



THE COOK
**POLITICAL
REPORT**
WITH AMY WALTER

Road Map to the 2024 Election

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The opinions presented are those of the presenter only.



2024: From familiar to uncharted waters

Trump's VP pick: doubling down on "MAGA" appeal



So, where are
we headed?

IF YOU HIT THIS SIGN,
YOU WILL HIT THAT BRIDGE

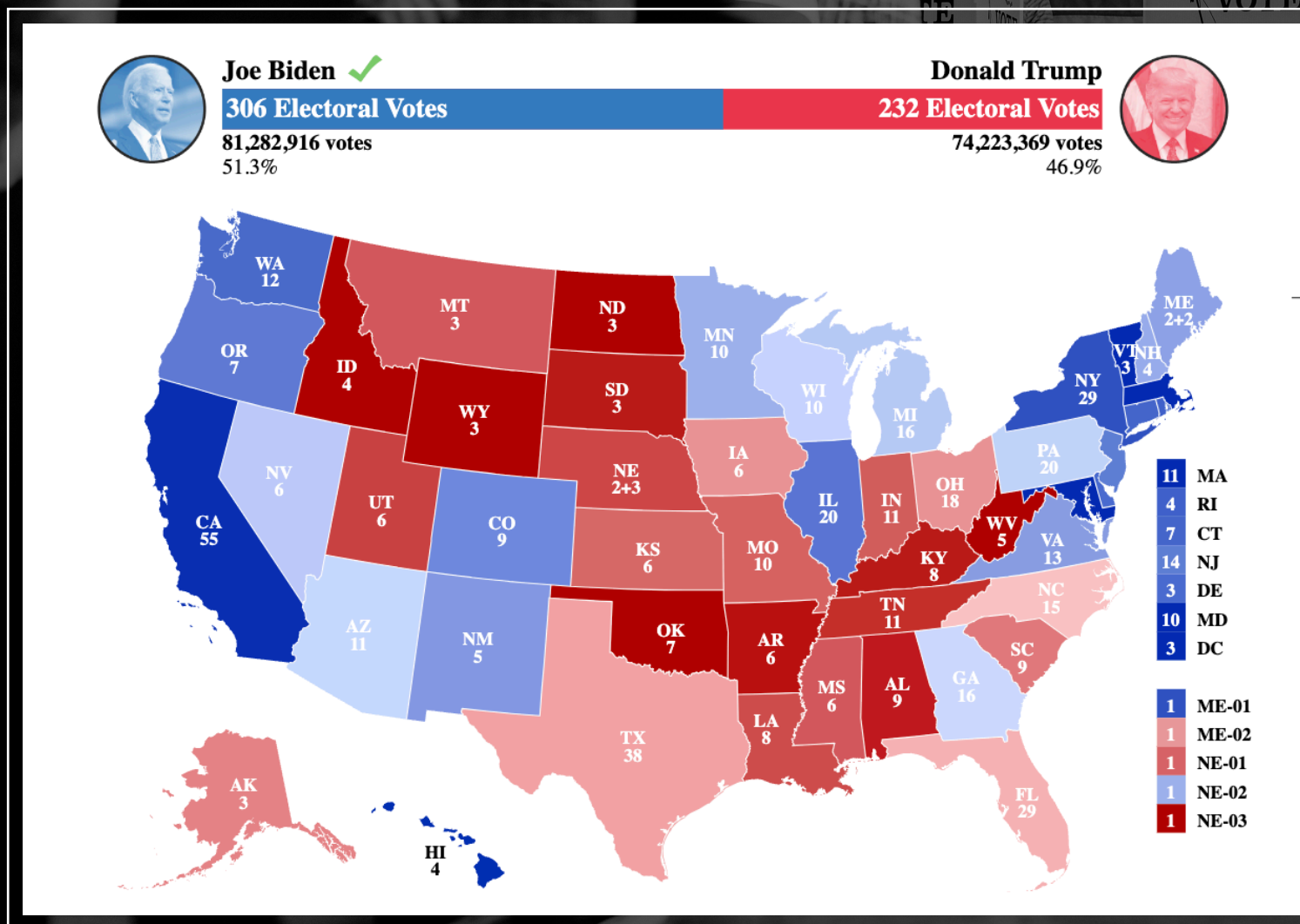


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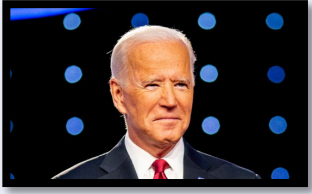

The White House
Despite **Trump's** flaws/
felony conviction, **Harris**
faces an uphill sprint



Democrats started out with almost no margin for error



Trump hasn't gotten more popular since 2020. But **Biden/Harris** a lot less popular than they were in 2020.

