**CLUES FOR
THE FALL**

The Rhodes Cook Letter

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Bush and Reelection: Close Race Not a Good Sign

Republican strategists tend to depict the nip and tuck contest between President George W. Bush and John Kerry as normal for this stage of the election year. But it's not.

Since Harry Truman's fabled come from behind victory in 1948, presidents have either won big, or they have lost. And those that were on their way to a comfortable victory were much farther ahead of their challenger by this point of the campaign than Bush is.

Five presidents over the last half century have won another term by popular vote margins that were in the double digits or high single digits. Three presidents have lost. None since Truman has won by a margin of less than 5 percentage points.

A variety of polls taken this April have showed Bush anywhere from several points ahead of Kerry to several points behind. But the quintet of incumbents that won big were all cruising to reelection by this point barely six months before the election, with a lead that in each case had reached double digits percentage-wise.

Republican Dwight Eisenhower was up by nearly 30 points in the Gallup Poll over Democrat Adlai Stevenson in April 1956, en route to a 15-point victory that fall.

Democrat Lyndon Johnson was clubbing Republican Barry Goldwater by a titanic 60-point margin (78%-to-18%) in April 1964, which made LBJ's 23-point Election Day rout look almost like a cliffhanger.

Presidents and Reelection: Winning Big... or Losing... Is the Norm of Late

For presidents seeking reelection, the result is usually feast or famine - a landslide victory or a humbling defeat. At least that has been the case since the end of World War II. In the postwar period, only one president - Harry Truman in 1948 - has won another term by a popular vote margin of less than 5 percentage points, while five presidents have been reelected by margins far more decisive, and three have been beaten. A pound sign (#) indicates an unelected incumbent who was facing voters for the first time after the death or resignation of his predecessor.

PRESIDENTS WINNING DECISIVELY (by margin of more than 5%)

Election	Incumbent	Margin	Challenger
1956	Dwight Eisenhower (R)	+ 15.4%	Adlai Stevenson (D)
1964	Lyndon Johnson (D) #	+ 22.6%	Barry Goldwater (R)
1972	Richard Nixon (R)	+ 23.2%	George McGovern (D)
1984	Ronald Reagan (R)	+ 18.2%	Walter Mondale (D)
1996	Bill Clinton (D)	+ 8.5%	Bob Dole (R)

PRESIDENTS WINNING NARROWLY (by margin less than 5%)

Election	Incumbent	Margin	Challenger
1948	Harry Truman (D) #	+ 4.5%	Thomas Dewey (R)

PRESIDENTS DEFEATED

Election	Incumbent	Margin	Challenger
1976	Gerald Ford (R) #	- 2.1%	Jimmy Carter (D)
1980	Jimmy Carter (D)	- 9.7%	Ronald Reagan (R)
1992	George Bush (R)	- 5.6%	Bill Clinton (D)

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Presidents, Polls and Reelection: Races for the White House since 1976 in the Gallup Poll

Anyone wanting proof that the 2004 presidential election is shaping up as a very close one need only compare the Gallup Polls this year with recent elections in which presidents scored comfortable reelection victories. In both 1984 and 1996, Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton were wire-to-wire leaders in the Gallup Poll, not only leading their challengers throughout the election year but building margins which by April had reached double digits percentagewise. In contrast, the race between President George W. Bush and John Kerry has remained close since Kerry emerged as the presumptive Democratic nominee in February. The last two polls that are listed - in early March and early April - reflect the addition of Ralph Nader to the field.

The chart below compares the standing of the Democratic and Republican candidates in Gallup trial heats taken at various points from beginning to end of presidential election years since 1976. In nearly every case, they reflect the results of surveys taken at the beginning of the month in question or the nearest poll taken thereafter.

Two caveats to keep in mind: Polls usually have a margin of error of several percentage points and ideally should be read as a range. However, they are commonly presented as exact numbers, which produces the differentials that are listed below. Also, early in an election year it is not uncommon for trial heats to reflect the preferences of registered voters, changing to the smaller universe of likely voters as the year proceeds. A blank space indicates that no Gallup Poll is available for that particular time period.

Incumbent presidents are indicated in bold type.

	2004 G.W. Bush (R) vs. Kerry (D)	2000 G.W. Bush (R) over Gore (D)	1996 Clinton (D) over Dole (R)	1992 Clinton (D) over Bush (R)
Early January	G.W. Bush by 12%	G.W. Bush by 9%	Clinton by 4%	
Early February	Kerry by 7%	G.W. Bush by 9%		Bush by 15%
Early March	Kerry by 6%	G.W. Bush by 6%	Clinton by 13%	Bush by 6%
Early April	G.W. Bush by 4%	G.W. Bush by 9%	Clinton by 14%	Bush by 19%
Early July		G.W. Bush by 9%	Clinton by 17%	Bush by 7%
		CONVENTIONS	CONVENTIONS	CONVENTIONS
Early Sept.		Gore by 3%	Clinton by 17%	Clinton by 15%
Early Oct.		Gore by 2%	Clinton by 17%	Clinton by 12%
Early Nov.		G.W. Bush by 2%	Clinton by 8%	Clinton by 7%
ELECTION RESULT		Gore by 0.5% (G.W. Bush wins electoral vote)	CLINTON by 9%	CLINTON by 6%
	1988 Bush (R) over Dukakis (D)	1984 Reagan (R) over Mondale (D)	1980 Reagan (R) over Carter (D)	1976 Carter (D) over Ford (R)
Early January		Tie	Carter by 29%	
Early February		Reagan by 11%	Carter by 29%	
Early March	Bush by 12%	Reagan by 5%	Carter by 25%	Carter by 5%
Early April	Bush by 2%	Reagan by 13%	Carter by 8%	Carter by 6%
Early July	Dukakis by 6%	Reagan by 8%	Reagan by 3%	Carter by 17%
	CONVENTIONS	CONVENTIONS	CONVENTIONS	CONVENTIONS
Early Sept.	Bush by 8%	Reagan by 15%	Carter by 4%	Carter by 15%
Early Oct.	Bush by 6%	Reagan by 17%	Carter by 3%	Carter by 2%
Early Nov.	Bush by 12%	Reagan by 18%	Reagan by 3%	Ford by 1%
ELECTION RESULT	BUSH by 8%	REAGAN by 18%	REAGAN by 10%	CARTER by 2%

