

Hillary Clinton: The Right Choice for the Democratic Party – Facts and the Figures

No candidate will emerge from the primaries and caucuses with enough pledged delegates to claim the nomination – assuming the millions of votes from Florida and Michigan will be counted. At the end of this process, more people will have voted for Hillary Clinton than for any other potential nominee in the history of the Democratic Party, or of the country. She will emerge as the candidate with the best chance of taking back the White House in November.

This memorandum offers automatic delegates key metrics that Hillary Clinton is winning in this primary race: the popular vote, a broad coalition of supporters, and millions of new Democratic voters who registered to vote for her. It also sets forth why, having amassed more ballots than any other Democratic primary candidate in history, she is best poised to beat John McCain and win the White House in November.

I. Hillary Clinton Will Lead in the Popular Vote for the Democratic Nomination

At the conclusion of the primary season on June 3rd, Hillary Clinton will have the most popular votes. Hillary Clinton already leads in the popular vote, including those who voted in Michigan and Florida, based upon AP's state-by-state vote totals for states that release vote totals and ABC's vote total estimates for the four states that do not release vote totals. Given the remaining contests, we expect this number to increase between now and June 3rd.

More than 17 million people already have cast their votes for her. Indeed, since March 1st, she has won over a half million more votes than Senator Obama (difference: + 517,748).

Regardless of the decision on how to seat the delegates from Florida and Michigan, which will increase the number of delegates the successful nominee must reach to up to 2210, the votes there represent the popular will. Based on the results of every contested major state on February 5th, there is no evidence that these two states would have voted any differently if they had voted outside the early state window.

On February 8th, Senator Obama said that if someone had the most pledged delegates and the most votes in the country, that "it would be problematic for political insiders to overturn the judgment of the voters." It appears that when all the votes are counted on June 3rd, Hillary Clinton will be the candidate with the most votes. The automatic delegates then face the choice between one candidate with more pledged delegates and another candidate with more popular votes.

II. Hillary has put Together a Winning Coalition of Democratic Primary Voters.

A look at exit polls shows how strong Hillary's coalition of voters has held together and even strengthened in the last rounds of primaries. Here are the basic facts:

1. **Women** - Among all women, Hillary leads 51% to 43%, and since the round of primaries that started on March 4th she has led 55 % to 44%. Among white women, Hillary leads 61% to 34% and among Latinas, Hillary leads 58% to 25% for those states reporting Hispanics in exit polling.
2. **Seniors** - In all the contests so far, Hillary has won 58% of those ages 60+ compared to Senator Obama's 35%. Among those who have voted since March 4, Hillary leads 62% to 36%.
3. **Latinos** - Hillary has won Latino voters by 56% to 30% – nearly two to one; excluding the presidential candidates who subsequently dropped out, Hillary has won Latinos 65% to Senator Obama's 35%. In California's primary, where Latinos comprised 30% of the voting population, Hillary won 67% to Senator Obama's 32%. Latino turnout in New Mexico's Democratic caucus was 35%, and among Latinos Hillary won 62% to Senator Obama's 36%.
4. **Working Class** - Hillary has consistently won the working class vote in key Democratic swing states, and on average she leads 50% to 45% among voters earning under \$50,000. In Ohio, Hillary won these voters 56% to 42%; in Pennsylvania 54% to 46%, in West Virginia, Hillary won these voters 71% to 23%; and in, Kentucky she won the working class vote 67% to 29%. Furthermore, Hillary leads among union voters 52% to 43%.
5. **Rural Voters** - Hillary has been winning an overwhelming percentage of America's rural voters – 53 % to 41%. Since March 1, Hillary has won 58% and Senator Obama 40% of rural voters. In Kentucky, Indiana, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Texas, Hillary won over 60% of rural voters.

III. Hillary Clinton Has Brought More New Voters into the Process than any Other Candidate

There has been a dramatic increase in participation in the primaries.

In every state that had both a caucus and a primary, the primary had far greater participation and a stronger vote for Hillary Clinton – this was true in Texas, Washington State and Nebraska. When participation expands, Hillary's vote expands. For example, in the February 9 Nebraska caucus when less than 40,000 people participated, Senator Obama won with 68%, but in the May 13 Democratic primary when more than twice as many people voted – nearly 94,000 – Hillary's and Senator Obama's respective votes were 2 points apart (HRC 47 / BHO 49).