Average Favorability		Nov. 2020	Aug. 2024
	Trump	42%-55%	43%-53%
	Biden	50%-44%	40%-57%
	Harris	46%-45%	40%-52%

Source: Cook Political Report internal polling averages

Kamala Harris: Key opportunities



1. **Dem jolt of money/enthusiasm:** \$81 million raised in 24 hours, base Dem voters feel they're "back in the game"
2. **Ability to redefine race:** Unlike Biden, can forcefully try to put spotlight back on Trump and "Project 2025"
3. **Age/generational contrast:** Now *Trump* asking to be oldest POTUS ever
4. **Potential for VP pick who could moderate her image:** Beshear, Shapiro, Cooper, Kelly...Walz?

Kamala Harris: Key liabilities



1. **Border “Czar:”** even six House Dems voted to condemn her handling of migrant crisis & border portfolio as VP
2. **Coastal/SF & to Biden’s left:** in 2020, supported ending cash bail, fracking ban, decriminalizing border crossings
3. **Tendency to “word salad:”** At times, so risk averse she ends up saying nothing – “Let’s have that conversation”
4. **Ramping up campaign & message:** History of high staff turnover, few new ambitious policy goals to excite voters



Demographic Erosion: will Harris gain back lost ground?



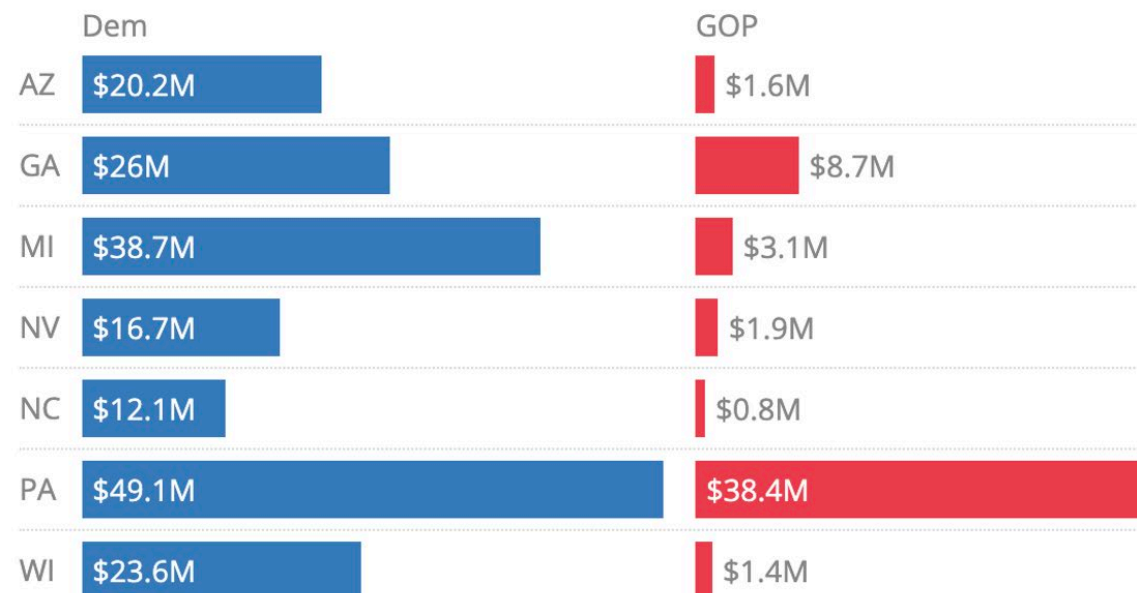
Demographic Group	Nov. '20	June '24 (Biden-Trump)	Aug. '24 (Harris-Trump)
Black/African-American	89%-10%	72%-20%	74%-18%
Hispanic/Latino	61%-37%	48% 42%	50%-41%
18-29 years old	60%-37%	48%-41%	51%-41%

Source: Cook Political Report internal polling averages

Also keep in mind: **Biden/Harris** have had the airwaves to themselves all year. That's about to end.

Presidential Spending in Swing States:

■ Dem ■ GOP



Source: AdImpact

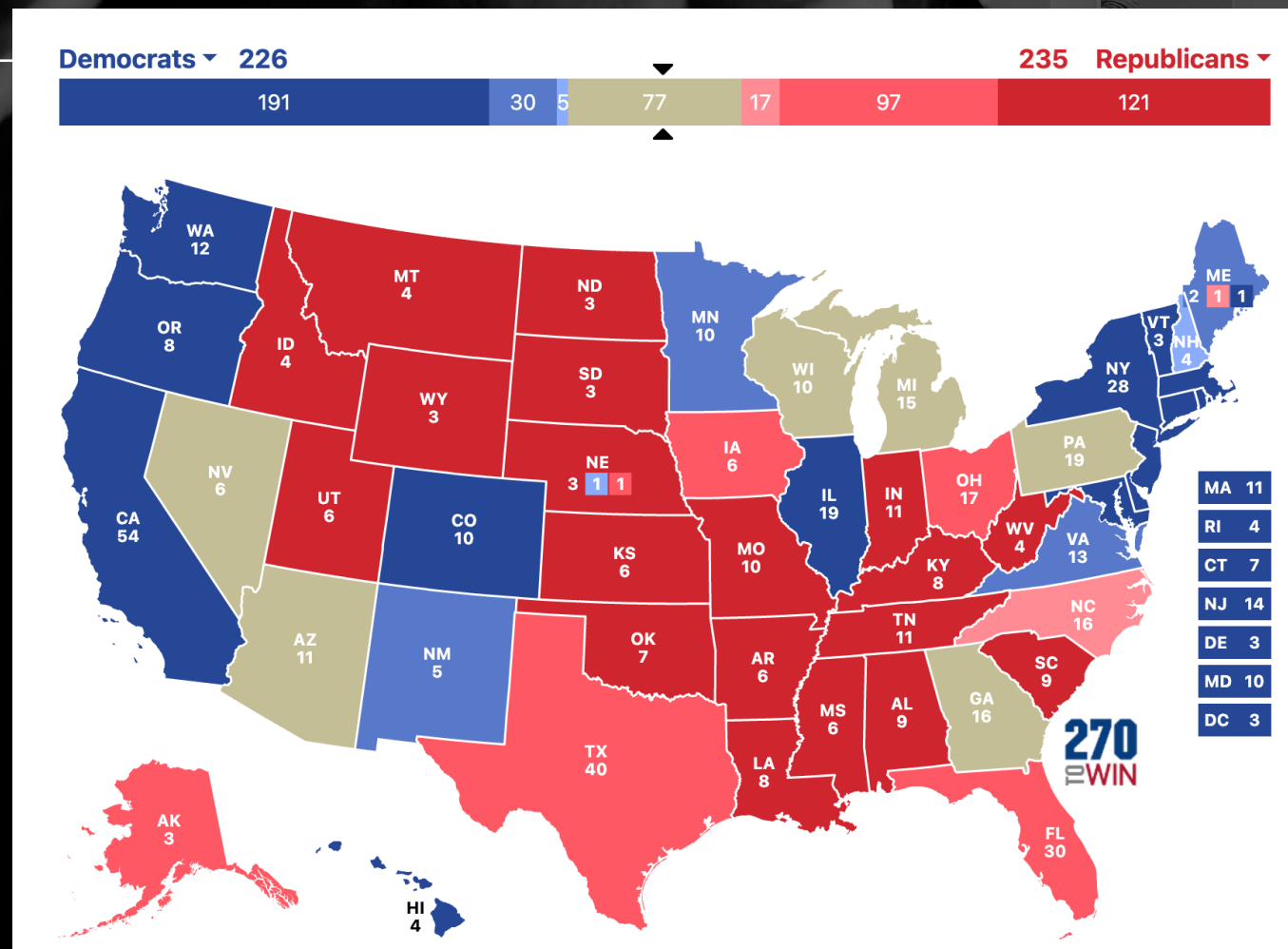


Will there be debates?

And can Trump stick to *effective* attacks against Harris?



2024 Electoral Math: Will Harris have a more plausible path to victory?



Keep in mind...

