

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



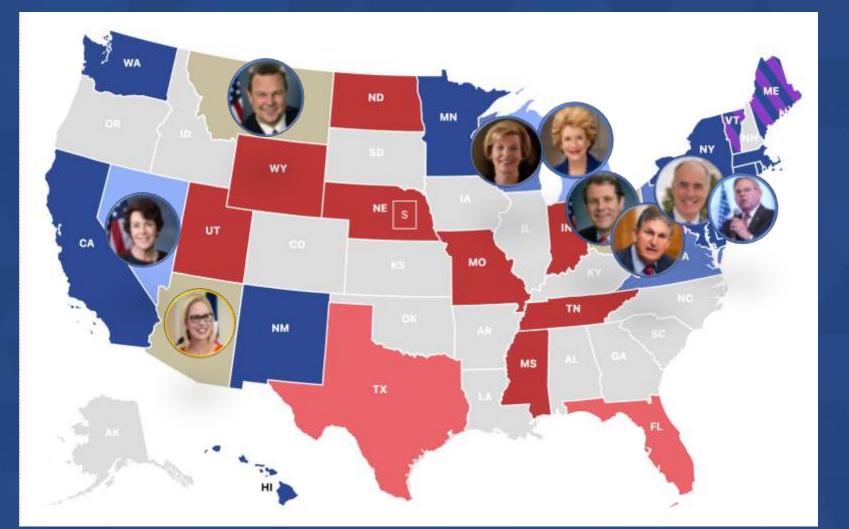






Senate: 51D-49R now, but terrible map for Dems

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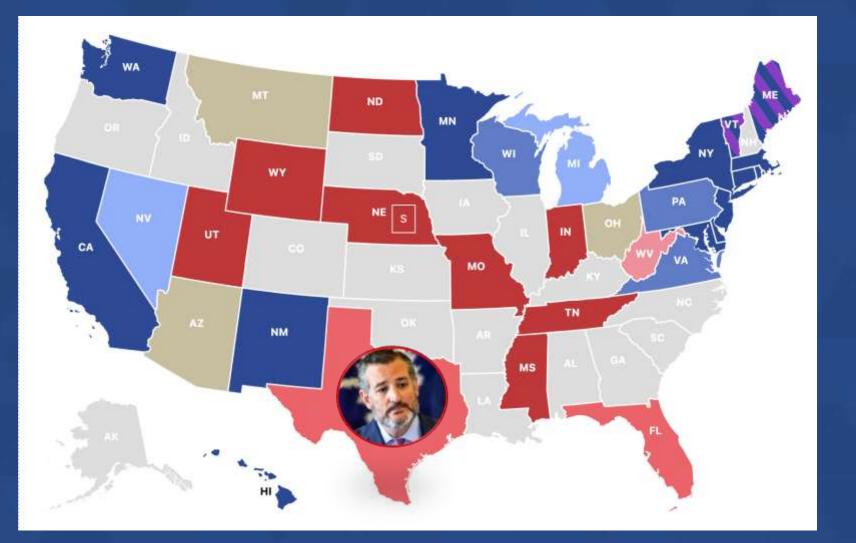
Dem Seats at Very High Risk:

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:

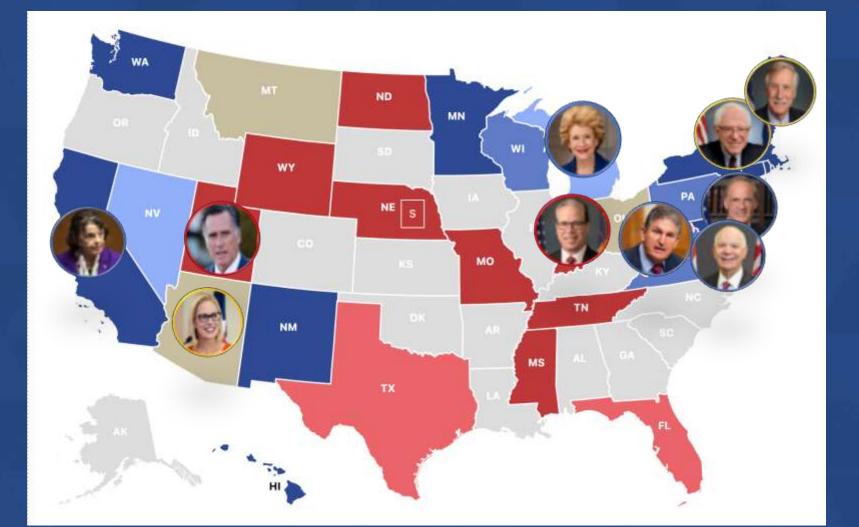
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Cruz (TX)



