

**BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

PERRY JOHNSON FOR PRESIDENT, INC.  
755 W. Big Beaver Rd  
#1300  
Troy, MI 48084

v.

MUR No. \_\_\_\_\_

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
Kristin Crosbie, Treasurer  
310 First St. SE  
Washington, DC 20003

FOX CORPORATION  
1211 Avenue of the Americas  
New York City, NY 10036

FOX NEWS MEDIA  
1211 Avenue of the Americas  
New York City, NY 10036

**COMPLAINT**

Pursuant to 52 U.S.C. § 30109, Perry Johnson for President, Inc. submits this complaint to the Federal Election Commission (the “Commission”) seeking an investigation and immediate redress of violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the “Act”) and Commission regulations by the Republican National Committee (“RNC”) and Fox Corporation and Fox News Media (collectively, “FOX”).

In a collusive effort to cherry-pick participants in the August 23, 2023 Republican presidential primary debate (the “Debate”), FOX outsourced Debate participation criteria to the RNC, allowing the RNC to seize control over one of the most prominent opportunities available to presidential primary candidates. In doing so, FOX blatantly violated Commission requirements for staging candidate debates and thereby made prohibited corporate contributions to each of the participating candidates. For its part, by coopting control of participation criteria from FOX, the RNC solicited that corporate contribution in violation of the Act’s soft money rules. In the alternative, the RNC itself staged the debate, and absent any safe harbor to do so without making a contribution, has made excessive contributions to the participating candidates

With additional 2024 presidential primary debates quickly approaching, including a second to be hosted by FOX Business, another subsidiary of FOX Corporation, the Commission must swiftly condemn these violations to prevent FOX and the RNC from further corrupt

manipulation of the primary process and the American public's ability to obtain comprehensive information about their legitimate choices for the Republican nomination for president.

## FACTS

On August 23, 2023, FOX hosted the first debate among candidates for the 2024 Republican presidential nomination. Though FOX was billed as the Debate's host,<sup>1</sup> and almost certainly paid for the debate along with its corporate sponsors,<sup>2</sup> the RNC has controlled the debate at every turn. The Debate was announced, not by FOX, but by the RNC on April 12, 2023, following speculation about which network the RNC would "give" the first debate of the cycle.

On June 2, 2023, the RNC announced criteria to participate in the Debate, which required candidates to:

- Demonstrate their status as a candidate for the Republican nomination for president, including their eligibility to run for president and proof of active filing as a candidate for the Republican nomination with the Commission;
- Poll at least 1% in three "national polls" OR 1% in two national polls and 1% in one early state poll from two separate early primary or caucus states (Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada, or South Carolina)
- Raise funds from a minimum of 40,000 unique donors, with at least 200 donors per state or territory in 20+ states or territories; and
- Sign a pledge agreeing to abide by RNC party rules, including a pledge not to participate in unsanctioned debates, a pledge agreeing to support the eventual nominee, and an agreement to participate in data-sharing with the RNC.

With respect to the polling criteria, the RNC specified that a poll would be recognized if it:

- Surveyed "at least 800 registered likely Republican voters" through a mix of live calls, integrated voice response, online panels, and/or text message.
- Did not overly weight responses of any individual cohort beyond the margin of the error of the poll.
- Asked the question on presidential preference prior to any question which may allow potential bias.
- Was not conducted by a polling company affiliated with a candidate or candidate committee.

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. *Fox News to Host First Republican Presidential Primary Debate*, NEW YORK TIMES (Apr. 12, 2023), <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/us/politics/republican-primary-debate-milwaukee.html> (quoting RNC Chairwoman Ronna McDaniel's appearance on *Fox & Friends*, stating "We are going to host the very first debate with Fox News. It will be a Fox News Republican primary debate").

<sup>2</sup> The RNC has disclosed no payments that appear to be in connection with the Milwaukee, Wisconsin Debate, such as payments for the venue, audio/visual production, etc. which is no surprise, given that were the RNC to do so, it would be required to spend considerable amounts of hard money and the costs would likely exceed its per-candidate contribution limit.

To participate in the Debate, a candidate was required to demonstrate satisfaction of all four criteria no later than 48 hours prior to the Debate on August 23, 2023.<sup>3</sup>

On August 21, 2023, the RNC announced that eight candidates for the Republican nomination had qualified for the Debate and would appear onstage.<sup>4</sup> These candidates included Doug Burgum, Chris Christie, Ron DeSantis, Nikki Haley, Asa Hutchinson, Mike Pence, Vivek Ramaswamy, and Tim Scott.

Among the qualified candidates excluded from the Debate was Perry Johnson, who undisputably demonstrated his satisfaction of the Debate participation criteria as stated on June 2, 2023. Internally, the Johnson campaign believe it had satisfied the polling threshold on Thursday, August 17<sup>th</sup>, with release of the Trafalgar National Poll, in combination with the Harvard/Harris Qualifying Poll and Big Village Qualifying Poll.<sup>5</sup> Every major news outlet reported that Johnson had made the Debate stage on Friday August 18<sup>th</sup>, with the release of the Trafalgar Iowa Qualifying Poll, Trafalgar New Hampshire Qualifying Poll, and Victory Insights National Qualifying Poll. All six polls showed Johnson polling at 1%.<sup>6</sup>

At 2:30pm on Friday, August 18, after widespread media reporting, the RNC data department reached out to the Johnson campaign with instructions on how to certify the total number of unique donors, which the Johnson campaign provided to the RNC through an approved third party, at 12:15 on August 21, 2023.<sup>7</sup> The RNC confirmed the donor requirement had been met.

At 4:30pm on Friday, August 18, the Johnson campaign officially received logistics information about the Debate from Fox News, and continued to receive logistics information throughout the weekend, including a scheduled walkthrough for staff and a personal walkthrough for Johnson.

At 2:03pm on August 21, 2023, RNC Chief of Staff Richard Walters sent the required pledge sheet to the Johnson campaign, which Johnson signed.<sup>8</sup> It was only at this time that the RNC notified the campaign for the first time that Johnson needed one more national qualifying poll to reach the threshold. This was the first communication the campaign had ever received from the RNC regarding his actual status in the debate.

At 3:38pm, the Johnson campaign responded and sent along its four media-reported qualifying polls that met the RNC's criteria (Trafalgar National, Victory Insights, Trafalgar Iowa, and Trafalgar New Hampshire qualifying polls) and asked for clarification. At 3:47pm, Walters notified the campaign that the RNC was not recognizing the Victory Insights poll

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<sup>3</sup> Press Release: *RNC Announces Criteria and Date for First Debate in Milwaukee*, RNC (June 2, 2023), <https://gop.com/press-release/rnc-announces-criteria-and-date-for-first-debate-in-milwaukee/>.

<sup>4</sup> Press Release: *RNC Announces Participants for First Debate in Milwaukee*, RNC (Aug. 21, 2023) <https://gop.com/press-release/rnc-announces-participants-for-first-debate-in-milwaukee/>.

<sup>5</sup> See Exhibit A – Qualifying Polling

<sup>6</sup> See Exhibit A – Qualifying Polling

<sup>7</sup> See Exhibit B – Qualifying Donors

<sup>8</sup> See Exhibit C - Pledge

because it was “not a national poll” despite sampling 800 respondents from across the country, balanced by region and consistent with the results of all other national polling.

The Johnson campaign registered its disagreement with the RNC’s methodology and shared a NEWSMAX/McLaughlin poll that again showed Johnson at 1% nationwide. The campaign sent a follow up at 9:49pm. At 11pm, Johnson received a call from RNC Chairwoman Ronna McDaniel and David Bossie, explaining that the McLaughlin poll would not be counted either and that he was not invited on the Debate stage. After McDaniel and Bossie stated that a poll could still be counted if it left a particular candidate out, the Johnson campaign sent the RNC the Harvard/Harris poll which asked a question excluding President Trump, in which Johnson again received 1%. The RNC responded claiming the poll was biased and would not be counted.

Thus, despite objectively and repeatedly satisfying the above criteria, Johnson was told by the RNC that he would not be permitted to debate based on the RNC’s after-the-fact revision of its debate criteria. As a result, Johnson was barred from the Debate stage, and denied one of the cycle’s most prominent opportunities to reach voters and advance his campaign.

## LEGAL BACKGROUND

The Act prohibits corporations from making contributions to federal candidates,<sup>9</sup> and limits national party committees to contributions of no more than \$5,000 per election to any federal candidate.<sup>10</sup> In addition, party committees may not solicit, receive, or direct contributions from prohibited sources, such as corporations, or contributions in excess of the Act’s contribution limits.<sup>11</sup> “Contributions” include anything of value provided for the purpose of influencing a federal candidate’s election and include communications made in coordination with a federal candidate.<sup>12</sup>

Commission regulations regard debate participation as something of value, and thus a contribution to the participants, but offer a safe harbor for certain organizations to sponsor debates that comply with specific staging requirements.<sup>13</sup> Relevantly, Commission regulations state that media organizations, including cable television providers, may stage candidate debates without making a contribution to the participants, provided that the debate structure does not promote or advance one candidate over another and the staging organization uses “pre-established objective criteria” to determine which candidates may participate.<sup>14</sup> In announcing

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<sup>9</sup> 52 U.S.C. § 30118.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* § 30116.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.* § 30125(a).

<sup>12</sup> *Id.* § 30101(8).

<sup>13</sup> *Candidate Debates*, 60 Fed. Reg. 240, 64261 (1995) (“the purpose of section 110.13 and 114.4(f) is to provide a specific exception so that certain nonprofit organizations and the news media may stage debates, without being deemed to have made prohibited corporate contributions to the candidates taking part in debates.”)

<sup>14</sup> 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.13, 114.4(f). *See also Funding and Sponsorship of Federal Candidate Debates*, 44 Fed. Reg. 249, 76734 (1979) (“The [Act’s media exemption] was not intended to permit the staging of candidate debates, but rather is a limited exemption designed to insure the right of the media to cover and comment on election campaigns.”).

that media organizations may stage candidate debates, the Commission explicitly stated that this safe harbor is not available to entities controlled by a party.<sup>15</sup>

## ALLEGED VIOLATIONS

Based on the foregoing, it is clear that the RNC and FOX brazenly conspired to circumvent the Act and Commission regulations to cherry-pick Debate participants for their own ends.

Notwithstanding the fact that FOX was clearly billed as the host of the debate, communicated staging information with qualifying candidate and, based on information and belief, paid the associated costs to preserve the RNC's hard money, neither FOX nor the RNC made any attempt to hide the fact that participant qualification had been entirely outsourced to the RNC. The RNC set the participation criteria, entirely directed the qualification process, and ultimately put its Chairwoman on the phone to deliver the news that it was denying Johnson the opportunity to participate, despite a widespread public understanding that he had qualified.

This outsourcing begs the question – who was really hosting the Debate? The Act allows FOX to be a staging organization, but only to the extent it is not controlled by a party. Undoubtedly, by ceding discretion over the participants, FOX clearly ceded control to the RNC, allowing it to gatekeep who got to participate. In so doing, FOX and the RNC eviscerated the entire justification for the Commission's debate criteria, which seek to ensure unbiased debates that prioritize the educational value to the public over political considerations that parties, candidates and committees necessarily take into account.

Even if FOX had not been controlled by the RNC, as Debate sponsor, FOX was responsible for compliance with the criteria for debate hosts, the requirement that a staging organization have *pre-established* objective participant selection criteria and not structure the debate to favor some candidates over others. FOX failed at both when it kicked participant selection to the RNC and absolved itself of compliance. Instead, of ensuring adherence to pre-established objective criteria, FOX allowed the RNC to read new terms into the criteria, adding a *post-hoc* definition of "national poll" never before stated to mean a poll of "every single state." This, despite the fact that the RNC *did* state, with meticulous specificity that unique donors had to come from 20+ states or territories. Moreover, as the RNC applied its criteria, FOX allowed it to shift its interpretations to reject each new demonstration Johnson put forward that he had in fact qualified, thus favoring the other eight participating candidates over Johnson.

As a result, it is clear that if FOX is considered the Debate staging organization, it cannot claim the safe harbor that prevents it from making a prohibited corporate contribution to the participating candidates whom its event favored over Johnson either because it was controlled by the RNC or failed to comply with debate requirements. And by seizing authority over participants, the RNC in turn directed FOX's corporate contributions to the participating candidates.

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<sup>15</sup> *Funding and Sponsorship of Federal Candidate Debates*, 44 Fed. Reg. 249, 76734, 76735 (1979) ("News media organizations which are owned or controlled by a political party, political committee or candidate may not stage debates.").

On the other hand, if FOX and the RNC took the position that the RNC was the staging organization, the bottom falls out of the ability to lawfully host the debate at all. The Act, Commission regulations and guidance materials offer no safe harbor to party committees to host a debate without resulting in a contribution to the participants. So if the costs to stage the debate exceeded permissible limits when allocated among the eight participants, the RNC made excessive contributions to the participating candidates.

In short, regardless of how the corrupt manipulation of FOX and the RNC is construed, they have openly flouted the rules Congress and the Commission set up to ensure the public has access to information about the candidates seeking their votes. Either FOX staged the debate, subject to the RNC's control, and they collectively failed to satisfy the Commission's debate safe harbor; or the RNC staged a debate that resulted in contributions to every single participant it favored over Johnson.