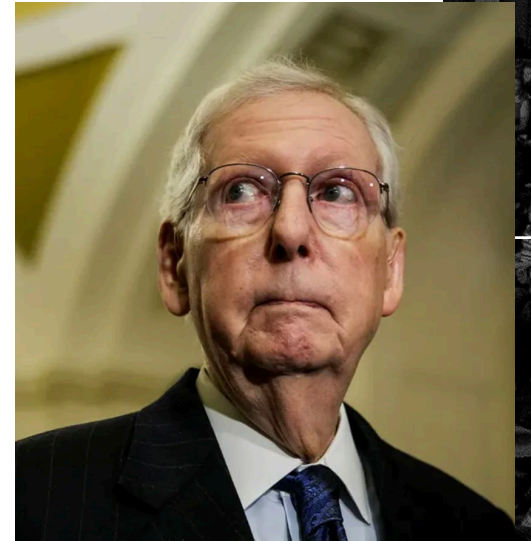
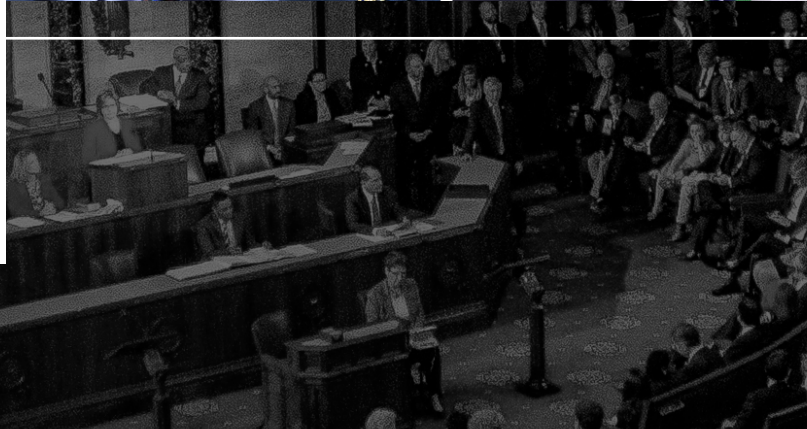
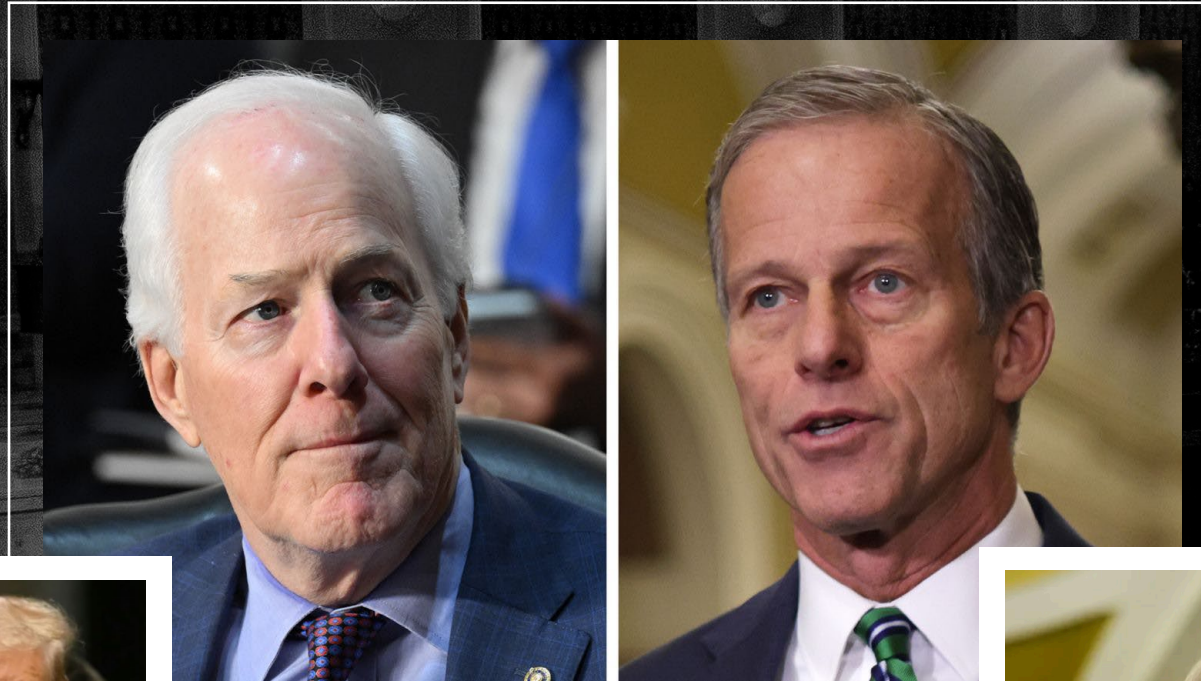
Harris's path of least resistance may be more evenly distributed between the **Sun Belt** and **Rust Belt** states than Biden's was

Third party candidates could lower **threshold for victory** to 45%-46% of the popular vote

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The Senate

Republicans
strongly favored, but
the margin matters



Senate: 51D-49R now, but brutal map for Democrats

Already Gone:

WV Open (Manchin)

Dem Seats at Very High Risk:

Tester (MT)

Rosen (NV)

Brown (OH)