Retirements: Open Seats to Watch

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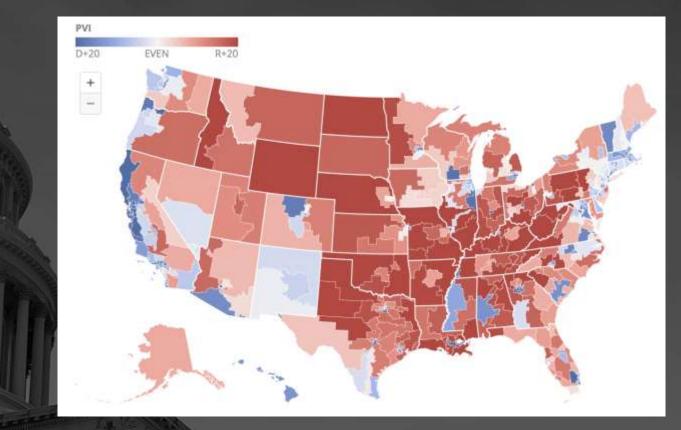
Confirmed Retirements:

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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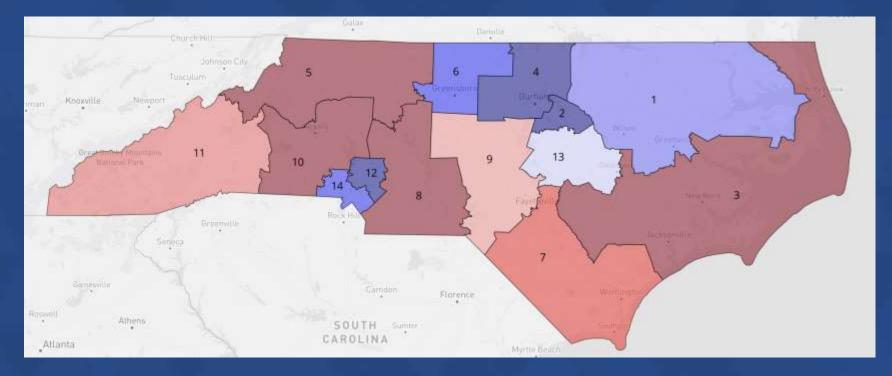
SOLID DEMOCRAT		218		SOLID REPUBLICAN	
170		20 14 22 6 15		188	
LIKELY DEMOCRAT 19 Dem + 1 Rep 0 Ind	LEAN DEMOCRAT 13 Dem • 1 Rep 0 Ind	DEMOCRAT TOSS UP 8 Dem + 0 Rep 0 Ind	REPUBLICAN TOSS UP 0 Dem + 14 Rep 0 Ind	LEAN REPUBLICAN 0 Dem - 6 Rep 0 Ind	LIKELY REPUBLICAN 3 Dem • 12 Rep 0 Ind
AL-02 Moore CA-09 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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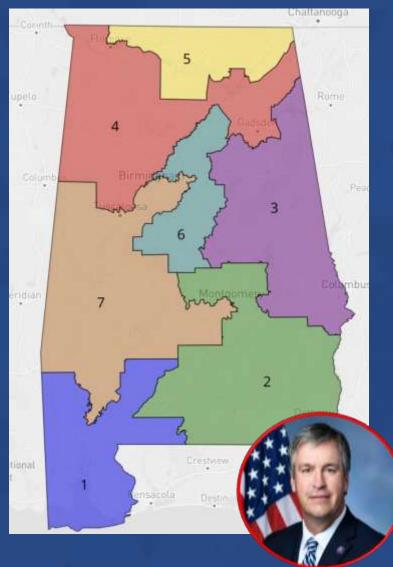




