

To: Interested Parties
From: Julie C. Rodriguez, Biden-Harris 2024 Campaign Manager
Subject: State of the Race One Year Out
Date: November 2, 2023

One year out from Election Day, Team Biden-Harris is well-prepared to defeat whoever emerges from the extreme MAGA Republicans' primary field. As Republicans burn through resources to win over their MAGA base with a dangerous and unpopular agenda that voters continue to reject, our campaign is hard at work. In the off-year, we have built a strong operation to once again mobilize the coalition of voters that sent President Biden and Vice President Harris to the White House with a record number of votes in 2020.

This will be a very close general election - with a year until November 5, 2024, the fundamentals of this race show our campaign is in a strong position to win:

1. The message Joe Biden ran on in 2020 remains popular with voters and central to this campaign. The same core issues President Biden and Vice President Harris ran on in 2020 helped deliver the best midterm performance for a sitting president in decades: protecting democracy and the soul of the nation, making the economy work for the middle class, fighting for more rights not fewer. In 2023, Democrats have overperformed partisan lean by an average of 11 points across dozens of special elections by running on the same message. Headed into 2024, our early research shows the president's message of building on our progress to finish the job remains a winning one for mobilizing our base and persuading undecided voters.
2. The MAGA Republican primary candidates are fighting to embrace the most extreme positions and win over their MAGA base: rigging the economy for the ultra-wealthy and big corporations, cutting Social Security and Medicare, banning abortion, and denying free and fair elections. No matter who emerges from the field, the toxicity of these positions will be difficult to overcome with the voters who will decide this election.
3. President Biden and Vice President Harris announced their reelection bid with a strong, united Democratic Party and progressive infrastructure behind them, allowing the campaign to quickly launch organizing programs and an aggressive paid media campaign to communicate earlier than ever with the Biden-Harris coalition. Labor, women's groups, climate and gun advocates and other critical partners have come together historically early to devote their tens of millions of members and resources to educate and mobilize voters. After two historic fundraising quarters, Team Biden-Harris has \$91 million cash on hand to build on the success of our early programs headed into the general election.

We expect this to be a very close race, but recent strong Democratic performances in every battleground state – and President Biden and Vice President Harris's win in 2020 – demonstrate that the president has multiple paths to earning 270 electoral votes next November.

This election will be a clear choice for the American people: Like any election, the 2024 election will be a choice. Voters will choose between the extremism, divisiveness, and incompetence that extreme MAGA Republicans are demonstrating – and President Biden's historic record of accomplishment defined by experienced leadership, strong economic growth

for the middle class, and fighting for Americans' rights. The American people are on our side when it comes to that choice.

Across the board, Americans strongly support both the president and vice president's historic record of accomplishments and forward-looking agenda of lowering prescription drug costs for ALL Americans, strengthening and protecting Social Security and Medicare, and codifying Roe.

- [88% of voters -- including 85% of independents](#) – support the president's \$35 monthly insulin cap.
- [83% of voters -- including 81% of independents](#) – support Medicare negotiations for lower prescription drug prices.
- [73% of voters – including 65% of independents](#) – support the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law.
- [69% of voters – including 59% of independents](#) – support the president's law investing in domestic manufacturing and boosting economic competitiveness with China.
- In battleground states specifically, [76% of voters](#) support the Bipartisan Safer Communities Act – the first major gun safety legislation passed in nearly 30 years.
- By a 2:1 margin, voters [overwhelmingly support](#) codifying *Roe v. Wade* to protect abortion access.

Meanwhile, Republican presidential candidates have been embracing increasingly extreme and unpopular positions as they battle to win over the MAGA base of their party.

- After Donald Trump proposed expanding his 2017 Tax Scam, the rest of the field followed suit, doubling down on tax handouts to the ultra-wealthy and corporations that created incentives for companies to ship jobs overseas. [8 in 10 adults are bothered that corporations don't pay their fair share.](#)
- The MAGA field is united around ripping away affordable health care, raising prescription drug costs for seniors, and gutting Social Security and Medicare. [Fox polling shows that 59% of Republicans disagree with gutting Social Security and Medicare.](#)
- Led by Trump who was “honored” to overturn *Roe*, MAGA Republicans support legislation that would ban abortion across the country and have gone so far as to propose banning abortion pills. [65% of Republicans and 83% of independents oppose a federal law banning abortion nationwide.](#)
- MAGA Republican contenders have embraced some of the most dangerous elements of their party, such as banning books, denying free and fair elections, and choosing the NRA over the safety of our kids and our communities. [Voters resoundingly rejected election deniers in 2022.](#)

As we saw in 2020 and 2022, the MAGA extremism that now defines the Republican Party is a significant barrier to victory for the GOP in key battleground states and restricts their path to 270. In 2022, despite a national environment that was ripe for Republican gains, midterm voters punished extreme MAGA Republican candidates. In competitive Senate races, Kelly (AZ), Hassan (NH), Warnock (GA), and Fetterman (PA) built on 2020 Democratic margins by running against candidates they successfully framed as MAGA extremists. Similarly, in competitive governors' races, Whitmer (MI), Hobbs (AZ), Shapiro (PA), Evers (WI), and Kelly (KS) successfully defined their opponents as too extreme for their states.