The increase in participation in the primaries has been driven by core groups favoring Hillary, led by women, Latinos and older voters.

Overall, more than 22 million Democratic primary voters were over the age of 45 this year, compared to less than 10 million who voted in the 2004 Democratic primaries. Women primary voters rose from 7.56 million in the 2004 Democratic primaries to more than 21 million to date in 2008 – from 54% to 58% of the Democratic primary electorate. At the same time, Latinos increased from 9% to 12% of the Democratic primary electorate, from 1.26 million in 2004 to 4.42 million in 2008.

In Ohio, for example, women rose from 52% of the Democratic presidential primary voters in 2004 to 59% in 2008. And, in California, Latinos made up 30% of Democratic presidential primary voters in 2008, compared with 16% in 2004.

In both the 2000 and 2004 general elections, 17% of voters were under age 30, while the percentage over the age of 45 rose from 50% in 2000 to 54% in 2004. Those results, and the 2008 primaries, suggest that any strategy built on an increase in the Democratic voting base should take into account women, Latinos and seniors.

Hillary Clinton is the Most Electable Candidate vs. John McCain

IV. The road to Pennsylvania Avenue goes through Ohio and Florida – Hillary is winning those states.

There has never been a race this close and never before have the automatic delegates been called upon to select from among two such closely competitive nominees – one who has more pledged delegates, the other who has more popular votes. **Given this outcome, it is essential to determine who is most likely to win in November.**

Hillary's advantage in the general election polls against Senator McCain has become even clearer in the closing weeks of the campaign. The latest Gallup tracking poll shows her ahead of Senator McCain by 3 points; Senator Obama trails by 3 points (Gallup Daily Tracking, May 21-25, 2008).

The state-by-state polls illustrate that **only Hillary is positioned to take the two states that were critical to the last two elections – Florida and Ohio.** The latest Quinnipiac University poll (May 13-20, 2008) shows that Senator Obama trails Senator McCain by 4 points in Florida compared to Hillary's 7 point lead there against Senator McCain (in the Rasmussen poll released on May 19th, Hillary leads Senator McCain by 6 points (HRC 47 / McCain 41); Senator Obama trails him by 10 points (Obama 40 / McCain 50). Quinnipiac also shows that Hillary is 7 points ahead of Senator McCain in Ohio while Senator Obama is behind Senator McCain by 4 points there.

She is more likely to win **Ohio and Florida.** Without these two states, it is a difficult road to the White House, especially against a candidate like Senator McCain, who is from the Southwest and enjoys considerable support among Latinos.

The key reasons for her support include the experience she has to be Commander-in-Chief and the belief she is best equipped to deal with the economic crisis. HRC is seen as the best steward of our economy and the most ready to fix the economy. Nearly 6 in 10 (59%) voters say Hillary has a plan to fix the economy, and she beats McCain on 'would do the best job on the economy' by 8 points, a larger margin than Obama does, according to a recent poll conducted by Public Opinion Strategies/Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for NPR released May 15. She also is viewed as being the most prepared to be Commander-in-Chief in recent polls. In the April 25-29th CBS / NYT poll, 46% of voters nationwide said they had confidence in Hillary's ability to deal wisely with an international crisis vs. 39% for Senator Obama. Hillary also leads Senator Obama among Democrats and Democratic leaners on who can best handle the war on terror in ABC / WP's April 16th poll (HRC 47 / Obama 42).

V. The Electoral Path to the White House

The current electoral map shows Hillary has a clear path to victory and is leading Senator McCain in electoral votes.

