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Ice Palace», «The Last of the Belles» «The Jelly-Bean»»

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«Politics»

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3			«Time»	47
3.1	-	«Time»		47
3.2			«Politics»	50
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¹ Harris Z. Discourse analysis // Language. 1952. V. 28. 1. P. 1-30.
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¹⁰ ... // ... , 1990. . 136-137.

¹¹ ... // ... , 2000. . 4-5.

¹² Stubbs M. *Discourse Analysis: the sociolinguistic analysis of natural language*. Oxford, 1983. 279 p.

¹³ Brown G. *Discourse Analysis* Cambridge, 1983. 283 p.

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¹⁶ . . . , 2000, . 7-25.

¹⁷ Buja E. The Discourse Analysis of a Newspaper Article // *Philologica*, 2010. Vol. 2. 2. . 260.

¹⁸ Glynos J. Discourse Analysis: Varieties and Methods []. URL: file:///C:/Users/ /Desktop/ /discourse_analysis_NCRM_014.pdf (: 17.04.2016).

¹⁹ Hammersley M. Discourse Analysis: a Bibliographical Guide []. URL: www.cf.ac.uk/socsi/capacity/Activities/Themes/In-depth/guide.pdf (: 16.04.2016).

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28 . . . : (: 18.03.2016.) [

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²⁹ . . « » []. URL: http://iling-ran.ru/kibrik/Media_discourse@Orel_2008.pdf (: 11.03.2016).
³⁷ . . ()//
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³¹ . : (: 12.03.2016). [-

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<http://vestnik.nvsu.ru/arhiv/33/330.pdf>. – 15.04.2016 (

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⁶⁰ ... : ... , 1991. 81 .

⁶¹ ... , 1988. .7-13.

⁶² Fesenko, O.P. Structure of Linguistic Personality in the Aspect of the Center-Periphery Theory // Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. 2013. 16 (3). P. 400.

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⁷⁶ 107.
⁷⁷ , 2002. . 47.
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⁷⁹ ... // . 1995. 6. . 17-29.

⁸⁰ 157-158.

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«Time».

«Time» –

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: «Take Time – It's Brief» –

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Time Inc. Warner Communications,

Time Warner.

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«Time»

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www.time.com

«Politics».

«Politics» –

«medium» «large»,

«short»,

«Time» 2013 .

BuzzFeed,

Business Insider

, – *Yale Daily News.*

«Time»

70 %

«medium» «large».

, *Twitter*,

85

LinkedIn,

25

- *Time Magazine*.

3.2

«Politics»

2015 .- 2016 .

2016 .

#NeverTramp

(Stop Trump Movement, anti-Trump Movement),

Stop Trump Movement,

: «Civil War»: «Welcome to the GOP **Civil**

War».

1861-1865

grossing feature this weekend – and not just the **Marvel film**».

«Civil War»,
– «Marvel film».
«Marvel Entertainment»,
«Captain America: Civil War».

179

«Civil War»

»⁹⁰.

»
.
»
: «On Wednesday,
Trump, who had claimed a mandate and control over the party after he secured the nomination last week, offered an **olive branch** to Ryan, telling Fox News that the Speaker remains the leader of the GOP and may remain so for a while. Trump also appeared to soften his position on a ban on Muslim immigration, saying it was merely “a suggestion”».

«olive branch» – «

»,

«olive branch»,

: «On Wednesday,

Trump, who had claimed a mandate and control over the party after he secured the nomination last week, offered an **olive branch** to Ryan, telling Fox News that the Speaker remains the leader of the GOP and may remain so *for a while*».

«for a while»,

«Rubio's

Storybook Political Life Faces a Dark Chapter»,

2012 .,

« »
« »

-

: «Marco Rubio’s campaign knows how to craft a narrative. They penned his political biography as a man who could turn the Republican Party into a **Benetton-ad**, and then started spinning yarns that a string of third- and second-place finishes showed all-important momentum».

«Benetton», Benetton
Group SpA –

1965 . . . 1960 ., -

120

«United Colors of Benetton».

« Benetton»,

: «On the Democratic side, it's been over for weeks, but now it's really over. Barring acts of **God** or the **FBI**, Bernie Sanders is now mathematically out of the running for the Democratic presidential nomination after Hillary Clinton scored wins in at least four of the five states voting Tuesday—and all five, if early results in Missouri hold—increasing her delegate lead to 300, even before super-delegates are considered».

(«God»),

(«FBI»).

«God»

«FBI»,

« ».

2015 .

«FBI»

«God»

«God»

: «Arguing their candidacy would help Hillary Clinton avoid fire from GOP front-runner Donald Trump (that hasn't worked yet) and that they want to enfranchise every Democratic voter, they maintained that the map gets easier for their candidate as the race progresses—a statement unsupported by polling. Sanders' strategists also maintained that the hunt for the Democratic nomination wasn't "a matter of delegate arithmetic", when that's precisely what it is – and he's **behind the 8-ball**».

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«behind the 8-ball» ,

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«behind the 8-ball» -

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«Ted Cruz Fights Alongside Donald Trump in Florida to Sink Marco Rubio».

: «Despite the lack of any love lost between himself and the party's leadership in Washington, Cruz believes they will be forced to come around his way to keep their party intact. Cruz's path to securing 1,237 delegates to the convention for the first ballot is slim. But in forcing the party to choose between himself and Trump, Cruz is already seeing signs that his **Sophie's choice** for the GOP establishment will pay off».

«Sophie's choice».

« » —

Modern Library

«

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100

, 1982 .

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«Happy New Year»: «**Happy** Super Tuesday!» «**Happy** New Hampshire
Primary Day».

. «The largest chunk of delegates up for grabs in
both parties will be *awarded* Tuesday in what will likely be a pivotal day in the race»

– «
»
. «More than 20 percent of Granite State
voters *woke up* Tuesday unsure of whom they would vote for – one of the two *mys-
teries* of primary day» –

, «Super Tuesday»,

«Super Tuesday»

1976 .,

«Super Tuesday»

«Why the
Republican Debate Was So Brutal»

: «At
different points, it was as if Trump were trying to lose support and goad the crowd
into rowdiness. He mocked South Carolina’s Lindsey Graham, who has deep sup-
porters in some corners. He praised Planned Parenthood, a **bogeyman** among con-
servatives. He defended eminent domain, called George W. Bush a liar and blamed
him for the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. He called the war in Iraq a folly — while stand-
ing on a stage in a state with the heaviest concentration of veterans in America».

«George W. Bush», «Sept. 11 terrorist attacks», «war in Iraq»,
– «bogeyman».

1980-

«bogeyman»

– «**And then there were nine**».

«Ten Little Niggers» («And Then There Were None»)

«Ten Little Niggers»,

«And Then There Were None»

« »,

: «One little Soldier Boy left all alone; He went out and hanged himself and then there were none».

«nine».

«none»

«Paul Ryan Pushes Republicans to Make Poverty an Issue»

: «Ryan, a devotee of **Jack Kemp**, the football player turned congressman, Cabinet Secretary and GOP anti-poverty **crusader**, said he hopes to use 2016 to help the GOP offer affirmative policy solutions after years of fighting with the **Obama** White House».

– Jack Kemp (), –

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«Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981», -
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· «crusader» -
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«Nuffield Mechanizations». -
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«anti-poverty crusader», , -
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«Obama»

«The Dark Horse Who Could Upset the First Southern Primary»

2016 .

, . : «But Floyd says he just can't endorse Jeb Bush in his coming presidential run. That's because Floyd is committed to his home-state's favorite son, Senator Lindsey Graham, whose White House ambitions, while seemingly **quixotic**, may upend the race in the nation's third primary state».

«quixotic» — . -

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«Time»

2014

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2014

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«Jeb's **Shock and Awe** Catch-Up Campaign»

2015

: «Jeb Bush's announcement last month that he is going to "actively explore" a White House run next year has set off a flurry of activity, including a scramble to bring on aides to help launch two political action committees and meetings with donors for support. With all of the news about fundraising committees and shots at Hillary, the Jeb Bush rollout may look like **shock and awe**, but the former Florida governor is still playing a hastily constructed game of catch-up».

« ».

1996

. «Yet for all this success, the midterms may prove a **pyrrhic victory** for the Republican Party», –

« » 279 .

: «As they uncorked the champagne, many Republicans cautioned their compatriots not to misinterpret the results of an election fought on favorable footing: a series of contests where vulnerable Democrats in red states were forced to contend with angry midterm voters, in an anti-incumbent mood, with a presidential **millstone hung around their necks**».

