

# Road Map to the 2024 Election

David Wasserman, The Cook Political Report 2023 Fall Pork Alliance Meeting October 25, 2023

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PERSONAL PROVIDENCE

The opinions presented are those of the presenter only.



### I'm Joe message and I approved this Biden



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### 2024: the election the voters aren't asking for



#### **Calendar Chaos: Key 2024 Election Dates**

- October 24: Jenna Ellis becomes 4th defendant to take plea deal in GA election interference trial (Trump trial not yet scheduled)
- November 3: deadline for pretrial motions in Hunter Biden federal gun trial (Biden has pleaded not guilty)
- January 15: Iowa Caucus, Trump due in New York court to determine damages in E. Jean Carroll defamation lawsuit
- **March 4:** start of DC federal criminal trial charging Trump with illegally seeking to reverse 2020 election loss
- March 5: Super Tuesday primaries
- March 25: start of New York hush-money payments trial
- **May 20:** start of Miami federal criminal trial charging Trump with illegally keeping classified government documents
- July 15-18: Republican convention in Milwaukee
- August 19-22: Democratic convention in Chicago
- **November 5:** Election Day





## Long story short: we're all going to need a vacation after this is over...



Five Things to Know About the Road Ahead

# 1. The House (222R-213D) may be ungovernable.

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### With **House GOP** hell-bent on self-destruction, an empowered **McHenry** might be the path of least resistance.

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Enormous stakes for agriculture: how much power will Freedom Caucus wield?



2. Despite four Trump indictments, Biden/Dems face four major headwinds...



Economy: by 54%-31%, independent voters say Trump did a better job handling the economy than Biden so far

(September 2023 ABC/Washington Post poll)

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**Migrant Crisis:** by 63%-33%, voters disapprove of **Biden's** handling of the border and immigration

(October 2023 RealClearPolitics average)

#### sky news

### **G7 SUMMIT: BIDEN AVOIDS A STUMBLE**



Age: 77% of voters say Biden "too old to be effective" for four more years, vs. 51% who say same of Trump

(Aug. '23 AP/NORC poll)



**Nonwhite erosion? Biden** leading **Trump** just 53%-28% among minority voters, vs. 70%-23% margin in 2020

(2022/2023 NYT/Siena polls)



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### Biden's biggest weapon: a huge cash edge

- Biden & DNC have \$91 million on hand vs.
  \$37M for Trump's various committees
- Trump's Save America PAC has spent \$37 million on legal fees so far in 2023
- Biden ads likely to play up manufacturing/wage growth, abortion fight, GOP dysfunction

