total % support	30.7
Somewhat less likely to support	306	14.8	45.5	Total % oppose	27.9
Much less likely to support	272	13.2	58.6		
Not sure / don't know	855	41.4	100.0		
Total	2067	100.0			

**Q15. Sam Carpenter is seen primarily as businessman and political outsider, never having held elected office. Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to vote for Sam Carpenter?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely to support	409	19.8	19.8		
Somewhat more likely to support	394	19.1	38.9	Total % support	38.9
Somewhat less likely to support	417	20.2	59.0	Total % oppose	39.1
Much less likely to support	392	18.9	78.0		
Not sure / don't know	455	22.0	100.0		
Total	2067	100.0			

**Q16. Greg Wooldridge helped to organize veterans' groups for the 2008 presidential campaign of John McCain and is making his first run for office. Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to vote for Greg Wooldridge?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely to support	111	5.4	5.4		
Somewhat more likely to support	423	20.5	25.8	Total % support	25.8
Somewhat less likely to support	501	24.2	50.0	Total % oppose	52.1
Much less likely to support	575	27.8	77.9		
Not sure / don't know	457	22.1	100.0		
Total	2067	100.0			

**Q17. Greg Wooldridge wants to increase spending on transportation infrastructure. Considering this, are you more likely or less likely to vote for Greg Wooldridge?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Much more likely to support	90	4.4	4.4	Total % support	20.5
Somewhat more likely to support	333	16.1	20.5		
Somewhat less likely to support	519	25.1	45.6	Total % oppose	50.8
Much less likely to support	532	25.7	71.3		
Not sure / don't know	593	28.7	100.0		
Total	2067	100.0			

**Q18. If the Republican Primary election for Governor for Oregon was held today, and the candidates were Knute Buehler, Sam Carpenter, and Greg Wooldridge...for whom would you vote?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Knute Buehler	110	17.3	17.3
Sam Carpenter	240	38.0	55.3
Greg Wooldridge	70	11.0	66.4
Not sure / don't know	213	33.6	100.0
Total	628	100.0	
Non-Republican Primary Voters	1435		
Total	2067		

**Q19. If the 2018 General Election for Governor of Oregon was held today and the candidates were Knute Buehler, Republican candidate, and Kate Brown, Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Knute Buehler	940	45.5	45.5
Kate Brown	847	41.0	86.4
Not sure / don't know	280	13.6	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

**Q20. If the 2018 General Election for Governor of Oregon was held today and the candidates were Sam Carpenter, Republican candidate, and Kate Brown, Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Sam Carpenter	946	45.8	45.8
Kate Brown	838	40.5	86.3
Not sure / don't know	284	13.7	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

**Q21. If the 2018 General Election for Governor of Oregon was held today and the candidates were Greg Wooldridge, Republican candidate, and Kate Brown, Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Greg Wooldridge	980	47.4	47.4
Kate Brown	876	42.4	89.8
Not sure / don't know	211	10.2	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	



**Q22. Voting history**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Vote in every single election	1429	69.1	69.1
Vote in most elections	593	28.7	97.8
Do not vote regularly	45	2.2	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

**Q23. Age**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-34	185	9.0	9.0
35-44	283	13.7	22.7
45-54	376	18.2	40.8
55-64	482	23.3	64.2
65-74	446	21.6	85.8
75-84	211	10.2	96.0
85+	83	4.0	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

**Q24. Gender**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	1070	51.7	51.7
Male	998	48.3	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

**Q25. Social media usage**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Do not use social media	771	37.3	37.3
Use social once a month or less	188	9.1	46.4
Use social media once a week or less	271	13.1	59.5
Use social media every day	837	40.5	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

**Q26. Party affiliation**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican Party	657	31.8	31.8
Democratic Party	886	42.9	74.7
Independent or not a member of a party	423	20.4	95.1
Another party	66	3.2	98.3
Not sure / don't know	35	1.7	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

Q27. Race			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
White or Caucasian	1687	81.6	81.6
Hispanic or Latino	59	2.9	84.5
Black or African American	37	1.8	86.3
Asian	29	1.4	87.7
Another not listed	110	5.3	93.0
Prefer not to answer	145	7.0	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

Portland to Eugene vs Rest of State			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Blue Counties - Portland to Eugene	1351	65.4	65.4
Rest of State	716	34.6	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

Region			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Portland metro	786	38.0	38.0
Willamette Valley	566	27.4	65.4
Coast	160	7.8	73.1
Southern	249	12.0	85.1
Central/Eastern	307	14.9	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	

County			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
BAKER	23	1.1	1.1
BENTON	53	2.6	3.7
CLACKAMAS	210	10.2	13.9
CLATSOP	30	1.5	15.3
COLUMBIA	30	1.4	16.8
COOS	39	1.9	18.7
CROOK	9	.5	19.1
CURRY	18	.9	20.0
DESCHUTES	107	5.2	25.2
DOUGLAS	62	3.0	28.2
GILLIAM	1	.1	28.3
GRANT	6	.3	28.5
HARNEY	4	.2	28.8
HOOD RIVER	5	.2	29.0
JACKSON	137	6.6	35.6
JEFFERSON	14	.7	36.3
JOSEPHINE	49	2.4	38.7
KLAMATH	45	2.2	40.9
LAKE	5	.2	41.1
LANE	188	9.1	50.2
LINCOLN	25	1.2	51.4
LINN	66	3.2	54.7
MALHEUR	21	1.0	55.7
MARION	143	6.9	62.6
MORROW	5	.3	62.9
MULTNOMAH	355	17.2	80.0
POLK	46	2.2	82.2
SHERMAN	2	.1	82.3
TILLAMOOK	18	.9	83.2
UMATILLA	35	1.7	84.9
UNION	13	.6	85.6
WALLOWA	7	.3	85.9
WASCO	6	.3	86.2
WASHINGTON	216	10.4	96.7
YAMHILL	69	3.3	100.0
Total	2067	100.0	



# APPENDIX L

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*Poll results  
April 22:*

*Buehler 39%,  
Carpenter 24%,  
Wooldridge 12%*



## Top Line Results

### Survey of Oregon Likely Republican Primary Voters

Conducted: 4/19/2018 through 4/22/2018

Survey Type: Automated Telephone (IVR) Survey

N = 1,013

Margin of Error at 95% Confidence Level: +/- 3.1%

Weighting Applied: Gender, Age

Q1. Are you currently registered to vote in Oregon?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	1013	100.0	100.0

Q2. How likely are you to vote in the May 2018 Oregon primary election?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Somewhat Likely	32	3.2	3.2
Very Likely	308	30.4	33.5
I always vote	674	66.5	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	

Q3. In which party primary will you vote?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican	1013	100.0	100.0

Q4. If the Republican Primary election for Governor for Oregon was held today, and the five candidates were Knute Buehler, Sam Carpenter, Bruce Cuff, Greg Wooldridge, and Jeff Smith, for whom would you vote?