: «While Paul-the-younger has been working to reframe his foreign policy to be more palatable to the GOP’s hawkish wing, his father has been making that task increasingly difficult. Speaking on the Money and Markets podcast, Ron Paul defended **9/11 “truthers”**, adding that the federal government did more harm to Americans’ liberties than **Osama bin Laden**».

«era»: «In **the era of Donald Trump and Ben Carson**», «the fiscal cliff deal that extended **the Bush-era** tax cuts», «the decision whether to release the legal justification memos for **Bush-era**», «stronger GOP opposition of **the Clinton era**».

: «The speech was littered with typical **Trump-isms**» –

«Trump-isms»,

«

»,

: «Not Trump. Donald Trump doesn't read those political tomes about campaigns past, he reads *The Art of the Deal*, which advises acolytes to break all the rules and encourages dramatic overpromising in the form of “truthful hyperbole.” And on Thursday, he showed that Citizen Trump will not stop being himself just because he's on the cusp of becoming Nominee Trump. If anything, he's going to be even more **Trumpian**».

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 «Politics»
 «Time».
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 241 : 204 162 .
 187 -
 (51 %), - ,
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 90 % -
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 117 (32 %
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 (67 %).
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 (21 %), (9 %) (3 %).

1 –

	109 (67 %)
	34 (21 %)
	14 (19 %)
	5 (3 %)

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- , 68 % : 27 %.

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(44 %). -

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5 % , -

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-	110 (68 %)
-	44 (27 %)
	8 (5 %)

(31 %), (17 %), (16 %), (12 %).

« », -
 , « » (50
 % – 26), « 2016 .» (12 % – 6) « -
 » (9 % – 4). -

2016 .

«Politics»

2015 . 2016 .,

3 –

	52 (31 %)
	27 (17 %)
	19 (12 %)
	14 (9 %)
	11 (7 %)
	10 (6 %)
	7 (4 %)
	6 (4 %)
	6 (4 %)
	4 (2 %)

	2 (1 %)
	1 (1 %)

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 (96 % – 155), -
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 6 % (9) -
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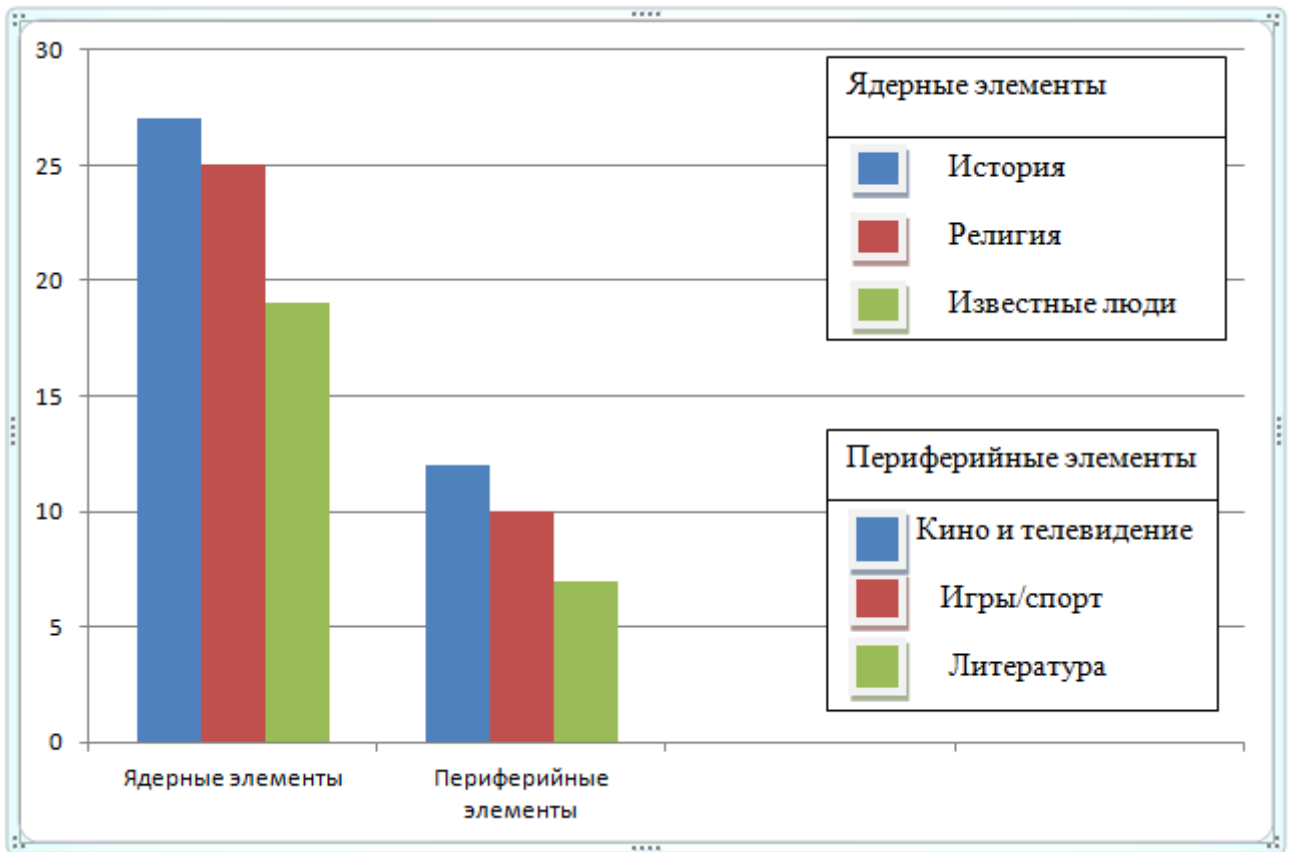
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Why Donald Trump's Meeting With Paul Ryan Matters

Presumptive nominee Donald Trump will meet with Speaker of the House Paul Ryan and other top Republicans in Washington Thursday as they seek to meld their vastly divergent visions for the GOP. Trump's populist appeal, built on his showman's personality and sometimes left-of-center economic proposals is on a collision course with Ryan's conservative approach to policymaking. Where the Speaker has called for growing the party's support among minorities, Trump's path to the White House revolves around turning out an even more white electorate in the fall. The highest-ranking elected Republican has yet to endorse Trump, saying the candidate has to do more to assuage the concerns of conservatives. Thursday's meeting, Ryan allies say, is only the start of a long process of reconciliation that may not be done before the Cleveland convention.

On Wednesday, Trump, who had claimed a mandate and control over the party after he secured the nomination last week, offered an **olive branch** to Ryan, telling Fox News that the Speaker remains the leader of the GOP and may remain so for a while. Trump also appeared to soften his position on a ban on Muslim immigration, saying it was merely "a suggestion." The ban is one of several major policy sticking points with GOP leadership.

After Trump on Tuesday indicated he may never release his tax returns, Mitt Romney, a frequent Trump critic, warned that failure to do so was "disqualifying" and indicated Trump had something to hide. Romney, who faced his own calls to release his returns when he was the GOP nominee in 2012, seems to have found limited success, as Trump reversed course to say he hoped to release the documents before Election Day.

Welcome to the GOP Civil War

Civil War was the top-grossing feature this weekend – and not just the **Marvel film**.

In the days since Donald Trump secured the GOP nomination, the Republican Party split has become a chasm, as Republicans are choosing sides on whether to embrace their bombastic standard-bearer. Conservatives are doubling down on the **#NeverTrump movement**, with some even joining **Hillary Clinton's** effort. Others are making noise about a third-party candidate as a way of spoiling Trump's candidacy. Only two of the five most recent GOP nominees are backing Trump, and only one – Bob Dole – will attend the convention in July.

On Thursday, Speaker of the House Paul Ryan said he wasn't yet ready to embrace Trump, and on Friday RNC Chairman Reince Priebus called on the presumptive nominee to adjust his tone to win a general election – before rejecting the notion that Trump is the leader of his party. The pair are set to meet with Trump this week in Washington, though the prospects for reconciliation don't look good.

“I told Reince that I thought it was totally inappropriate what Paul Ryan said and thought it was good for me politically,” Trump said in a statement Friday, later telling NBC’s *Meet the Press* he felt “blindsided.” “But Reince feels, and I’m okay with that, that we should meet before we go our separate ways. So I guess the meeting will take place and who knows what will happen.”