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Republican Richard Nixon was up on Democrat George McGovern by 10 points in a Gallup trial heat in April 1972, the closest McGovern would get in a race Nixon won by 23 points.

Republican Ronald Reagan had opened a 13-point lead on Democrat Walter Mondale by early April 1984, which eventually became an 18-point Reagan victory.

And Democrat Bill Clinton was already ahead of Republican Bob Dole by 14 points in a Gallup survey in early April 1996, on his way to a 9-point triumph in November.

As for the trio of post-World War II presidents that lost bids for another term – Gerald Ford in 1976, Jimmy Carter in 1980 and George Bush in 1992 – only the first Bush was far ahead in April of the election year, leading Bill Clinton by 19 points at the beginning of the month. Yet the combined percentage for Clinton and independent Ross Perot exceeded the percentage for Bush. In short, the storm clouds were gathering around the incumbent.

An Era of Reduced Margins

The key question at this point is whether these old patterns will hold, which would not be a good sign for Bush's reelection bid, or whether we are in a new era of presidential politics where close elections have become the norm and landslides are difficult, if not impossible, to achieve.

Certainly that has been the case of late. No presidential winner since the senior Bush in 1988 has been elected with a majority of the popular vote. And no candidate, incumbent or not, has won by a margin of at least 10 percentage points since President

The Republican Primaries: The Non-Bush Vote

The common perception is that President George W. Bush is running unopposed this year for renomination. But that is not technically the case.

To be sure, in six primaries held through March, Bush's name was the only one listed on the GOP ballot. But in nine others, there was a choice for Republican primary voters. In some states, there was an "Uncommitted" line. In other states, one or more minor candidates were listed on the ballot with Bush. And in Missouri, Bush's name appeared on the Republican primary ballot along with the names of two minor candidates and an "Uncommitted" line.

In the nine primaries thus far this year where Republican primary voters have had an alternative to vote for, the non-Bush share has ranged from a low of 0.9% in Wisconsin to a high of 20.2% in New Hampshire. The three Republican primary states where the non-Bush percentage has been highest are in New England. All three were won by John McCain in the 2000 GOP primary season, and all but New Hampshire voted Democratic in the 2000 presidential election.

Meanwhile, four of the six primary states where the non-Bush share was the lowest are in the South, the current cornerstone of the Republican coalition in presidential voting. The other two are in the Midwest. Bush swept all six states in the 2000 Republican primaries, and won all but Wisconsin in the presidential election that fall.

The Republican primary results below are based on official returns.

	Bush	Other	Other %
New Hampshire	53,962	13,662	20.2%
Rhode Island	2,152	383	15.1%
Massachusetts	62,773	7,881	11.2%
Oklahoma	59,577	6,621	10.0%
Texas	635,948	51,667	7.5%
Missouri	117,007	6,079	4.9%
Tennessee	94,557	4,504	4.5%
Louisiana	69,205	2,805	3.9%
Wisconsin	158,580	1,492	0.9%

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The Battleground States: The 'Threat' of Nader, The 'Allure' of McCain

More than one-third of the electoral votes at stake this fall (191 out of 538) are in 18 states currently acknowledged as battlegrounds by both parties. The 18 states are found in all parts of the country and were equally divided between the two parties in 2000. None was carried by a margin in excess of 6.3 percentage points in the last election.

The Green Party candidacy of Ralph Nader was a nightmare for the Democrats in 2000 - as Democrats claim that his vote cost them Florida, New Hampshire, and the election. Nader threatens to be a concern again for the Democrats in 2004 running as an independent.

Meanwhile, some Democrats envision a "dream ticket" this year that would couple John Kerry with another decorated Vietnam War veteran, Republican John McCain. While such a cross-party pairing is highly unlikely, it is intriguing. In the 2000 Republican race against George W. Bush, McCain carried GOP primaries in three states that are currently listed among the battlegrounds - Michigan, New Hampshire and McCain's home state of Arizona. The latter two were carried by Bush in November 2000.

Results in the chart below are taken from the 2000 edition of *America Votes* (CQ Press). An asterisk (*) indicates that the Republican primary in 2000 was held after McCain quit the race. A pound sign (#) indicates the vote was from a caucus, not a primary. A dash (-) indicates that McCain was not listed on the primary ballot, or in the case of Nevada, a caucus was held but no vote was readily available.