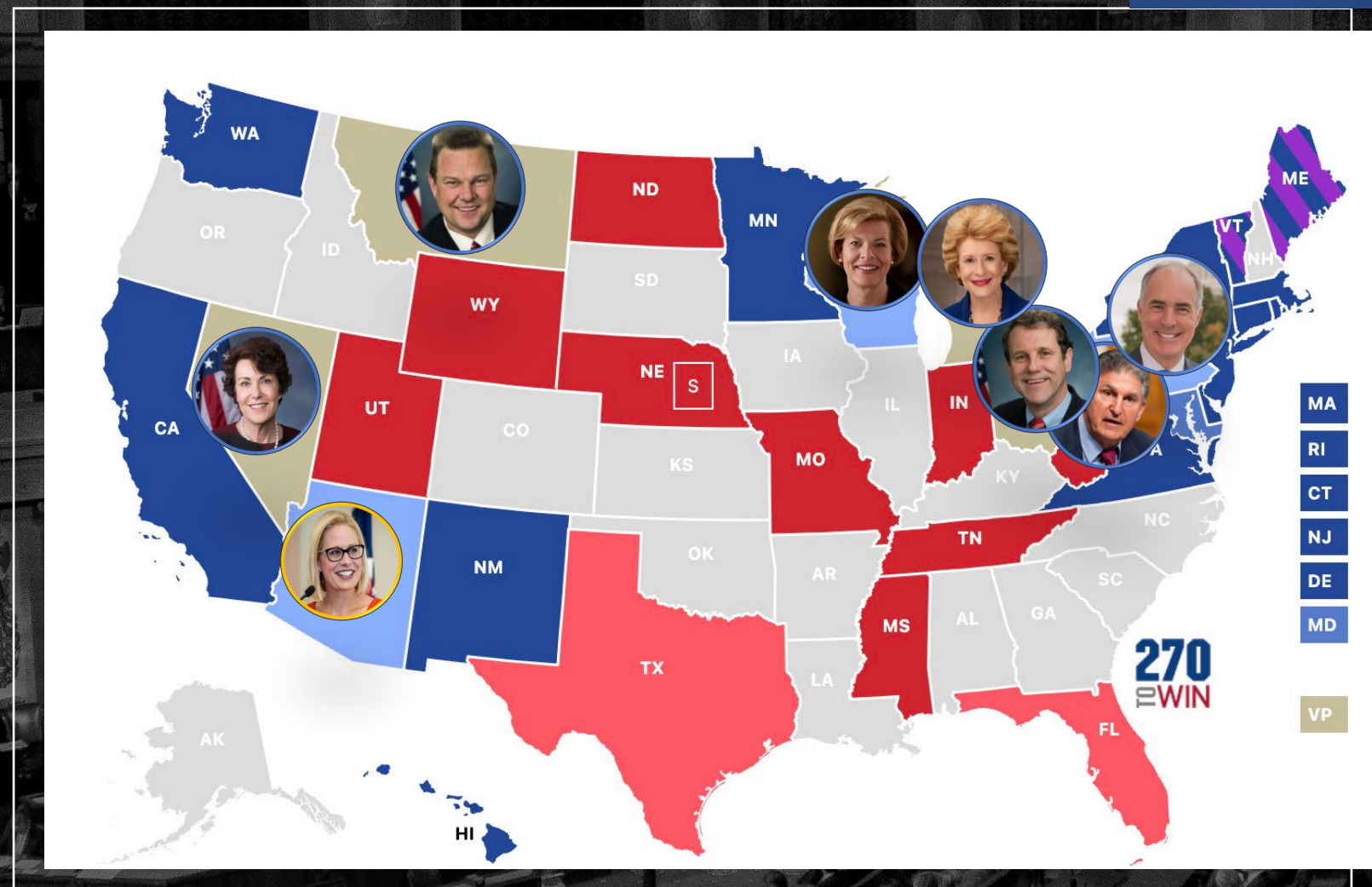
MI Open (Stabenow)

Other Dem Seats at Risk:

AZ Open (Sinema)

Casey (PA)

Baldwin (WI)