[ candidate order rotated ]

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Knute Buehler	396	39.1	39.1
Sam Carpenter	244	24.1	63.2
Bruce Cuff	30	3.0	66.2
Greg Wooldridge	120	11.8	78.0
Jeff Smith	25	2.5	80.4
Not sure / Don't know	198	19.6	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	

Q5. Is it important or not important to you that a candidate support President Donald Trump?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very Important	642	63.3	63.3
Somewhat Important	207	20.4	83.7
Not Important	138	13.6	97.3
Not sure / don't know	27	2.7	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	

**Q6. Is it important or not important to you that a candidate support Right to Life issues?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very Important	574	56.7	56.7
Somewhat Important	240	23.7	80.3
Not Important	153	15.1	95.4
Not sure / don't know	46	4.6	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	

**Q7. Is it important or not important to you that a candidate support Second Amendment issues?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very Important	797	78.6	78.6
Somewhat Important	122	12.0	90.7
Not Important	54	5.4	96.1
Not sure / don't know	40	3.9	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	

**Q8. What is your voting history?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Vote in every single election	765	75.5	75.5
Vote in most elections	240	23.7	99.2
Do not vote regularly	8	.8	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	

**Q9. What is your age?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-34	40	3.9	3.9
35-44	59	5.9	9.8
45-54	119	11.7	21.5
55-64	240	23.7	45.2
65-74	287	28.3	73.5
75-84	192	18.9	92.4
85+	77	7.6	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	

**Q10. What is your gender?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	512	50.5	50.5
Male	502	49.5	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	

**Q11. What is your political party affiliation?**

	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Republican Party	1013	100.0	100.0

Q12. How would you describe yourself?			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
White or Caucasian	868	85.6	85.6
Hispanic or Latino	20	2.0	87.6
Black or African American	10	1.0	88.6
Asian	2	.2	88.9
Another not listed	38	3.7	92.6
Not sure	75	7.4	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	

Region			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Portland metro	274	27.0	27.0
Willamette Valley	270	26.6	53.6
Coast	90	8.9	62.5
Southern	156	15.4	78.0
Central/Eastern	223	22.0	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	

Portland to Eugene vs Rest of State			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Blue Counties - Portland to Eugene	544	53.6	53.6
Rest of State	470	46.4	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	



County			
	Count	Percent	Cumulative Percent
BAKER	11	1.1	1.1
BENTON	17	1.7	2.8
CLACKAMAS	115	11.4	14.2
CLATSOP	10	1.0	15.1
COLUMBIA	20	2.0	17.1
COOS	27	2.7	19.8
CROOK	15	1.4	21.3
CURRY	14	1.3	22.6
DESCHUTES	43	4.3	26.9
DOUGLAS	69	6.8	33.7
GRANT	14	1.4	35.1
HARNEY	11	1.1	36.2
HOOD RIVER	3	.3	36.4
JACKSON	60	5.9	42.3
JEFFERSON	7	.7	43.1
JOSEPHINE	27	2.7	45.8
KLAMATH	35	3.5	49.2
LAKE	8	.8	50.0
LANE	69	6.8	56.8
LINCOLN	6	.6	57.4
LINN	46	4.6	62.0
MALHEUR	11	1.1	63.1
MARION	86	8.5	71.6
MORROW	6	.6	72.1
MULTNOMAH	70	6.9	79.1
POLK	27	2.7	81.7
SHERMAN	3	.3	82.0
TILLAMOOK	13	1.3	83.3
UMATILLA	31	3.0	86.3
UNION	14	1.4	87.7
WALLOWA	3	.3	88.0
WASCO	9	.9	88.9
WASHINGTON	86	8.5	97.4
WHEELER	2	.2	97.6
YAMHILL	25	2.4	100.0
Total	1013	100.0	



# APPENDIX M

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*Secretary of State:*

*2018 Primary Election Abstract of Votes:*

*Buehler 46%,  
Carpenter 29%,  
Wooldridge 19%*

*find comprehensive election statistics here:*

<https://sos.oregon.gov/elections/Documents/results/May-2018-results.pdf>



## **APPENDIX N**

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*Ballotpedia: 2018 Gubernational Primary  
Election Results*

## May 15, 2018, Primary Election Abstract of Votes

### Governor

#### Republican

County	*Buehler Knut	Bohach Keenan W	Wooldridge Greg C	Edwards III Jonathan I	Stauffer David W	Smith Jeff	Tacy Jack W	Hyland Brett	Cuff Bruce	Carpenter Sam	Misc.
Baker	1,146	6	552	9	17	55	7	5	69	1,207	14
Benton	3,114	18	1,199	13	66	126	12	10	114	1,432	42
Clackamas	15,056	68	6,580	77	211	431	37	60	303	7,871	179
Clatsop	1,234	7	656	10	20	51	10	3	60	832	16
Columbia	1,602	11	871	15	35	77	8	8	69	1,672	23
Coos	2,522	8	1,133	25	40	117	9	23	115	2,670	34
Crook	1,813	6	503	9	14	40	5	3	45	1,279	13
Curry	1,355	6	550	9	15	74	5	10	43	862	14
Deschutes	12,370	26	2,404	20	77	137	12	13	116	5,171	58
Douglas	6,704	34	2,333	36	60	195	25	38	243	4,945	58
Gilliam	151	2	69	1	5	13	0	1	6	136	0
Grant	595	7	154	1	4	24	0	2	20	1,005	8
Harney	538	1	165	2	10	20	0	0	52	688	4
Hood River	697	4	222	4	11	23	1	5	12	620	17
Jackson	10,304	63	4,510	59	108	237	32	24	269	5,839	70
Jefferson	1,152	7	306	4	12	22	1	2	29	944	9
Josephine	5,771	27	2,110	38	65	148	21	39	139	3,505	63
Klamath	3,659	21	1,362	15	34	138	11	11	98	3,200	29
Lake	628	6	187	1	6	18	5	5	28	713	2
Lane	12,900	85	4,777	78	160	361	53	129	362	7,304	172
Lincoln	1,917	20	774	16	40	102	5	16	86	1,204	38
Linn	5,018	30	2,948	37	65	213	55	31	442	4,352	51
Malheur	972	10	525	19	35	75	7	11	156	1,291	16
Marion	9,273	82	8,032	79	165	320	30	59	669	7,323	143
Morrow	367	3	256	2	6	34	3	0	12	423	2
Multnomah	11,997	65	4,299	89	226	436	31	64	230	4,709	235
Polk	3,172	12	2,356	18	75	110	15	22	173	2,479	38
Sherman	175	0	58	0	0	6	0	1	7	152	2
Tillamook	1,260	6	538	9	36	60	7	9	65	731	13
Umatilla	1,962	15	1,812	40	45	153	14	11	91	2,402	24
Union	1,340	7	618	4	19	112	7	5	54	2,226	18
Wallowa	441	2	270	3	7	28	4	8	53	822	6
Wasco	1,050	8	439	4	27	48	6	6	39	765	16
Washington	17,587	91	7,220	94	285	537	62	98	407	6,788	223
Wheeler	165	1	34	0	6	6	0	2	10	129	1
Yamhill	4,096	22	2,227	21	89	144	12	21	171	2,881	50
Total	144,103	787	63,049	861	2,096	4,691	512	755	4,857	90,572	1,701

\* Nominee

\*\* Elected

\*\*\* The apparent winner was disqualified due to ORS 249.048. A vacancy in nomination exists.