Battleground States Republicans Are Defending						
	Bush Margin in '00					
	2004 Electoral Vote	% Points	Votes	Nader '00 General	McCain '00 GOP Primary	
Florida	27	0.01%	537	97,488	139,465	*
New Hampshire	4	1.3%	7,211	22,198	115,606	(Won)
Missouri	11	3.3%	78,786	38,515	167,831	
Nevada	5	3.5%	21,597	15,008	-	#
Ohio	20	3.6%	166,735	117,799	516,790	
Tennessee	11	3.9%	80,229	19,781	36,436	*
Arkansas	6	5.4%	50,172	13,421	-	*
Arizona	10	6.3%	96,311	45,645	193,708	(Won)
West Virginia	5	6.3%	40,978	10,680	14,121	*
Total	99					
Battleground States Democrats Are Defending						
	Gore Margin in '00					
	2004 Electoral Vote	% Points	Votes	Nader '00 General	McCain '00 GOP Primary	
New Mexico	5	0.1%	366	21,251	7,619	*
Wisconsin	10	0.2%	5,708	94,070	89,684	*
Iowa	7	0.3%	4,144	29,374	4,084	#
Oregon	7	0.5%	6,765	77,357	-	*
Minnesota	10	2.4%	58,607	126,696	3,208	#
Pennsylvania	21	4.2%	204,840	103,392	145,719	*
Maine	4	5.1%	33,335	37,127	42,510	
Michigan	17	5.1%	217,279	84,165	650,805	(Won)
Washington	11	5.6%	138,788	103,002	191,101	
Total	92					

(Continued from Page 5)

Reagan in 1984. In this increasingly partisan, closely divided environment, the younger Bush is not badly positioned at all.

He has a clear field for renomination, unlike the last three defeated presidents who had to weather serious intraparty skirmishing before facing their fall competition. He has a huge campaign chest approaching \$200 million to help frame the early debate in this long-running general election campaign. And he has the “bully pulpit” that the Oval Office provides an incumbent, a powerful asset in this volatile post-9/11 world where an array of “hot button” issues from Iraq and terrorism to gasoline prices and the outsourcing of jobs crowd the issue agenda.

Much like a movie sequel, the 2004 presidential campaign is beginning where the 2000 election ended, with the two parties focusing on the 18 states where the vote was closest four years ago.

It is a disparate group of states, touching almost literally, the four corners of the United States. There is Florida in the Southeast, Maine and New Hampshire in the Northeast, Oregon and Washington in the Northwest, and Arizona, Nevada and New Mexico in the Southwest. And in between, in the vote-rich industrial heartland, is a cluster of states from Pennsylvania to Missouri that often tip presidential elections to one party or the other.

The 18 battleground states are evenly divided between the two parties. Nine were carried by Bush in 2000 and have 99 electoral votes. Nine others were won by Democrat Al Gore last time and have 92 electoral votes. Bush margins ranged from one-hundredth of a percentage point in the historic nail-biter in Florida to 6.3 points in Arizona and West Virginia.

Gore margins ranged from one-tenth of a percentage point in New Mexico to 5.6 points in Washington.

The list of battleground states includes four of the eight largest – Florida (27 electoral votes), Pennsylvania (21), Ohio (20) and Michigan (17) – but none of the nation’s top three. California (55) and New York (31) are considered safely Democratic for the time being. Bush’s home state of Texas (34) is safely Republican.

But just as a movie sequel has a different story line than the original, so too is the list of battleground states likely to change to reflect the realities of 2004. Some think that Tennessee should be dropped from the list already. To be sure, the Democrats came within 4 percentage points of carrying the state last time, but that was with Gore, a native son, atop the Democratic ticket. With Kerry the party’s candidate this year, it would be a major surprise if Tennessee were that competitive this year.

How the list of battleground states changes as the campaign progresses can provide some major clues as to how the campaign is going. If California, with its mother lode of electoral votes, comes into play, that is terrible news for Kerry. It is highly doubtful that he could win the White House without the Golden State. Similarly, if a traditionally Republican state such as Virginia becomes a battleground, that would be very bad news for Bush.

In short, the way the list of battleground states shrinks or grows will help show whether we are heading toward a decisive Bush victory, a humbling defeat for the incumbent, or that rarest of postwar rarities – a narrow presidential victory.

Bush and the Electoral College Map

Carried by Bush in 2000

Carried by Gore in 2000

Most of the states that gained House seats (and hence, electoral votes) as a result of reapportionment following the 2000 Census are in 'Red' America, while most of the states that lost seats (and electoral votes) are in 'Blue' America. Put another way, if each party next year won the same states they did in the last presidential election, the Republicans' winning total would grow from 271 electoral votes to 278. A total of 270 electoral votes are needed to win the White House.

RED AMERICA (Carried by Bush in 2000)	Electoral Votes		
	2000	2004	Change
Alabama	9	9	
Alaska	3	3	
Arizona	8	10	+ 2
Arkansas	6	6	
Colorado	8	9	+ 1
Florida	25	27	+ 2
Georgia	13	15	+ 2
Idaho	4	4	
Indiana	12	11	- 1
Kansas	6	6	
Kentucky	8	8	
Louisiana	9	9	
Mississippi	7	6	- 1
Missouri	11	11	
Montana	3	3	
Nebraska	5	5	
Nevada	4	5	+ 1
New Hampshire	4	4	
North Carolina	14	15	+ 1
North Dakota	3	3	
Ohio	21	20	- 1
Oklahoma	8	7	- 1
South Carolina	8	8	
South Dakota	3	3	
Tennessee	11	11	
Texas	32	34	+ 2
Utah	5	5	
Virginia	13	13	
West Virginia	5	5	
Wyoming	3	3	
TOTAL	271	278	+ 7