As Ryan seeks to preserve his “opportunity agenda” for the GOP, which was crafted to grow the party by reaching out to a more diverse coalition, Trump’s team is rejecting it. “It’s [Trump’s] agenda that has just been cemented as what the American people or at least Republicans and independents who voted for him want,” said Trump convention manager Paul Manafort on *Fox News Sunday*. Trump himself left the door open to breaking with a century of tradition and removing Ryan as the official chairman of the GOP convention if he doesn’t fall in line.

Meanwhile GOP lawmakers up and down the ticket are being forced to decide whether to embrace Trump – and thereby risk having to answer for every controversial policy and statement over the next six months – or abandon him and face a backlash from their base. Seeking to enforce unity, the RNC is telling potential convention volunteers who oppose Trump to look elsewhere in July.

Over the weekend, Trump fired back at Mitt Romney, calling him “ungrateful” for the support – financial and otherwise – he offered in 2012. And Trump has a point. He held fundraisers for both Romney and Ryan in 2012, and provided the former Massachusetts governor with a boost when he sought to unify the party. It only highlighted the extent to which Republicans courted the high-profile endorser and donor-turned-candidate in the years leading up to 2016. Likewise, Trump said Jeb Bush and Lindsey Graham’s decisions to not support him called into question their honor, because they signed a loyalty pledge to the eventual nominee last year. As Trump allies argue, is there any doubt his former rivals would call into question Trump’s honor if he balked at endorsing if they were the nominee?

Trump is unbowed, promising in a tweet Monday morning, “I will win the election against Crooked Hillary despite the people in the Republican Party that are currently and selfishly opposed to me!” To do that he will have to win over more voters than he loses from the traditional GOP coalition, an effort he is beginning with a renewed focus on populism. Trump adjusted his position on two key policy issues over the weekend to that end, suggesting that his tax plan would ultimately raise rates for those with higher incomes and expressing openness to raising the minimum wage.

Rubio’s Storybook Political Life Faces a Dark Chapter

Marco Rubio’s campaign knows how to craft a narrative. They penned his political biography as a man who could turn the Republican Party into a **Benetton-ad**, and then started spinning yarns that a string of third- and second-place finishes showed all-important momentum.

So it was all the more stunning Monday when campaign aides saw a CNN story suggesting advisers were discussing Rubio dropping out of the race before his home state of Florida votes next Tuesday.

It was a spectacular reversal of fate for the Rubio campaign, which has long prided itself on aggressive – if sometimes robotic – message discipline, and one that

came at a precarious time for the beleaguered candidate. The story did more than hastily send the campaign spokesman Alex Conant across town to appear on CNN to shoot down a report he called “fiction.”

It was just the latest revelation of the extent to which strategic and tactical missteps have sent the campaign reeling amid a far more intense primary than they had prepared for.

In early 2015, Rubio aides compared their strategy for winning the nomination to “**catching lightning in a bottle.**” The campaign was organized from top-to-bottom around the theory, relying on just a small team of aides until just weeks before voting began, and eschewing a ground game for a media-centric campaign.

Now, if there is a path remaining, it is through the exact opposite: a grueling primary slog and an unpredictable and divisive contested convention. Conant maintained that Rubio would fight on regardless of the outcome in Florida in an effort to keep Trump from the nomination, but most Republican operatives see that as little more than spin.

Tactically, backers and observers say Rubio’s current predicament is a result of an uncharacteristic failure to manage expectations. In recent weeks, the campaign has allowed its own proclamations of “momentum” to infect its internal thinking. Aides assumed that Jeb Bush’s exit would have led to swifter consolidation behind their candidate, despite longstanding polling showing many Bush voters were reluctant to follow the youthful Rubio.

Many of Bush’s backers in elected office quickly switched allegiances to Rubio, but some of his top financial backers have remained on the sidelines. “The Jeb race was emotionally consuming and I’m just not in a mood to choose that quickly afterwards,” said Al Cardenas, a Florida powerbroker and the former chairman of the American Conservative Union. Suddenly, a candidate who had never been projected to perform well in Nevada or Super Tuesday was greeted by headlines on his underwhelming performances.

“They got too big for their britches,” said a Rubio bundler.

The broader misstep, was in a candidate that tried to be everything to everyone, and may have lost himself in the process. For much of 2015, Rubio avoided inserting himself into the primary squabbles swirling around him in hopes of selling himself as a generational figure.

But as Trump’s bombast dominated the news coverage, Rubio’s lofty message began falling flat. He began swiping at Trump, first on policy and then personally, but misjudged the toll getting into the mud would take on his brand. Lacking a defined base of his own, Rubio’s campaign saw some supporters flock to Texas Sen. Ted Cruz, who flirted with Trump attacks but avoided the personal ones, or Ohio Gov. John Kasich, who refused to engage his rivals entirely. Rubio has since reversed course on the Trump attacks.

The candidate, who has been an underdog in all of his past races, is, at least publicly, relishing in being written off once again, pledging to prove the doubters wrong. But the stakes for Rubio have never been higher.

“This is a community of underdogs,” Rubio said at a Super Tuesday rally in Florida. “This is a state of underdogs. This is a country of underdogs, but we will win.”

Rubio’s team argues that a win in Florida and it’s 99 delegates on March 15 would “reset” the race, when the campaign slows for a month of just a handful of contests before shifting to more populous – and they argue, politically friendly – Northeastern states. But a home state victory is by no means assured. His campaign is touting polls showing him trailing Trump in the state. And first he’ll have to endure more beatings Tuesday, when Michigan, Mississippi, Idaho and Hawaii vote. Trump is heavily favored, though Rubio aides believe strong showings for their man are possible in the latter two contests.

Rubio’s campaign maintains that the prospects for their rivals are hardly much better. Kasich is similarly betting on a contested convention and possesses even fewer delegates than Rubio. Meanwhile, Cruz’s path to 1,237, they argue, is increasingly unrealistic.

There is reason for hope in Florida, where Rubio is narrowing the gap on Trump by the day and where he plans to spend every day until his do-or-die moment arrives. The campaign has made a frantic effort to build out a ground operation to collect early votes, and is hoping for strong turnout among the state’s Latino and particularly Cuban-American population to help him overcome Trump’s pull in the northern part of the state.

Rubio aides note that the winner of the Puerto Rico primary – which Rubio won in a blowout on Sunday – has won also Florida consistently. But a complicating factor is the more than 220,000 absentee ballots that were cast by Republicans before Florida Gov. Jeb Bush dropped out, containing an untold number of votes for Rubio’s former mentor. With twice that many cast now, Rubio will likely have to do better than simply pull even with Trump on Election Day in order to secure a victory.

For all his skill at narratives, Rubio hasn’t come up with a happy ending to this one just yet.

Who Can Beat Trump: Cruz? Or Cruz and Kasich?

Two is more than three, but is it better than one? That’s the question GOP strategists are puzzling as Marco Rubio exited the race leaving Ted Cruz and John Kasich as the party’s last hopes for stopping GOP front-runner Donald Trump. Tuesday’s results pushed Rubio from the race as Trump won at least three of the states – and likely four, if his razor-thin margin in Missouri holds – while Kasich picked up his home state of Ohio. But Trump is still behind on the race for the 1,237 delegates needed to win the nomination. Trump needs to win 50% of the more than 1,000 delegates remaining to lock in the nomination by the first ballot in Cleveland – a tall order given delegate apportionment rules in the GOP. That means Trump’s path to winning a majority grew slimmer Tuesday, while the prospects of a contested convention greatly increased.

Kasich, who has no mathematical path to winning 1,237 short of a contested convention, argues that a three-man race is the best way to stop Trump, as he and Cruz appeal to different wings of the GOP that dislike Trump as much as they dislike

each other. This triangulation strategy, Kasich's campaign says, would rely on Cruz's strength out West, and Kasich's strength in more moderate states, to force multiple ballots. The Cruz campaign rejects that strategy, arguing that a two-man race, and the stark choice it offers, is the only way to block Trump. Cruz's aides point to head-to-head surveys showing he wins outright if he's alone with Trump in the states, which would allow him to swiftly make up his nearly 300-delegate deficit off the front-runner.

The Republican contest now shifts to Arizona, where Trump is favored, and to Utah, where the Trump alternatives have a far better shot, before entering "spring break" – a month when just 134 delegates will be awarded in a handful of contests. The break will allow the anti-Trump forces more time to organize their advertising and message, but they'll also test the organizational and financial stamina of Trump's rivals who lack significant momentum in the long slog for delegates.