# 3. Senate: Republicans favored, but candidates matter



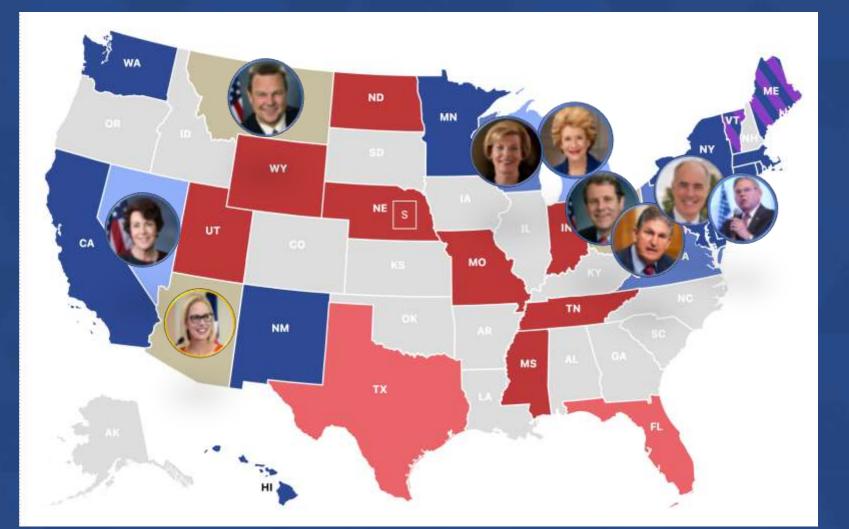






#### Senate: 51D-49R now, but terrible map for Dems

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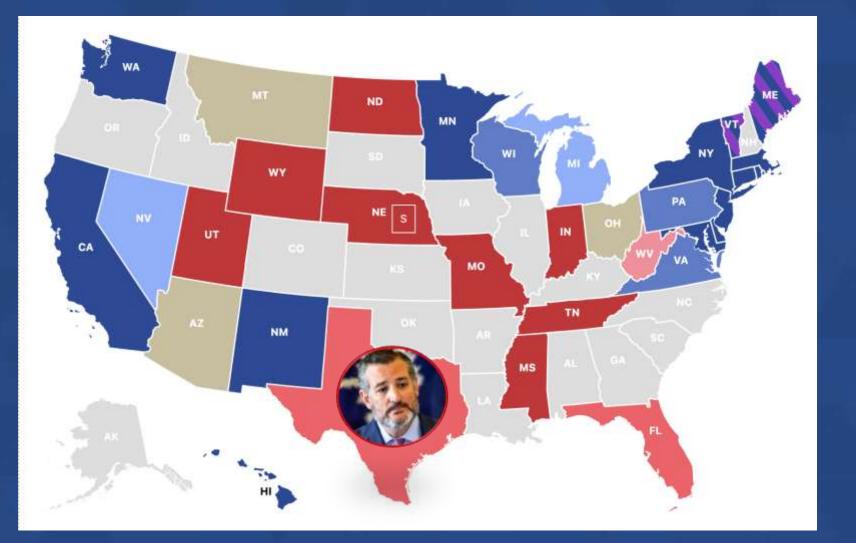
Dem Seats at Very High Risk:

Tester (MT) Brown (OH) Manchin (WV) Sinema (AZ)

Other Dem Seats At Risk:

MI (Stabenow) Rosen (NV) Menendez (NJ) Casey (PA) Baldwin (WI)

#### The only (maybe) vulnerable GOP Senator?



Republican to Watch:

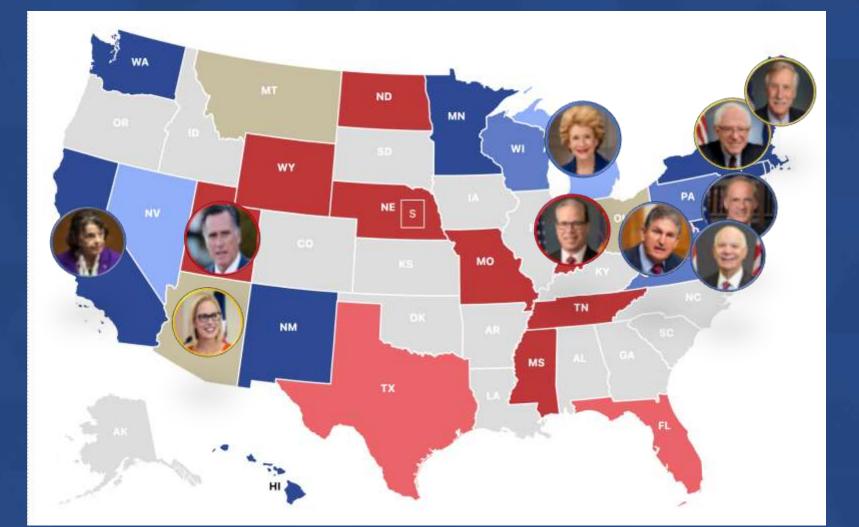
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Cruz (TX)



#### **Retirements: Open Seats to Watch**

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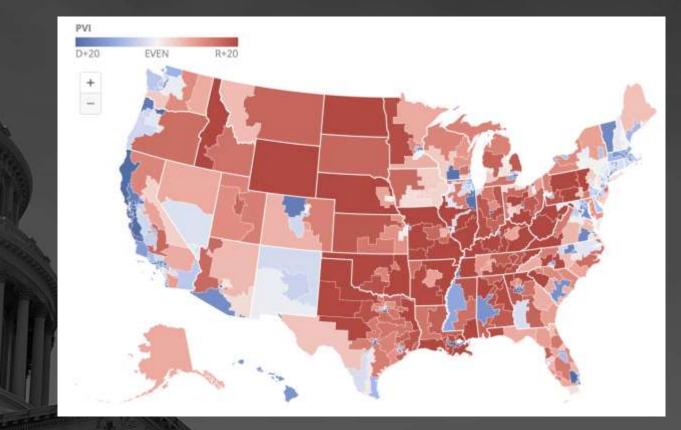
Confirmed Retirements:

Butler (CA) Carper (DE) Braun (IN) Cardin (MD) Stabenow (MI) Romney (UT)

Senators to Watch:

Sinema (AZ) King (ME) Sanders (VT) Manchin (WV)

## 4. The House: a game of inches in 2024



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#### Weirdest race I covered in 2022?



**Irony:** McCarthy's recruits won Republicans the majority in 2022. Now, they've had the rug pulled out from under them.