BLUE AMERICA (Carried by Gore in 2000)	Electoral Votes		
	2000	2004	Change
California	54	55	+ 1
Connecticut	8	7	- 1
Delaware	3	3	
Hawaii	4	4	
Illinois	22	21	- 1
Iowa	7	7	
Maine	4	4	
Maryland	10	10	
Massachusetts	12	12	
Michigan	18	17	- 1
Minnesota	10	10	
New Jersey	15	15	
New Mexico	5	5	
New York	33	31	- 2
Oregon	7	7	
Pennsylvania	23	21	- 2
Rhode Island	4	4	
Vermont	3	3	
Washington	11	11	
Wisconsin	11	10	- 1
Dist. of Columbia	3	3	
TOTAL	267	260	- 7

Note: Gore's electoral vote total in 2000 was actually 266. One Democratic elector from the District of Columbia cast a blank ballot.

KERRY'S CHALLENGE: Make Inroads in 'Red' America

Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Bill Clinton of Arkansas... The only three Democratic presidents since John F. Kennedy have hailed from 'Red' America.

It is not surprising. These successful Democratic nominees from the "hinterlands" had an ability to hold most of the Democratic strongholds of the industrial Frost Belt and Pacific West ('Blue' America), while making deep enough inroads into the Republican bastions of the South and Mountain West ('Red' America) to win the White House.

In short, they were able to bestride both Americas in a way that recent Democratic nominees from more loyal Democratic bastions such as Minnesota and Massachusetts have been unable to do.

The challenge for the Boston-based Kerry is to show that a Democrat from one of the bluest parts of Blue America can reach into Red America for the electoral votes needed to win the White House. His performance during this year's Democratic primaries gives a mixed picture of both potential and limitation – a Massachusetts nominee who could be a 21st century JFK ... or another Michael Dukakis.

On the plus side, Kerry showed broad acceptability to Democratic primary voters, taking 54% of the ballots through the end of the competitive stage of the nominating process on Super Tuesday. That represents one of the highest percentages for a Democratic presidential nominee since the current primary-dominated nominating process began in 1972. Kerry's primary vote was 11 percentage points higher than Dukakis compiled in the entire 1988 Democratic primary season and 2 points better than Clinton when he first won the White House in 1992.

Kerry ran particularly well in states where the Democratic Party is strong. He won 62% of the vote in the four Western primaries held through early March, 59% in the nine North-eastern primaries, and 51% in the eight

Kerry in the '04 Primaries: A Strong Showing Compared to Recent Democratic Nominees

A dominant performance in the presidential primaries is usually a harbinger of a strong showing in the general election that follows. That is good news for the party's presumptive nominee, John Kerry. Since the primary-dominated presidential nominating process began in 1972, only two Democratic nominees – Bill Clinton in 1996, and Al Gore four years later - have rolled up a higher share of the party's primary vote than Kerry has this year. And Clinton was basically running unopposed for renomination eight years ago.

An asterisk (*) indicates an incumbent president. A pound sign (#) indicates that the vote percentage is for the competitive stage of the Democratic nominating process, which in 2000 and 2004 conclusively ended on the first Tuesday of March ("Super Tuesday"). In other years, the nominee's vote percentage is for the entire primary season.

Election	Candidate	% of Democratic Primary Vote	Election Outcome
1996	Bill Clinton*	89%	Won
2000	Al Gore	72%#	Won popular vote/ Lost electoral vote
2004	John Kerry	54%#	-
1992	Bill Clinton	52%	Won
1980	Jimmy Carter*	51%	Lost
1988	Michael Dukakis	43%	Lost
1976	Jimmy Carter	39%	Won
1984	Walter Mondale	38%	Lost
1972	George McGovern	25%	Lost

Source: *Race for the Presidency: Winning the 2004 Nomination* (CQ Press).

“closed” primaries where participation was limited to registered Democrats. The latter figure was 5 percentage points better than his showing in the 10 open primaries, where any registered voter was allowed to participate.

Concerns for Kerry

But Kerry could not be considered as yet to have his Democratic base locked up. Like the party's nominee in 2000, Al Gore, Kerry could be vulnerable to raids by Ralph Nader on the left wing of the Democratic Party.

2004 Nationwide Democratic and Republican Presidential Primary Results

(through March 16, 2004)

The aggregate vote for the 2004 presidential primaries is based on official returns from all primaries held through March 16, with the exception of the contests in Ohio and New Mexico, where unofficial returns are used. An asterisk (*) indicates that the primary was conducted by the party, not the state, and tended to use fewer polling places.