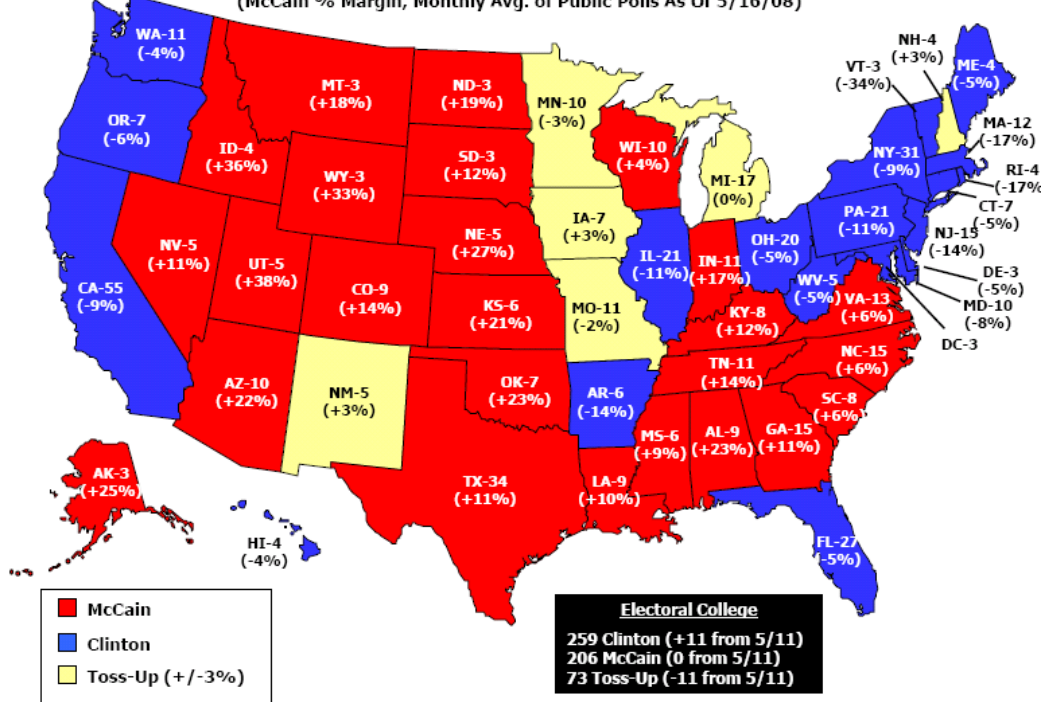
The states Hillary Clinton has won in the primary have a total of 308 electoral votes; the states Senator Obama has won have a total of 224 electoral votes. Hillary won 7 of the 8 states with the most electoral votes – Senator Obama won his home state of Illinois.

ABC News published Karl Rove's electoral vote analysis, which states that if the election were held today, John McCain would win 238 electoral votes while Barack Obama would win 221, with 79 electoral votes in toss-up states that are too close to call. **Hillary would win 259 electoral votes against John McCain's 206 electoral votes with 73 electoral votes in toss-up states that are too close to call.** (ABC News, May 19, 2008)

McCain/Clinton By State

KarlRove&CO.

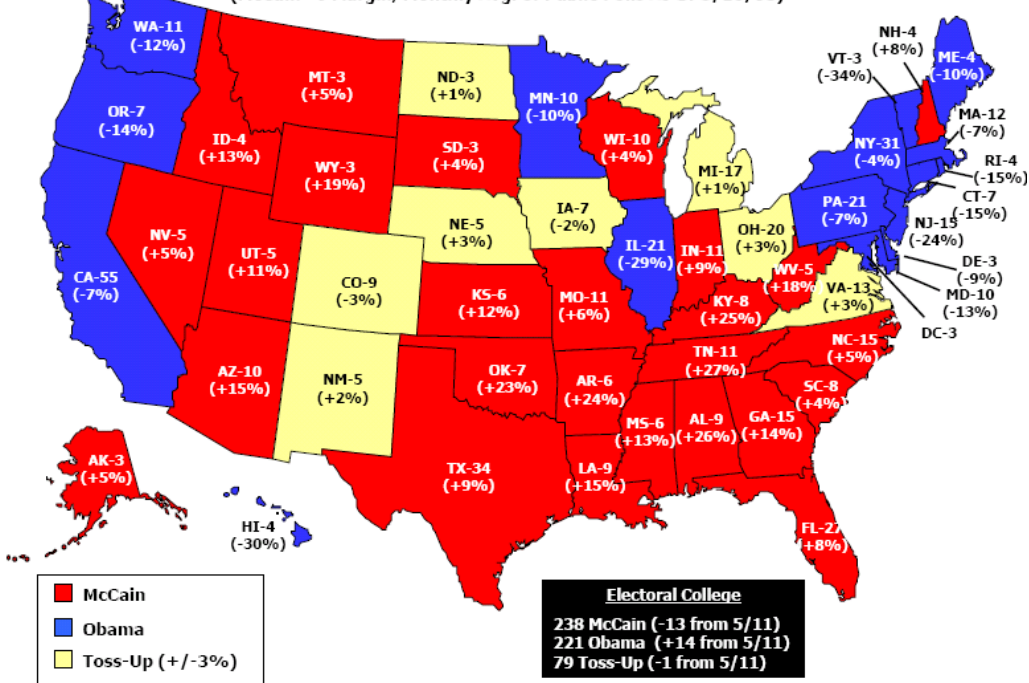
(McCain % Margin, Monthly Avg. of Public Polls As Of 5/16/08)