On the Democratic side, it's been over for weeks, but now it's *really* over. Barring acts of **God** or the **FBI**, Bernie Sanders is now mathematically out of the running for the Democratic presidential nomination after Hillary Clinton scored wins in at least four of the five states voting Tuesday – and all five, if early results in Missouri hold – increasing her delegate lead to 300, even before super-delegates are considered. Sanders would need a super-majority of the delegates remaining to come back, which would require massive wins in states where he does not have massive leads, and his campaign is now arguing it can appeal to super-delegates – most of whom are backing Clinton. Don't bet on it. The scenes of celebration spread on social media from Clinton's headquarters made clear they think the race is over, and more importantly, are not afraid to say it.

Tuesday's results offered reason for pause for both front-runners, as voters, particularly voters in GOP primaries, expressed dissatisfaction with the potential for a Trump-Clinton general election match-up.

President Obama will reveal his nominee for the Supreme Court at 11 a.m. Wednesday in a Rose Garden address, the White House announced, but don't expect it will go far as Senate Republicans have pledged to block the nominee from even receiving a hearing, let alone a vote. But that's just fine with the White House, which sees it as yet another opportunity to highlight congressional dysfunction.

Why Bernie Sanders Won't Quit

President Obama nominated Judge Merrick Garland to the Supreme Court Wednesday to replace the late Antonin Scalia, but don't expect the judge, seen as a more moderate choice for the court, to begin serving anytime soon. Highly respected and qualified, Garland tests the GOP-controlled Senate's pledge not to consider any Obama nominee to the limits. Already there are signs of cracking as lawmakers who expressed opposition to any hearings or meetings now changing their tune. But Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell was clear Wednesday that there would be no vote until after the election. And despite his statements to the contrary, that's just fine with Obama and the White House, who can use the standoff as just another moment to highlight what they view as Republican obstructionism in an election year.

Facing a nearly insurmountable delegate deficit, Bernie Sanders' campaign grasped for straws Wednesday in trying to explain why their candidate would push on. Arguing their candidacy would help Hillary Clinton avoid fire from GOP front-runner Donald Trump (that hasn't worked yet) and that they want to enfranchise every Democratic voter, they maintained that the map gets easier for their candidate as the race progresses – a statement unsupported by polling. Sanders' strategists also maintained that the hunt for the Democratic nomination wasn't "a matter of delegate arithmetic," when that's precisely what it is – and he's **behind the 8-ball**. And in even more striking fashion, the campaign that once complained about the role of super-delegates to the Democratic convention, began floating picking off Clinton backers among the Democratic establishment, as well as potentially overturning voters by winning over delegates pledged to Clinton through caucuses and primaries.

Trump pulled out of Monday's scheduled Republican debate in Salt Lake City as he reignited his war of words against Fox News host Megyn Kelly, who was set to moderate the debate, and declaring that GOP voters have heard enough from the candidates. Ohio Gov. John Kasich backed out once Trump did, while Texas Sen. Ted Cruz, who was looking for a show-down with Trump as he tries to argue it's a two-man race, resurrected his "**Ducking Donald**" from when Trump skipped his a debate earlier this year. Feeling confident about his position in the delegate count, Trump is trying to lock in the nomination by simply avoiding giving his rivals a platform on which to appear at his level.

Inside Apple's fight with the FBI. The Stop Trump campaign looks for a way forward. And a Broadway show may keep Alexander Hamilton on the \$10 bill.

Ted Cruz Fights Alongside Donald Trump in Florida to Sink Marco Rubio

Texas Sen. Ted Cruz went to Florida Sen. Marco Rubio's hometown Wednesday to announce the endorsement of former HP CEO Carly Fiorina. Speaking at Miami-Dade College, just steps from where his rival announced his presidential campaign, Cruz timed the surprise as gut-punch to a flailing rival, not as a tactic to win Florida's 99 delegates, which almost certainly remain out of his reach.

Hurting Rubio is also why Cruz has opened 10 field offices in the state and on the heels of a seven-figure investment from Cruz's super PAC on Florida airwaves. On its surface, the spending is unremarkable – a fraction of what it takes to make a significant difference in the state – but it flies in the face of the GOP establishment's best-laid plans to trip-up Donald Trump.

"It's chess, not checkers," says one Cruz strategist, surveying what remains of the field. "It's not only about stopping Trump, it's about making Ted Cruz president," said another.

Former Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney laid out the case last week in Utah, encouraging Republicans to vote for the best-positioned Trump alternative in their given state. The goal, argued Romney, was not to elect another candidate, but to simply deny Trump delegates. In Florida, the candidate for achieving that goal is undoubtedly Rubio, the home state senator who sits in second place. "A vote for Cruz is a vote for Donald Trump," Rubio's campaign repeated on loop in Florida, as donors and anti-Trump operatives privately fretted on that same concern.

And though he is claiming he's "competing hard to win Florida," Cruz is way back in third place, without any real hope of picking up delegates in the **winner-take-all** state. If many in the anti-Trump movement had their way, Cruz would shift his Sunshine State support to Rubio to bolster the chances of keeping the bombastic front-runner from securing the state, or at least refrain from actively trying to block Rubio's path.

But that's not the Cruz way.

A deeply strategic thinker with a penchant for taking stiff gambles, Cruz is working to craft an 'I win, or you lose' choice for the Republican Party – where after March 15th the GOP establishment that despises him will have to contend with rallying around him, or being stuck with Trump as its standard-bearer. The first step: Cruz needs to push Rubio out of the race – by handing Florida's delegates to Trump. Every dollar he spends in Florida is going to that goal. It's a high-stakes wager that could easily backfire, particularly if Trump uses a Florida win to secure a majority of delegates. Cruz's team believes the potential rewards outweigh the risk.

Cruz aides believe a three person race would swiftly yield a two-person contest, and even if it didn't, that their 300-delegate lead on Ohio Gov. John Kasich would effectively make it one. Kasich faces his own **make-or-break moment** in Ohio, where he is fighting to deny Trump the Buckeye delegates.

Underpinning the strategy are surveys showing Cruz resoundingly defeats Trump in a two-person race if Trump does not win the nomination outright. Despite the lack of any love lost between himself and the party's leadership in Washington, Cruz believes they will be forced to come around his way to keep their party intact. Cruz's path to securing 1,237 delegates to the convention for the first ballot is slim. But in forcing the party to choose between himself and Trump, Cruz is already seeing signs that his **Sophie's choice** for the GOP establishment will pay off.

In recent weeks, senior Republican figures have starting coming to grips with needing to rally behind Cruz to stop Trump. South Carolina Sen. Lindsey Graham, who mused openly about shooting Cruz on the Senate floor weeks ago, has capitulated on backing his rival, suggesting a Cruz/Rubio or a Cruz/Kasich ticket – in that order – be formed to stop Trump.

"You know Ted Cruz is not my favorite by any means," said South Carolina Republican Lindsey Graham after the March 1 voting. "But we may be in a position where we have to rally around Ted Cruz as the only way to stop Donald Trump."

Why Super Tuesday Matters

Happy Super Tuesday!

The largest chunk of delegates up for grabs in both parties will be awarded Tuesday in what will likely be a pivotal day in the race. For Hillary Clinton, it's the opportunity to pull ahead of Bernie Sanders in pledged delegates, and for Republicans it will send fears about Donald Trump into overdrive – though it may be too late to stop him. It could send at least one candidate, Ted Cruz, packing if he doesn't win his home state, while another Ben Carson, has been an afterthought but may bow out due to lackluster fundraising.

The day comes as Republicans are wrestling with what type of party do they want. Are they willing **to roll the dice** with Trump as their standard-bearer, or are they going to throw the book and him until there's no hope yet? This week, at least, the fight is on, as candidates and outside groups are simultaneously hitting Trump on an array of business deals and personal statements that they argue are disqualifying. Trump threatened to file suit against the group behind the ads – except his campaign got their anti-Trump efforts confused, sending the statement to the wrong group. Another anti-Trump spot on Trump University was released Tuesday morning by yet a different group.

For Marco Rubio and John Kasich, Super Tuesday is about staying alive – just picking up enough delegates to claim some nationwide support as they bide their time for their home state races on March 15. Kasich has also invested heavily in Michigan, which votes March 8, but has since found the state's politics to be less hospitable than hoped.

Sanders raised more than \$42 million in the month of February from 1.4 million contributions averaging \$30 a piece, his campaign announced early Tuesday, including \$6 million on Monday alone. That total will keep him in the race and as a political thorn in Clinton's side even if his mathematical path to the nomination narrows.

What did Trump tell the New York Times about immigration. How cheap gas can hurt Ted Cruz in Texas. And how the Clinton's are preparing to beat Trump.