DEMOCRATS

Candidates	Occupation (Home State)	Votes	%	Primaries Won	Best Primary Showing (and %)
John Kerry	U.S. Senator (Mass.)	7,811,482	58.0%	23	Mississippi (78%)
John Edwards	U.S. Senator (N.C.)	2,960,846	22.0%	1	South Carolina (45%)
Howard Dean	Ex-Governor (Vt.)	806,795	6.0%	2	Vermont (54%)
Wesley Clark	Ex-Army General (Ark.)	530,584	3.9%	1	Oklahoma (30%)
Dennis Kucinich	U.S. Representative (Ohio)	470,740	3.5%	-	Ohio (9%)
Al Sharpton	Minister (N.Y.)	389,115	2.9%	-	Dist. of Columbia (34%)
Joe Lieberman	U.S. Senator (Conn.)	258,023	1.9%	-	Delaware (11%)
Others/ Uncommitted		251,238	1.9%	-	
TOTAL		13,478,823		27	

Democratic Primaries Won:

Clark (1) - Oklahoma

Dean (2) - Dist. of Columbia (non-binding), Vermont

Edwards (1) - South Carolina*

Kerry (23) - Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan*, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Mexico*, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Utah*, Virginia, Wisconsin

REPUBLICANS

Candidates	Occupation (Home State)	Votes	%	Primaries Won	Best Primary Showing (and %)
George W. Bush	Incumbent (Texas)	5,170,148	98.2%	15	Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Ohio (100%)
Others/ Uncommitted		96,272	1.8%	-	
TOTAL		5,266,420		15	

Republican Primaries Won:

Bush (15) - California, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Wisconsin. There was no opposition to Bush on the primary ballots in California, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Ohio and Vermont, although in California and Vermont write-in votes were permitted.

The Democratic primary results from California give a hint of the problem. Two of the party's most reliable strongholds are ployglot Los Angeles County and the liberal bastion of San Francisco. Kerry carried both in the Democratic primary on Super Tuesday. But his 59% share of the vote in San Francisco (where Nader polled 8% in the 2000 general election) was conspicuously lower than the 66% share that Kerry drew in Los Angeles County (where Nader received only 3% last time). In this year's primary, it was Dennis Kucinich who made the difference. The anti-Iraq war Cleveland congressman won 12% in San Francisco, but just 4% in Los Angeles County.

Another concern for Kerry coming out of the primaries is whether he can excite the Democratic base. That ultimately may not be necessary this year given the strong antipathy evidenced by many Democrats to President Bush. But there were sobering signs as the primary season wore on that a number of Kerry's triumphs were occurring against the backdrop of low turnout.

Kerry's most conspicuous Southern triumph, in Virginia Feb. 10, was accomplished with less than two-thirds the number of voters that participated in the Republican primary between Bush and John McCain four years earlier.

In New York, the 715,000 votes cast in the Democratic primary on Super Tuesday was the lowest total since the state's Democratic presidential preference primary was launched in 1980. In Connecticut, this year's Democratic turnout of 130,000 was also an all-time low. And in Massachusetts, the 615,000 votes cast in the Democratic primary March 2 was far lower than in recent years when other Massachusetts Democrats were on the ballot – namely, Edward Kennedy in 1980, Dukakis in 1988, and Paul Tsongas in 1992.

In terms of the number of ballots cast, the only Democratic turnout record set on Super Tuesday was in the one state that Kerry did not win that day, Vermont. There, voters gave a majority of the vote to their former governor, Howard Dean, who had quit the race nearly two weeks earlier.

But even if Kerry manages this fall to hold all 20 states that Gore carried in the 2000 presidential election, that is not enough. With the post-2000 reapportionment, Kerry would still be 10 electoral votes short of the needed 270. To win, he must score some breakthroughs in states that went for Bush last time.

The strength of Bill Clinton was his ability to win states in both Red and Blue America. He was strongest, of course, in the Democratic half of the country. But in both 1992 and 1996 he made the Republican half look like a piece of Swiss cheese, carving out five states from the South and at least three states from the Mountain West each time.

The South, however, looks highly problematic for Kerry. It was his weakest region this winter, as he took only 41% of the ballots cast in the five Southern primaries held through Super Tuesday. Kerry's share was exceeded by the combined vote for the two Southern candidates, John Edwards of North Carolina (34%) and Wesley Clark of Arkansas (12%).

A Tale of Two Georgias

The limited nature of Kerry's prospects in the South was evident in the Super Tuesday voting in Georgia. He won the primary, but with the votes of blacks and "yellow dog" Democrats, not the more conservative white voters that have tilted the region to the Republicans in federal elections.

In the Atlanta suburbs, for instance, Kerry swamped Edwards in heavily black DeKalb County by nearly 25 percentage points. But in predominantly white Cobb County, which Bush won handily over Gore in 2000, Edwards prevailed narrowly.

A similar dynamic was evident in rural Georgia. In racially mixed Sumter County, which includes Jimmy

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Slicing and Dicing the 2004 Democratic Primary Vote

Between late April and early June, a dozen more states will hold their presidential primaries. But they will merely rubber stamp the result that was decided more than a month ago. The competitive stage of the Democratic nominating season ended on Super Tuesday (March 2), when John Kerry drove his last major rival from the race.

The chart below takes a statistical look at Kerry's march to victory, breaking down the overall Democratic primary vote through the Illinois primary on March 16 by time period, and the vote in its competitive stage through Super Tuesday by region, voter participation rules, and 2000 political geography - Bush states ('Red' America) vs. Gore states ('Blue' America).

Kerry won the highest share of the vote in each category and his percentage is indicated in bold type. The percentages do not add to 100 because the vote for other candidates is not included. Official returns were used for all primaries held through March 16 except New Mexico and Ohio.