Rep. Richard Hudson (NC-09) NRCC Chair

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





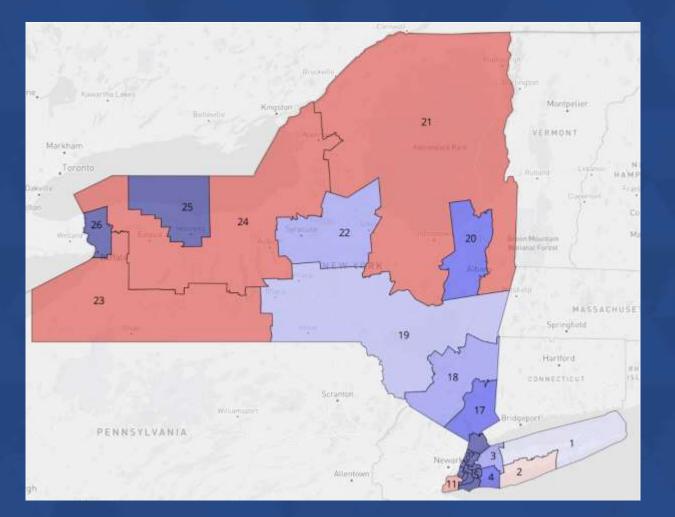
Republicans in most danger: Reps. Barry Moore (AL-02) & Julia Letlow (LA-05)

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)

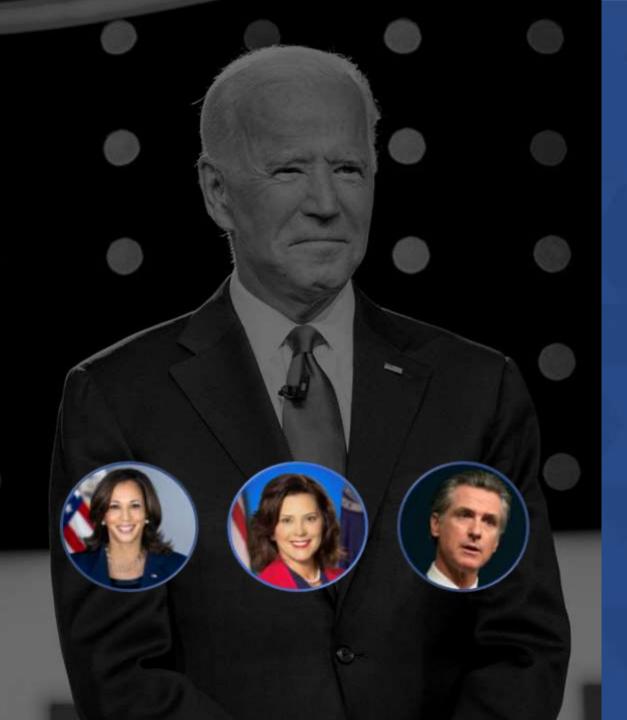


Republican Candidate	College+	Non-College	Overall
Donald Trump	36%	60%	52%
Ron DeSantis	28%	13%	18%
Nikki Haley	8%	7%	7%
Mike Pence	10%	6%	7%
Vivek Ramaswamy	7%	5%	6%
Tim Scott	3%	3%	3%
Chris Christie	4%	1%	2%

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

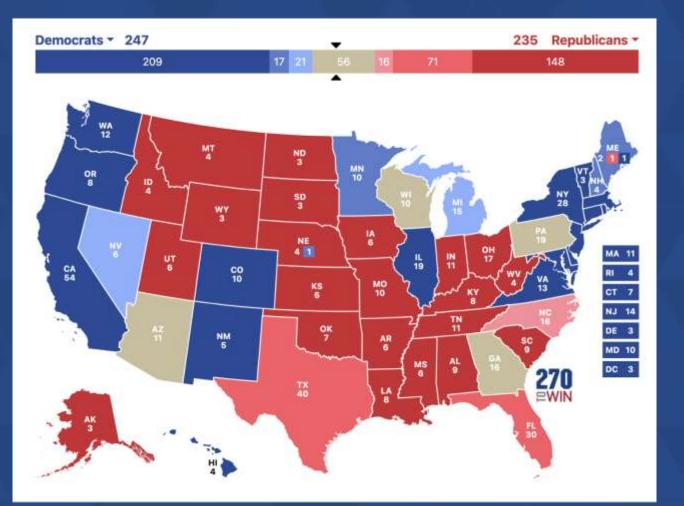


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Will Biden Really Run?

- 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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