## CONCLUSION AND PRAYER FOR RELIEF

Accordingly, Complainant respectfully requests that the Commission find reason to believe the following violations occurred and open an investigation:

- 1. FOX made prohibited corporate contributions to the participating candidates in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30118 and 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.13, 114.4(f) by staging the Debate subject to the RNC's control and without pre-established objective participation criteria and a format that did not favor some candidates over others;**
- 2. The RNC solicited or directed FOX's prohibited corporate contribution by colluding with FOX to control its debate, in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30125(a).**
- 3. Alternatively the RNC made excessive contributions to the participating candidates by itself staging the Debate, violating 52 U.S.C. § 30116.**

Respectfully submitted,

\_\_\_\_\_  
Perry Johnson

Subscribed and sworn to me before this \_\_\_ day of August, 2023.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Notary Public

My commission expires: \_\_\_\_\_

## **EXHIBIT A – QUALIFYING POLLS**





# Qualifying Polls

1. [Trafalgar Iowa Qualifying Poll](#)
2. [Trafalgar New Hampshire Qualifying Poll](#)
3. [Trafalgar National Qualifying Poll](#)
4. [Victory Insights National Qualifying Poll](#)
5. [Big Village Qualifying Poll](#)
6. [Harvard/Harris Qualifying Poll](#)
7. [McLaughlin/Newsmax](#)



## The Lesson of Trafalgar:

*Superior strategy, innovative tactics, and bold leadership can prevail even over larger numbers and greater resources.*

# Iowa GOP Presidential Caucus Survey

August 2023

[info@trf-grp.com](mailto:info@trf-grp.com)

[thetrafalgargroup.org](http://thetrafalgargroup.org)

 The Trafalgar Group

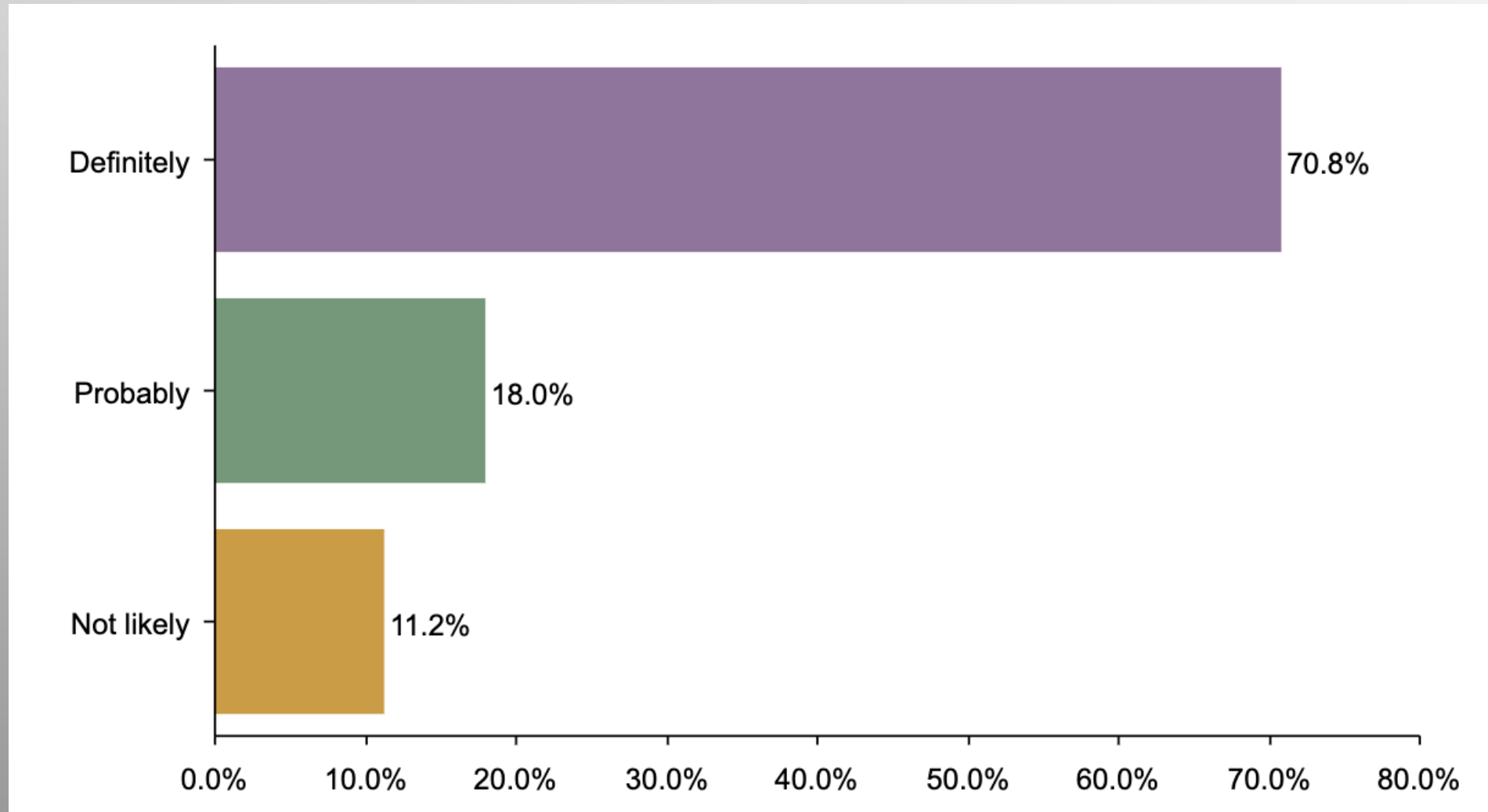
 @trafalgar\_group

- **Conducted 08/14/23 - 08/16/23**
- **1126 Respondents**
- **Likely GOP Presidential Primary Voters**
- **Response Rate: 1.51%**
- **Margin of Error: 2.9%**
- **Confidence: 95%**
- **Response Distribution: 50%**
- **Methodology: [TheTrafalgarGroup.org/Polling-Methodology](https://TheTrafalgarGroup.org/Polling-Methodology)**



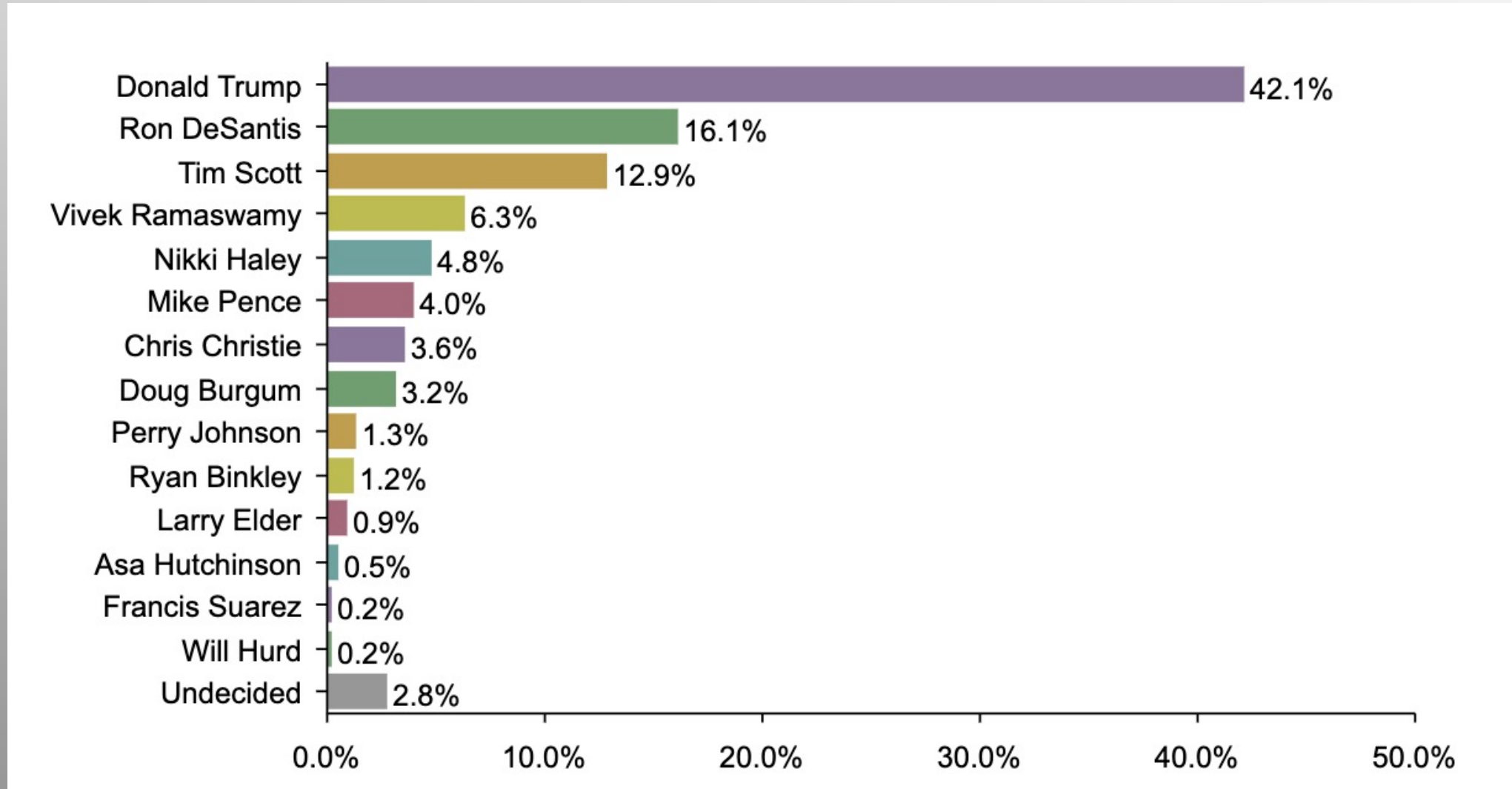
# GOP Pres Caucus Voting Likelihood

*Do you plan to vote in the 2024 Republican Caucus? (Note: Starting list only comprised of likely GOP Caucus Voters)*



# IA GOP Caucus Ballot

*If the 2024 Republican Caucus were tomorrow, who would you most likely support for President?*





## The Lesson of Trafalgar:

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# New Hampshire GOP Presidential Primary Survey

August 2023

[info@trf-grp.com](mailto:info@trf-grp.com)

[thetrafalgargroup.org](http://thetrafalgargroup.org)

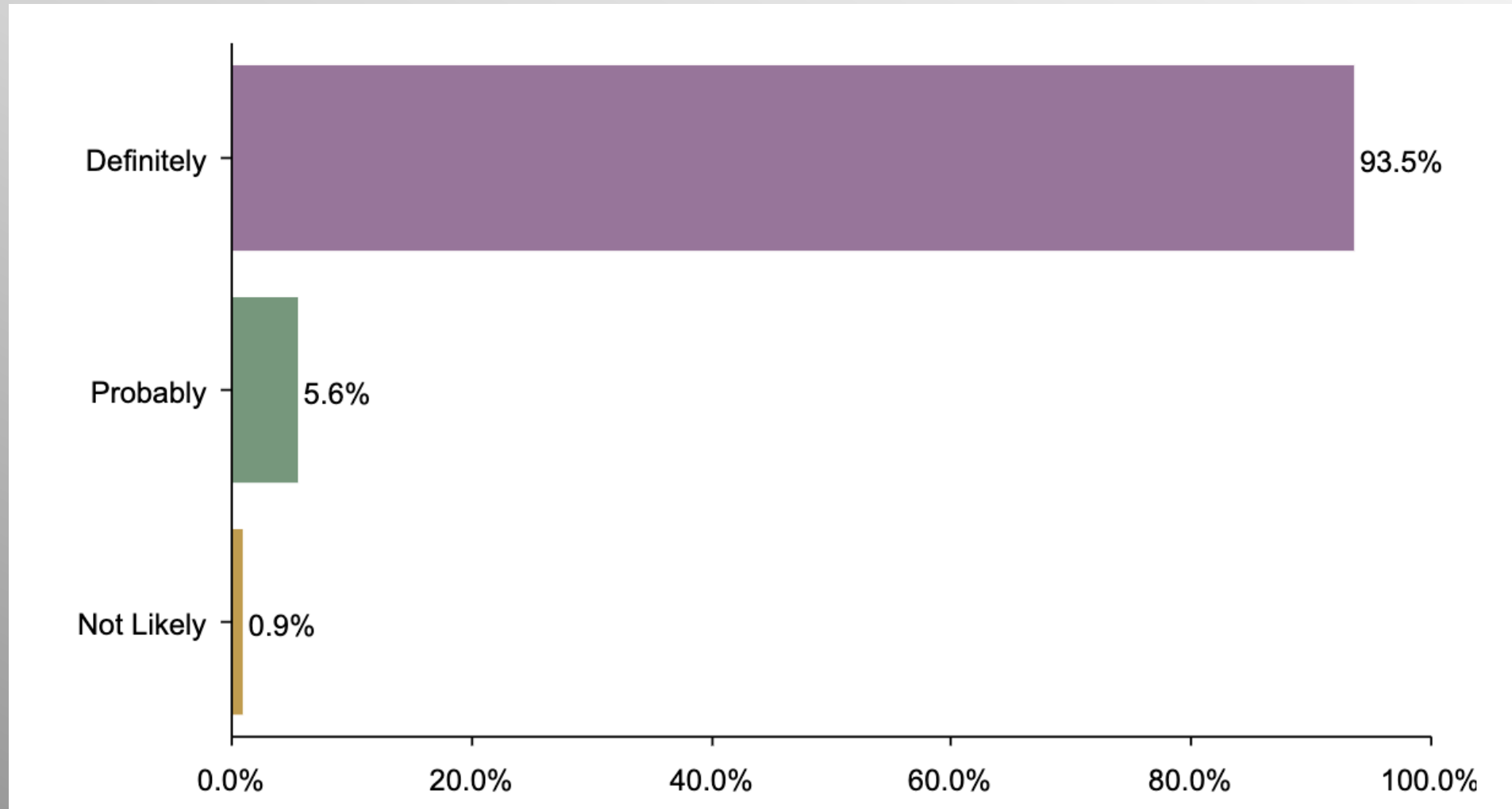
 The Trafalgar Group

 @trafalgar\_group

- **Conducted 08/14/23 - 08/16/23**
- **1036 Respondents**
- **Likely GOP Presidential Primary Voters**
- **Response Rate: 1.38%**
- **Margin of Error: 2.9%**
- **Confidence: 95%**
- **Response Distribution: 50%**
- **Methodology: [TheTrafalgarGroup.org/Polling-Methodology](https://TheTrafalgarGroup.org/Polling-Methodology)**