Competitive Stage (through March 2)				All Democratic Primaries (through March 16)			
	Vote	Percentage	Won		Vote	Percentage	Won
John Kerry	5,620,889	53.9%	18		7,811,482	58.0%	23
John Edwards	2,601,108	24.9%	1		2,960,846	22.0%	1
Howard Dean	688,638	6.6%	2		806,795	6.0%	2
Wesley Clark	473,648	4.5%	1		530,584	3.9%	1
Dennis Kucinich	406,805	3.9%	0		470,740	3.5%	0
Al Sharpton	297,008	2.8%	0		389,115	2.9%	0
Joe Lieberman	193,421	1.9%	0		258,023	1.9%	0
Others	148,847	1.4%	0		251,238	1.9%	0
Total	10,430,364		22		13,478,823		27
<i>Kerry Plurality</i>	<i>3,019,781</i>				<i>4,850,636</i>		

ALL PRIMARIES

	Turnout	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton
BY TIME PERIOD								
January-February	3,441,638	11%	12%	26%	41%	2%	3%	3%
Super Tuesday (March 2)	6,988,726	1%	4%	24%	60%	5%	1%	3%
After March 2	3,048,459	2%	4%	12%	72%	2%	2%	3%

COMPETITIVE STAGE (Through March 2)

	Turnout	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton
BY REGION								
Northeast	2,356,554	2%	8%	19%	59%	4%	2%	4%
Midwest	2,601,757	2%	9%	31%	48%	6%	1%	2%
South	1,988,532	12%	4%	34%	41%	1%	2%	5%
West	3,483,521	4%	5%	19%	62%	5%	2%	2%

BY VOTER PARTICIPATION

	Turnout	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton
Closed	2,046,362	9%	6%	20%	51%	3%	3%	5%
Semi-open	3,978,363	2%	5%	19%	64%	4%	2%	2%
Open	4,405,639	5%	8%	32%	46%	4%	1%	3%

Note: Only registered Democrats could participate in "closed" primaries. Independents were permitted to vote in "semi-open" contests. Any registered voter could cast a ballot in primaries that were "open."

BY POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

	Turnout	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton
"Blue" America	6,336,511	2%	7%	21%	59%	4%	1%	3%
"Red" America	4,093,853	9%	6%	31%	45%	3%	3%	3%

(Continued on Page 11)

Carter's hometown of Plains, Edwards and Kerry ran almost even. But in Towns County, an almost unanimously white, pro-Bush enclave in mountainous northern Georgia that is the home of Sen. Zell Miller (the head of "Democrats for Bush"), Edwards defeated Kerry by fully 20 percentage points.

Kerry would probably do better to look for the electoral votes he would need outside the South. New Hampshire (4 electoral votes), where Kerry held off Dean's comeback bid in January, has to be a prime target. So too, states of the Southwest such as Arizona (10) and Nevada (5), which Kerry dominated in February voting for the Democratic nomination.

But ultimately the key to the fall election may be the nation's two most famous bellwether states, Ohio (20) and Missouri (11). Since 1900, each state has voted with the presidential winner all but two times. And Kerry ran well in Democratic primaries in both bellwethers earlier this year.

Missouri was his best state in the critical round of voting that took place one week after New Hampshire. With native son Richard Gephardt having quit the race after his poor showing in Iowa, there was a vacuum in Missouri that Kerry rushed to fill. He swept the state's Democratic primary on Feb. 3 with 51% of the vote.

A month later, on Super Tuesday, Edwards chose Ohio to mount a last ditch effort to slow Kerry. It did not work. Kerry essentially wrapped up the nomination there with a sweep of all 18 Ohio congressional districts.

The result gave many Democrats the confidence that they did not need to look South – or for that matter, to any other part of Red America - for their nominee in 2004, but could pin their hopes on a candidate with the initials JFK.

2004 Democratic Primary, Caucus Results

Primary results are indicated in bold type; caucus results in regular type with paler backgrounds. A dash (-) indicates that the candidate was not on the primary or caucus ballot (or received no caucus votes). Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole point and do not always add to 100 due to rounding. An asterisk (*) indicates that the event was a party-run primary. The District of Columbia held a non-binding primary Jan. 13 that did not elect delegates. The chart reflects results through the North Carolina county caucuses on April 17 (scheduled after the state's presidential primary was abandoned).

Primary results are based on official returns, with the exception of New Mexico and Ohio, where nearly complete but unofficial results are used. Caucus results tend to be based on unofficial returns. Caucus results from the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Minnesota, North Carolina, North Dakota and Wyoming reflect the share of the actual vote received by each candidate. For other caucus states, the results generally reflect each candidate's share of delegates elected to the next stage of the process. The turnout figures for the Alaska, Colorado, Kansas, Nevada and Washington caucuses are estimates.