Wl = Write In

## **APPENDIX O**

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*Carpenter 2018 Gubernatorial  
Primary Campaign Facebook Statistics*

Here is a message I received from Marcello Scacchetti on January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2019, describing the overall statistics for our primary campaign.

*"Morning Sam, I've reviewed the social media chapter and I think it's very good. I've done some work to prepare data, if you want to enrich it with numbers. Everything below is 100% correct and checked by me. Thanks! -Marcello"*

The following data is from November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017 up to May 15<sup>th</sup>, 2018

1. From November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017 up through May 15<sup>th</sup>, 2018, we reached 475,377 registered Oregon Republican voters or voters profiled as being conservative.
2. The total number of impressions for our content was 7,318,681.
3. On average, each person saw our message 15 times over the span of the campaign.
4. The total allocated advertising budget was \$63,566.22 meaning that the average cost per engagement with a single person was, \$0.13. The average cost to display a single message or post to a person was \$0.008 (eight-tenths of one Cent).
5. Based on the estimation of 60,000 votes created by our social media efforts, the cost per vote on the social platform was \$1.05 each. (Buehler's cost was \$28.00 per each vote. Ours, counting all costs, was \$5.00 each)
6. 99.7% of the Facebook page audience was from the United States out of which 99.38% were from Oregon.
7. The total number of messages received back from voters was 4,109, there were 96,200 comments, and 349,000 post reactions (likes, loves, etc...). There was a total of 85,400 Post shares.
8. *Sam Carpenter - Make Oregon Great Again* is the top political Facebook page for conservative people in Oregon, along with Dennis Richardson's Secretary of State page
9. In Chapter 5, you quoted Jim Moore, the political writer from the Tom McCall Center for Policy Innovation at Pacific University. He said, "...if (seniors) are on Facebook, it's likely just



*to check up on what their grandchildren are doing.”* I found that 56.96% of the Facebook page audience was composed of people over 55 (54,800 total), almost 50-50 between men and women, with an average of 20,000 interactions (Likes, Loves, Shares, Comments) per month.

-Marcello



# APPENDIX P

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*Sam Carpenter Bio*

Author, speaker, multi-business owner, and business consultant Sam Carpenter has been featured in hundreds of media, including NPR, ESPN radio, US News Radio, and Small Business Television. Sam has a background in engineering, publishing, telecommunications and journalism.

Sam's book, [Work the System: The Simple Mechanics of Making More and Working Less](#), a management guideline for business owners, was first published in the spring of 2008. Now in its third edition, it has been updated numerous times, most recently in July 2018. The book's second edition won the New Your Book Club's award for best non-fiction of 2009. His second book, [The Systems Mindset: Managing the Machinery of your Life](#), was published in May 2016. The thread of getting organized and creating efficiency is precisely the same as in *Work the System*, but without the business-centric detail regarding process documentation: it's for anyone who doesn't operate a business. ([www.thesystemsmindset.com](http://www.thesystemsmindset.com)).

Go to the above sites and you can download each unabridged book for free in a multiple of text configurations, and audio. You can also find his books in hard-cover on Amazon and in your bookstore.

Sam's career expertise is in business management and business turn-around strategies.

With a blue-collar background, Sam's educational background includes a technical degree in forestry and surveying. His eyes-open work life has included scores of occupations. Following is from the Introduction of his book, *Work the System*: "With blue-collar roots, I have a mixed-bag background: land surveyor, heavy-equipment operator, union-man factory worker, door-to-door salesman, technical consultant, hamburger flipper, house painter, department store sales clerk, heavy-construction superintendent, Heavy equipment operator, design engineer, ditch digger, gas station attendant, sales professional, builder, janitor, journalist, public speaker, book publisher, retail store owner, lab technician, logger, mill worker, machinist, stocks and commodities investor, writer, photojournalist, telecommunications

entrepreneur, real estate salesman, kitchen worker, handyman, corporate CEO, and multi-business owner.”

Sam is President and majority owner of Centratel, a 60 employee company, in Bend that he has owned and operated since 1984 ([www.centratel.com](http://www.centratel.com)); Pathway One, a social media marketing company based in Bend and Italy, ([www.pathwayone.com](http://www.pathwayone.com)); Work the System Consulting, ([www.workthesystem.com](http://www.workthesystem.com)); North Sister Publishing, and founder/director of Kashmir Family Aid, a 501c3 non-profit that assists survivors of the 2005 earthquake in remote Azad Kashmir. ([www.kashmirfamily.org](http://www.kashmirfamily.org)).

Through his on-the-ground business partner of eight years, Josh Fonger, Work the System Consultants, LLC has reinvigorated over seven-hundred small businesses across the country. (Go to the *Work the System* website for details [www.workthesystem.com](http://www.workthesystem.com)).

Sam says, *“The fundamental theme of my books and consulting company, is not philosophical. It’s mechanical and reality-based: In fixing problems and getting efficient, one must first take the time to investigate the real cause of a system’s end-result. Next, we must set solid goals and then get organized. If we operate from feel-good ideological menus, or just wish something was true, and/or don’t thoroughly investigate on-the-ground reality, we will not be successful... no matter how much we want that success or how hard we work for it.”*

Active in Oregon politics since 2010, Sam’s past campaigns have included the 2016 U.S. Senate primary race, and the 2018 gubernatorial primary race.

Born and raised in rural upstate New York, but an Oregonian since 1975, Sam has two grown children, and married Diana Bybee of Stearns, Kentucky in 2017. Outside interests include mountaineering, skiing, cycling, reading, and travel.



## **APPENDIX Q**

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*Letter from Sam to PCP's (1/5/2019)*

My personal letter to Bill Currier at about the time I was filing to run for ORP Chairman, and our back-and-forth. There has been some confusion about what transpired, so here it is...

From: "Sam Carpenter"

To: "Bill Currier"

Sent: Sunday, December 9, 2018 12:42:31 PM

Subject: The next move is yours...

Bill: You already know there is a wide-ranging movement to replace the leadership of the ORP Central Committee, officers who have presided over the utter devastation of our most recent elections. The current ORP leadership has failed to reach its single most important mission, as noted in ORP bylaws, in Article 1: "To elect Republicans, who promote the platform of the Oregon Republican Party, to public office..."