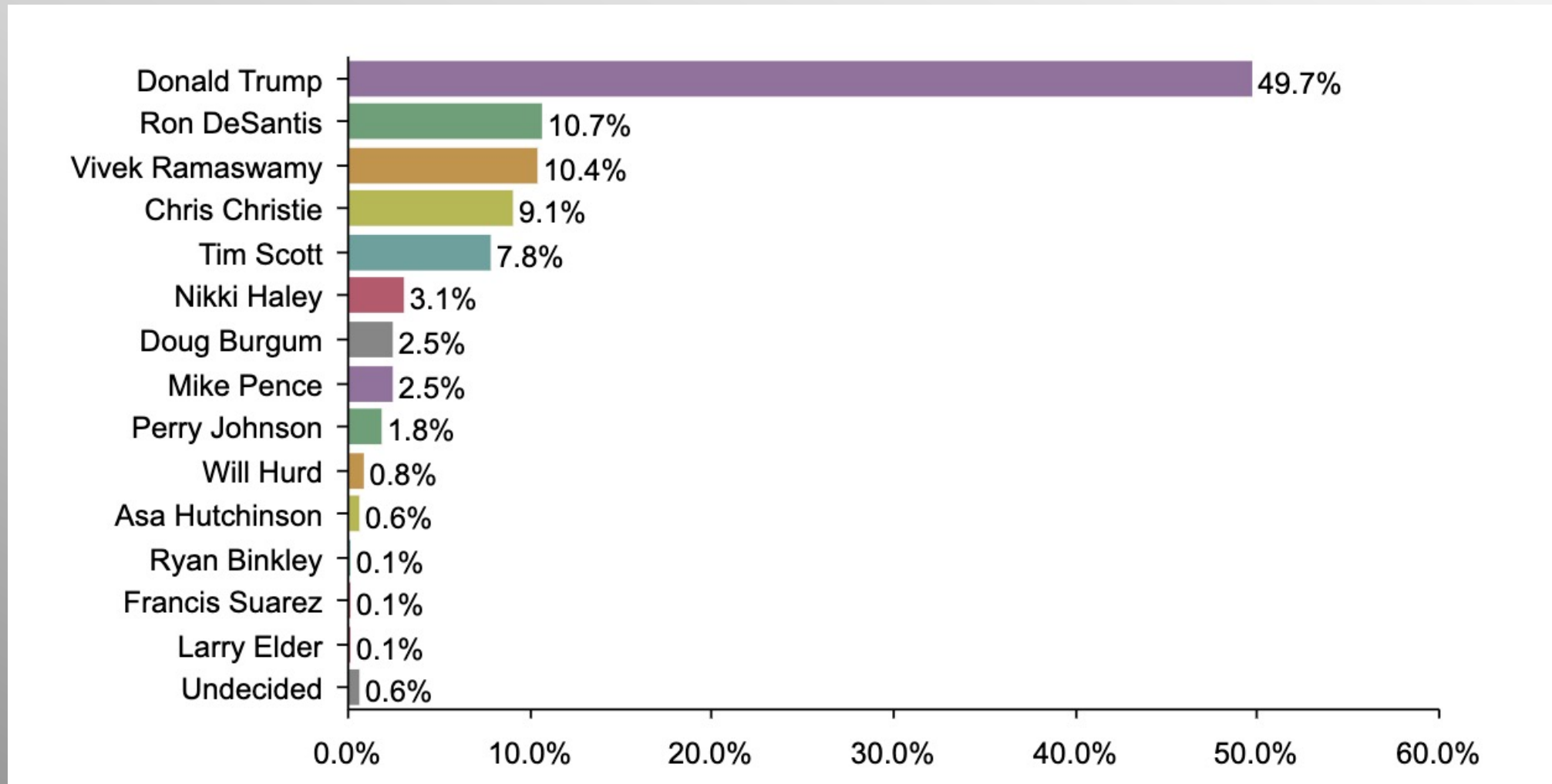
# GOP Pres Primary Voting Likelihood

*Do you plan to vote in the 2024 Republican Presidential Primary? (Note: Starting list only comprised of likely GOP Presidential Primary voters)*





*If the 2024 Republican Presidential Primary were tomorrow, who would you most likely support?*





## The Lesson of Trafalgar:

*Superior strategy, innovative tactics, and bold leadership can prevail even over larger numbers and greater resources.*

[info@trf-grp.com](mailto:info@trf-grp.com)

[thetrafalgargroup.org](http://thetrafalgargroup.org)

 The Trafalgar Group

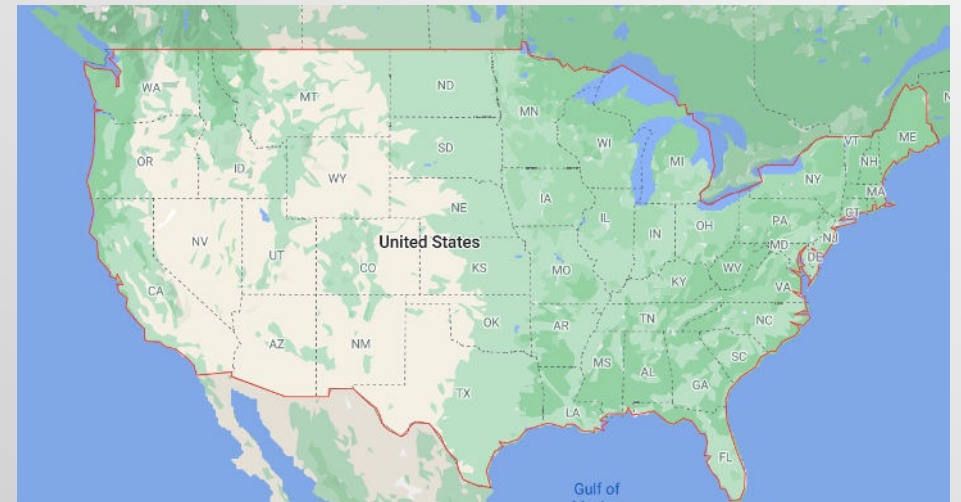
 @trafalgar\_group

# Republican Presidential Primary Survey

August 2023

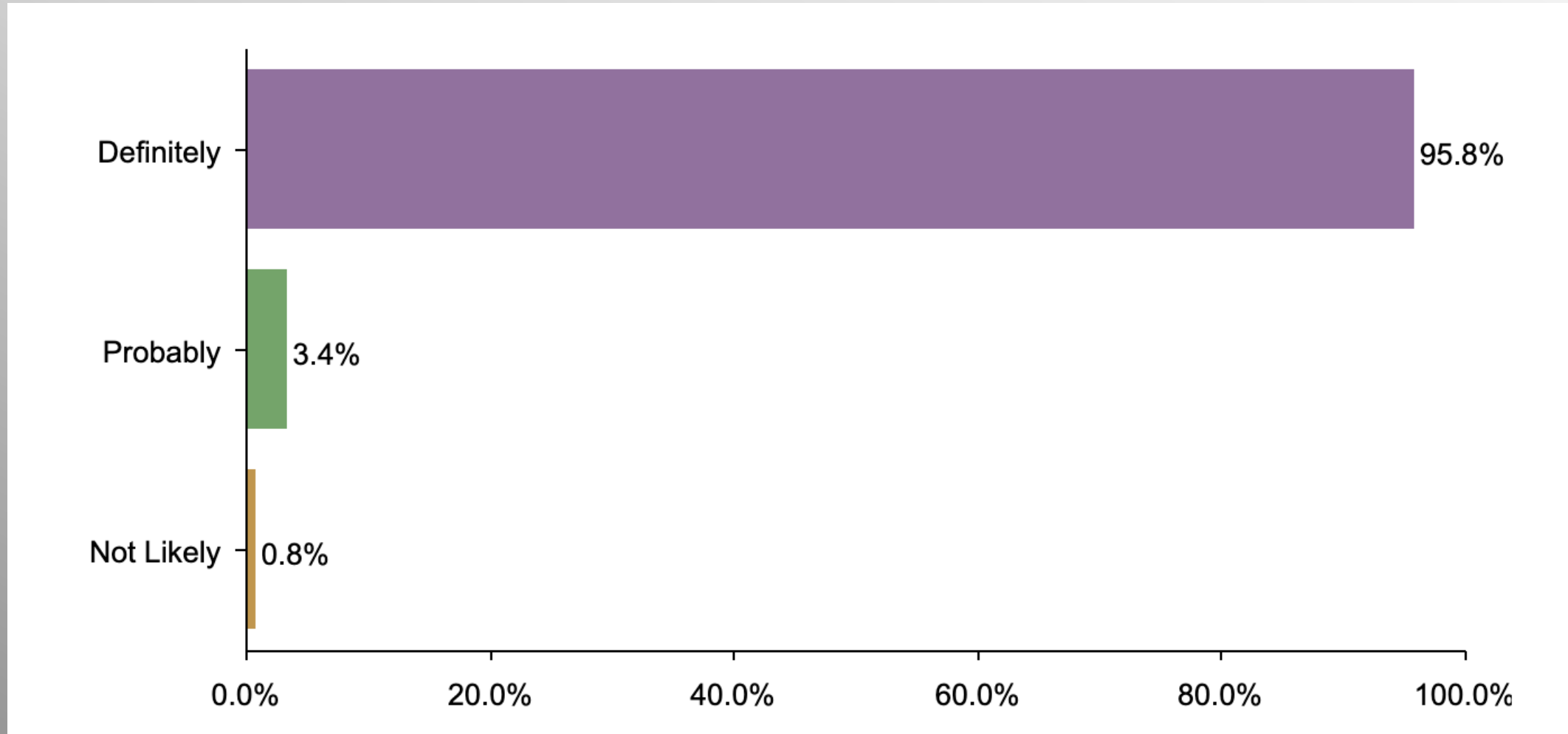
# Nationwide Survey

- **Conducted 08/14/23 - 08/16/23**
- **1082 Likely GOP Presidential Primary Voters**
- **Response Rate: 1.5%**
- **Margin of Error: 2.9%**
- **Confidence: 95%**
- **Response Distribution: 50%**
- **Methodology: [TheTrafalgarGroup.org/Polling-Methodology](https://TheTrafalgarGroup.org/Polling-Methodology)**



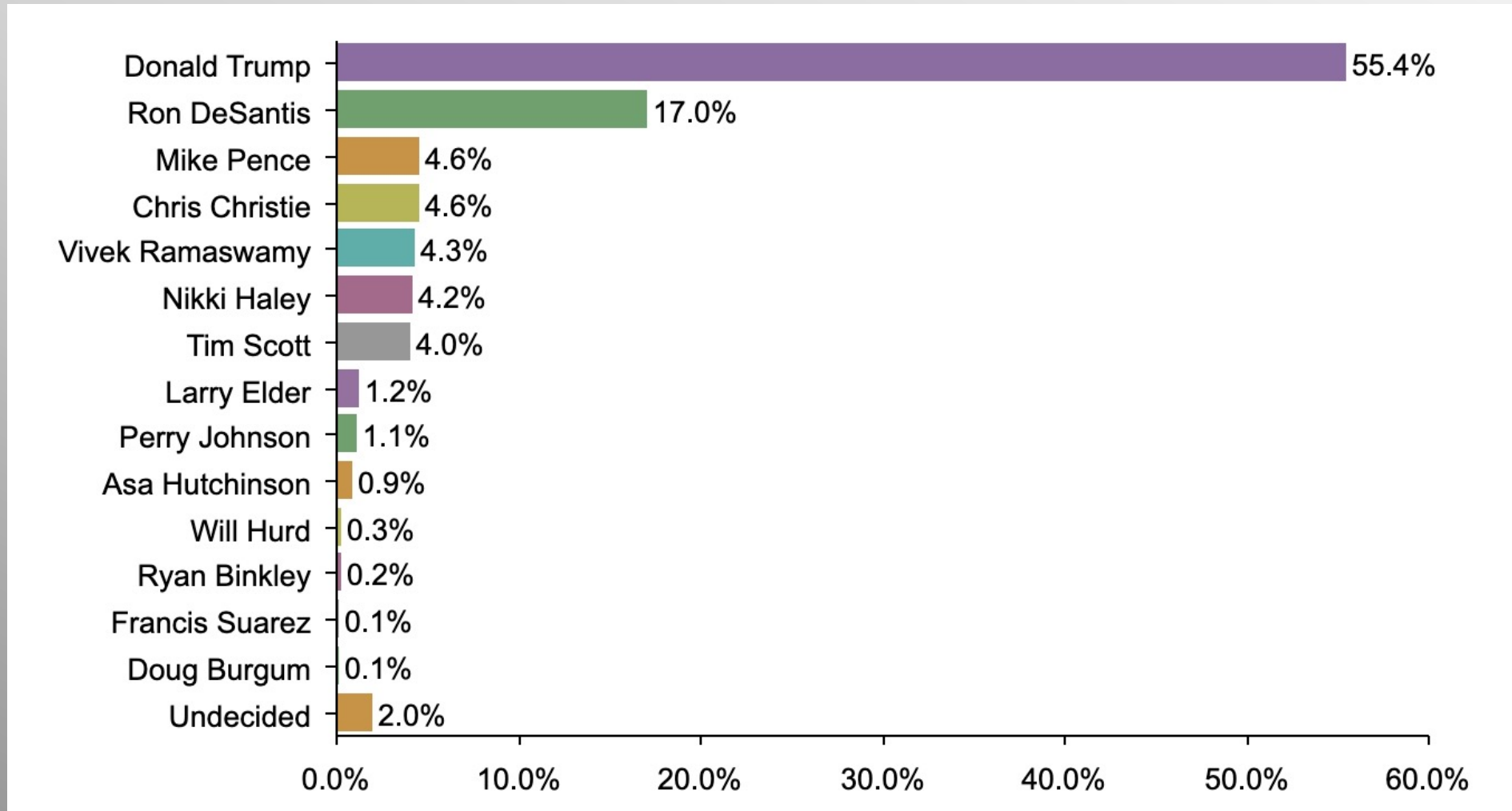
# GOP Pres Primary Voting Likelihood

*Do you plan to vote in the 2024 Republican Presidential Primary? (Note: Starting list only comprised of likely GOP Presidential Primary voters)*



# GOP Pres Primary Ballot

*If the 2024 Republican Presidential Primary were tomorrow, who would you most likely support?*



# NATIONAL GOP POLL: AHEAD OF FIRST DEBATE, TRUMP SUPPORT HITS FEVER PITCH AS DESANTIS PLUMMETS

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August 18, 2023

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W: [victory-insights.com](http://victory-insights.com)

🐦: [@VictoryPolling](https://twitter.com/VictoryPolling)

Poll conducted August 15-17, 2023 among 825 registered likely GOP primary voters throughout the United States. Responses were collected via Interactive Voice Response (IVR) and Text-To-Web (TTW). Maximum margin of error of  $\pm 3.5\%$ . Not commissioned by any candidate or committee.