McCain/Obama By State

KarlRove&CO.

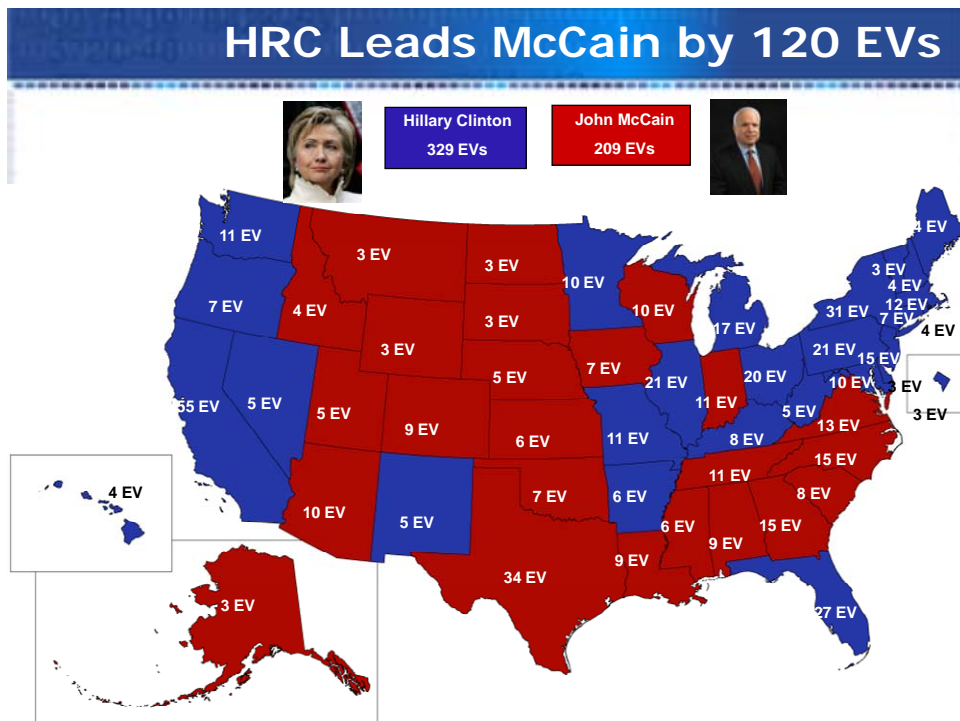
(McCain % Margin, Monthly Avg. of Public Polls As Of 5/16/08)