So here we are as a political party, near-helpless at the hands of the progressives who will be running the state at-will. This article published December 4th, by Pamplin Media, spells it out: "...Brown and her party would seem to have a mandate to do whatever they want at the session that begins on Jan. 22. She beat Republican State Rep. Knute Buehler by 50 to 44 percent at the Nov. 6 general election. And Democrats won three-fifths "supermajorities" in both the Oregon House and State Senate at the election, giving it the authority to raise taxes without the support of any Republicans." (<https://pamplinmedia.com/pt/9-news/413641-314228-brown-offers-vision-but-no-details-at-business-summit>)

Specifically, ORP leadership has presided over these indisputable failures:

1. Democrat supermajorities in both legislative chambers
2. The re-election of a scandal-plagued, incompetent, hyper-progressive Governor, who should have been easily defeated



3. Out of 60 house seat districts, 16 had no Republican Party candidate whatsoever
4. The endorsement of a gubernatorial candidate who openly middle-fingered the ORP platform, our President, and therefore 90% of the Party base. At least one of your Board members endorsed this candidate before the Primary elections.
5. The tacit anti-President Trump comportment of the leadership
6. The failure to stop the chaos (and malfeasance) within the Republican Gubernatorial primary race
7. The quiet-yet-unmistakable approval of this latest "cross-the-isle" gubernatorial candidate who, spending more than twice as much on his campaign as any previous Oregon Republican candidate, did worse in Multnomah County than any nominee in the last twenty years. In some areas he earned less than 7% of the total vote. It's clear: ORP leadership's insistence that we must keep moving left is simply wrong. The numbers prove it. It can't be denied any longer
8. The persistent suggestion that Republican electoral defeats are the fault of conservative Republicans, and the covert fallback excuse that this is a "blue state" and so, ultimately, there is nothing we can do anyway. In the face of on-the-ground evidence, it's clear that both of these ORP leadership positions are profoundly wrong. And in these stances, deliberate or not, leadership is inferring that that 90% of Oregon Republican voters are naïve.

So, with this letter I am formally asking you, and the rest of the current Central Committee leadership, to voluntarily end your terms in mid-February.

If I don't hear back from you by Christmas, I will assume the battle is on and I will begin to do what I need to do to win back ORP leadership for the sake of the conservative base in the February 16th election, including releasing this letter as an "open letter" to the base, just after

Christmas. And I will release my book, just after the 1st. Social media will be ramped up.

In the meantime, I'm not going to throttle-back.  
My book, 38,000 words, is as pointed in its intention as is this letter (see prototype cover below).

Leadership has had enough time to get this right and you know by now that the county-party delegates who have already been selected are overwhelmingly set to vote for wholesale change. (And if there is doubt about how the tenor of the Republican base, check my Facebook post of last Tuesday. As I write this, it has nearly 100,000 views. My page is "Sam Carpenter Make Oregon Great Again.")

Mike McLane has set the stage with his resignation as Republican House Caucus Leader. He did the courageous and right thing. Bill, ORP leadership's early resignations will be appreciated far and wide. Let's minimize conflict and embarrassment.

-sam carpenter  
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Please see the following message from Chair Currier.

Becky Mitts  
Secretary  
Oregon Republican Party

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Sam,

Your email to me below, dated December 9<sup>th</sup>, demands that I and the rest of the current ORP leadership "voluntarily" resign (not re-run?) in

February or you will release the email below as an "open letter" to the base. You set Christmas as the deadline.

As I see it, there is no need to wait. Let's release it now. Why wait until we are all in the midst of the holidays with family and friends?

While I appreciate your desire to be elected unopposed, it is up to the members of the ORP State Central Committee to select their leadership. Further, that selection should be based on a fair contest between the candidates and their plans for the party.

I am not inclined to address your various incorrect and unfounded assertions at this time. There will be plenty of opportunity for that after the holidays. Additionally, your much-anticipated book explaining What Happened in Oregon will be available.

In the meantime, I wish you and Diana a very Merry Christmas and the Happiest of Holidays.

Sincerely,

~Bill

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From: Sam Carpenter

Date: Sat, Dec 22, 2018 at 5:21 AM

Subject: The next move is yours...

To: Bill Currier

Bill: I didn't demand anything. I asked ORP leadership to stand down based on the facts I listed, and I sent the message personally to you. Re spoiling the holidays, you just distributed my message to pretty much to everyone, even before Christmas. No need for me to send an "open

letter" to the base now, nor after Christmas, although I may choose to do it later.

The deadline for the meeting, the 45 day notification requirement, happens to occur right in the middle of the holidays. That was ORP leadership's recommendation to the Central Committee back in September. At least I was willing to wait until after Christmas itself.

In my letter, nowhere did I express a desire to "run unopposed." Obviously, anyone can run for any office as long as they meet the notification deadline and other requirements, and it's my hope others will choose to do that.

I did express my hope that, based on a variety of indisputable facts, current ORP leadership would step down now to avoid just this kind of mayhem. Of course, considering all that has not occurred, you must have expected someone to ask you to do that....

In any case, however brief, a personal phone call or return email message right after you received my letter would have been the way to handle this. Instead, without discussing it with me, you email blasted my personal message to you, to the whole universe. (And you took that action two weeks after receiving my message, and only because I personally followed up with you).

Your blast will cause an email firestorm, now, just before Christmas. I will pass this reply on to those who want my side of the story. But that's it. I'm not going to engage with you on this issue further.

Becky can expect my notification of candidacy, along with those on my slate, next week.

It's an odd thing, wishing each other happy holidays in the midst of

this, but what the heck: Merry Christmas and Happy New Year to you  
and yours, Bill.

-sam



## **APPENDIX R**

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*A few of our Simple Ads*







 A woman with short brown hair and glasses, wearing a patterned top, is seated at a desk and writing on a document with a pen.	 A man with dark hair and a beard, wearing a brown blazer over a plaid shirt, is shown in profile, looking towards the left.	 A man with grey hair, wearing a dark suit, a light pink shirt, and a patterned tie, is shown in profile, gesturing with his hands as if speaking.
<p><b>Kate Brown</b> <b>GUN RESTRICTIONS</b></p>	<p><b>Knute Buehler</b> <b>GUN RESTRICTIONS</b></p>	<p><b>Sam Carpenter</b> <b>PRO 2nd AMENDMENT</b></p>

## **APPENDIX S**

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*Past ORP Chair's thoughts  
on Solomon Yue*



**TO:** Members of the Republican National Committee

**FROM:** Bob Tiernan, Chairman of the Oregon Republican Party

**SUBJECT:** Creating dissention within the RNC by purposely spreading misinformation and half truths: "A lie repeated enough times becomes the truth" Solomon Yue (March 1, 2002 e mail)

**DATE:** May 10, 2010

During my tenure as Chairman, it has been both a pleasure and a thrill to have the honor of serving with dedicated, hardworking Republicans who are committed to making a difference. We are truly a team, working hard together, to get Republicans elected.

One of the bigger disappointments during these past 16 months is watching the dissention and attacks launched by some RNC members, toward Chairman Steele. Front and center of these "attacks" are the ones launched, mostly in "secret", by a few RNC members.

One of those members who launches these "secret attacks" is from the Oregon delegation. Solomon Yue has been stirring dissention within the RNC since the day I was elected. Watching Solomon Yue cause internal discourse and plant the seeds of dissent, using the anonymity of the press or surrogates to carry and spread misinformation, misrepresentations and half-truths has been quite disturbing. And I have had it.