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## Executive Summary

In our first national poll of the 2024 Republican primary for President of the United States, we find Donald Trump with a 48.7-point lead over Ron DeSantis and the rest of the field. With 61% support, Trump stands in a league of his own as the only true “frontrunner” in this race. DeSantis (12%) is trailed by Chris Christie (6%), Vivek Ramaswamy (4%), and Mike Pence (4%). No other candidate tops 2% support, and 8% of the electorate remains undecided.

Trump’s dominance is maintained even in head-to-head matchups, where he bests DeSantis by 41 points and Ramaswamy by 56 points. Trump also takes the cake when it comes to favorability, with 68% of voters saying they have a positive opinion of him. In many of our previous state-level polls, we found DeSantis to have better favorability numbers than Trump, but that is no longer true in our first national poll of the cycle. Despite having the same negatives (19%), Trump holds a 17-point advantage in terms of positives (68% to 51%).

Ramaswamy and Tim Scott post the next-best favorability numbers, while Christie and Pence are disliked by the majority of the electorate. Nikki Haley falls somewhere in between, with 32% positives and 23% negatives. Meanwhile, Perry Johnson has yet to gain any significant national support, with only 4% of the electorate holding a positive opinion of him.

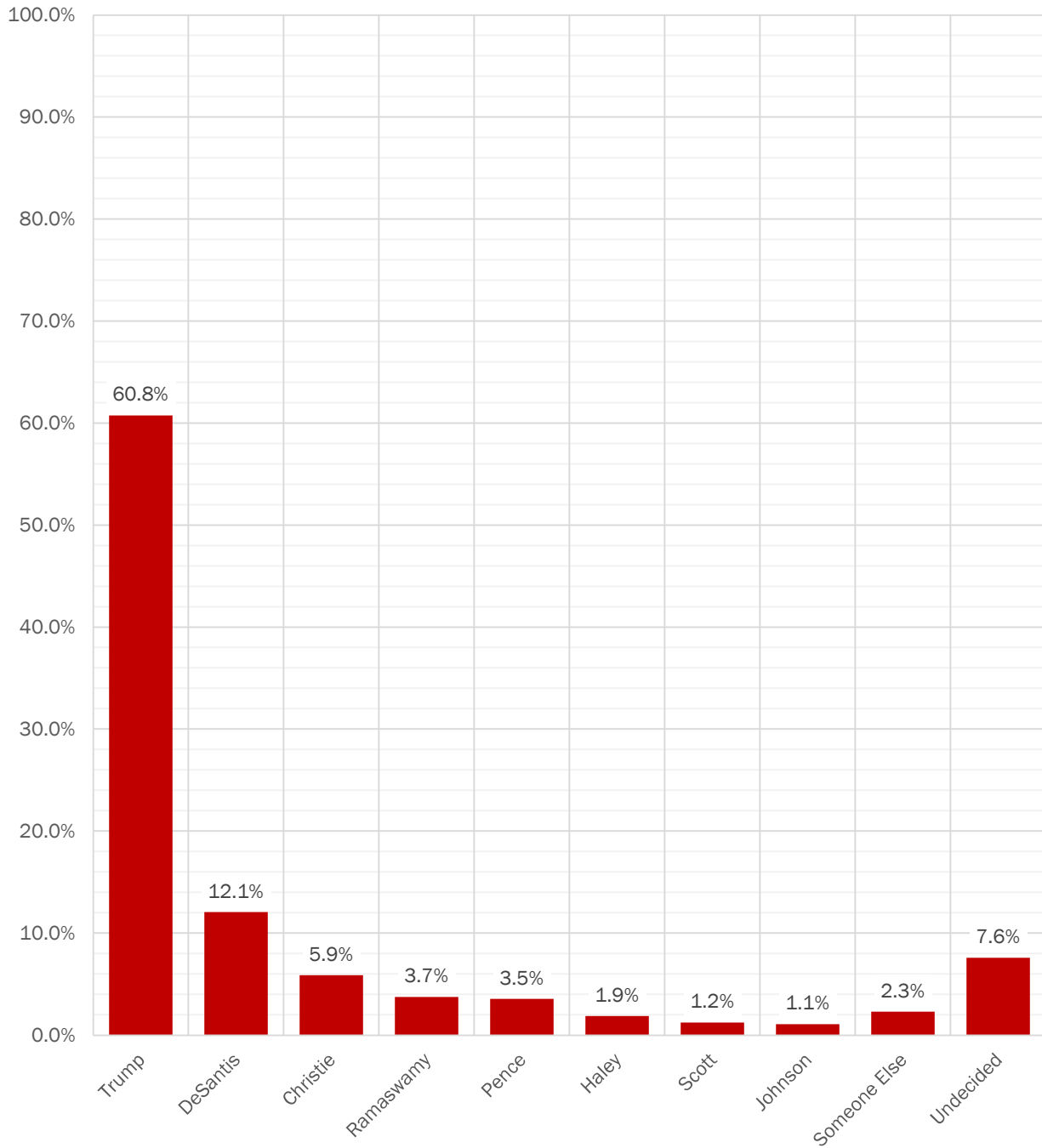
This is Donald Trump’s race to lose. With 3 in 5 GOP voters already saying they’re backing Trump, and his most serious challenger barely holding on to double-digit support, the former president is in an excellent position. Assuming Trump doesn’t participate in the first RNC-sanctioned debate next week, the candidates on stage won’t really be fighting for the nomination – they’ll be fighting for second place.

- ✓ **Ben Galbraith**  
Senior Pollster, Victory Insights  
🐦 @\_BenGalbraith



## National Republican Primary Ballot

Trump holds a dominant lead over the Republican primary field. With more than 60% support, he holds a 48.7-point lead over DeSantis, his closest challenger. 5.9% of the electorate is backing Christie, who has made it his mission to run a decidedly anti-Trump campaign thus far. Ramaswamy is next, narrowly leading Pence. Haley, Scott, and Johnson bring up the rear, in that order, each with less than 2% of the vote. 2.3% of the electorate says they support someone else for the nomination, and 7.6% remain undecided.

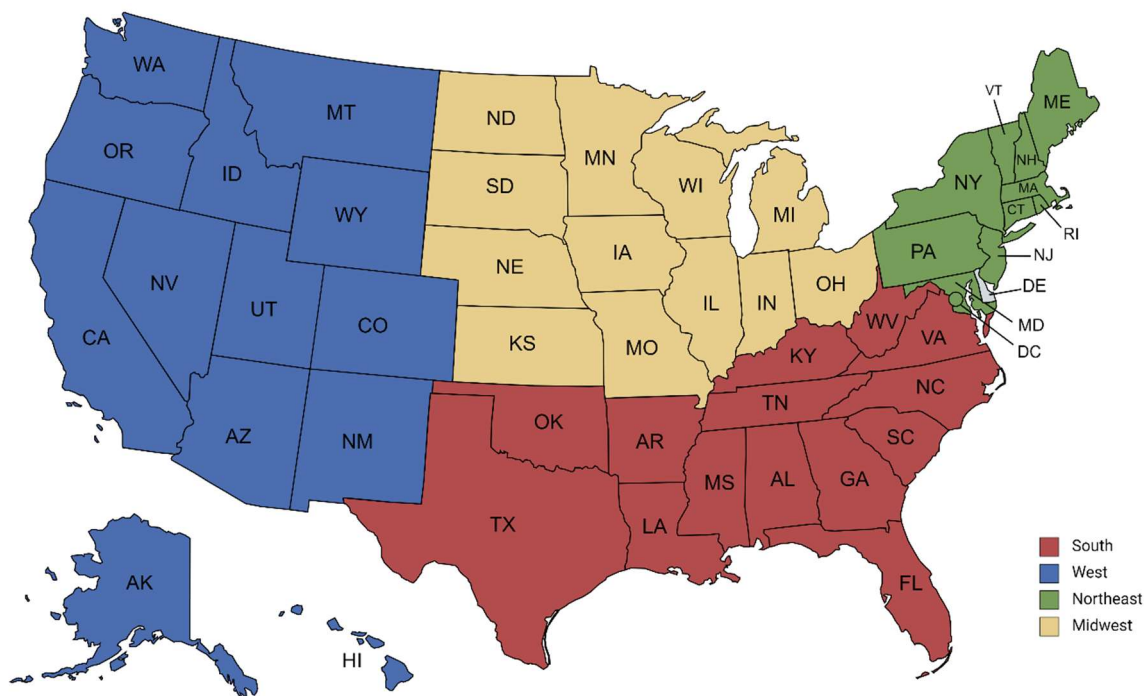






## Demographics and Sampling

We conducted this poll using a mixture of Interactive Voice Response (IVR) and Text-To-Web (TTW) among a random sample of registered likely GOP primary voters throughout the United States. The 825 valid respondents to our poll hailed from 38 states and represented every corner of the nation. 36% of our sample was from the South, 24% from the Midwest, 23% from the West, and 18% from the Northeast. The map below shows which states we consider as belonging to each region for weighting and analysis purposes.



Our sample was almost perfectly balanced between males and females, with each group making up 50% of the sample. Like the GOP primary electorate, our sample was made up largely of older voters, with 42% of responses coming from voters aged 70 or older, 32% from those 55 to 69, and 25% from those 18 to 54. Also mirroring the GOP primary electorate, voters of European descent made up the vast majority of our sample – just over 89%. About two-thirds (68%) of respondents had voted in the 2016 presidential primary election, and just slightly more (69%) had voted in the 2020 presidential primary election. Every respondent had voted in Republican primaries in the past.

# Big Village CARAVAN Political Poll

## 07/24/23 - 07/26/23



This data was collected using Big Village's Online CARAVAN® omnibus survey. Approximately 2,000 adults (18+) selected from opt-in online panels were surveyed. The results are weighted based on gender, age, education, race, ethnicity, and 2020 presidential vote (or non-vote). Weighting targets are based on the most recent results from the Census Bureau's American Communities Survey and the 2020 Presidential Election results. The average margin of error is +/-2.2%.

If you have questions or would like to find out more about our polling data, please contact us at [publicopinionpolling@big-village.com](mailto:publicopinionpolling@big-village.com). Additional demographic cuts available upon request.

Trended data is reported at monthly intervals with weekly data rolled up into corresponding months

### How much do you approve or disapprove of the job President Biden is doing?

#### ADULTS

	Adults	Registered Voters	Male	Female	Gen Z (18-25)	Millennials (26-41)	Gen X (42-57)	Baby Boomers (58-76)	Democrats	Republicans	Ind/ Other
<i>Unweighted base size</i>	2,020	1,663	997	999	441	673	391	448	922	718	380
Approve (NET)	38.2%	41.3%	38.5%	37.8%	39.3%	35.8%	36.0%	41.6%	72.7%	10.0%	20.2%
Strongly approve	15.0%	17.3%	16.8%	13.3%	9.3%	15.0%	16.0%	17.0%	32.1%	2.5%	3.4%
Somewhat approve	23.2%	23.9%	21.7%	24.5%	30.0%	20.8%	20.0%	24.5%	40.6%	7.5%	16.7%
Disapprove (NET)	51.9%	52.6%	55.0%	49.3%	42.0%	51.3%	54.9%	54.8%	20.9%	87.0%	51.1%
Somewhat disapprove	17.4%	16.5%	18.0%	16.8%	22.1%	20.0%	17.3%	13.7%	15.1%	15.7%	24.9%
Strongly disapprove	34.6%	36.2%	36.9%	32.6%	19.9%	31.2%	37.6%	41.1%	5.8%	71.3%	26.2%
Don't know/No opinion	9.8%	6.1%	6.5%	12.8%	18.7%	12.9%	9.1%	3.6%	6.4%	2.9%	28.8%

#### TRENDS (ADULTS)

	Oct - 2022	Nov - 2022	Dec - 2022	Jan - 2023	Feb - 2023	Mar - 2023	Apr - 2023	May - 2023	Jun - 2023	Jul - 2023
<i>Unweighted base size</i>	2,173	4,372	1,503	2,024	1,010	2,012	2,019	2,018	2,020	2,020
Approve (NET)	41.0%	40.6%	41.5%	39.9%	40.5%	38.3%	38.5%	36.4%	38.2%	38.2%
Strongly approve	16.0%	17.3%	19.1%	16.8%	16.3%	14.2%	13.7%	13.2%	14.9%	15.0%
Somewhat approve	25.0%	23.4%	22.4%	23.1%	24.1%	24.1%	24.8%	23.2%	23.3%	23.2%
Disapprove (NET)	52.3%	51.2%	52.7%	51.3%	51.0%	53.4%	52.6%	54.5%	53.3%	51.9%
Somewhat disapprove	15.6%	15.4%	15.7%	15.9%	15.4%	18.3%	16.2%	16.4%	16.1%	17.4%
Strongly disapprove	36.7%	35.8%	37.0%	35.4%	35.6%	35.2%	36.4%	38.1%	37.2%	34.6%
Don't know/No opinion	6.7%	8.1%	5.8%	8.8%	8.6%	8.3%	8.9%	9.2%	8.5%	9.8%

*At this moment, who among the following would you prefer to see as the REPUBLICAN Nominee for President in 2024?*

**ADULTS**

	Adults	Registered Voters	Male	Female	Gen Z (18-25)	Millennials (26-41)	Gen X (42-57)	Baby Boomers (58-76)	Democrats	Republicans	Ind/ Other
<i>Unweighted base size</i>	2,020	1,663	997	999	441	673	391	448	922	718	380
Donald Trump	36.5%	35.6%	41.7%	31.9%	40.9%	44.0%	32.4%	30.5%	16.4%	61.0%	32.9%
Ron DeSantis	8.5%	9.2%	9.1%	8.0%	3.9%	8.4%	10.5%	8.9%	4.7%	13.5%	6.9%
Mike Pence	11.5%	12.0%	10.0%	12.7%	9.0%	8.7%	13.0%	14.0%	14.5%	7.5%	12.4%
Vivek Ramaswamy	5.1%	5.9%	5.1%	5.1%	4.9%	5.2%	4.9%	5.5%	4.2%	7.2%	3.1%
Nikki Haley	7.4%	7.6%	6.6%	8.1%	7.5%	6.7%	6.9%	8.9%	11.4%	3.2%	6.8%
Tim Scott	4.2%	4.6%	4.6%	3.8%	5.8%	2.7%	4.8%	3.6%	6.6%	2.6%	2.2%
Chris Christie	6.9%	7.7%	6.6%	7.2%	3.3%	4.0%	7.4%	9.8%	14.5%	0.9%	2.3%
Perry Johnson	1.6%	1.6%	1.4%	1.8%	1.0%	2.0%	3.2%	0.4%	2.5%	0.7%	1.4%
Asa Hutchinson	2.4%	2.2%	1.9%	2.8%	3.3%	2.6%	1.6%	2.5%	3.5%	0.7%	3.1%
Doug Burgum	0.7%	0.6%	0.8%	0.6%	1.6%	1.4%	0.2%	0.2%	1.0%	0.5%	0.7%
Larry Elder	1.1%	1.0%	0.8%	1.2%	3.2%	1.6%	0.3%	0.2%	1.6%	0.4%	1.3%
Ryan Binkley	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.7%	2.2%	1.4%	0.5%	0.0%	1.9%	0.1%	0.1%
Someone else	13.5%	11.2%	10.6%	16.1%	13.4%	11.2%	14.4%	15.6%	17.3%	1.7%	26.7%