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#### 2024 House Ratings: another competitive fight for control

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Rep. Suzan DelBene (WA-01) DCCC Chair

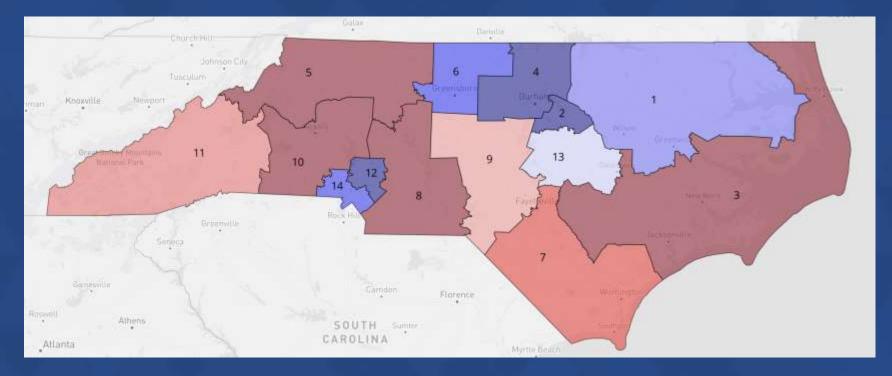
SOLID DEMOCRAT		218		SOLID REPUBLICAN	
170		20 14 22 6 15		188	
LIKELY DEMOCRAT 19 Dem + 1 Rep 0 Ind	LEAN DEMOCRAT 13 Dem • 1 Rep 0 Ind	DEMOCRAT TOSS UP 8 Dem + 0 Rep 0 Ind	REPUBLICAN TOSS UP 0 Dem + 14 Rep 0 Ind	LEAN REPUBLICAN 0 Dem - 6 Rep 0 Ind	LIKELY REPUBLICAN 3 Dem • 12 Rep 0 Ind
AL-02 Moore CA-09 Harder CA-49 Levin FL-09 Soto <i>FL-23 Moskowitz</i> KS-03 Davids MD-06 Open (Trone) <i>MI-03 Scholten</i> MI-08 Kildee MN-02 Craig NH-01 Pappas NH-02 Kuster NJ-03 Open (Kim) NV-01 Titus NV-04 Horsford <i>OR-04 Hoyle</i> TX-28 Cuellar VA-07 Spanberger VA-10 Open (Wexton)	AK-AL Peltola CA-47 Open (Porter) CT-05 Hayes IL-17 Sorensen IN-01 Mrvan ME-02 Golden NV-03 Lee NY-03 Santos NY-18 Ryan OH-01 Landsman OH-01 Landsman OH-09 Kaptur OR-06 Salinas PA-17 Deluzio TX-34 Gonzalez	CO-08 Caraveo MI-07 Open (Slotkin) NC-01 Davis NM-02 Vasquez OH-13 Sykes PA-07 Wild PA-08 Cartwright WA-03 Perez	AZ-01 Schweikert AZ-06 Ciscomani CA-13 Duarte CA-27 Garcia CA-27 Garcia CA-41 Calvert CO-03 Boebert FL-05 Rutherford LA-05 Letlow NJ-07 Kean Jr. NY-04 D'Esposito NY-17 Lawler NY-19 Molinaro NY-22 Williams OR-05 Chavez-DeRemer	CA-22 Valadao CA-45 Steel <i>IA-03 Nunn</i> <i>MI-10 James</i> NE-02 Bacon <i>VA-02 Kiggans</i>	CA-03 Kiley CA-40 Kim FL-13 Luna IA-01 Miller-Meeks LA-06 Graves MT-01 Zinke NC-06 Manning NC-13 Nickel NC-14 Jackson NY-01 LaLota PA-01 Fitzpatrick PA-01 Fitzpatrick PA-10 Perry SC-01 Mace TX-15 De La Cruz Wi-03 Van Orden



Rep. Richard Hudson (NC-09) NRCC Chair

#### House Republicans' insurance policy: North Carolina

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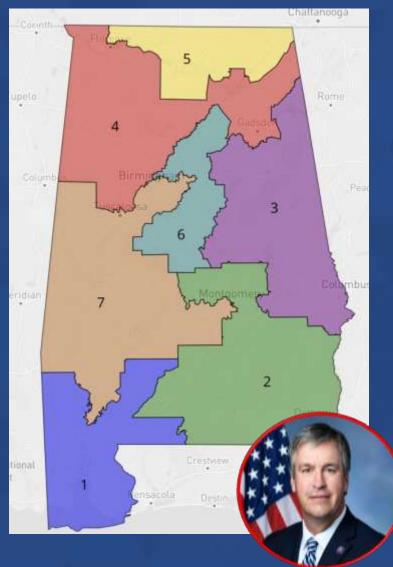