The attacks against Michael Steele launched from "within the RNC committee" does nothing more than take away valuable energy from the RNC staff and communications teams, energy that needs to be directed toward the Democrats. Moreover, Solomon Yue's actions are undermining the leadership and staff of the RNC and taking the RNC away from its mission of spending all its resources, talents and time getting Republicans elected.

Solomon Yue has been spreading hate and discontent with in Republican Politics for sometime – both in Oregon and inside the RNC. The list is so long – former Congressman, Gubernatorial Candidates, big donors and Party officials. The list is almost endless. You may think I am kidding? Ask former Oregon National Committee woman June Hartley, yourself.

Bob Tiernan, Chairman • Russ Walker, Vice Chairman • Darlien France, Secretary • Dennis Morgan, Treasurer

Mailing Address: PO Box 25406, Portland, OR 97298 • Street Address: 11560 SW 67th Avenue, Suite 200E, Portland, OR 97223  
Phone: (503) 595-8881 • Fax: (503) 595-8882 • Web: [www.OregonRepublicanParty.org](http://www.OregonRepublicanParty.org) • Email: [info@oregop.org](mailto:info@oregop.org)  
Authorized and paid for by the Oregon Republican Party. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate committee.

Remember June Hartley? She was our National Committeewoman before Solomon started to spread lies and half truths about her views (See Attached letter from Randy Pullen wherein he calls Solomon Yue: "Deceitful"). Solomon's half truths, misrepresentations and lies cost June her election. And Solomon orchestrated it and caused it. How did this happen? What is Solomon doing to the RNC?

Let me share with you three of Solomon Yue's most favorite statements – all direct quotes:

1. "I was taught the by Chinese Communists the following theory, which has been practiced by James Carville and many other as well, "a lie repeated enough times becomes the truth" Solomon Yue (March 1, 2002 e mail)

2. " I was taught by Chairman Mao the following: 'the best was to deny reality and to confuse the issue is to turn the facts up side down in order to cover up one's real intention' ". Solomon Yue (March 8, 2002 e mail).

3. "One does not have to be a communist or democrat in order to practice Mao's theory: the best was to deny reality and to confuse the issue is to turn the facts up side down in order to cover up one's real intention" Solomon Yue (March 9, 2002)

Does this all sound familiar? Pretty sad, don't you think? Tell a lie enough..... and it becomes the truth? Again, feel free to call June Hartley, her phone number 541.372.2327. And I am happy to provide many other phone numbers of past Oregon Politicians, political leaders, donators, etc., who would verify Solomon Yue's tactics.

The purpose of this letter is to expose the fact that Solomon Yue is employing the same tactics against Michael Steele and the RNC Staff, and in the same fashion he "went after" June Hartley: Lies, misrepresentations, and twisted facts. And then he repeats them enough, through third parties, surrogates and the media to stir controversy create doubt and undermine leadership. Which really all begs the question: Who is Solomon Yue working for? Who's team is he on??

I am a Commander in the United States Navy Reserve. I possess a Top Secret security clearance. My background has been checked. On my arm, I have tattooed "Honor, Courage and Commitment". I take great pride in my ethical standards. I don't tell lies, misstate the facts or spread misinformation. I am making the statements (above) not out of pleasure, but out of necessity. Solomon Yue, and maybe others, are using tactics unfitting to a Republican or an American – and using those tactics on their own Republican team.

Whether you are a Michael Steele fan or not. Michael is on our team, he is our leader, and he is our teammate. If you don't like the job he is doing or you don't like him, he will soon be up for election -- in about 8 months. You will have your opportunity then to

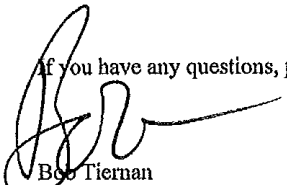
how he has done and whether you want to reelect him. But until that time, we need to support him. Supporting him will get more Republicans elected.

And remember, "trash talking" your quarter back, or bad-mouthing your coach  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the way through the season is just going to hurt the team, and hurt your ability to win

I urge each of you to please, encourage Solomon Yue to "knock it off". His e mail is [ultrasealglove@msn.com](mailto:ultrasealglove@msn.com). His phone # is 503.370.7499. And whatever you do, don't believe the rumors, innuendos, undermining and smear politics that he seems to take great pleasure in engaging in. Again, if you have any doubts that this is what Solomon specializes in, please call June Hartley at 541.372.2327.

And remember what Solomon preaches and practices: "a lie repeated enough times becomes the truth". Solomon Yue (March 1, 2002 e mail)

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me: 503.860.1833.



Bob Tiernan  
Chairman, State of Oregon

## **APPENDIX T**

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*Endorsement Letter for Carpenter Slate*

Below is a message from four of our former ORP State Chairs and from former Oregon Congressman Denny Smith.

These five prominent Oregon Republicans urge the ORP to change its leadership at the coming organizational meeting.

They give their reasons for recommending this change.

It is a privilege to send this to you for your consideration.

Marylin Shannon

Current ORP National Committee Woman

(Former Oregon State Senator and ORP ViceChair)

A Proposal for Oregon Republican Party Leadership

By:

Perry Atkinson, former ORP Chair

Bob Tiernan, former ORP Chair

Suzanne Gallagher, former ORP Chair

Art Robinson, former ORP Chair

Denny Smith, former Oregon US Congressman

Grassroots Oregon Republicans do not like the political situation and trends in Oregon. In fact, the majority of grassroots Oregonians – Republicans, Democrats, Constitutionals, Libertarians, Independents, and unaligned – are worried about the counter-productive political direction of our state. It is the responsibility of the Oregon Republican Party to change this direction.

Our state is starving for leadership that puts families and businesses first. It is time to elect leadership that supports our platform of ideas and policies that work. No longer can we afford to advance leaders who do not support our platform and who instead support candidates that run against it.

The ORP's job is simple: Raise money for candidates that support our platform, elect platform Republicans, and increase Republican voter registration.

The answers to Oregon's future – its families, its growth, its healthy businesses and economy – have already been laid out in the Republican platform. Let's elect candidates who stand on those principles and pass



legislation that supports hard working people and the enterprises in which they work.

“Individual farmers, laborers, business owners, trades and managers – they are the heart and soul of development. Trust them, because whenever they are allowed to create and build, wherever they are given personal stake in deciding economic policies and benefiting from their success, then societies become more dynamic, prosperous, progressive and free.”

President Ronald Reagan, October 22, 1981

We must ask ourselves:

How much money was raised in this past election cycle and given to candidates?

How many Republican seats did we gain in the legislature, counties, and cities?

How much did we increase Republican voter registration?

How much was the ORP supported by the RNC, and was this support used to elect real Republicans?

Why did we run a candidate for governor who openly rejected much of our platform?

It is time for a change to leadership that is effective and that understands our values.

The conservative revolution has begun across America. It is time to turn Oregon Red because Republicanism is the answer to the runaway liberal socialist agenda now governing our state.

When our businesses grow and our families thrive, our culture wins.