**TRENDS (REPUBLICANS)**

	May - 2023	Jun - 2023	Jul - 2023
<i>Unweighted base size</i>	389	724	718
Donald Trump	57.7%	56.4%	61.0%
Ron DeSantis	23.9%	15.3%	13.5%
Mike Pence	0.0%	9.9%	7.5%
Vivek Ramaswamy	2.8%	3.2%	7.2%
Nikki Haley	4.6%	4.5%	3.2%
Tim Scott	5.1%	3.6%	2.6%
Chris Christie	0.0%	1.4%	0.9%
Perry Johnson	0.0%	0.5%	0.7%
Asa Hutchinson	0.7%	0.8%	0.7%
Doug Burgum	0.0%	1.0%	0.5%
Larry Elder	0.0%	1.1%	0.4%
Ryan Binkley	0.0%	0.4%	0.1%
Someone else	5.1%	2.1%	1.7%

# HARVARD CAPS HARRIS POLL



Field Dates: July 19-20, 2023



## SURVEY METHOD

This survey was conducted online within the United States from **July 19-20, 2023** among **2,068 registered voters** by **The Harris Poll** and **HarrisX**.

Results were weighted for age within gender, region, race/ethnicity, marital status, household size, income, employment, education, political party, and political ideology where necessary to align them with their actual proportions in the population. Propensity score weighting was also used to adjust for respondents' propensity to be online.

The poll was supervised by pollsters:

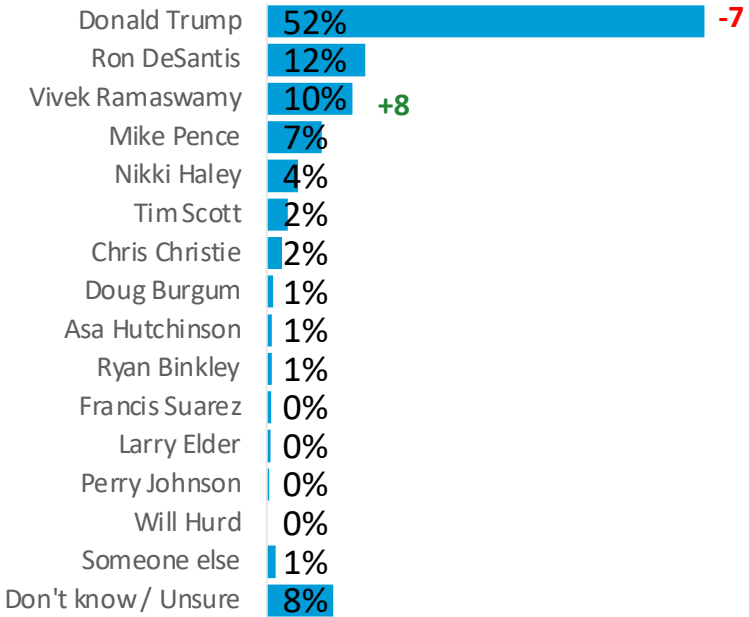
**Mark Penn** (Chairman, The Harris Poll)

**Dritan Nesho** (CEO, HarrisX)

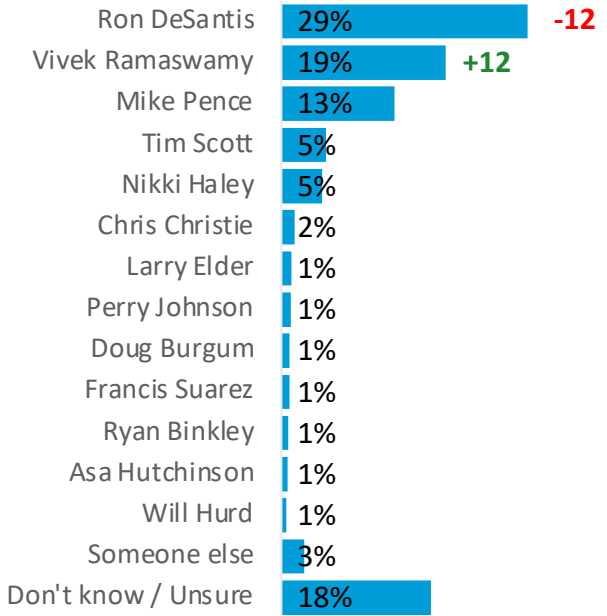
**Stephen Ansolabehere** (Professor and CAPS Director Emeritus, Harvard University)

# TRUMP IS A CLEAR FAVORITE IN A PROSPECTIVE GOP PRIMARY DESPITE LOSING SOME GROUND; DESANTIS REMAINS THE RUNNER UP BUT LOSING STEAM TO RAMASWAMY

**(GOP) If the Republican presidential primary for the 2024 election was held today, who would you vote for?**



**(GOP) If former President Donald Trump does not run for president in 2024, who would you vote for in the GOP primary?**



GOPPRIM1. If the Republican presidential primary for the 2024 election was held today, who would you vote for?  
 GOPPRIM2: If former President Donald Trump does not run for president in 2024, who would you vote for in the GOP primary?

## National Survey

**Universe:** Likely Republican Primary Voters

**Sample Size:** 800

**Margin of Error:** +/- 3.4%

**Field Dates:** August 17-20, 2023

**Interviews:** Landline Phone, Text-to-Web, and Online

1. ARE YOU REGISTERED TO VOTE AT YOUR CURRENT ADDRESS?

Total	800
YES, REGISTERED	100%

2. AS YOU ARE AWARE, VERY FEW PEOPLE ACTUALLY VOTE IN REPUBLICAN PRIMARY OR CAUCUS ELECTIONS. THINKING AHEAD, HOW LIKELY IS IT YOU WILL VOTE IN THE 2024 REPUBLICAN PRIMARY OR CAUCUS FOR PRESIDENT? IF YOU ARE NOT GOING TO VOTE IN THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY OR CAUCUS FOR PRESIDENT, JUST SAY SO.

Total	800
DEFINITELY VOTING	87%
VERY/SOMEWHAT LIKELY	13%
Very Likely	10%
Somewhat Likely	3%
Mean	2.85

3. WITH WHICH POLITICAL PARTY ARE YOU AFFILIATED?

Total	800
REPUBLICAN	80%
INDEPENDENT/OTHER	20%

4. IN WHICH PARTY'S PRIMARY OR CAUCUS FOR PRESIDENT WOULD YOU VOTE, THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY/CAUCUS OR THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY/CAUCUS? IF YOU WOULDN'T VOTE IN EITHER, JUST SAY SO.

Total	800
REPUBLICAN PRIMARY	100%

5. THINKING AHEAD TO THE 2024 REPUBLICAN PRIMARY ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT, IF IT WERE HELD TODAY, FOR WHOM WOULD YOU VOTE AMONG THE FOLLOWING CANDIDATES?

Total	800
DONALD TRUMP	48%
RON DeSANTIS	19%
VIVEK RAMASWAMY	14%
CHRIS CHRISTIE	4%
TIM SCOTT	4%
NIKKI HALEY	2%
MIKE PENCE	2%
PERRY JOHNSON	1%
ASA HUTCHINSON	0%
DOUG BURGUM	0%
FRANCIS SUAREZ	0%
WILL HURD	0%
LARRY ELDER	0%
UNDECIDED	6%

6. AFTER TUCKER CARLSON'S DEPARTURE FROM FOX NEWS CHANNEL, ARE YOU MORE LIKELY OR LESS LIKELY TO TRUST FOX NEWS CHANNEL?

Total	800
MORE LIKELY	8%
Much	4%
Somewhat	4%
LESS LIKELY	44%
Somewhat	15%
Much	29%
NO DIFFERENCE	44%
DK/REFUSED	4%
Net Diff.	-36%
Mean	2.37

7. IF YOU WERE TO LABEL YOURSELF, WOULD YOU SAY YOU ARE A LIBERAL, A MODERATE, OR A CONSERVATIVE IN YOUR POLITICAL BELIEFS?

Total	800
LIBERAL	3%
Very	1%
Somewhat	2%
MODERATE	18%
CONSERVATIVE	77%
Somewhat	34%
Very	43%
DK/REFUSED	2%
Net Diff.	73%



Mean	4.18
------	------

**8. ON THE ISSUE OF ABORTION, WOULD YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF PRO-LIFE OR PRO-CHOICE?**

Total	800
PRO-LIFE	68%
Strongly	48%
Somewhat	21%
PRO-CHOICE	26%
Somewhat	16%
Strongly	10%
DON'T KNOW	5%
Net Diff.	42%
Mean	3.11

**9. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST DESCRIBES YOUR RELIGION/RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION/IDENTIFICATION?**

Total	800
PROTESTANT	54%
ROMAN CATHOLIC	22%
JEWISH	3%
ATHEIST/AGNS/SEC./NONE	12%
OTHER	2%
DK/REFUSED	6%

**10. DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF AN EVANGELICAL OR BORN-AGAIN CHRISTIAN?**

Total	800
YES	60%
NO	32%
DK/REFUSED	8%

**11. WHAT IS CURRENTLY YOUR MARITAL STATUS?**

Total	800
SINGLE	10%
MARRIED	70%
SEPARATED	1%
DIVORCED	11%
WIDOWED	6%
REFUSED	2%

**12. WHAT IS THE LAST GRADE OF FORMAL EDUCATION YOU HAVE COMPLETED?**

Total	800
LESS/COLLEGE GRAD	64%

Less/H.S. Diploma	1%
High School Grad.	13%
Some College/Trade	28%
Associates Degree	22%
COLLEGE GRADUATE	36%
Bachelors Degree	18%
Post-Graduate Degree	18%
Net Diff.	28%

13. WHAT IS YOUR MAIN RACIAL BACKGROUND?

Total	800
HISPANIC	7%
AFRICAN AMERICAN	3%
ASIAN	3%
WHITE	86%
OTHER	1%

14. WHAT IS YOUR AGE?

Total	800
18-29	5%
30-40	10%
41-55	21%
56-65	24%
OVER 65	40%
Mean	57.48

15. GENDER:

Total	800
MALE	51%
FEMALE	49%

16. REGION:

Total	800
NEW ENGLAND	4%
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	12%
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	15%
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	7%
SOUTH ATLANTIC	22%
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	8%
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	11%
MOUNTAIN	8%
PACIFIC	13%

17. AREA:

Total	800
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EAST	16%
MIDWEST	22%
SOUTH	41%
WEST	21%

18. SAMPLE:

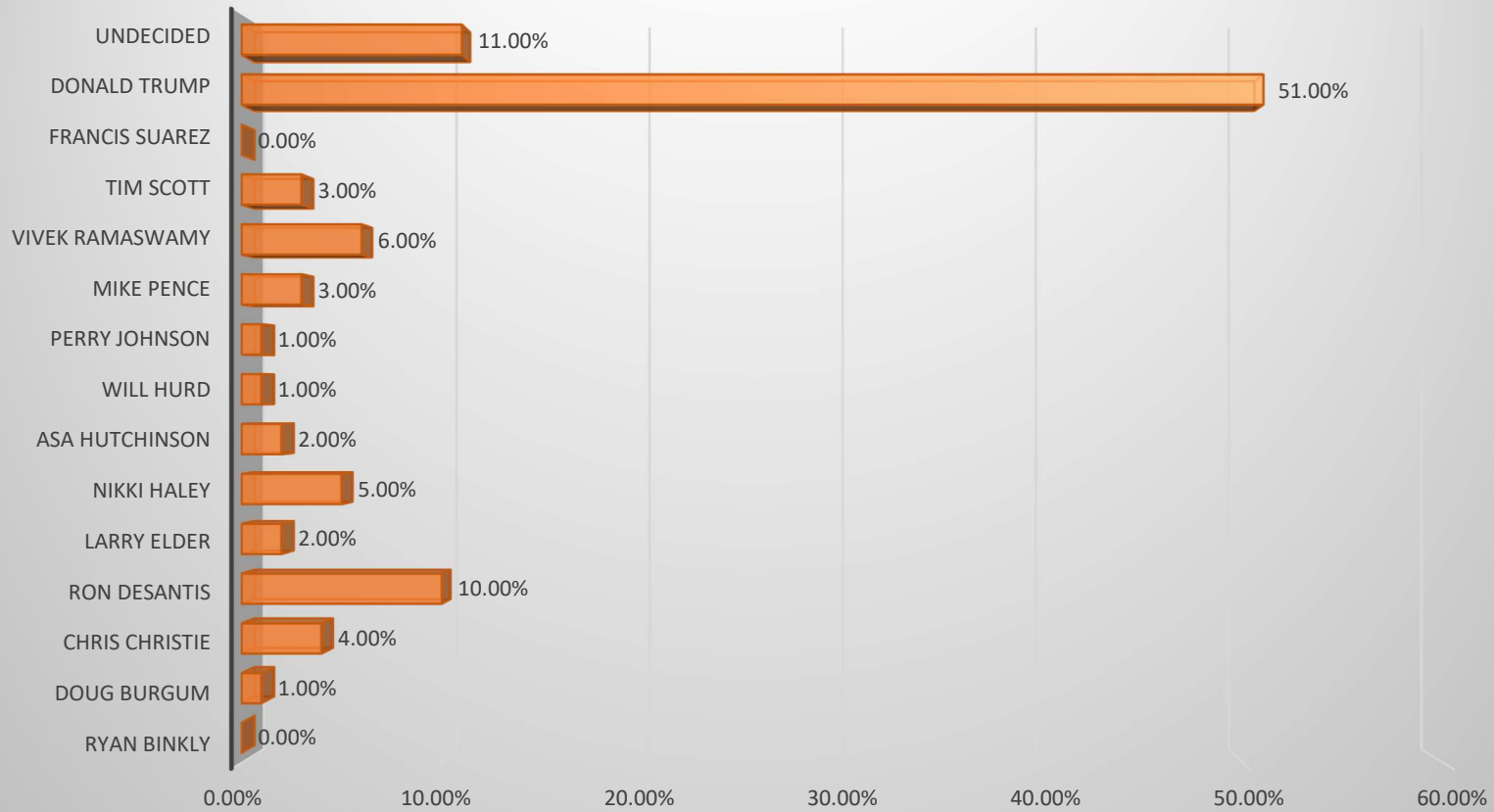
Total	800
LANDLINE	33%
TEXT	33%
ONLINE	33%



# Corroborating Polls

The [Insider Advantage](#), [Monmouth](#), [McLaughlin](#), and [Emerson College](#) polls confirm Johnson's momentum both in early states and nationally.