In 2024, an extreme MAGA Republican opponent presents our campaign with an opening to grow among independent and right-leaning voters who are particularly motivated by Republican attacks on reproductive rights. We saw this play out in the Wisconsin Supreme Court election in April, with Justice Protasiewicz further extending suburban support and improving Democratic

margins in the critical suburban WOW counties (Waukesha, Ozaukee, and Washington) by several points over 2020.

Communicating early with the Biden-Harris coalition: From the beginning, our campaign has understood that building on the strength of the 2020 Biden-Harris coalition and the gains made among targeted voters in 2022 will be crucial to our victory in November 2024. This means maintaining strong support with Black, Latino, and AA and NHPI voters along with suburban voters turned off by MAGA Republican extremism whose support for Democrats has remained relatively consistent between 2020 and 2022, particularly in critical battleground states. It also means building on the small but critical gains made among rural and white working class voters in battleground states in 2020 and 2022. We are doing unprecedented work to reach out to voters across this entire coalition earlier and more robustly than ever.

While Republicans are fighting it out in the primary, we are able to lay the foundation for our 2024 messaging. In August, Team Biden-Harris launched a historic 16-week, \$25 million ad campaign to reach these key voters across battleground states – including earlier-than-ever investments in Hispanic and African American media – and test the messaging contrast that will be core to this election. The ads feature trusted validators highlighting some of the Biden-Harris administration’s biggest accomplishments for the American people: nearly 14 million jobs created, investing in infrastructure and the return of American manufacturing, inflation down from its peak, and beating Big Pharma to lower prescription drug costs for Americans.

While this ad campaign is focused on reaching target voters with persuasive messaging, it's also capitalizing on key media moments to get our message out to a wider general election audience in advance of 2024: strategic buys during primetime programming like *Dancing with the Stars*, *60 minutes*, *Sunday Night Football* and soccer games on Telemundo – as well as more targeted digital platforms, Black and Latino radio, and more.

Another key function of this ad buy is to conduct extensive research on message salience, media consumption, and ad recall. This early testing with our core constituencies and persuadable targets has found that the policies of the Biden-Harris administration remain popular, and that learning more about these administration accomplishments is effective in persuading key voters. We have also found promising early signs of ad recall, meaning our TV and digital ads are not just persuasive in a vacuum, but are also reaching voters where they are. As the buy continues, we will expand this research to even more groups and geographies in the coming weeks.

Building the general election infrastructure to win: While Republicans burn through resources in a contested primary, the campaign is leveraging a united Democratic Party and strong Democratic National Committee to build a strong, innovative operation ahead of the general election.

During the midterms, the DNC invested over \$95 million into states – more than triple the \$30 million spent by the DNC on its entire 2018 midterm strategy. This included investing in key infrastructure and staff development in battleground states, while increasing monthly investments in every single state party by 25% over 2020 and creating a first-of-its-kind Red State Fund to build targeted programs in traditionally Republican states. In 2021, the DNC also invested \$20 million in Democrats’ technology to rebuild core systems, improve data to better understand potential voters, acquire nearly all commercially available cell phone numbers, and provide state-of-the-art targeting tools to states and campaigns at no cost.

These investments created a strong foundation that was available to the Biden-Harris campaign from Day One, providing the tools, technology, outreach programs, and people that have enabled us to scale quickly.

In 2020, President Biden and Vice President Harris generated a powerful and active volunteer base that helped propel them to victory. During the 2022 midterms, the DNC re-activated that same volunteer base to defy expectations and prepare them for the work ahead in the 2024 cycle. From launch to September 1, this program has reengaged volunteers to make over 1.1 million calls and send nearly 4 million texts to persuade and turn out voters and recruit even more volunteers to support the 2023 elections. At the drop of a hat, this powerful volunteer network has sprung into action to support special elections across New Hampshire, mayoral races in Boise and Spokane, the PA judicial races – and provide sustained infrastructure to support organization building and GOTV in places like Mississippi, Ohio, Virginia, and Kentucky. Additionally, our social ambassadors program has trained over 1,000 volunteers to share campaign messaging in their own communities.

Last month, in partnership with the DNC, Team Biden-Harris launched a pilot to test innovative organizing tactics in key battleground states to build on traditional organizing. These programs are focused on outreach to key groups that make up the Biden-Harris coalition including Latinos, African Americans, women, and young people and will initially focus on college communities in Wisconsin, Black neighborhoods of Milwaukee, and the vote-rich Phoenix metropolitan area.

The program is in a strong position next year to scale peer-to-peer conversations, build large volunteer-led organizations and organize in person and online to persuade and turn out a winning coalition for President Biden and Vice President Harris.

Entering the on-year with a historic war chest: After two historic fundraising quarters, Team Biden-Harris entered this quarter with a historic \$91 million cash on hand – the most ever for a Democratic candidate at this point in the race and more than the entire GOP field combined.

Last quarter's haul is yet another sign of enthusiastic grassroots support behind Team Biden-Harris. Just a few examples of how:

- In Q2, grassroots fundraising made up approximately 1/3 of the entire raise. In Q3, grassroots fundraising soared to 49% of overall revenue.
- Doubled individual contributions since launch to a total of more than 1.4 million
- Doubled recurring donors vs Q2 to a Democratic record total of 112,000 people

Bottom line: The president and vice president have a strong message that resonates with voters, a clear contrast with whoever the MAGA Republican Party nominates, and multiple paths to 270. This campaign will win by doing the work and ignoring the outside chatter – just like we did in 2020.