Why the Republican Debate Was So Brutal

Saturday night's gathering of the remaining GOP presidential candidates was not a debate. It was a savage roar on the road to the White House as hopefuls shouted over each other, questioned each other's character and, in one case, even went after a candidate's mother.

The ruckus was, in many ways, overdue, delayed by the massive GOP field that only winnowed to a manageable number this week. But was it too late to throw up a roadblock between Donald Trump and his party's nomination? Was this merely the multi-frontal war to oblivion that the Republican National Committee tried to avoid when it limited the number of sanctioned debates? Or was this simply the latest episode in the GOP's reality-show-esque drama?

It was a furious night that found, for the first time, Trump squarely being piled on from all sides. Former Florida governor Jeb Bush excoriated his business record and foreign policy judgment, Texas Senator Ted Cruz suggested he would appoint liberals to the Supreme Court and Florida Senator Marco Rubio lambasted him for questioning the legacy of George W. Bush.

Trump alternated between condescending smirks and prickly interruptions, but it was clear he was getting his first real all-against-him attack. He did not enjoy it. Moderator John Dickerson of CBS News repeatedly mocked the spectacle, at one point telling a feuding Cruz and Trump, "Gentlemen, I'm going to turn this car around."

But Trump was hardly the only candidate who left the stage in Greenville, S.C., bloodied. The candidates are increasingly desperate to find a breakout moment – of-

ten at their peers' expenses. Ohio Governor John Kasich found his record on expanding Medicaid branded as expanding Obamacare, Trump and Rubio ganged up to call Cruz a liar, and Rubio was once again hit on his work on comprehensive immigration reform. Bush was called to defend his family's legacy time and again.

The weaknesses of each candidate among conservatives had a searing spotlight aimed at them, just one week before South Carolina Republicans head to the voting booths.

South Carolina has an appetite for such intra-party sparring – in fact, the state rewards it. Voters here, in the first Southern state to have a nominating contest, want a fighter for a nominee. Spurious attacks are the norm, and harsh rhetoric helps candidates fare well. Just ask Newt Gingrich, who four years ago used a fiery tone to best Mitt Romney. From the debate hall, the South Carolina activists booed and cheered the candidates in an atmosphere that at times more closely resembled a **Gamecocks** game than a staid debate.

At different points, it was as if Trump were trying to lose support and goad the crowd into rowdiness. He mocked South Carolina's Lindsey Graham, who has deep supporters in some corners. He praised Planned Parenthood, a **bogeyman** among conservatives. He defended eminent domain, called **George W. Bush** a liar and blamed him for **the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks**. He called the war in Iraq a folly – while standing on a stage in a state with the heaviest concentration of veterans in America.

It might not matter. Trump has a lead in the polls here. His deep pockets have not peer in this field. His crowds respond to his brazen style and in-your-face personality. Trump's brand of personality-driven politics might be what Republicans decide they want in a nominee. It also might be the party's undoing.

The debate marked the realization by more of his rivals that to win the nomination, they'll have to get past Trump. Bush, for whom attacking Trump has nearly become a *raison d'être* for his candidacy, levied his harshest criticism of the candidate. Beating him, however, is not the most pressing goal, said former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge, who was George W. Bush's Homeland Security Secretary and a Jeb Bush backer. "We're built for the long term, we're financed for the long term," he said, noting that relatively few delegates are yet actually being given to candidates.

"As of March 1, there will only be 5% of the delegates elected," Ridge said. "He doesn't need to beat Donald Trump. He's already beaten Donald Trump in my eyes ... We don't need to beat Donald Trump here to accelerate the campaign."

Rubio, recovering from a disastrous debate in New Hampshire, also saw an opening in joining Jeb Bush in defending his brother. "The World Trade Center went down because Bill Clinton didn't kill Osama bin Laden when he had the chance," Rubio said, saying he was glad the elder Bush had been in the White House than Al Gore. In a way, Rubio was a better defender of George W. Bush than was his brother.

Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina, a Rubio supporter, said New Hampshire's horrible debate for Rubio helped him shake off the stilted tone in time for his state. "Marco Rubio erased some of the [Trump] lead," Scott said. "There's no question that this is a new race. For the next seven days, we have an opportunity to close that gap."

It will be difficult, if not impossible. It will also be brutal. Even Cruz, who spent much of 2015 in a détente with Trump, joined the fray, calling Trump a child for his interruptions and warning of dire consequences should he win. In the case of Cruz and Bush, the assaults coincided with new negative ads from their super PACs attacking Trump's credibility.

Kasich, who sought to avoid attacking Trump as he complained about the negative tone of the campaign, posited that he was more electable than his rivals because he could appeal across the aisle. "I love these blue collar Democrats because they're going to vote for us next fall," Kasich said in an unusual statement for a GOP primary. He tried to interject himself in the debate with calls for civility. Such moves gave him little enthusiasm in an otherwise uncivil debate.

Ben Carson, as is his wont, avoided engaging in the fray and spent much of his speaking time directing viewers to his website. He all but disappears during these debates, raising questions about how long his campaign can continue. Asked that question after the debate, the celebrated surgeon said he was continuing.

"[We're going] to get in front of a lot of audiences, do a lot interviews, a lot of radio, a lot of newspapers, to give people a real understanding of what I'm about, what I'm talking about," he said. And what policies will he be promoting? "I would ask you to go to my website, bencarson.com."

Happy New Hampshire Primary Day

More than 20 percent of Granite State voters woke up Tuesday unsure of whom they would vote for – one of the two mysteries of primary day. Polling is of little help determining what the mountain of undecideds, as well as the state's independents, the largest bloc of voters who can vote in either primary, will do. Some divergent theories:

A tightening Democratic race and strong ground game by the Hillary Clinton will bring keep Democratic-leaning independents in that primary, helping her narrow the gap of expected defeat to Bernie Sanders. Or the opposite may be true, and independents will skip out for the Republican primary boosting John Kasich. Will undecideds voting in the GOP primary break for Bush – a person with the famous last name who they've shunned so far – or for Kasich, whose optimism is unique in the field, or for Marco Rubio or even Chris Christie? Donald Trump is expected to win, but undecideds won't move his way, because most voters either love or hate the bombastic candidate. Or maybe they will, in their desire to vote for a winner.

These are just a fraction of the possible storylines running through today's election and the only certainty will come as the polls close. Expectations are for clear Sanders and Trump wins, but by lower margins than the final public polls suggest, with a muddled race for second place on the GOP side that could include four or five candidates. Two of the three governors – at least – are all-but-certain to move their campaigns to South Carolina, and Christie might if he proves his assault on Rubio in Saturday's debate was more murder than murder-suicide. The establishment, which had been looking to coalesce around a non-Trump, non-Ted Cruz candidate after today will have to wait at least a week until South Carolina votes on Feb. 20. For Clin-

ton, it will be a case of managing defeat and internal drama to avoid the pitfalls of 2008 once again.

After weeks of debating whether to cast Sanders as an uncompromising ideologue or an inconsistent hypocrite, the Clinton campaign has decided on the latter strategy, beginning a series of stinging character attacks on the Vermont Senator. The shift comes as Clinton's pragmatic electability pitch to Democratic voters has failed to inspire much support, leading to a close finish in Iowa and expected loss in New Hampshire.

Christie is promised, but doesn't receive, a check from a top Romney backer. Rubio awkwardly repeats another line. And Trump repeats an offensive term about Ted Cruz.

And Then There Were Nine

And then there were nine. Rick Santorum and Rand Paul became the latest two campaign drop-outs Wednesday as their efforts never really got off the ground. For Santorum, **catching lightning in a bottle** in Iowa again proved impossible in a far more talented field and with an electorate far more angry than four years prior. For Paul, his poor performance reflected both increased fears over national security that didn't serve the libertarian candidate well as well as his shifting positions on issues that were close to his supporters' base. Santorum endorsed Marco Rubio as he exited, but Thursday morning presented a gift to his opponents when he told MSNBC of Rubio, "The bottom line is there isn't a lot of accomplishments."

Hillary Clinton speaks to TIME's Joe Klein on the cover of this week's magazine, reflecting on the state of the electorate and her own transformation from radical to establishment figure. Also in the magazine, TIME's David Von Drehle captures the state of the GOP race, from Donald Trump's loss to Ted Cruz's win, and the coming race among the establishment in New Hampshire. And a look at Rubio's slow-and-steady campaign meeting the demands of a surging candidacy.