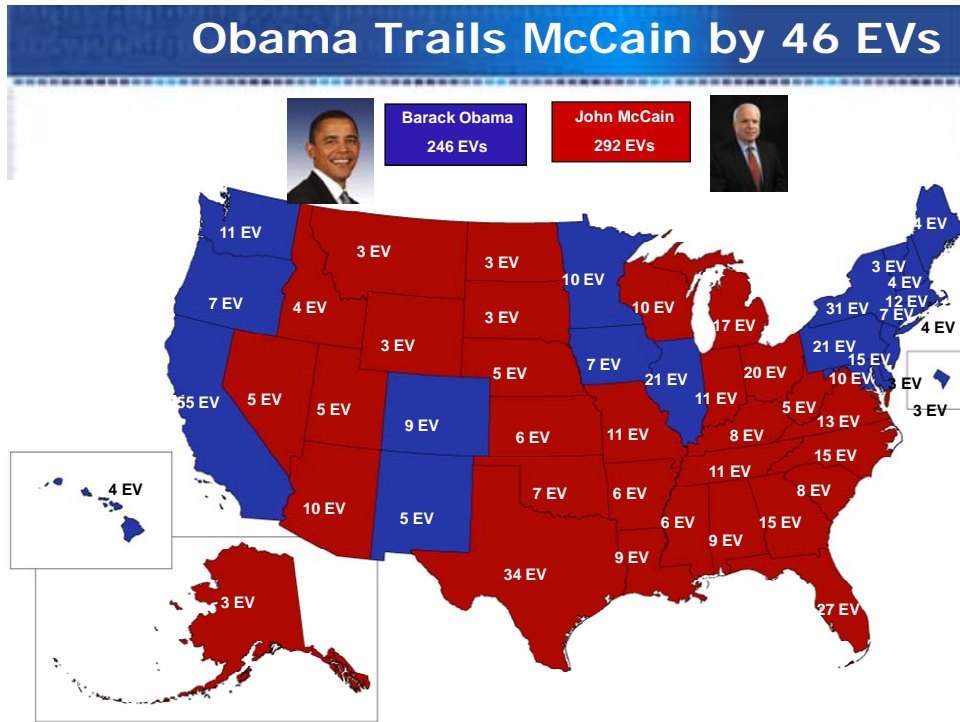


A different analysis (www.electoral-vote.com) shows that Hillary outperforms Senator Obama against John McCain in the key swing states with the largest number of electoral votes – Florida, Ohio, Michigan, and Missouri – as well as smaller swing states like New Hampshire, West Virginia and Arkansas.

And yet another analysis, using recent public polls with general election match-ups in each state, shows that if the election were held tomorrow, **Hillary Clinton would defeat Senator McCain with more than 300 electoral votes** (329, when 270 is required to win) **while Senator Obama would lose to Senator McCain with fewer than 250 electoral votes** (246, to be exact).

Importantly, Hillary leads Senator McCain in Florida, Ohio, West Virginia and Arkansas – all states in which Senator Obama trails Senator McCain. And a May 22, 2008 Rasmussen poll shows Hillary leading Senator McCain in Kentucky 51/42, while Senator Obama trails Senator McCain by 25 points.





See Attachment (Recent state by state polls showing General Election match-ups).

VI. Hillary Has a Broad Geographic Base of Support

Hillary enjoys a broad geographic base of support. Indeed, she has won 1,654 counties; Senator Obama has won 1,299 counties.

Hillary’s broad geographic support means **she can win more parts of the country** – especially **rural** areas – and she can help House and Senate candidates in close elections in these parts of the country.

For example, in following states, Hillary won the following number of counties:

| State | Counties Hillary Won | Total Counties in State |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Arizona | 13 | 15 |
| Arkansas | 72 | 75 |
| California | 39 | 58 |
| Indiana | 83 | 92 |
| Kentucky | 118 | 120 |
| Missouri | 109 | 115 |
| New Jersey | 16 | 21 |
| New Mexico | 27 | 33 |
| New York (home state) | 61 | 62 |

| | | |
|---------------|-----|-----|
| Ohio | 83 | 88 |
| Oklahoma | 76 | 77 |
| Pennsylvania | 60 | 67 |
| Tennessee | 86 | 95 |
| Texas | 227 | 254 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 55 |

The Democratic Party's success – and failure – with presidential nominees has hinged on winning in rural areas. Senator Kerry's underperformance in these areas cost him Ohio (-20 among rural voters); West Virginia (-11); Missouri (-33); and Nevada (-43) – all states with whose rural voters Hillary performs strongly.

According to a recent poll conducted in NH, PA, OH, MI, WI, IA, MN, MO, FL, VA, CO, NM and NV by Greenberg Quinlan & Rosner and Greener & Hook for the Center for Rural Strategies, Hillary and Senator McCain both enjoy the support of rural America. Hillary ties Senator McCain among rural voters, who cast 23% of general election ballots; Senator Obama trails Senator McCain by 9 points with the same voters.

VII. Hillary is also Winning the “Tough” Districts

In 2006, Democrats retook Congress by picking up 31 seats. 20 of those freshman Democrats are in GOP-leaning districts that voted for President Bush in 2004. These districts are heavily rural – half of them are more than 40% rural.

Of those 20 “tough” districts, Hillary has won 16, most by large margins, as posted on the Politico on May 18, 2008.