Oregon is already great. Let's build upon that and do what is right for our children's future!

There is an old saying, "insanity is defined by doing the same thing over and over and expecting a different result." It's time to stop doing the same thing over and over again and vote for a change to party leadership that is committed to the proven ideals set forth in our party's platform.

We are Oregonians, we are Republicans...we are family. Lets do

the RIGHT thing and elect Republican Platform leaders this coming organizational meeting.

## **APPENDIX U**

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*Questions For The ORP  
Executive Committee*

Adapted from the Making Reality Great Again Facebook post of 8/19/2019

Not officially affiliated with the ORP Central Committee, nor an office holder, now I find myself a grassroots blogger. I have over 100,000 Oregon direct subscribers and reach in excess of 400,000 Oregon Republicans every month. That's a decent audience.

One of my favorite quotes is Stephen Covey's, "Begin with the End in Mind." That is actually a Chapter title in his *Seven Habits* book. So, what is the "end" goal of this post? Simply to put every question about the ORP Executive Committee's performance in one place. By doing this, perhaps a chink will appear in the armor of the Oregon Republican Party's Executive Committee leadership.

Regarding ORP leadership, someone has to do the critique and perhaps I am the most qualified outsider, to do it considering the Oregon Republican Party's gyrations of the last few years and the fact that over those years I was deep inside the political meat grinder as both a US Senate candidate and a gubernatorial candidate (2016 and 2018).

Do I care what the ORP Executive Committee thinks of me? Nope. For one thing, I've been "thoroughly vetted." So, they don't intimidate me even a little bit. And more importantly, the utter political devastation we've sustained here in Oregon has reduced the ORP's engagement with regular Oregon Republican voters to near zero.

The Executive Committee will hammer me personally though because they will have no good answers for the questions I ask here (Yes, of course that's the way the Democrat Progressive Left operates.. Attack the messenger with whatever can be conjured up.)

In any case, this post is about the ORP Executive Committee – our ORP's very top official leadership. Not me.

I am not interested in leading the official ORP organization or in running for office. But as ORP constituents – we're just two of over 701,000 total – we have some legitimate questions that perhaps some Central Committee members could ask their Executive Committee.

In order to assume a proper big-picture perspective, before reading the Executive Committee questions we list below, there are a couple of questions you might first ask yourself: in Salem, have Oregon Republicans *ever* been politically weaker or more humiliated than they are now? And then ask yourself, is there any evidence that via our current leadership, will things will get any better in the near future?

Chronicled in our thousands of social media and one-on-one chats with Oregon Republican grassroots voters over the last three years, here are questions we've been asked, and now we direct them to the ORP Executive Committee:

1. Here's the most frequently asked overview/general questions: why has Democrat Leftist influence been tolerated by the ORP Executive Committee, while conservatism has been downplayed? When has that posture won us even one significant election? Why does ORP leadership continue to push the party to the left when that stance has always failed, leading Oregon to this awful place?
2. The Trump factor: while literally 90% of Oregon Republicans have supported Donald Trump from the beginning (a statistic consistent with the rest of the country), why did ORP leadership virtually ignore the man for literally two and a half years, from his nomination in July 2016 all the way through to the first week of January 2019 when my pro-Trump slate challenged their never-Trump leadership (that is headed up by Solomon Yue, Bill Currier, Tracy Honl, and indirectly by Knute Buehler – who literally hates our President)? *Why did the ORP state party Executive Committee pretend Donald Trump didn't exist for all that time?* (Yes, ORP leadership is flat-out fibbing when they proclaim otherwise. This history of the regime's non-support of our President has been carefully documented; is easily available to anyone via simple online research.)
3. Why have influential and respected conservatives (e.g. Marilyn Shannon and Patti Adair), been banished from state ORP

- leadership? Did this happen so the Executive Committee could finally become a solid bastion of “moderates”?
4. Why did the Executive Committee tolerate 2018 gubernatorial nominee Knute Buehler’s shameless rejection of the 2017 ORP platform? And why did the Executive Committee silently stand by to watch him execute his underhanded multi-million dollar primary campaign strategy of flat-out deceit?
  5. If the ORP insists it stands neutral in primary elections, why did a member of the Executive Committee endorse Knute Buehler early-on in the 2018 gubernatorial primary campaign?
  6. Before mounting a recall effort against Kate Brown, did anyone on the Executive Committee investigate what the actual outcome of a successful recall would be? Did the Committee not understand that an unsuccessful recall would demoralize our base, and that a successful one would do exactly the same because it would give us an incumbent democrat Governor Tobias Read to deal with in 2022? Doesn’t the ORP brass understand that facing an incumbent in that race would be a huge disadvantage for Republicans? (The recall effort, sexy as it sounds, is unquestionably a chaos-inducing, energy-draining lose-lose for Oregon Republicans. Why did ORP leadership make this move, especially when another identical effort was already underway? Our very top ORP leaders are smart political people. I think they knew the various negative outcomes full-well...especially the fact that this effort is distracting Oregon Republican voters from what really matters: electoral victories in 2020 and 2022.
  7. Why is communicating with regular Oregon Republican voters of such low priority and happen so infrequently? See my upcoming post (Appendix V) for the black-and-white statistics.
  8. In 2018, why did 25% of House districts have no Republican candidate at all?

9. What is the ORP doing to recruit and promote candidates for this upcoming most important election of our lifetimes? Or, diabolical as it sounds, and as I mentioned above, is the useless recall effort intended to divert grassroots energy, time and enthusiasm *away* from those elections?
10. Why does the ORP website continue to be so seriously outdated (e.g. still listing 2018 AND 2016(!) candidates, not listing Executive Committee members, important links still “under construction” as they were two and even four years ago?
11. And this: In the February 15, 2019 Executive election meeting, why did Chairman Bill Currier publicly promise the entire Central Committee, and I only slightly paraphrase him here, *“The big donors are lining up to contribute! They just want to know they have two more years of my leadership! My first four years as Chair were carefully executed to lead up to this crescendo of contributions in my third term!”* The facts: since that meeting and his re-election, per ORESTAR, a total of twenty-three ORP contributions totaling \$17,000 have been gathered. \$9,000 of that total came from Greg Walden, and a few true-believers including Greg Barreto and a couple of other individuals, the Baker County Republicans, the Marion County Republicans, etc. This means that, beyond those in-the-bag contributions, Chair Currier has gathered a total of \$8,000 in individual contributions in the past seven months...after he, as I said, openly declared there would be substantial contributions immediately upon his reelection for a third-term. And for that matter, does anyone really believe he personally solicited even those few dollars? OK, let’s say he did – and we are being way too generous in this – *he only raised \$8,000 in seven months?* WHY did Chair Currier mislead the Central Committee about his intent and/or his ability to raise money? (*In most state Republican Party organizations, raising funds is the primary duty of the Chair*). And a pointed question to the Central Committee