Rep. Richard Hudson (NC-09) NRCC Chair

**Redistricting Redux?** Newly GOP-majority state Supreme Court could allow Republicans to flip three to four Democratic seats in the Tar Heel State alone

#### But, recent court rulings have boosted Democrats





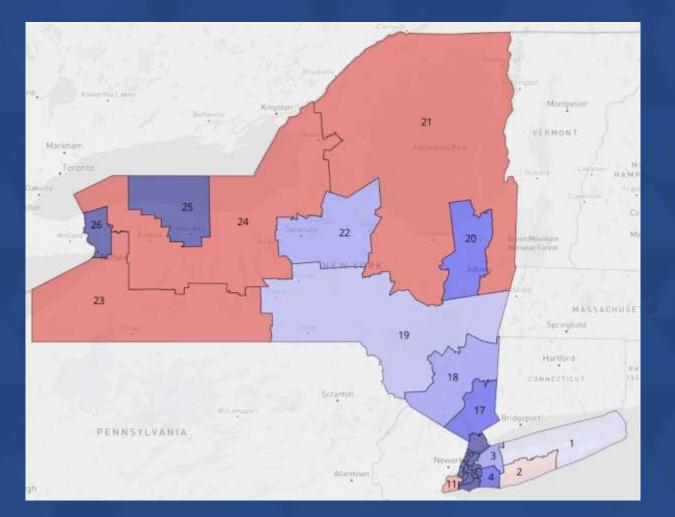
**Republicans in most danger:** Reps. Barry Moore (AL-02) & Julia Letlow (LA-05)

**Other states to watch for VRA litigation:** Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, Texas

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#### And **Democrats** suing to re-gerrymander **New York**

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**Redistricting Redux?** Democrats could wipe five or more GOP seats off the map if they get another crack at redistricting. But, the path to get there is more byzantine than in NC.

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## 5. If 2024 *isn't* a rematch, Biden is likelier than Trump to be off the ballot.

#### At start of 2023, looked like a two man GOP race:





### Diploma Disconnect: elites vs. rest of GOP

(September 2023 CNN/SSRS Poll)



Republican Candidate	College+	Non-College	Overall
Donald Trump	36%	60%	<b>52%</b>
Ron DeSantis	28%	13%	18%
Nikki Haley	8%	7%	7%
Mike Pence	10%	6%	7%
Vivek Ramaswamy	7%	5%	6%
Tim Scott	3%	3%	3%
Chris Christie	4%	1%	2%

**Reality Check:** only about 30% of GOP primary voters have a four-year college degree

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Biggest primary edge for Trump: ability to divide & conquer

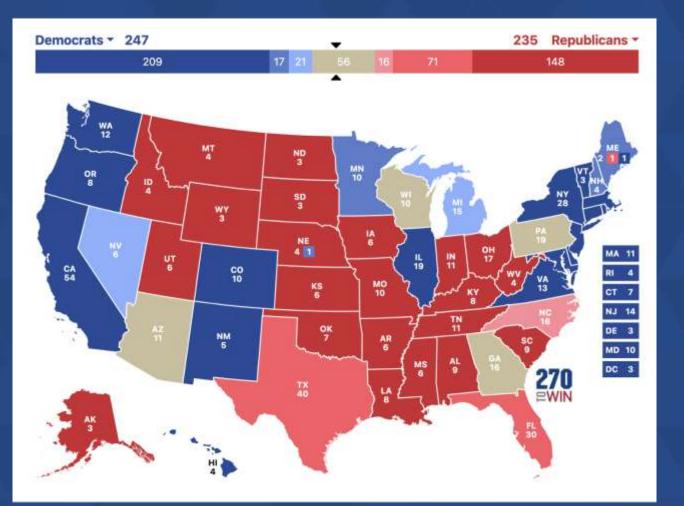


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#### Will Biden Really Run?

- Has sought to pivot to middle recently (border wall, oil permitting, debt limit)
- Knows he was probably only Dem who could've beaten Trump in '20 and that Kamala Harris probably can't win
- But, does he really want to run while confronting migrant crisis & multiple foreign crises (Israel/Hamas, Russia/Ukraine)?
- Could he bow out before the Democratic convention without endorsing his own VP?

#### 2024 Electoral Math: just four true Toss Up states



#### Keep in mind...

- In 2020, Trump came within 42,915 votes in AZ, GA & WI of winning a second term
- Biden may need to win the popular vote by four points to win the Electoral College
- Could Trump broaden his appeal by picking a new **running mate?**





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