Trump is resisting changing course after his second-place finish in Iowa, declining to invest significantly in a ground game in the Granite State where he holds a lead, but he faces the prospect of blowing it if he's not careful. Instead he's accusing Cruz of "illegally stealing" the caucuses because his caucus speakers falsely suggested that Ben Carson was dropping out after Iowa. Cruz apologized to Carson, who held a bizarre press conference Wednesday defending his decision to return home to change clothes and seeming to criticize Cruz, but refusing to do so by name.

Jeb Bush will bring his brother, George W., out with him on the campaign trail in South Carolina next week, seeming to remove the possibility of him dropping out if he underperforms in New Hampshire. Carly Fiorina is waging a public effort to be invited to Saturday's GOP debate, standing to be one of two—well, one of one if you exclude Jim Gilmore and his 12 caucus votes in Iowa—candidates to fail to meet the debate criteria. Such a tactic worked in September, but ABC and the Republican National Committee have yet to respond to her effort. And Chris Christie addresses the Obama "hug."

Clinton defends her ties to **Wall Street** in a Democratic town hall, a day before the final Democratic debate before New Hampshire votes. Rubio condemns Obama's

mosque visit. Cruz hits Trump's judgement, but calls for carpet-bombing. And John Kasich makes a promise to voters.

Paul Ryan Pushes Republicans to Make Poverty an Issue

When Paul Ryan was the GOP's vice presidential nominee in 2012, he was repeatedly stymied by Mitt Romney aides when he wanted to give a speech on poverty.

Now, three weeks before the Iowa Caucuses, Ryan, who has become Speaker of the House, is having the last word. On Saturday, in South Carolina, he hosted seven leading GOP presidential candidates for in an in depth discussion of the issue that is most near and dear to his heart.

"You can't reignite the American idea – economic growth, prosperity, security – if we're letting people to continue to slip through the cracks," Ryan said.

Ryan, a devotee of **Jack Kemp**, the football player turned congressman, Cabinet Secretary and GOP anti-poverty **crusader**, said he hopes to use 2016 to help the GOP offer affirmative policy solutions after years of fighting with the **Obama** White House. And amid a primary season that has stood out for its rancor and rejection of substance, the forum – one of his highest profile events since taking the gavel in October – was one of his most significant attempts at doing just that.

"It says a lot about Speaker Ryan that one of his first major public events features him using his leverage to convene this discussion," said John Lettieri, the co-founder of the Economic Innovation Group, a nonpartisan think tank backed by Silicon Valley that co-sponsored the event. "It's a clear sign that he's trying to lead the GOP in another direction."

The event featured Chris Christie talking about his parents' poverty and Ben Carson Recalling his own experience growing up poor. "As a kid growing up in poverty, I hated poverty," Carson said. "Some people hate rats, hate roaches, I hated poverty."

Jeb Bush highlighted his efforts on founding charter schools in distressed neighborhoods in Florida, while Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee chimed in on the importance of supporting the less fortunate. "Sometimes what people need is the affirmation that they are people of value," Huckabee said. "That they are people of worth."

In 2014, on the 50th anniversary of the War on Poverty, Ryan released his plan to reform the nation's welfare system, including replacing most federal programs with block grants to states. Similar proposals have been adopted by several GOP candidates, including Jeb Bush most recently on Friday.

The candidates at the event were united in calling for states, rather than the federal government, to take the lead in tackling poverty, in line with traditional Republican values.

"If you leave this to federal government, they swing a meat axe, not a scalpel," Christie said. Florida Sen. Marco Rubio said the poverty programs as constructed in the 1960s are ill-positioned for the challenges facing the poor in the 21st century.

One area of contrast came from Carson, a proponent of a flat tax based on **biblical tithing**, who broke with his fellow candidates to call for the elimination of the Earned Income Tax Credit, while his rivals called for expanding it.

The focus on poverty, over traditional Republican tropes like “job creation” and the “middle class,” reflected Ryan’s belief that the GOP must reach out to non-traditional voters in order to win a general election, but it also reflects decades of his own work, which began when he was an aide to Kemp at Empower America. Ryan credited his mentor’s inspiration in his 2012 convention speech. “What gave Jack that incredible enthusiasm was his belief in the possibilities of free people, in the power of free enterprise and strong communities to overcome poverty and despair,” Ryan said. “We need that same optimism right now.”

Arthur Brooks, the president of the American Enterprise Institute, another co-sponsor of the event, credited Ryan with moving the GOP to embrace an often-overlooked issue.

“Paul Ryan is the intellectual leader of the Republican Party, at least among politicians,” Brooks said. “And certainly until there’s a Republican candidate, he’s effectively the leader of the party. And he’s basically doing the type of things that leaders are supposed to do. He’s setting the agenda, asking about the things he wishes they were talking about, and I think it’s great. It’s the best leadership I’ve seen in a while.”

“They don’t know it yet but it’s incredibly smart politics, because they need to brand the Republican Party as a party that cares about people like you,” Brooks added of the Republican candidates. “If you can really shift five or six percent of the population into a position where they say, ‘this whole thing about Republicans don’t care about poor people, I don’t see that,’ that would be a big, big change.”

“What we’ve learned today is that we’re not just an opposition party, we’re also a proposition party,” a smiling Ryan told MSNBC host Joe Scarborough on stage, suggesting it was the first step toward a GOP that was more aggressive in reaching out to all voters. “Wouldn’t you rather both parties compete for your vote no matter who you are, where you live, or what zip code you’re in?”

Former 2016 presidential candidate and South Carolina Sen. Lindsey Graham, who has critiqued the GOP’s rhetoric on poverty in recent years, said the focus on the poor has the potential to open electoral doors for the GOP. “The fact that Paul Ryan...is talking about this makes me encouraged,” he said. “I think this issue can help us.”

The Dark Horse Who Could Upset the First Southern Primary

Dr. Edward Floyd, a prestigious South Carolina vascular surgeon, goes way back with the most powerful family in Republican politics.

Both Bush Presidents and former First Lady Laura Bush have stopped by his South Carolina home during various campaigns over the past two decades. Former President George W. Bush appointed him as a delegate to the U.N. General Assembly. And as a member of the South Carolina University board of trustees, Floyd lobbied to get former Florida governor Jeb Bush an honorary degree at the school in December.

But Floyd says he just can’t endorse Jeb Bush in his coming presidential run. That’s because Floyd is committed to his home-state’s favorite son, Senator Lindsey Graham, whose White House ambitions, while seemingly **quixotic**, may upend the

race in the nation's third primary state. "It's a little personal with me," Floyd told TIME, explaining his reasons. More than a decade ago, Graham helped arrange what few other politicians could: visas to Russia for his daughter and son-in-law, who wanted to adopt a child from a St. Petersburg orphanage.

Such stories are not hard to find in South Carolina these days, where Graham's deep ties to the state party still hold enormous sway. As Jeb Bush and Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker visit the "first in the South" primary state this week, they will encounter many faces like Floyd's: friendly, but not up for grabs. "Senator Graham has frozen people who otherwise might be inclined to support Bush," said one top South Carolina GOP operative. "They're not making direct asks for money ... they're here saying, 'Hey, we want to be your second choice after Senator Graham.'"

"They're friend-raising and not fundraising," the operative added.

Graham, a foreign policy hawk, is unlikely to clear the Palmetto State's field like Senator Tom Harkin's Iowa campaign for President did in 1992. But fresh off a 2014 re-election that he won by a 15.5 percentage-point margin, Graham has become one of 2016's biggest **wild cards** – a **dark-horse** candidate whose decisions will determine not just his own fate, but also potentially the outcome of the GOP race.

In Iowa earlier this month, Graham stole the spotlight with witty rejoinders on the need for immigration and entitlement reforms and zingers sending up the Obama Administration's foreign policy. From there he flew to New Hampshire, where Graham hopes to rekindle the "straight talk" that turned the Granite State into his friend John McCain's political **Avalon**. He's buoyed by the likes of billionaire GOP megadonor Sheldon Adelson for his opposition to online gaming and strong support for Israel and drew a half-dozen GOP Senators to a fundraiser for his PAC tied to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's address to Congress.

Though few nationally or in his home state believe Graham will truly stick it out, he's poised to play **kingmaker** or spoiler, and maybe **assassin**.

Graham's candidacy could have the biggest impact on Senator Rand Paul's presidential run – a vehicle for the South Carolinian to attempt to torpedo the more isolationist lawmaker's ambitions. He's also sparred with Senator Ted Cruz, another hopeful with whom he rarely sees eye to eye and whose tactics he's condemned. Critics call him a stalking horse for the establishment, picking a fight with the party's extreme to provide a favored candidate – like Bush – with political cover.