- itself: why did two-thirds of you believe him? (Note: In contrast to Bill Currier, past ORP Chair Perry Atkinson single-handedly raised multiple millions of dollars during his tenure. No wonder the ORP has been on the brink of insolvency for so long. Go here to ORESTAR see the numbers for yourself.)
12. And put this one under the you-must-think-we're-all-stupid category. How can political candidates' USPS postage mailing expenditures, channeled through the ORP's non-profit status, be classified as successful fund-raising by Bill Currier?
  13. Is the above maneuvering even legal?
  14. Why is ORP social media such a train-wreck, reaching less than one-tenth of one percent of Oregon Republicans? (That percentage is not a misprint. This point is important enough that I will cover it in an upcoming post
  15. And here are the elephant-in-the-living room summary questions. *How does the Executive Committee explain its massive failure-to-perform over the years?* Why has Oregon sunk low enough to join only two other states that have Blue Trifecta super-majority governments (California and Illinois)? Why haven't we been able to replace a seriously horrible governor who should have been easy to defeat? In other words, *why has ORP leadership performed so miserably in its duty to protect and promote its Republican constituency and for that matter, every Oregonian no matter their political affiliation?* And why has this profound failure-to-deliver not ended the terms of the entire ORP Executive board in this most recent round of elections? If ORP leadership was a basketball team, this management team would have been dismissed years ago...And, this: In reviewing the above horror-story, one could legitimately ask the Executive Committee, *why have you performed so poorly over such a wide spectrum of issues, points, and protocols?*
  16. And so, after all that, the logical next question is...*could all*



*of this dysfunction be on purpose?* Is the utter failure of the ORP Executive Committee on so many levels, over so many years, *by design?* If so, who at the very top of the Executive Committee is behind this nefarious stratagem?

I'm just sayin'...

And if I was a member of the Central Committee, I'd also be wondering how many Oregon Republicans actually give a hoot about the official Oregon Republican Party leadership and ORP Platform. In my next post (see Appendix V) I'll answer this question with real numbers. In advance, I'll tell you here that the give-a-hoot contingent is less than 500 total across the entire state..

Here's the big final-question: if ORP leadership has zero communication with literally 99.9% of Oregon Republicans, the Platform is ignored, and the party itself is paralyzed and dysfunctional on so many levels, how do we regular Republican Trump-supporting grassroots voters untangle ourselves from this bullshit ORP leadership charade?

So, for now, as members of the Oregon Republican grassroots, we challenge the Central Committee to go deep, asking the questions that matter, to consider the end-game, and to not let reality be swept under the carpet yet again.

-sam carpenter



## **APPENDIX V**

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*The Hijacking and the Neutering of the  
Oregon Republican Party*

Adapted from Facebook Post of August 21, 2019

Yes, this is a relatively long post, but this “alternative viewpoint” must be spelled out in detail.

With the intent of invalidating what I am going to say here, expect me to be pummeled by our ORP Executive Committee establishment. For them, nullifying me equates to nullifying anything I say.

(Chastising me personally is all they’ve got. Interesting that as I write this in September 2019, seven of the eight individuals who successfully slimed me into defeat in the 2018 gubernatorial primary race are now either out of state, out of politics, or both. I list these people in a footnote in the first part of Chapter 35.)

Let’s start here: You’ve seen the singer in a bar or at the county fair, performing his or her heart out to an audience of zero. Dozens of empty seats, or a few tables filled with the inebriated; talking too loud and ignoring the performer.

Painful for the singer. Painful to watch.

In pressing hard for new leadership in the ORP Executive elections earlier this year, Diana and I and our slate made the mistake of campaigning to an ORP Executive Committee audience that has zero mechanical connection to 99.9% of our registered-to-vote Oregon Republicans. To say it in opposite terms, our ORP top state leadership has the enthusiastic support of less than one-tenth of one percent of Oregon Republicans – *maybe* 500 total, while the ORP Executive Committee represents itself to the world as the voice of all 701,000 of us.

That’s right. The “supporting reach” of our ORP top leadership is limited to no more than 500 Oregon Republicans, many of whom lie within the official party structure itself.

But it must be said that most members of the Central Committee are solid conservative souls, some of whom have been hoodwinked – or railroaded – by a couple or three clever Executive Committee leaders who have been (and I will be kind here) “influenced” by the progressive Left.

Do not confuse what I am saying here. There is a difference between being a loyal Republican, and being a blind-faith supporter of the current ORP Executive Committee leadership regime.

These are two very different entities negotiating two very different trajectories.

The Central Committee members who haven't been hoodwinked or railroaded? A large segment quietly seethes at what's happened to their Republican Party Executive leadership...and of course there are those few within the official ORP administrative structure – certainly less than 100 total – who truly believe that Executive Committee is on-target and boldly leading us out of the grip of the current blue Trifecta/legislative super-majority stranglehold.

So here it is, in summary: In the Platform meeting in Pendleton this week there will be maybe 120 Central Committee attendees of whom probably half are skeptical of current leadership. This means that the entire Republican Party voter block across the state – 701,000 strong – is being represented by an “establishment/moderate” official leadership of less than 100

This is the definition of hijacking

Last Monday, a lone ORP Executive Committee supporter emailed me to say that I should stop blogging about any of this because I “am dividing the party.”

Good God.

Fact is, I'm calling out only the tiny Executive Committee and their Central Committee supporters – no more than 100 members total – who claim to represent all 700,000+ Republican voters within the state.

I'm not dividing the Oregon Republican Party. The ORP Executive Committee has already done that.

But let's move on, keeping this in mind: although unconnected to 99.9% of Oregon Republicans, the ORP administrative organization itself has been very important to the leftist media and the Democrat opposition who have used the Oregon Republican Party leadership's irrelevance to proclaim that ALL 701,000+ Oregon Republicans are

irrelevant...labeling us as reactionary, backwards, uneducated; extremist gun-clingers and bible-thumpers...and a dying breed.

And it gets worse. You and I – the grassroots/country class – have been blamed for our party’s dire condition by the same few “moderate” top Republican leaders who have, over the years, nearly destroyed it. The smokescreen they hide behind is in accusing you and me of dragging the party to the Right when the reality is that they have been relentlessly pounding it hard to the Left.

And as our Executive Committee party leadership quietly approves, Knute Buehler repeatedly prattles on that he is “moderate” and “thoughtful,” and (I hate this) a “new kind of Republican.” What he’s saying is that he thinks you and I — essentially the 90% of Oregon Republicans who support our President — are extreme, thoughtless, stuck in the past...and maybe not so smart.

It’s no surprise that those incessant indictments never raise the hackles of our ORP top Executive Committee leadership.

The county Republican parties? Most are barely supported by the state organization yet in their isolation most members have valiantly forged ahead anyway, proud in their conservatism and their support of our President.

(And speaking of President Trump, in my previous post I pointed out how the Executive Committee offered near-zero support of Donald Trump from his inauguration in July 2016 until this past January 2019, when they were forced into supporting him. Since January, the ORP website front page has been cartoonishly pro-Trump, never mind that many of the website’s important back-pages have been “under construction” for the last two years.)

In any case, it’s within the county organizations that Oregon GOP power lies.