	Date	Turnout	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton	Other	Winner
Dist. of Columbia	Jan. 13	42,516	-	43%	-	-	8%	-	34%	15%	Dean
Iowa	Jan. 19	124,331	0%	18%	32%	38%	1%	0%	0%	12%	Kerry
New Hampshire	Jan. 27	219,787	12%	26%	12%	38%	1%	9%	0%	1%	Kerry
Arizona	Feb. 3	238,942	26%	14%	7%	43%	2%	7%	0%	1%	Kerry
Delaware	Feb. 3	33,291	9%	10%	11%	50%	1%	11%	6%	1%	Kerry
Missouri	Feb. 3	418,339	4%	9%	25%	51%	1%	4%	3%	4%	Kerry
New Mexico*	Feb. 3	102,096	20%	16%	11%	43%	5%	3%	-	2%	Kerry
North Dakota	Feb. 3	10,558	24%	12%	10%	51%	3%	1%	0%	-	Kerry
Oklahoma	Feb. 3	302,385	30%	4%	30%	27%	1%	7%	1%	1%	Clark
South Carolina	Feb. 3	293,843	7%	5%	45%	30%	0%	2%	10%	0%	Edwards
Michigan*	Feb. 7	163,769	7%	17%	13%	52%	3%	0%	7%	1%	Kerry
Washington	Feb. 7	105,000	3%	30%	7%	49%	8%	0%	0%	3%	Kerry
Maine	Feb. 8	18,259	3%	28%	7%	44%	16%	0%	0%	1%	Kerry
Tennessee	Feb. 10	369,385	23%	4%	27%	41%	1%	1%	2%	2%	Kerry
Virginia	Feb. 10	396,181	9%	7%	27%	52%	1%	1%	3%	0%	Kerry
Dist. of Columbia	Feb. 14	9,126	1%	17%	10%	47%	3%	0%	20%	1%	Kerry
Nevada	Feb. 14	9,000	-	17%	10%	63%	7%	-	1%	3%	Kerry
Wisconsin	Feb. 17	826,250	2%	18%	34%	40%	3%	0%	2%	1%	Kerry
Hawaii	Feb. 24	4,073	1%	7%	13%	47%	31%	0%	-	1%	Kerry
Idaho	Feb. 24	4,920	0%	11%	22%	54%	5%	0%	0%	7%	Kerry
Utah*	Feb. 24	34,854	1%	4%	30%	55%	7%	1%	-	1%	Kerry
California	March 2	3,107,629	2%	4%	20%	64%	5%	2%	2%	2%	Kerry
Connecticut	March 2	130,023	1%	4%	24%	58%	3%	5%	3%	2%	Kerry
Georgia	March 2	626,738	1%	2%	41%	47%	1%	1%	6%	1%	Kerry
Maryland	March 2	481,476	1%	3%	26%	60%	2%	1%	5%	4%	Kerry
Massachusetts	March 2	615,188	1%	3%	18%	72%	4%	1%	1%	2%	Kerry
Minnesota	March 2	51,518	0%	2%	27%	51%	17%	0%	1%	2%	Kerry
New York	March 2	715,633	0%	3%	20%	61%	5%	1%	8%	1%	Kerry
Ohio	March 2	1,193,399	1%	3%	34%	52%	9%	1%	-	0%	Kerry
Rhode Island	March 2	35,759	1%	4%	19%	71%	3%	1%	-	2%	Kerry
Vermont	March 2	82,881	3%	54%	6%	32%	4%	-	-	1%	Dean
Florida	March 9	753,762	1%	3%	10%	77%	2%	2%	3%	2%	Kerry
Louisiana	March 9	161,653	4%	5%	16%	70%	1%	-	-	3%	Kerry
Mississippi	March 9	76,298	2%	3%	7%	78%	1%	1%	5%	2%	Kerry
Texas	March 9	839,231	2%	5%	14%	67%	2%	3%	4%	3%	Kerry
Kansas	March 13	2,000	1%	7%	9%	72%	10%	0%	0%	2%	Kerry
Illinois	March 16	1,217,515	2%	4%	11%	72%	2%	2%	3%	5%	Kerry

	Date	Turnout	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton	Other	Winner
Alaska	March 20	500	0%	11%	3%	48%	26%	0%	0%	12%	Kerry
Wyoming	March 20	665	0%	4%	4%	79%	6%	0%	0%	7%	Kerry
Colorado	April 13	12,000	0%	2%	1%	61%	13%	-	0%	22%	Kerry
North Carolina	April 17	17,809	-	6%	51%	27%	12%	-	3%	1%	Edwards

Note: Joe Lieberman withdrew from the race after the contests on Feb. 3, Wesley Clark after the primaries on Feb. 10, Howard Dean after the Wisconsin primary on Feb. 17, and John Edwards after the Super Tuesday voting on March 2.

Democratic Primary Turnout... Comparing 2004 with Previous Highs

Turnout for Democratic presidential nominating events in 2004 got off to a strong start. Voter participation in the Iowa caucuses came close to the record high for the event set in 1988, while turnout for the Democratic primary in New Hampshire easily broke the previous record for the number of ballots cast for a Democratic primary in the Granite State. Since then, Democratic turnout records have been set in six other primary states, although all of those except Howard Dean's home state of Vermont have a relatively short history of presidential primaries.

An asterisk (*) indicates primaries that were conducted by the party, not the state. A pound sign (#) indicates there were also primaries for Congress as well as for president. Participation in "closed" primaries was limited to registered Democrats. In "semi-open" primaries, registered independents could also participate. In "open" primaries, any registered voter could take part in the Democratic primary.