Graham's strong advocacy of comprehensive immigration reform makes Bush a likely beneficiary of his support, but many candidates are seeking to remain on Graham's good side. (Rand and Cruz are some of the few 2016-ers to have even announced hires in South Carolina, bringing on veteran strategist Chris LaCivita and former GOP Spartanburg county chairwoman LaDonna Ryggs, respectively, to advise campaigns in Graham's home state.)

In New Hampshire last week, Texas Governor Rick Perry called Graham "my buddy." "I am a big Lindsey Graham fan," he was caught saying on an open microphone, adding he seeks out Graham's counsel on foreign policy. "I think he is one of the most knowledgeable people that we have on foreign policy, and we need to listen to him. He is a very, very bright U.S. Senator. He's carved out his niche, and it is foreign policy."

Graham's cache of supporters are loyal, but they're hardly a majority in his home state. The South Carolina Republican Party put him on its online presidential straw poll – featuring uninterested politicians such as Representative Paul Ryan and Senator Tim Scott – only last week. And 60.2% of South Carolinians and more than 55% of Republican-leaning voters don't think he should run for President.

"I wouldn't say there is a predisposition to automatically supporting Lindsey Graham for President," said Charleston-based GOP consultant Jim Dyke. "I think that every election is different and people judge you by the job that you're running for."

If the 34% of GOP leaners supportive of Graham running break his way, it's a surefire victory in a jam-packed field. But even a 5% draw – an easy feat – could be determinative.

"It's hard enough to see Jeb Bush winning South Carolina, and with Graham in the race it's just about impossible," said another veteran national strategist. "And he pulls the business and military votes that Walker might need to hold off a Ted Cruz or Rand Paul."

The social conservative state's electorate is notoriously fickle. In 2000, then Texas governor George W. Bush won the state after a nasty primary fight with McCain. But in 2008, McCain eked out a victory over Iowa victor former Arkansas governor Mike Huckabee with Graham's assistance. In 2012 they rallied just days before the primary to Newt Gingrich's defense on the heels of salacious reporting about the collapse of his second marriage, which he turned into a high-profile critique of the "gotcha" press.

The divided loyalties between Jeb Bush and Graham even extend to the ranks of Graham's own campaign. His exploratory committee, Security Through Strength, is run by David Wilkins, a U.S. ambassador to Canada under President George W. Bush. Wilkins, who chaired Bush 43's 2000 and 2004 South Carolina campaigns, says he would support Jeb if it weren't for Graham, a friend for over 23 years, dating back to when they served in the South Carolina House of Representatives in the early 1990s.

"I don't know of anyone that's better versed in foreign policy and really knows more about it than Lindsey Graham," adds Wilkins. "He knows the world leaders, he's traveled the world, he's been to the hot spots. He's just immersed himself in that issue. I don't know anyone more knowledgeable than him."

It's those kinds of personal testimonials that could shake up the South Carolina primary, and by extension the rest of the Republican primary calendar in 2016.

Jeb's Shock and Awe Catch-Up Campaign

Jeb Bush's announcement last month that he is going to "actively explore" a White House run next year has set off a flurry of activity, including a scramble to bring on aides to help launch two political action committees and meetings with donors for support. With all of the news about fundraising committees and shots at Hillary, the Jeb Bush rollout may look like shock and awe, but the former Florida governor is still playing a hastily constructed game of catch-up.

The flurry of activity evidenced in the past several weeks, operatives and consultants said, is less a reflection of Bush's strength than it is an effort to replicate the

work other likely 2016 candidates have been carrying out for months or years. But it is also no less important for the son and brother of presidents who has been out of politics for nearly a decade.

Bush launched a PAC and a super PAC this week to support like-minded candidates across the country and his own political aspirations, recruiting aides to help run the effort and raising well over \$100,000 online in days. He delivered a critique of the former Secretary of State at a fundraiser in Connecticut on Wednesday night, and has reached out to donors across the country.

But he is still behind on rivals who have been actively exploring White House runs far longer. Sen. Rand Paul, who has a heavily staffed political operation in early states, as well as a committed digital firm, that has been collecting email addresses and raising money for years. Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker's grassroots donor list touches all 50 states owing to his tightly contested recall election in 2012, while New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie is coming off a cycle raising more than \$100 million for the Republican Governors Association.

According to people familiar with the arrangements, nearly all of Bush's hires outside of his core team of advisors are non-exclusive, meaning some of the firms and operatives assisting him launch his political action committee and super PAC have not fully committed to following him should he announce a presidential campaign and are assisting other potential entrants in the meantime with their political work as well.

Yet the Bush effort is still turning heads, especially from his likely opposition. Aides to several other candidates say they not rethinking their announcement timetables, but are preparing to become more obvious about their preparations in the coming weeks. Indeed, they worry that Bush has built the perception of momentum—doing what they've long been since accomplished in a matter of weeks—further freezing the field out from potential rivals as they await his formal decision.

“Most of the other folks are a bit more current and therefore have staff infrastructure, donors, etc,” said one GOP strategist involved in another campaign. “Walker's run three times in four years. Christie won twice and chaired the RGA last year. Kasich twice, Jindal twice since '07. Cruz and Rand each once without serious general elections, but federal law has allowed them to have federal PAC ongoing. Rubio tough primary and general four years ago and ongoing PAC. I guess even Santorum and Huckabee have more recent campaigns. Only Pataki has a similar hiatus. I guess the difference is Jeb feels he will inherit some apparatus and donors.”

That's not to say it will take him that long to replicate much of the effort, owing to his name recognition and deep pockets. “I'd say in about two weeks, he'll have caught up,” quipped an aide to one likely GOP candidate.

The Challenge for the New Republican Majority

Republicans scored a decisive victory Tuesday night, winning at least 52 seats to gain control of the Senate for the first time since 2006. On a banner evening, the GOP reached its magic number around 11:30 p.m., knocking off Democratic incumbents in Arkansas, Colorado and North Carolina and staving off challenges in key battleground states like Georgia and Kansas.

With the win, Republicans exorcised the demons of the last two election cycles, when they fumbled chances to retake the upper chamber. The decisive victory extended to governor's races, where the GOP beat back hard-fought challenges in Wisconsin, Florida and Michigan and picked up a seat in Illinois. And the party padded its caucus in the House, where they appeared on course to earn the largest majority since the 1920s.

Of all the victors, the night belonged to Sen. Mitch McConnell, who began it by celebrating a hard-fought Senate victory in Kentucky and wrapped it with the knowledge that he would be the chamber's next majority leader. "We do have an obligation to work together on issues where we can agree," McConnell said at his victory party in Louisville, his wife beaming by his side. "Just because we have a two-party system doesn't mean we have to be in perpetual conflict."

For McConnell, it was a moment to savor. The triumph was the realization of the Kentuckian's lifelong ambition to become majority leader, as well as the culmination of his six-year plan to reclaim power in the Senate by thwarting Barack Obama's legislative agenda. McConnell was also a chief architect of the quest to crush the Tea Party in 2014 primaries, a **crusader** which yielded the best roster of Senate candidates the party has boasted in recent memory.

Yet for all this success, the midterms may prove a **pyrrhic victory** for the Republican Party. The GOP sank a billion or more dollars into winning in 2014, but in doing so failed to fix the demographic challenges that threaten the party long into the future. In some ways, the triumph only deepened the problem. Republicans relied on a larger-than-ever share of white voters to win key races, but their performance with crucial constituencies – such as the Hispanic voters and young women that remain pillars of the Democratic Party – remained dismal. What's more, the territorial gains the party notched this month are likely to be reversed in two years, when both the political map and the composition of the electorate will favor their opponents.

McConnell's test now is to keep a caucus of soloists singing from the same songbook, and to demonstrate, after eight years in the minority, that Republicans are ready to govern as the party turns its sights to the 2016 presidential campaign. But Tuesday night's victory may make the task harder.

After six years of opposing Obama's agenda, it now falls on McConnell to craft one of his own. The transition to the majority won't be easy. Unified Republican rule on Capitol Hill will heighten expectations of radical change.

But with Obama in the White House and Senate Democrats able to filibuster Republican priorities, the GOP has little shot at breaking the gridlock that has reigned in Washington. As majority leader, McConnell will have to unite a fractious caucus split between moderates who want to prove the GOP can govern and Tea Party legislators who interpret unified Republican control of Congress as a chance to fulfill the ambitions of the base. That means more votes to repeal Obamacare, more investigations into the White House, and the kind of austere fiscal policies destined to meet the president's veto pen.