Furthermore, Hillary has won 10 of the 15 districts rated "toss-ups" for 2008 by the Cook Political Report. They are:

- AL 05
- PA 10
- TX 22
- AZ 01
- MS 01
- NJ 03
- NY 25
- NY 26
- OH 15
- OH 16

VIII. Hillary Has the Support of Several Coalitions Critical to 2008 General Election

In 2004, Bush's victory over John Kerry was a result of the shift of two groups – **Latinos and white women** – in Bush's favor. **These are two of Hillary Clinton's strongest groups.** Hillary has won these two groups overwhelmingly in the Democratic primaries, and Hillary also generated huge turnout increases among both groups.

Assuming she could maintain Senator Kerry's '04 map, Hillary would need to win either Ohio or Florida to win the presidency. Importantly, **Hillary's base in Ohio is composed of the constituency groups that Senator Kerry lost in Ohio in 2004**, so she can take the groups he won, such as those earning less than \$50k and union households, and add to them the groups he lost that constitute her base of support (women, suburban and rural voters, seniors).

In addition to Ohio and Florida, it is likely that Hillary will add to the map states like Arkansas, which President Clinton won in 1992 and 1996 and which she won in the Democratic primary with 70% of the vote; West Virginia, where capturing working class citizens is key to a general election victory; and states like New Mexico and Nevada, where the Latino vote is pivotal.

Another critical constituency to Democratic presidential victories is the African American community, which Senator Obama has won consistently and with increasing margins over the course of the race.

Both candidates will have to bring together all of these constituencies to ensure a victory in November. In addition to the constituencies she has been winning, Senator Clinton's will continue to reach out to African American voters. She has a lifetime of commitment to issues about which African Americans are passionate – extending as far back as her work with the Children's Defense Fund and registering African American and Latino voters in Texas.

Hillary appreciates and respects the choice of many African American voters to support Senator Obama but she has never stopped working to gain their support. She has earned the endorsement of so many prominent African American leaders because they know her lifetime record of service on behalf of issues that are important to the African American community – working to help create the Children’s Health Insurance Program; fighting to raise the minimum wage; expanding and improving early childhood education; working to revitalize our cities; and sponsoring the Count Every Vote Act to ensure that every vote counts and every vote is counted. They know she will continue that work as President.

Hillary is committed to unifying the party, and she will never stop campaigning for the votes of African Americans in the race for the White House.

IX. Too Polarizing? – Unfavorable Ratings of Competitive Candidates are High

Because our country’s electorate is relatively divided along party lines, presidential candidates who are competitive and have been in the public arena for a period of time typically have higher unfavorable ratings.

For example, Hillary and Senator Obama have comparable unfavorable ratings – in the most recent *Newsweek* poll of national registered voters, 43% are unfavorable to Hillary and 40% are unfavorable to Senator Obama. Senator McCain has similar unfavorable ratings – 40% are unfavorable to him in that same poll.

As might be expected, Senator Obama’s unfavorable numbers have steadily risen over the last two years – in a May 2006 *Newsweek* poll, 10% said they were unfavorable towards him. By July 2007, that number had risen to 19%; 8 months later it was at 28%, and in the two most recent *Newsweek* polls, conducted in April and May of this year, his unfavorable rating is at 40%– 4 times higher than it was two years ago. Hillary’s unfavorable rating has remained relatively steady (according to the same *Newsweek* polls, in May 2006, her unfavorable rating was 45% -- it is now 43%). Similarly, Senator McCain’s unfavorable ratings have likewise remained relatively unchanged (according to the same *Newsweek* polls, in March 2008 his unfavorable rating was 35%; 41% in April 2008, and 40% in May 2008; *Newsweek* did not record unfavorable ratings before March 2008 for Senator McCain).

More importantly, candidates’ unfavorable ratings do not indicate they are too polarizing to win the Presidency; to the contrary, these ratings reflect the divisions in our country between our parties as candidates become known and associated with the Democratic or Republican Party.

Summary

Never before in the history of the modern primary system have we seen a nominating contest go down to the wire like this.

The race will be decided by automatic delegates, with no candidate getting the majority of total delegates needed. Hillary Clinton will finish the primary season with more votes, the lead in public opinion polls as to who is best able to turn the economy around and be an effective Commander-in-Chief, and with the better chance of putting together the electoral map to win in November and take back the White House.