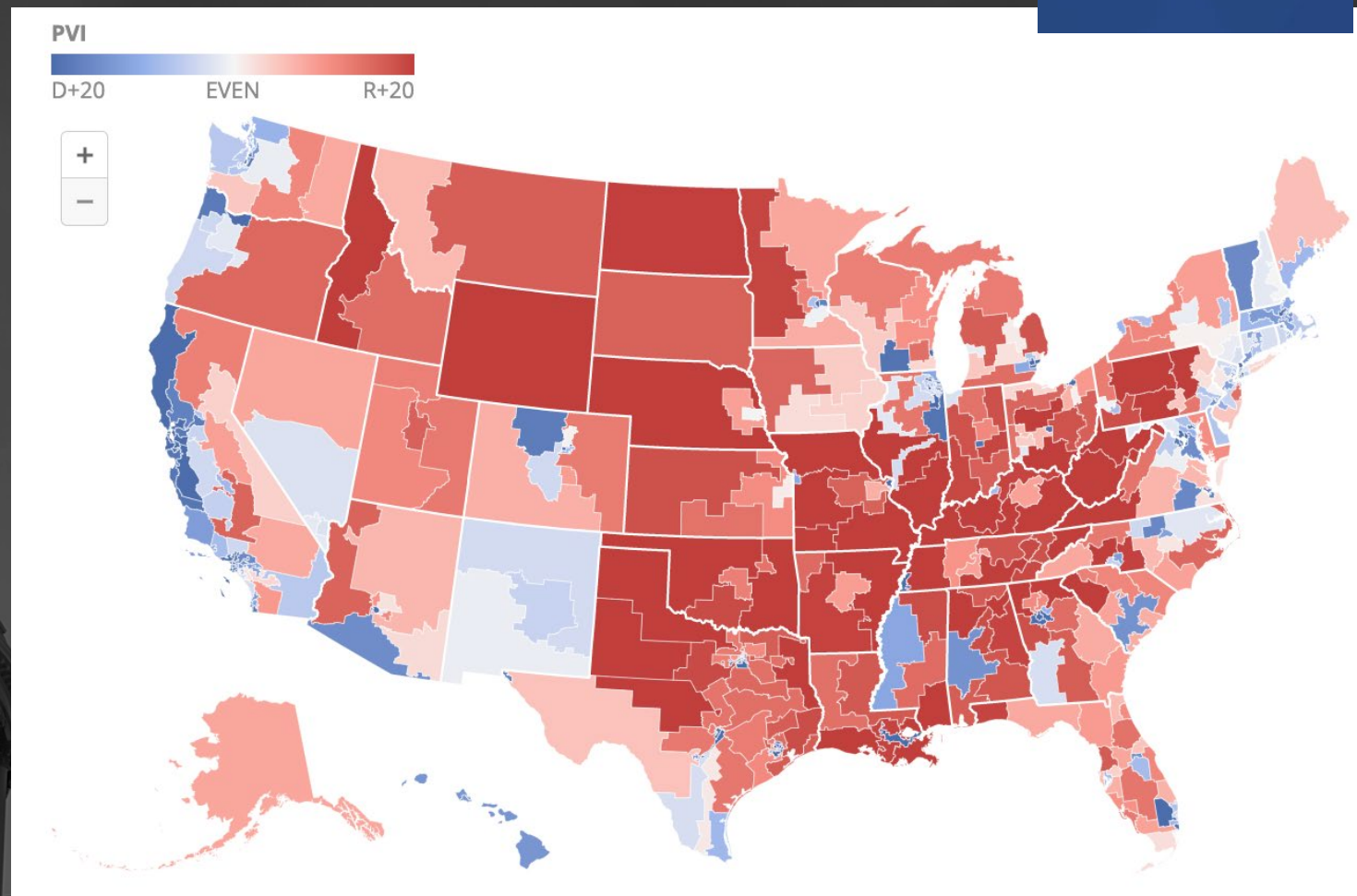


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The House

(**221R-214D**)

might be Dems' best
opportunity in 2024



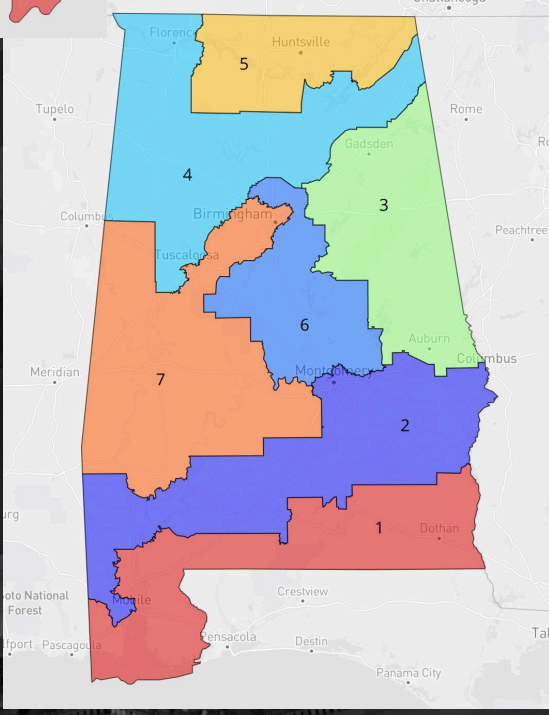
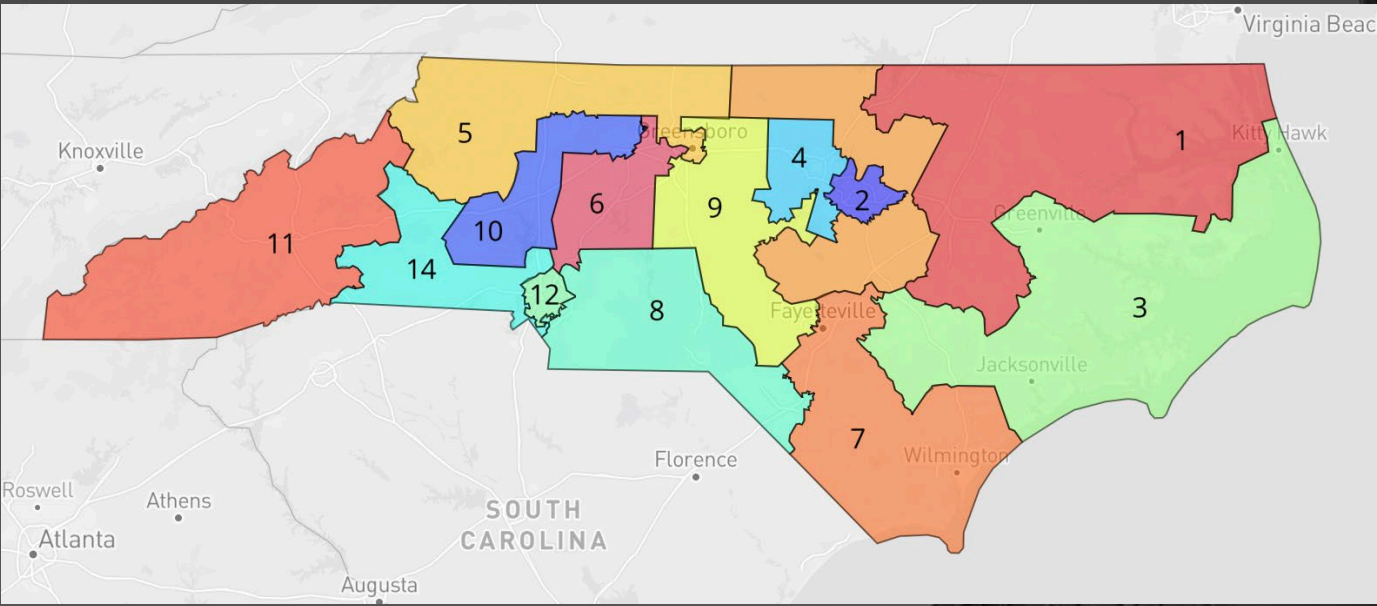
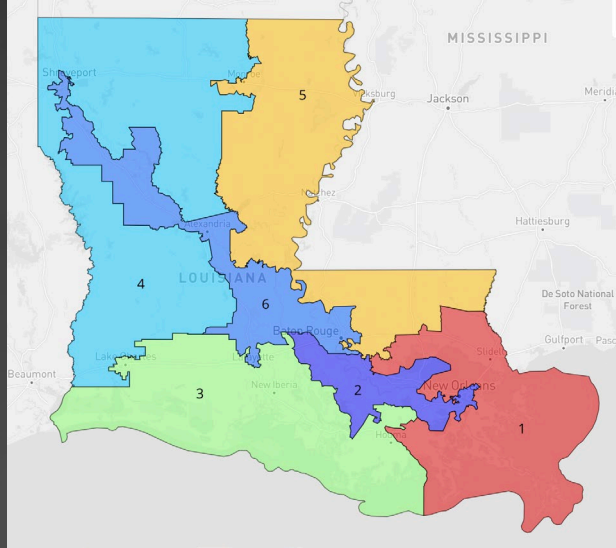
House **Republicans**:
New speaker, same
math problems