# INSIDERADVANTAGE PRESIDENTIAL REPUBLICAN NOMINATION 8/19-8/20 MOE +/- 3.6%



InsiderAdvantage  
National Poll  
750 Likely Republican Voters  
August 19th - 20th • Margin of Error 3.6%

Please pick from the following list of candidates, your choice for the Republican nomination for President of The United States.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Age</u>			<u>Gender</u>	
		<u>18-39</u>	<u>40-64</u>	<u>65 or over</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
	<u>750</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>316</u>	<u>376</u>	<u>391</u>	<u>359</u>
Ryan Binkly	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0
Doug Burgum	1.2	0.0	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.1
Chris Christie	4.2	0.0	4.3	4.7	8.0	0.0
Ron Desantis	9.7	4.9	11.7	8.7	9.8	9.8
Larry Elder	1.6	4.9	1.3	1.1	0.7	2.3
Nikki Haley	4.8	0.0	3.9	6.2	4.9	4.9
Asa Hutchinson	1.5	0.0	0.9	2.2	1.7	1.5
Will Hurd	1.1	0.0	1.3	1.1	1.0	0.8
Perry Johnson	0.6	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.1
Mike Pence	3.3	4.9	3.9	2.2	2.4	4.2
Vivek Ramaswamy	6.3	19.5	5.6	5.1	10.1	1.9
Tim Scott	3.3	0.0	3.5	3.6	1.7	4.9
Francis Suarez	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.4
Donald Trump	50.6	48.8	55.4	47.1	48.7	52.7
No Opinion	11.5	17.0	6.5	15.1	9.3	14.4

	<u>Race</u>		
	<u>White</u>	<u>African American</u>	<u>Another Race</u>
	<u>686</u>	<u>22</u>	42.0
Ryan Binkly	0.2	0.0	0.0
Doug Burgum	1.2	0.0	0.0
Chris Christie	4.0	0.0	9.4
Ron Desantis	9.5	7.1	15.6
Larry Elder	1.8	0.0	0.0
Nikki Haley	5.2	0.0	0.0
Asa Hutchinson	1.6	0.0	0.0
Will Hurd	1.0	0.0	0.0
Perry Johnson	0.6	0.0	0.0
Mike Pence	2.4	7.1	15.6
Vivek Ramaswamy	6.4	7.1	6.3
Tim Scott	3.6	0.0	0.0
Francis Suarez	0.0	0.0	3.1
Donald Trump	51.5	50.0	37.5
No Opinion	11.0	28.7	12.5



Please attribute this information to:

**Monmouth University Poll**

West Long Branch, NJ 07764

[www.monmouth.edu/polling](http://www.monmouth.edu/polling)

Follow on Twitter: @MonmouthPoll

Released:  
**Tuesday, July 25, 2023**

Contact:  
**PATRICK MURRAY**  
[pdmurray@monmouth.edu](mailto:pdmurray@monmouth.edu)  
 Follow on Twitter: @PollsterPatrick

**NATIONAL: DeSANTIS MESSAGE FALLS FLAT**

*Trump maintains strong GOP primary advantage despite indictments*

West Long Branch, NJ – A majority of Republican voters say former President Donald Trump would be their strongest nominee in the 2024 election and few feel the criminal indictments he faces are of any concern. According to the *Monmouth (“Mon-muth”) University Poll*, Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis’ efforts to paint himself as both a stronger candidate and a more effective leader than Trump have largely failed to connect with the GOP electorate.

When asked whom they would like to see as the Republican nominee for president in 2024, 46% of GOP-aligned and leaning voters name Trump and 20% name DeSantis without any prompting. In a primary ballot question that explicitly lists 14 announced candidates, Trump’s support increases to 54%

2024 GOP NOMINATION				
	14 cand. field	Head-to-head: Trump vs.		
		DeSantis	Scott	Christie
Trump	54%	55%	72%	82%
DeSantis	22%	35%		
Ramaswamy	5%			
Scott	3%		23%	
Christie	3%			12%
Haley	3%			
Pence	3%			
All others	2%			

MONMOUTH UNIVERSITY  
 National poll of Republican voters, July 12-19, 2023

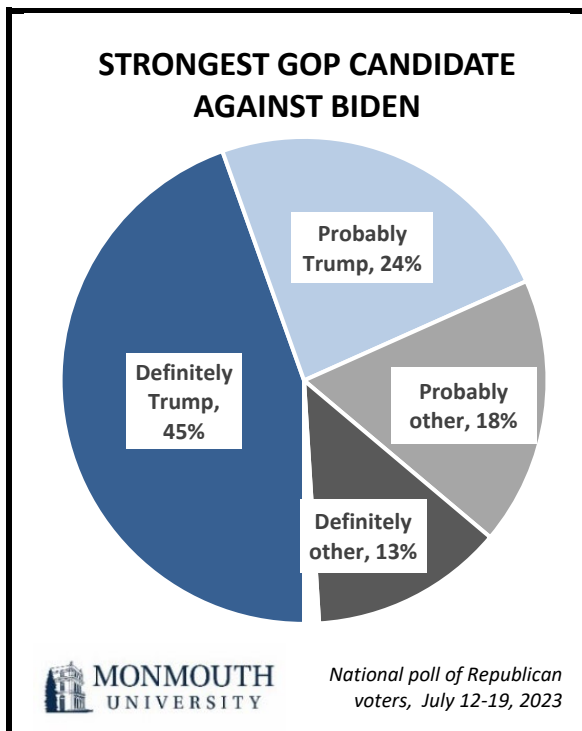
while DeSantis’ vote share barely moves (22%) and no other candidate gets above 5%. In a head-to-head contest between just the two, Trump garners 55% support and DeSantis gets 35%. These results are similar to a Monmouth poll taken two months ago when DeSantis officially launched his campaign.

Half of Republican voters identify as a supporter of the MAGA movement (31% strongly and 21% somewhat). Trump commands the backing of 3 in 4 strong MAGA supporters and about half of

those who support MAGA somewhat. In a head-to-head race, DeSantis (47%) has more backing than Trump (39%) among the 4 in 10 Republicans who do not support MAGA. However, the Florida governor loses about half of his non-MAGA vote share to others when the race involves a multi-candidate field.

“DeSantis has not made any headway. The arguments that he’d be a stronger candidate and a more effective president than Trump have both fallen flat,” said Patrick Murray, director of the independent Monmouth University Polling Institute.

Just 22% of Republican voters say that DeSantis would be a stronger candidate than Trump in a general election against incumbent President Joe Biden, but nearly twice as many (47%) say he would actually be weaker than Trump. Another 26% say DeSantis would be just as strong as Trump. On the question of governing, only 19% feel DeSantis would be more effective than Trump in running the country and getting his policies enacted, while 49% think Trump would be more effective than DeSantis. Another 30% say the two men would be equally as effective.



When considering the entire GOP field, nearly half (45%) of Republican voters – including those who lean toward the GOP – say Trump is definitely the strongest candidate to beat Biden in 2024, and another 24% think he is probably the strongest candidate. Just one-third of GOP voters say another Republican would definitely (13%) or probably (18%) be a stronger candidate than Trump. These results are nearly identical to a Monmouth poll taken in May.

Only 1 in 4 Republican voters express any real degree of concern (11% very and 16% somewhat) that the criminal indictments against Trump would make him a weaker candidate against Biden in the general election. In fact, nearly half

(47%) are not at all concerned about these charges being a drag on Trump.

“Trump has successfully pushed a politics of grievance where the system is out to get you. In that light, the criminal charges seem to make him an even stronger advocate in the eyes of many Republicans,” said Murray.

The *Monmouth University Poll* assessed GOP voters’ opinion of fourteen declared candidates for the party’s nomination in 2024. Republicans have an overwhelmingly positive view of Trump (77% favorable and 18% unfavorable), which has been fairly stable since Monmouth began tracking candidate ratings at the beginning of the year. DeSantis also gets a largely positive rating (65% favorable and 18% unfavorable), but this has steadily eroded from his top result of 80% favorable in February.



Views of Sen. Tim Scott (49% favorable and 7% unfavorable) and former Gov. Nikki Haley (42% favorable and 20% unfavorable) have been fairly stable, but about 4 in 10 Republican voters remain largely unfamiliar with either of these South Carolinians. Other candidates who are rated by at least half of the Republican electorate include former Vice President Mike Pence (35% favorable and 45% unfavorable) and former New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie (18% favorable and 55% unfavorable). Pence's rating was in net positive territory until the current poll. Christie's rating has been negative from the start and has grown even more negative since the spring.

At least a third of Republican voters are familiar enough to rate business entrepreneur Vivek Ramaswamy (32% favorable and 9% unfavorable), talk show host Larry Elder (28% favorable and 15% unfavorable), and former Arkansas Gov. Asa Hutchinson (15% favorable and 21% unfavorable). The remaining five candidates are rated by no more than 1 in 4 GOP voters: North Dakota Gov. Doug Burgum (11% favorable and 9% unfavorable), former Texas Congressman Will Hurd (8% favorable and 11% unfavorable), Miami Mayor Francis Suarez (8% favorable and 17% unfavorable), business entrepreneur Perry Johnson (5% favorable and 9% unfavorable), and former Cranston, Rhode Island Mayor Steve Laffey (3% favorable and 9% unfavorable).

When all 14 candidates are included in a primary ballot test, none – other than Trump and DeSantis – get close to breaking out of single digits. The top performers in this group are Ramaswamy (5%), Christie (3%), Haley (3%), Pence (3%), and Scott (3%).

The poll also tested head-to-head contests between Trump and two other candidates – both of whom do worse than DeSantis in this scenario. Against Scott, Trump gets 72% and Scott only gets 23%. Against Christie, Trump gets 82% and Christie gets just 12%.

The *Monmouth University Poll* was conducted by telephone and online from July 12 to 19, 2023 with 681 Republican and Republican leaning voters in the United States. The question results in this release have a margin of error of +/- 5.9 percentage points for the full sample. The poll was conducted by the Monmouth University Polling Institute in West Long Branch, NJ.

## QUESTIONS AND RESULTS

(\* Some columns may not add to 100% due to rounding.)

[Q1-22 from national poll of all adults previously released.]

23. Looking ahead, who would you like to see as the Republican nominee for President in 2024? [OPEN-END QUESTION. LIST WAS NOT READ]

TREND:	July 2023	May 2023	March 2023	Feb. 2023	Dec. 2022
Donald Trump	<b>46%</b>	43%	41%	33%	26%
Ron DeSantis	<b>20%</b>	19%	27%	33%	39%
Vivek Ramaswamy	<b>3%</b>	1%	0%	0%	0%
Tim Scott	<b>3%</b>	3%	1%	<1%	<1%
Nikki Haley	<b>2%</b>	1%	3%	1%	1%
Chris Christie	<b>1%</b>	<1%	0%	0%	0%
Mike Pence	<b>1%</b>	3%	1%	2%	2%
Others	<b>5%</b>	7%	6%	7%	7%
(VOL) Don't know	<b>19%</b>	23%	23%	24%	25%
(n)	<b>(681)</b>	(655)	(521)	(566)	(563)

24. I'm going to read you the names of candidates running for president in the Republican Party. Please tell me if your general impression of each is favorable or unfavorable, or if you don't really have an opinion. If you have not heard of the person, just let me know. First, [READ NAME]. [NAMES WERE ROTATED]

TREND:	Favorable	Unfavorable	No opinion	Not heard of	(n)
Former President Donald Trump	<b>77%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
-- May 2023	77%	17%	6%	0%	(655)
-- March 2023	71%	21%	8%	0%	(521)
-- Feb. 2023	74%	18%	8%	0%	(566)
Florida Governor Ron DeSantis	<b>65%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
-- May 2023	73%	12%	11%	3%	(655)
-- March 2023	76%	8%	11%	5%	(521)
-- Feb. 2023	80%	6%	11%	3%	(566)
Former Vice President Mike Pence	<b>35%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
-- May 2023	46%	35%	18%	0%	(655)
-- March 2023	42%	37%	21%	0%	(521)
-- Feb. 2023	55%	28%	17%	0%	(566)
Former South Carolina Governor and U.N. Ambassador Nikki Haley	<b>42%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
-- May 2023	47%	16%	23%	14%	(655)
-- March 2023	45%	16%	23%	16%	(521)
-- Feb. 2023	47%	11%	22%	19%	(566)
Business entrepreneur Vivek Ramaswamy	<b>32%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
-- May 2023	22%	6%	26%	46%	(655)
-- March 2023	17%	6%	28%	49%	(521)
-- Feb. 2023	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
South Carolina Senator Tim Scott	<b>49%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
-- May 2023	44%	8%	28%	20%	(655)
-- March 2023	43%	6%	31%	20%	(521)
-- Feb. 2023	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Former Arkansas Governor Asa Hutchinson	<b>15%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
-- May 2023	17%	14%	35%	35%	(655)
-- March 2023	18%	9%	45%	29%	(521)
-- Feb. 2023	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