In the meantime, the fissures within the GOP look destined to widen. The Senate's Tea Party faction includes several members who are fluent in the language of rebellion but have no patience for the dry prose of bipartisan governance. That in-

cludes members like Sen. Ted Cruz, whose loyalty is not to McConnell but to his own higher ambitions.

Cruz, the Texas freshman who is preparing for a prospective presidential bid, would not say whether he'd back McConnell in an interview with the *Washington Post* before the election. He pledged to try to pull the majority rightward, and promised a series of politically charged hearings "looking at the abuse of power, the executive abuse, the regulatory abuse, the lawlessness that sadly has pervaded this administration." McConnell, along with House Speaker John Boehner, will have to satisfy constituents eager for an aggressive brand of conservatism without hobbling the prospects of the party's eventual 2016 presidential candidate.

The first test will come this month, when Obama is expected to take executive action to rewrite part of U.S. immigration law, a move that will incense GOP voters. The Kentucky Senator has brushed aside the suggestion that the looming executive action on immigration could spark another government shutdown. And McConnell has expressed openness to sitting down with the President and searching for common ground, harkening back to his role in passing the Budget Control Act after the 2010 midterms and the fiscal cliff deal that extended the **Bush-era** tax cuts.

But the immigration debate is also a microcosm of how Republicans may have sacrificed their 2016 chances for a short-term victory. For the 2014 electorate, the issue's politics were simple for Republicans: block reform at all cost. Opposing "amnesty" was a galvanizing issue to the GOP midterm base. But in 2016, McConnell will be forced to balance his members' promises his cycle with the needs of his caucus and party to attract voters that reflect the changing electorate. "If they don't move on immigration, 2016 will be a wave in our direction," predicts one senior Democratic Party official.

Republicans realize that narrowing the gap with Hispanics, the nation's fastest-growing demographic group, is vital to their long-term viability. In the weeks after a 2012 defeat that few in the party saw coming, the Republican National Committee commissioned an "autopsy" into what went wrong, identifying problems from messaging to infrastructure. A blue-ribbon panel generated some simple, sage advice—with an emphasis on expanding the party. "We must embrace and champion comprehensive immigration reform," the group of party veterans wrote. "If we do not, our Party's appeal will continue to shrink to its core constituencies only." The GOP went on to do just that, campaigning hard against immigration reform in a bid to turn out the older, whiter midterm electorate.

Campaigns are a science, and while they're finally experimenting, the party still hasn't quite found the formula that's proven so successful for Democrats. This year the Republican National Committee created permanent field offices and deployed new digital tools, but is still a generation behind their opponents, according to operatives in both parties. "I think we've taken a big step in the right direction on tech," says longtime Republican strategist Scott Reed. "But I'm not saying we've bridged the gap." Says a Democratic official: "They are seeing what we built in 2012 and are trying to replicate it. They may get close, but they don't have all the knowledge and data we gathered over the eight years prior."

Democratic groups also maintain closer coordination and organization among their outside groups, with a well-oiled election machine that includes outside groups like House Majority PAC and Senate Majority PAC, midterm powerhouses that reserved vast sums of cheap airtime months before GOP opponents. Despite Tuesday's losses, Democrats ran disciplined campaigns that nearly prevailed in a year when they were buffeted with headwinds from a bad map and a second-term president with low approval ratings. The Democrats won a tough campaign in New Hampshire, where Senators Jeanne Shaheen fended off a spirited challenge from a talented candidate despite a spending onslaught to prevail in a difficult climate.

On the GOP side, jumbled messages and duplicative efforts are not yet a thing of the past. "We have to get better at targeting messages to specific voters," says Tim Miller, the executive director of American Rising, a GOP research firm. "We made some progress this cycle, but I still think we could have done a better job—just talking about (America) Rising—taking our research, taking our content and matching it with voters who would be moved by it. That's something we want to do next cycle."

As they uncorked the champagne, many Republicans cautioned their compatriots not to misinterpret the results of an election fought on favorable footing: a series of contests where vulnerable Democrats in **red states** were forced to contend with angry midterm voters, in an anti-incumbent mood, with a presidential **millstone hung around their necks**.

"Republicans aren't being given a mandate tonight. They are being offered an opportunity," says GOP strategist Alex Castellanos. With some exceptions, he added, the GOP remains "a wounded confederation of visionless and message-less souls. But at least we have made sufficient progress to acknowledge that."

It's up to McConnell to continue to the progress. The incoming majority leader has a familiar set of legislative priorities lined up: approving the Keystone Pipeline, repealing the medical device tax and scuttling the individual mandate in the Affordable Care Act—plus a push for tax reform, trade agreements, and an effort to overhaul the chamber's procedures and tighten its light work schedule.

But for McConnell—the man who boldly declared that his top priority was to make Barack Obama a one-term president—goal number one remains winning elections. He did it on Tuesday night. Repeating the feat in two years will be a whole lot harder.

The Ghosts of Ron Paul Haunt His Son

Late last week, Senate minority leader Mitch McConnell's campaign manager Jesse Benton quietly resigned. But the move won't affect McConnell's campaign so much as one that has yet to be launched: fellow Kentuckian Rand Paul's anticipated bid for the White House in 2016.

McConnell had hired Benton, who worked for Ron Paul's presidential campaigns in 2008 and 2012, and for Paul's son Rand's insurgent 2010 senatorial bid, for his connections to the **Tea Party** and grassroots activists. Unfortunately for Benton, it is those connections in the early voting state of Iowa that have gotten him in trouble.

The scandal goes back to the 2012 presidential race, when Iowa State Senator Ken Sorensen dramatically left Michele Bachmann's campaign just days before the caucuses and endorsed Ron Paul. After a 31-month federal investigation, Sorensen finally admitted to seeking a \$75,000 payment for the jump from the Paul campaign. He named Benton as the person within the Paul campaign with whom he negotiated. Benton has denied the allegations as "untrue" and "false," but resigned nonetheless to spare "unfairly undermining" McConnell's tough reelection.

Allegations that Benton and former Ron Paul 2012 Iowa vice chair AJ Spiker may have been involved in the scandal throw a wrench into the younger Paul's campaign structure, as he had hoped to inherit much of his father's political network. But there may be **another shoe yet to drop**. The federal investigation into the pay-for-endorsement scheme continues, and may seek to target other former Paul staffers involved. Repeated requests for comment from Paul's Iowa staffers went unanswered.

The incident is just one of many this summer where Rand Paul – who owes his Libertarian political identity to his father – has had to reconsider shared staff or distance himself from his father's positions. The outspoken three-time presidential contender is quickly cementing himself as his son's greatest political vulnerability – and he's not going away anytime soon.

While Paul-the-younger has been working to reframe his foreign policy to be more palatable to the GOP's hawkish wing, his father has been making that task increasingly difficult. Speaking on the Money and Markets podcast, Ron Paul defended 9/11 "**truthers**", adding that the federal government did more harm to Americans' liberties than **Osama bin Laden**. "It's politically very risky to talk about it," Paul said. Though Rand Paul has skated close to truthers in his career, he's never endorsed the conspiracy theory.

The disconnect between father and son was further on stark display this weekend when the younger Paul said President Barack Obama's admission that he has "no strategy" to tackle ISIS in Syria meant "Maybe it's time for a new president." In a follow-up comment to the Associated Press, Rand Paul added he would seek congressional authorization "to destroy ISIS militarily."

The elder Paul, however, celebrated the president's candid moment. "A lack of strategy is a glimmer of hope. Perhaps the president will finally stop listening to the neocons and interventionists whose recommendations have gotten us into this mess in the first place! Here's a strategy: just come home."

There are many places where the two agree. For example both wrote op-eds excoriating the militarization of the police after the riots in Ferguson, Mo. But more often than not, they don't. Ron Paul has called for clemency for **Edward Snowden** while his son says Snowden deserves a light prison sentence. Rand Paul has called for strong sanctions against Russia, while his father has opposed such sanctions saying they might "sink the U.S. dollar."

And Rand Paul has yet to weigh in on his father's comments last month that the U.S. had exaggerated the Ebola outbreak for profit, and that the disease should be treated with the banned pesticide DDT.

Clearly, the 13-term Texas congressman isn't slowing down in his retirement. But he may want to tone the rhetoric down for his son's sake, in case the sins of the father – or, in this case, the conspiracy theories – come back to haunt his son.