Irony: McCarthy's recruits won Republicans the majority in 2022. Now, he's on a vengeance tour.



Re-redistricting: changes benefitting Dems in Alabama, New York and (maybe) Louisiana mostly offset pro-GOP changes in North Carolina



And, a big wave of retirements – mostly in safe seats

Open Seats

Democratic Open Seats (25)

DISTRICT	INCUMBENT	REASON	PVI
AZ-03	Ruben Gallego	Running for Senate	D+24
CA-12	Barbara Lee	Ran for Senate	D+40
CA-16	Anna Eshoo	Retiring	D+26
CA-29	Tony Cárdenas	Retiring	D+26
CA-30	Adam Schiff	Running for Senate	D+23
CA-31	Grace Napolitano	Retiring	D+15
CA-47	Katie Porter	Ran for Senate	D+3
DE-AL	Lisa Blunt Rochester	Running for Senate	D+7
MD-02	Dutch Ruppersberger	Retiring	D+7
MD-03	John Sarbanes	Retiring	D+10
MD-06	David Trone	Ran for Senate	D+2
MI-07	Elissa Slotkin	Running for Senate	R+2
MI-08	Dan Kildee	Retiring	R+1
MN-03	Dean Phillips	Ran for President	D+8
NC-06	Kathy Manning	Retiring	R+11
NC-13	Wiley Nickel	Retiring	R+11
NC-14	Jeff Jackson	Running for Attorney General	R+11
NH-02	Annie Kuster	Retiring	D+2
NJ-03	Andy Kim	Running for Senate	D+5
NY-16	Jamaal Bowman	Lost Primary	D+21
OR-03	Earl Blumenauer	Retiring	D+22
TX-32	Colin Allred	Running for Senate	D+14
VA-07	Abigail Spanberger	Running for Governor	D+1
VA-10	Jennifer Wexton	Retiring	D+6
WA-06	Derek Kilmer	Retiring	D+6

Republican Open Seats (23)