TREND: (Q24 continued)	Favorable	Unfavorable	No opinion	Not heard of	(n)
Former New Jersey Governor Chris Christie	<b>18%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
-- May 2023	21%	47%	24%	8%	(655)
-- March 2023	24%	42%	28%	6%	(521)
-- Feb. 2023	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>(Note: there are no prior trends on the following candidates, except Laffey)</i>					
Miami Mayor Francis Suarez	<b>8%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
North Dakota Governor Doug Burgum	<b>11%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
Former Texas Congressman Will Hurd	<b>8%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
Radio talk show host Larry Elder	<b>28%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
Business entrepreneur Perry Johnson	<b>5%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>61%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
Former Cranston, RI Mayor Steve Laffey	<b>3%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>61%</b>	<b>(681)</b>
-- March 2023	4%	8%	34%	55%	(521)

25. Of the 14 candidates I just asked about, which one do you most support for the Republican nomination? [LIST WAS READ ONLY IF NEEDED]

TREND:	July 2023
Donald Trump	<b>54%</b>
Ron DeSantis	<b>22%</b>
Mike Pence	<b>3%</b>
Nikki Haley	<b>3%</b>
Vivek Ramaswamy	<b>5%</b>
Tim Scott	<b>3%</b>
Asa Hutchinson	<b>&lt;1%</b>
Chris Christie	<b>3%</b>
Francis Suarez	<b>&lt;1%</b>
Doug Burgum	<b>1%</b>
Will Hurd	<b>&lt;1%</b>
Larry Elder	<b>&lt;1%</b>
Perry Johnson	<b>1%</b>
Steve Laffey	<b>&lt;1%</b>
(VOL) None of these	<b>2%</b>
(VOL) Don't know	<b>4%</b>
(n)	<b>(681)</b>

[QUESTIONS 26-28 WERE ROTATED]

26. Who would you choose if the candidates for the Republican nomination were Donald Trump and Ron DeSantis? [NAMES WERE ROTATED]

TREND:	July 2023	May 2023	March 2023	Feb. 2023
Trump	<b>55%</b>	56%	47%	40%
DeSantis	<b>35%</b>	35%	46%	53%
(VOL) Neither	<b>2%</b>	3%	2%	2%
(VOL) Don't know	<b>7%</b>	6%	5%	5%
(n)	<b>(681)</b>	(655)	(521)	(566)

27. Who would you choose if the candidates for the Republican nomination were Donald Trump and Tim Scott? [NAMES WERE ROTATED]

TREND:	July 2023
Trump	<b>72%</b>
Scott	<b>23%</b>
(VOL) Neither	<b>1%</b>
(VOL) Don't know	<b>4%</b>
(n)	<b>(681)</b>

28. Who would you choose if the candidates for the Republican nomination were Donald Trump and Chris Christie? [NAMES WERE ROTATED]

	July 2023
Trump	82%
Christie	12%
(VOL) Neither	2%
(VOL) Don't know	4%
(n)	(681)

29. Regardless of whether you currently support Donald Trump, which of the following statements comes closest to your view about which Republican has the best chance to win in 2024: Donald Trump is definitely the strongest candidate to beat Joe Biden, Donald Trump is probably the strongest candidate to beat Joe Biden, another Republican would probably be a stronger candidate than Trump, or another Republican would definitely be a stronger candidate than Trump?

TREND:	July 2023	May 2023
Trump definitely strongest	45%	45%
Trump probably strongest	24%	18%
Another Republican probably stronger	18%	19%
Another Republican definitely stronger	13%	13%
(VOL) Don't know	1%	4%
(n)	(681)	(655)

30. In a general election against Joe Biden, would Ron DeSantis be just as strong a candidate as Donald Trump would be, would DeSantis be stronger than Trump, or would DeSantis be weaker than Trump?

	July 2023
Just as strong as Trump	26%
Stronger than Trump	22%
Weaker than Trump	47%
(VOL) Don't know	5%
(n)	(681)

31. How concerned are you that the criminal indictments against Donald Trump would make him a weaker candidate against Joe Biden in the general election – very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned?

	July 2023
Very concerned	11%
Somewhat concerned	16%
Not too concerned	25%
Not at all concerned	47%
(VOL) Don't know	2%
(n)	(681)

32. Who do you think would be more effective as president in running the country and getting his policies enacted – Ron DeSantis or Donald Trump – or would they be equally as effective?

[NAMES WERE ROTATED]

	July 2023
DeSantis	19%
Trump	49%
Equal	30%
(VOL) Don't know	2%
(n)	(681)

33. Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian, or not?

TREND:	July 2023	May 2023	March 2023
Yes	<b>50%</b>	55%	53%
No	<b>48%</b>	42%	46%
(VOL) Don't know	<b>2%</b>	3%	1%
(n)	<b>(681)</b>	(655)	(521)

34. Would you describe yourself as a supporter of the MAGA movement, or not? [If YES: Do you support MAGA strongly or just somewhat?]

TREND:	July 2023	March 2023
Supporter, strong	<b>31%</b>	38%
Supporter, somewhat	<b>21%</b>	28%
Not a supporter	<b>39%</b>	28%
(VOL) Don't know	<b>9%</b>	6%
(n)	<b>(681)</b>	(521)

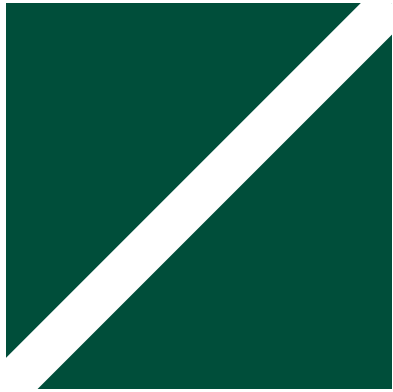
**METHODOLOGY**

The *Monmouth University Poll* was sponsored and conducted by the Monmouth University Polling Institute from July 12 to 19, 2023 with a probability-based national random sample of 681 registered voters who identify with or lean toward the Republican Party. Interviews were conducted in English, and included 198 live landline telephone interviews, 236 live cell phone interviews, 237 online surveys via a cell phone text invitation, and 10 online surveys via an email invitation. Telephone numbers were selected through a mix of random digit dialing and list-based sampling. Landline respondents were selected with a modified Troidahl-Carter youngest adult household screen. Interviewing services were provided by Braun Research, with sample obtained from Dynata (RDD, n= 232), Aristotle (list, n= 355) and a panel of prior Monmouth poll participants (n= 94). Monmouth is responsible for all aspects of the survey design, data weighting and analysis. The full sample is weighted for region, age, education, gender and race based on voter list and US Census information (ACS 2021 one-year survey). For results based on this sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling has a maximum margin of plus or minus 5.9 percentage points adjusted for sample design effects (1.56). Sampling error can be larger for sub-groups (see table below). In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

<i>DEMOGRAPHICS (weighted)</i>
<i>Self-Reported</i>
46% Strong Republican
16% Republican, not strong
38% Independent, lean Rep.
53% Male
47% Female
16% 18-34
23% 35-49
32% 50-64
29% 65+
80% White
11% Hispanic
9% Black/Asian/Other
40% High school or less
32% Some college
28% 4 year degree

MARGIN OF ERROR		unweighted sample	moe (+/-)
TOTAL		681	5.9%
SELF-REPORTED PARTY ID	Strong Rep.	311	8.7%
	Rep., not strong	121	13.9%
	Indep., lean Rep.	249	9.7%
IDEOLOGY	Very conservative	272	9.3%
	Somewhat conserv.	214	10.5%
	Moderate	191	11.1%
EVANGELICAL	Yes	285	9.1%
	No	383	7.8%
MAGA SUPPORTER	Strong	200	10.8%
	Somewhat	144	12.8%
	No	282	9.1%
AGE	18-49	200	10.8%
	50-64	237	9.9%
	65+	238	9.9%
INCOME	<\$50K	149	12.5%
	\$50 to <\$100K	185	11.3%
	\$100K+	301	8.8%
REGION	South, Gulf states	263	9.4%
	Midwest, Mountain	201	10.8%
	Northeast, West Coast	217	10.4%
GENDER	Male	403	7.6%
	Female	278	9.2%
RACE	White, non-Hispanic	595	6.3%
	Other	77	17.4%
COLLEGE GRADUATE	No degree	336	8.4%
	4 year degree	342	8.3%

###



**National Survey Results**  
**General Election Likely Voters**  
**Political Environment, Trends & Analysis**

 **McLaughlin & Associates**

**Field Dates: July 19<sup>th</sup> - 24<sup>th</sup>, 2023**

**[www.mclaughlinonline.com](http://www.mclaughlinonline.com)**

Thinking ahead to the 2024 Republican primary election for President, if that election were held today among the following candidates, for whom would you vote? (Republican Primary Voters)

<b>n=452</b>	<b>1/23</b>	<b>2/23</b>	<b>3/23</b>	<b>4/23</b>	<b>5/23</b>	<b>6/23</b>	<b>7/23</b>
Donald Trump	43	42	46	52	54	52	52
Ron DeSantis	31	26	23	16	16	19	13
Mike Pence	5	5	8	6	7	5	5
Nikki Haley	3	6	5	4	3	4	3
Mitt Romney	2	3	3	2	3	2	1
Liz Cheney	3	2	3	1	1	1	2
Tim Scott	1	1	1	2	2	5	3
Vivek Ramaswamy	*	1	0	4	4	2	8
Chris Christie	*	*	*	1	1	2	2
Asa Hutchinson	*	*	*	1	1	0	0
Will Hurd	*	*	*	1	0	*	1
Larry Elder	*	*	*	0	0	0	0
Rick Perry	*	*	*	*	1	0	0
Doug Burgum	*	*	*	*	0	1	0
Francis Suarez	*	*	*	*	*	1	0
Perry Johnson	*	*	*	*	*	0	1
Undecided	8	9	8	7	8	7	9





# McLaughlin & Associates

## **D.C./Virginia Office**

1012 Cameron Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
703-518-4445

## **New York Office**

566 South Route 303  
Blauvelt, NY 10913  
845-365-2000

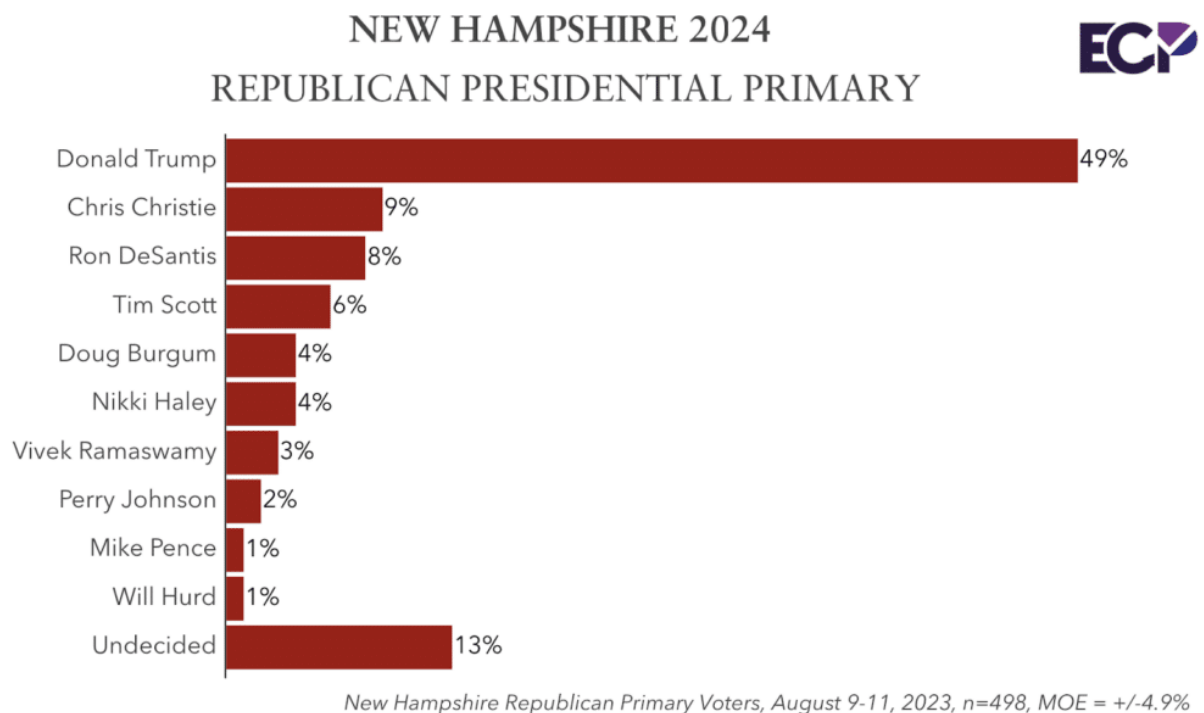
## **Florida Office**

2665 South Bayshore  
Drive - Suite 220  
Miami, FL 33133  
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[www.mclaughlinonline.com](http://www.mclaughlinonline.com)

## 2024 PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES: DESANTIS FALLS TO SINGLE DIGITS, BIDEN STAYS STRONG

Forty-nine percent (49%) of Republican Primary voters in New Hampshire plan to support former President Donald Trump for the 2024 nomination, a 40-point advantage over all other candidates, similar to his 41-point lead in [March](#). As the field of candidates has come more into focus since March, Florida Governor DeSantis no longer holds [second place](#) with double digits, instead has fallen to 8%.



Former New Jersey Governor Chris Christie surpassed DeSantis for second-place in the Republican field: 9% of voters support his 2024 bid, while 8% support DeSantis.

“DeSantis has been the alternative to Trump in Emerson polling this presidential cycle. This is the first time we have seen DeSantis drop out of second place in our polling, and fall back into the pack of candidates,” Kimball said.