So, how many will “get” what I am saying here? Maybe only ten percent of the Executive Committee, but probably fifty percent of the Central Committee. The 701,000 base? I’d say ninety percent agree. These are Oregonians who have been powerless and have had nowhere to go.

Our Republican Party has been hijacked – and then neutered – by just a handful of Republicans who don’t think like we think.

The relatively miniscule ORP Executive Committee leadership contingent will continue within their dream world, assuring themselves of their importance. But looking at the numbers – and there is no disputing this – they simply don’t matter to 99.9% of Republicans state-wide.

Following is tangible, mechanical proof. As an inarguable indicator, look at Facebook which is THE major social media platform, and a reliable gauge of an organization’s reach and engagement. Nowadays, for anyone with a Page, Facebook statistics precisely answer the question, “*How many people are actually hearing what is being said?*”

We’ll look at the three primary Oregon conservative post-controlled Pages.

What follows is statistical and therefore precisely objective. Don’t argue with me. You can see the numbers for yourself by going to the following Facebook pages:

1. [The Oregon Republican Party](#)
2. [Knut Buehler official Page](#)
3. [Making Reality Great Again](#) (Our private political Page)

Let’s average the statistics of the five most recent posts on each Page, per the analysis I did going backwards from August 13<sup>th</sup>:

<b>Oregon Republican Party</b> (15K followers*)	Likes 112	Shares 10	Comments 9
<b>Knut Buehler political page</b> (15K followers*)	Likes 130	Shares 4	Comments 26
<b>Making Reality Great Again</b> (91K followers)	Likes 6,930	Shares 2,081	Comments 773

No, this isn't a trick. Yes, the dichotomy is stunning. The numbers speak for themselves. If you are skeptical, go back to the three Pages yourself and average out the stats using your own selected date range. Compare the numbers.

And be sure to read the footnote below. To us, it looks like there's been serious damage done to the current and future influence of the ORP Facebook Page (and the Buehler Page, for that matter).

Here's another statistic: an individual ORP or Buehler post is reaching an average of maybe 1,000 while the reach of an average *Making Reality Great Again* post regularly exceeds 75,000.

So, our mistake has been for me to take six months to write a book about an ORP revitalization that we aimed solely at the ORP leadership's extremely limited constituency. And then, after that, to repeatedly blog and speak to this same paltry faction.

We had been talking to an almost empty room. I was THAT bar room singer!

What can we do now?

First, let's leave the ORP Executive Committee carcass for the moderate vultures who currently control it. Let it go. No point in fighting this contingent. Numerically and therefore influentially, they simply don't matter. Even though there are a few truly conservative CD-affiliated members on the Executive Committee, there is no chance to change the trajectory of this leadership any time soon. Leave them to wallow and bloviate within their own little swamp.

The Executive Committee can continue to endlessly revise

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\* This is important. Pages that have been "click-farmed" rarely exceed a total of 15,000 to 16,000 followers. Severely limiting "reach," Facebook algorithms ruthlessly punish Pages whose operators have employed this deceitful tactic of appearing more influential than they really are. With Facebook, it's pretty much impossible to ever recover from this faux-pas. Note that the ORP Page and the Buehler Page are each at about 15K followers. Oregon Republican League's open Page is also at 15K. And Greg Wooldridge's now defunct Facebook Page was approaching 15K when he entirely deleted it in June 2018, just after the gubernatorial primary election. That's four out of the five major Oregon Republican Facebook Pages stalled at 15K followers. There are other minor establishment sites that are stuck at 15K too, e.g. the Bill Post political page. Coincidence or click-farmed? You decide. Go here for more about click-farming: <https://dazeinfo.com/2016/05/28/facebook-click-farms-fraudulent-likes-hurting-brands/> And here: <https://ppcprotect.com/what-is-a-click-farm/> Wikipedia's take: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Click\\_farm](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Click_farm)



the bylaws to their immediate advantage, eat up valuable time in consecutive Central Committee meetings talking about Taiwan as Oregon continues to sink to the bottom, continue to personally attack the messenger (me), blather on about Easter Egg hunts on the White House lawn....

Nobody cares. No one is listening.

Let's save our energy for what we can do that will actually matter. We've got elections to win and a state to save. We grassroots Trumpsters have got work to do.

ORP Executive leadership can face the music in the next ORP elections. Maybe after that the whole management structure of the organization can be rebuilt from the ground up.

But until then, *Diana and I are not going to let them distract us anymore.*

Second, let's forge a new path by building a grassroots forum specifically for the 90% of Oregon Republican voters who support our President – and the 2017 ORP Platform as it's written. This is the enormous chunk of conservative Republican voters who have had no other place to go. In contrast to the decay and collapse of the ORP Executive leadership, our 90% pro-Trump contingent is on-fire, animated and powerful – matching the intensity of 90% of Republicans in the rest of the country – and as I said earlier, over 100,000 of you are already on board this MOGA2020 train.

On this MOGA2020 site, we'll work hard to find and place Republican candidates in 100% of our House districts, not just 75% of them. Also, in some cases – statewide, Executive, House and Senate – we'll endorse primary candidates.

Let's stick together, work with reality, and forge ahead confidently.

Get yourself on the mailing list and Like the Facebook page. It's the sheer numbers within our movement that count the most.

*But there is something I mentioned above that we must deal with in this moment:* the soon to be approved 2019 ORP Party Platform. The 2017 Platform has real substance, and it's our prayer that it doesn't get pounded to the Left in this weekend's platform meeting in Pendleton. Keep in mind that in the ORP Executive elections last February, our

pro-Trump slate was defeated 80 to 40. If 21 of the 80 had flipped their votes to our side, ORP leadership would be completely different today. Just 21 votes! This Platform meeting is important and the number of voters will again be small. We urge any on-the-fence Central Committee members to NOT contribute to moving the Platform leftward.

President Trump's reelection matters like nothing else. And of course, the re-taking of our state political leadership in Salem is critical. Diana and I, and a whole lot of other Oregonian grassroots leaders who have quietly joined us, think an Oregon Red Trifecta IS attainable relatively soon, especially because the Democrat Party is undergoing a profoundly idiotic implosion at the same time our President's successes mount.

NOW is the time to strike!

We posed some questions to the Executive Committee in the previous post (and that post is available on our [Facebook Page](#) and on our [website](#)). Part of one of those questions is worth repeating here, slightly paraphrased:

*"...one could legitimately ask the ORP Executive Committee, why have you performed so poorly over such a wide spectrum of issues, points, and protocols? And so, the logical next question is...has all of this be on purpose? Is the utter failure of the ORP Executive Committee on so many levels over so many years, by design?"*

Has our party been hijacked and then neutered by a select few? You decide.

And what specifically can you do right now to help? Very simple. Just sign up on our email mailing list at [www.makeoregongreatagain.com](http://www.makeoregongreatagain.com), and then "Like" our [Facebook Page at Making Reality Great Again](#).

No need to send us money. It's our numbers that give us power.

More to come soon. Stay tuned.

-Sam and Diana Carpenter