DISTRICT	INCUMBENT	REASON	PVI
AZ-08	Debbie Lesko	Retiring	R+10
CO-03	Lauren Boebert	Running in CO-04	R+7
CO-04	Greg Lopez	Retiring	R+13
CO-05	Doug Lamborn	Retiring	R+9
FL-08	Bill Posey	Retiring	R+11
GA-03	Drew Ferguson	Retiring	R+18
IN-03	Jim Banks	Running for Senate	R+18
IN-06	Greg Pence	Retiring	R+19
IN-08	Larry Bucshon	Retiring	R+19
KS-02	Jake LaTurner	Retiring	R+11
LA-06	Garret Graves	Retiring	D+8
MO-03	Blaine Luetkemeyer	Retiring	R+16
MT-02	Matt Rosendale	Retiring	R+16
NC-08	Dan Bishop	Running for Attorney General	R+20
NC-10	Patrick McHenry	Retiring	R+22
ND-AL	Kelly Armstrong	Running for Governor	R+20
OH-02	Brad Wenstrup	Retiring	R+25
SC-03	Jeff Duncan	Retiring	R+21
TX-12	Kay Granger	Retiring	R+12
TX-26	Michael C. Burgess	Retiring	R+13
UT-03	John Curtis	Running for Senate	R+13
WA-05	Cathy McMorris Rodgers	Retiring	R+8
WV-02	Alex Mooney	Ran for Senate	R+22



Rep. Abigail
Spanberger (D)
Virginia's 7th



Rep. Drew
Ferguson (R)
Georgia's 3rd

2024 House Ratings: another competitive fight for control



Rep. Jared Golden (D)
Maine's 2nd



Rep. Mike Garcia (R)
California's 27th

The Fight for Congress: High stakes for agriculture



Farm Bill 2024 political dynamics:

- Current extension expires Sept. 30th and CBO estimates 2024 Farm Bill will total \$1.51 trillion, up from \$867 billion in 2018
- Both parties agree on need to update reference prices, modernize H-2A visa program & strengthen crop insurance
- Republicans pushing to reallocate Inflation Reduction Act climate funding to non-climate Farm Bill conservation titles
- Democrats insistent on maintaining current levels of Climate & Nutrition funding & adding Specialty Crop Insurance subtitle
- Freedom Caucus Republicans pushing to shrink SNAP, deny states ability to block work requirements for Food Stamps

Both parties holding out for full control of Congress in 2025, but could a deal be cut in the “lame duck” session?

Who would chair House Ag Committee if Dems win control?

Aggies to Watch: Key members with competitive races

Vulnerable Dems:

Don Davis (NC-01)
Yadira Caraveo (CO-08)
Jahana Hayes (CT-05)
Gabe Vasquez (NM-02)
Marie Gluesenkamp
Perez (WA-03)



Primary to Watch:

Dan Newhouse (WA-04)



Vulnerable GOP:

John Duarte (CA-13)
Don Bacon (NE-02)
Marc Molinaro (NY-19)
Lori Chavez-
DeRemer (OR-05)
Derrick Van Orden (WI-03)



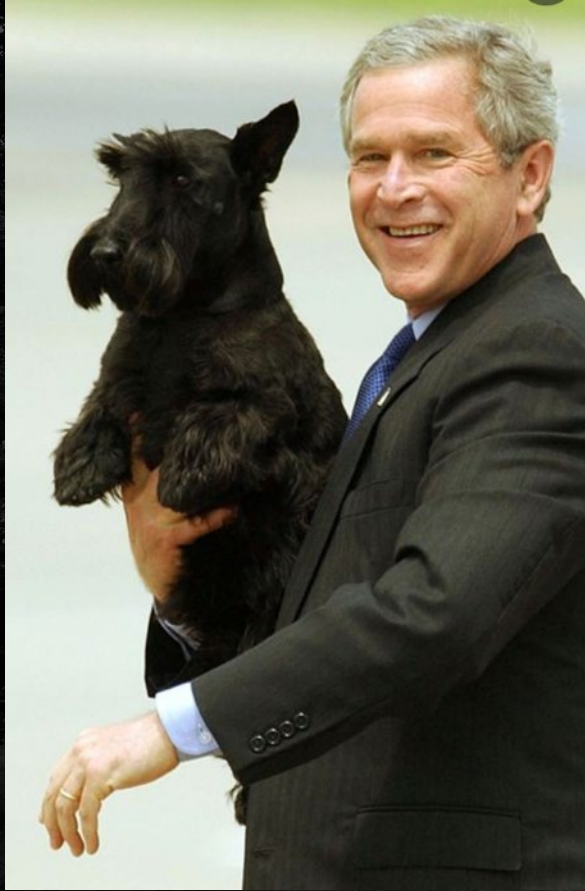
How successful will “check and balance” message be for down-ballot **Democrats**?

“While I don’t plan to vote for him, Donald Trump is going to win. And I’m OK with that. Maine’s representatives will need to work with him when it benefits Mainers, hold him accountable when it does not and work independently across the aisle no matter what.”

- Rep. Jared Golden (D), 7/2/24



Historical fact: no president has ever...



2024: a new running mate?





Questions?



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