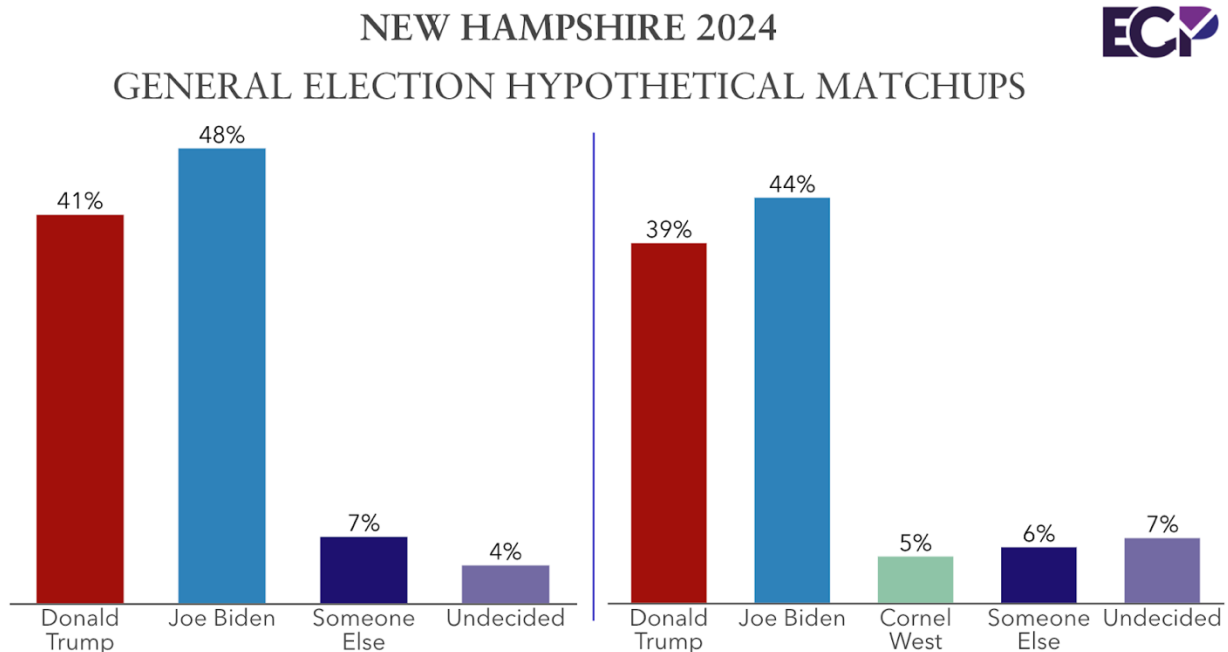
U.S. Senator Tim Scott (SC) follows with 6%, and North Dakota Governor Doug Burgum and Nikki Haley receive 4% respectively. Entrepreneur Vivek

Ramaswamy trails at 3%, businessman Perry Johnson at 2%, former Vice President Mike Pence at 1%, and former Rep. Will Hurd at 1%. Thirteen percent (13%) of voters remain undecided.

- Middle-aged adults are less favorable of DeSantis – just 4% of voters ages 30 to 49 would support DeSantis, compared with 56% who support Donald Trump.

In the 2024 Democratic Primary, 65% plan to support President Biden, while 12% support Robert Kennedy Jr., and 4% support Marianne Williamson. Nineteen percent are undecided.

In a hypothetical 2024 Presidential matchup between Joe Biden and Donald Trump, Biden leads Trump 48% to 41%, while 7% would vote for someone else, and 4% are undecided. Biden’s seven-point lead in New Hampshire is an increase [since March](#), when he held a four-point lead over Trump.



*New Hampshire Voters, August 9-11, 2023, n=837, MOE = +/- 3.4%*

When Green Party candidate Cornel West is included on the ballot, support for Biden decreases to 44%, Trump to 39%, while West receives 5% of voters’ support. Six percent (6%) would vote for someone else, and 7% are undecided.

## **2024 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION: AYOTTE & CRAIG HOLD EARLY LEADS**

In a potential 2024 Democratic Gubernatorial Primary, a majority of voters (52%) are undecided. Thirty percent of Democratic state primary voters support Manchester Mayor Joyce Craig for Governor, while 15% support Executive Councilor Cinde Warmington. Two percent plan to support someone else.

In the 2024 Republican Gubernatorial Primary, 45% of voters support the former U.S. Senator Kelly Ayotte. Nine percent support former New Hampshire Senate President Chuck Morse, followed by New Hampshire Commissioner of Education Frank Edelblut at 4%, and former Hillsborough County Treasurer Robert Burns at 3%. Three percent (3%) of voters would support someone else, and 35% are undecided.

In a hypothetical 2024 matchup between Kelly Ayotte and Joyce Craig, 46% of voters support Ayotte, while 37% support Craig, and 17% are undecided. In a matchup between Ayotte and Cinde Warmington, support for Ayotte increases to 47%, while Warmington receives 34%, and 19% are undecided.

“With at least 17% of voters still undecided, there is plenty of room for the New Hampshire Governor’s race to change,” Kimball said. “The high approval rating of current Governor Chris Sununu could impact a potential race between Ayotte and Craig or Warmington, as voters generally approve of their Republican Governor.”

## **NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIDE: FIRST IN THE NATION STATUS OF IMPORTANT AMONG VOTERS**

When asked if they support state legislation that requires New Hampshire’s presidential primary to be held seven days or more prior to any other state primary, a majority (65%) of voters support the law, while 10% of voters oppose the law and 26% are unsure.

- Republican voters are more likely to support legislation that maintains New Hampshire's first-in-the-nation status: 73% of Republicans support the law, compared to 59% of Democrats.

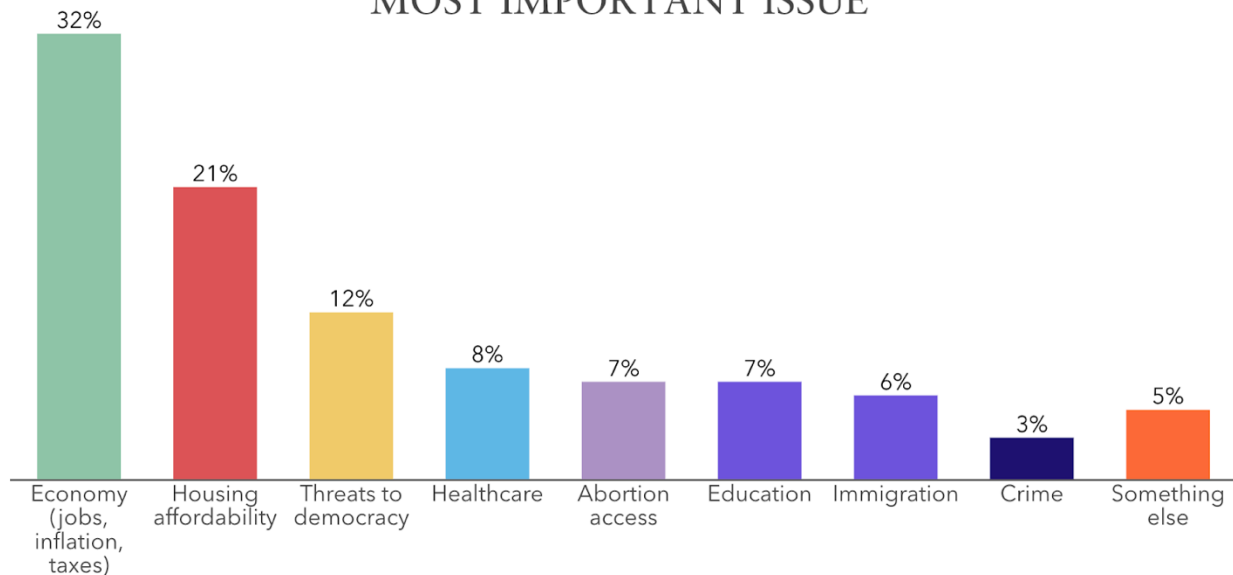
Voters were also asked to rate New Hampshire as a place to live as compared to its neighboring state, Massachusetts. A majority of voters (61%) say New Hampshire is a much better place to live, while 30% say New Hampshire is a slightly better place to live. Eight percent of voters say New Hampshire is slightly worse, and 1% of voters say New Hampshire is a much worse place to live.

- Favorability toward New Hampshire in comparison to Massachusetts splits by party registration; 77% of Republican voters say New Hampshire was a much better place to live than Massachusetts, compared to 41% of Democrats who say the same.

## **NEW HAMPSHIRE ISSUES: ECONOMY, HOUSING AFFORDABILITY TOP OF MIND**

The economy is the top issue for 32% of New Hampshire voters. Housing affordability is also a significant concern: 21% of voters cite it as the top issue facing New Hampshire. "Threats to democracy" is the top concern for 12% of voters, followed by healthcare (8%), abortion access (7%), education (7%), immigration (6%), and crime (3%).

## NEW HAMPSHIRE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE



*New Hampshire Voters, August 9-11, 2023, n=837, MOE = +/- 3.4%*

- Younger voters are more concerned about housing affordability than other age demographics. Twenty-five percent of voters under the age of 50 picked housing affordability as their top issue, compared to 17% of voters over the age of 50.

Voter fraud was cited as the greatest threat to U.S. elections by 32% of voters, followed by voter suppression at 31%. Eleven percent (11%) of voters are most concerned with foreign interference in U.S. elections, and 9% are concerned about voting machines malfunctioning. Ten percent of voters believe there are no significant threats to elections in the U.S.

- What voters perceive as the greatest threat to U.S. elections varies by party; 60% of Republicans point to voter fraud as the greatest threat compared to just 11% of Democrats, while 55% of Democrats cite voter suppression as the greatest threat compared to just 5% of Republicans.
- Independents are more split, with 31% choosing voter suppression as the greatest threat, and 28% listing voter fraud as the greatest threat.

## METHODOLOGY

The Emerson College Polling New Hampshire survey was conducted August 9-11, 2023. The sample of registered voters,  $n=837$ , has a credibility interval, similar to a poll's margin of error (MOE), of  $\pm 3.4$  percentage points. The data sets were weighted by gender, education, age, party registration, and region based on 2024 registration modeling. Modeling is based on U.S. Census parameters and New Hampshire voter registration and election data.

It is important to remember that subsets based on demographics, such as gender, age, education, and race/ethnicity, carry with them higher credibility intervals, as the sample size is reduced. Survey results should be understood within the poll's range of scores, and understand with a confidence interval of 95% a poll will fall outside the range of scores 1 in 20 times.

Data was collected by contacting an Interactive Voice Response (IVR) system of landlines, an online panel of voters, and cellphones via SMS-to-web, and a consumer list of emails.

All questions asked in this survey with exact wording, along with full results and cross tabulations can be found [here](#).

**EXHIBIT B – QUALIFYING DONORS**



August 21, 2023

Christian Schaeffer  
 Chief Digital Officer  
 Republican National Committee  
 310 First Street Southeast  
 Washington, DC 20003

**Donor Count Verification for Perry Johnson for President Inc.**

Dear Mr. Schaeffer,

On behalf of Perry Johnson for President Inc. (FECID: C00833160), Aristotle International has conducted a donor analysis of their donor file with contributions between 2/15/2023 and 8/19/2023.

We certify the campaign’s donor file has **54,034** unique donors nationwide, with over 200 donors in 28 states; after name cleansing, address standardization (USPS CASS via Melissa), and duplicate handling per your instructions.

The following is a breakdown of unique donors by state as requested.

State	Donors
Alabama (AL)	231
Alaska (AK)	32
Arizona (AZ)	396
Arkansas (AR)	161
California (CA)	975
Colorado (CO)	241
Connecticut (CT)	132
Delaware (DE)	52
District Of Columbia (DC)	67
Florida (FL)	1,838
Georgia (GA)	457
Hawaii (HI)	24
Idaho (ID)	86
Illinois (IL)	765
Indiana (IN)	386
Iowa (IA)	7,022
Kansas (KS)	113
Kentucky (KY)	228
Louisiana (LA)	133

Maine (ME)	80
Maryland (MD)	210
Massachusetts (MA)	248
Michigan (MI)	28,009
Minnesota (MN)	352
Mississippi (MS)	176
Missouri (MO)	336
Montana (MT)	55
Nebraska (NE)	162
Nevada (NV)	158
New Hampshire (NH)	245
New Jersey (NJ)	336
New Mexico (NM)	68
New York (NY)	736
North Carolina (NC)	471
North Dakota (ND)	70
Ohio (OH)	1,067
Oklahoma (OK)	375
Oregon (OR)	154
Pennsylvania (PA)	613
Rhode Island (RI)	41

# ARISTOTLE™

Now You Know

South Carolina (SC)	249
South Dakota (SD)	53
Tennessee (TN)	347
Texas (TX)	1,016
Utah (UT)	126
Vermont (VT)	29
Virginia (VA)	830

Washington (WA)	284
West Virginia (WV)	92
Wisconsin (WI)	329
Wyoming (WY)	32
N/A	3,346
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>54,034</b>

Sincerely,



*Drew Dougherty*  
Vice President of Campaigns

CC: Richard Walters, Chairman's Office, RNC  
Paul Cordes, Campaign Manager, Perry Johnson for President Inc.  
David Mason, General Counsel, Aristotle International

**EXHIBIT C - PLEDGE**

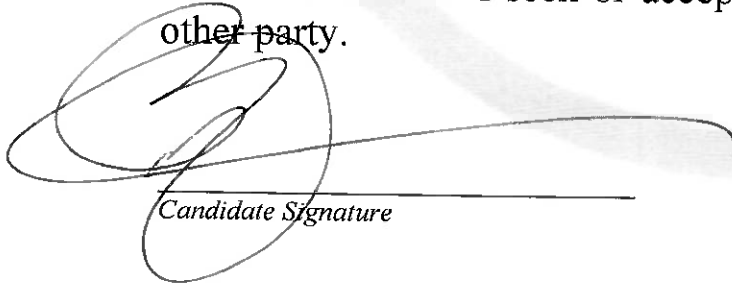


★ BEAT BIDEN PLEDGE ★

I, PERRY JOHNSON, affirm that I agree to appear in only Primary and General Election debates that have been sanctioned by the Republican National Committee, pursuant to Rule 10(a)(11) of *The Rules of the Republican Party*. I acknowledge and accept that if I fail to sign this pledge or if I participate in any debate that has not been sanctioned by the Republican National Committee, I will not be eligible to participate in any further Republican National Committee sanctioned debates.

Additionally, I affirm that if I do not win the 2024 Republican nomination for President of the United States, I will honor the will of the primary voters and support the nominee in order to save our country and beat Joe Biden.

I further pledge that I will not seek to run as an independent or write-in candidate nor will I seek or accept the nomination for president of any other party.

  
Candidate Signature

PERRY JOHNSON  
Candidate Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
RNC Chairman Ronna McDaniel

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date