				Democratic Turnouts		
Event	Date	Voting System	Election	Previous High Turnout	2004 Turnout	'04 Turnout as % of Previous High
Dist. of Columbia	Jan. 13	Closed	1984	102,731	42,516	41.4%
Iowa (caucuses)	Jan. 19	Semi-open*	1988	126,000	124,331	98.7%
New Hampshire	Jan. 27	Semi-open	1992	167,819	219,787	131.0%
Arizona	Feb. 3	Closed	2000	86,762	238,942	275.4%
Delaware	Feb. 3	Closed	2000	11,141	33,291	298.8%
Missouri	Feb. 3	Open	1988	527,805	418,339	79.3%
New Mexico*	Feb. 3	Closed	1988	188,610	102,096	54.1%
Oklahoma	Feb. 3	Closed	1992	416,129	302,385	72.7%
South Carolina*	Feb. 3	Open	1992	116,414	293,843	252.4%
Michigan*	Feb. 7	Open	1972	1,588,073	163,769	10.3%
Tennessee	Feb. 10	Open	1988	576,314	369,385	64.1%
Virginia	Feb. 10	Open	1988	364,899	396,181	108.6%
Wisconsin	Feb. 17	Open	1972	1,128,584	826,250	73.2%
Utah*	Feb. 24	Open	2000	15,687	34,854	222.2%
California#	March 2	Semi-open	1972	3,564,518	3,107,629	87.2%
Connecticut	March 2	Closed	1988	241,395	130,023	53.9%
Georgia	March 2	Open	1984	684,541	626,738	91.6%
Maryland#	March 2	Closed	1976	591,746	481,476	81.4%
Massachusetts	March 2	Semi-open	1980	907,323	615,188	67.8%
New York	March 2	Closed	1988	1,575,186	715,633	45.4%
Ohio#	March 2	Open	1984	1,447,236	1,193,399	82.5%
Rhode Island	March 2	Semi-open	1976	60,348	35,759	59.2%
Vermont	March 2	Open	1984	74,059	82,881	111.9%
Florida	March 9	Closed	1976	1,300,330	753,762	58.0%
Louisiana	March 9	Closed	1988	624,450	161,653	25.9%
Mississippi#	March 9	Open	1988	359,417	76,298	21.2%
Texas#	March 9	Open	1988	1,767,045	839,231	47.5%
Illinois#	March 16	Open	1984	1,659,425	1,217,515	73.4%

Note: The 2004 turnout figures are official, with the exception of New Mexico and Ohio, where nearly complete but unofficial returns were used.

2004 Democratic Primaries and Caucuses: The Vote From Assorted Places and Constituencies On Super Tuesday

The Democratic presidential primary results below are from Super Tuesday (March 2), the last competitive day of the party's nominating contest, and include a sampling of counties and communities from the states that held primaries that day (California, Georgia, Maryland, New York, Ohio and all the New England states except Maine and New Hampshire). In New England, results are from cities and towns. Outside New England, the vote is from counties (which are indicated as "Co.") with the exception of the city of Baltimore, Md. In parentheses, the name of a county's major city or town is sometimes indicated.

The primary winner in each jurisdiction is indicated in bold type. Percentages do not always add to 100 because only the major Democratic candidates are included. Official results are used for Georgia, Maryland, New York and Vermont, while unofficial returns are used for the other states. An asterisk (*) indicates that the jurisdiction has a majority-black population, according to the 2000 Census. A dash (-) indicates that the candidate was not listed on the ballot and no votes could be cast for him.

To help define the political complexion of each jurisdiction, the two columns on the right show the Gore or Bush margin of victory in the November 2000 presidential election, plus the percentage of the vote won by Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate that year. The votes cast for Nader in Georgia were write-ins, as were the votes cast for Edwards in the Vermont primary March 2. A sampling of results from the pre-Super Tuesday primaries and caucuses can be found in the February 2004 issue, pp. 10-12.

	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton	November 2000 (Nationwide)	
								Winner	Nader %
Super Tuesday (Aggregate Vote)	1%	4%	24%	60%	5%	1%	3%	Gore by 0.5%	3%

A SAMPLING OF URBAN CENTERS

A key factor in Kerry's dominance of the Super Tuesday voting was his strength in the major Democratic-oriented urban centers. From Boston to Los Angeles, Kerry was a big winner. Kucinich found a foothold in his home base of Cleveland and liberal bastions such as San Francisco. Sharpton found some support in urban centers with a sizable African-American population, although rarely did that support result in a double-digit showing percentage-wise.

Fall Role: *The larger cities are a basic building block in the Democratic coalition. A Kerry victory this fall is dependent on large margins of victory in the nation's major urban centers.*

	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton	November 2000	
								Winner	Nader %
Los Angeles Co., Calif.	2%	4%	19%	66%	4%	2%	3%	Gore by 31%	3%
San Francisco, Calif.	1%	5%	17%	59%	12%	1%	2%	Gore by 59%	8%
Fulton Co., Ga. (Atlanta)	0%	2%	30%	57%	1%	1%	8%	Gore by 18%	0%
Baltimore, Md.*	1%	3%	17%	62%	2%	1%	9%	Gore by 68%	3%
Boston, Mass.	0%	3%	16%	71%	5%	1%	2%	Gore by 52%	7%
New York City, N.Y.	0%	2%	15%	62%	6%	1%	13%	Gore by 60%	3%
Cuyahoga Co., Ohio (Cleveland)	1%	2%	24%	48%	24%	1%	-	Gore by 29%	3%

A SAMPLING OF SUBURBS

Kerry tended to run a bit better in the suburbs than the central cities on Super Tuesday. With the exception of Edwards, none of Kerry's rivals was able to establish a beachhead in suburbia. And Edwards' success was limited to the predominantly white suburbs of Atlanta.

Fall Role: *Democratic success in the vote-rich suburbs, especially those of the Frost Belt and Pacific West, enabled Clinton and Gore to win the nationwide popular vote in the last three presidential elections.*

	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton	November 2000	
								Winner	Nader %
Marin Co., Calif.	2%	4%	17%	63%	11%	1%	2%	Gore by 36%	7%
Orange Co., Calif.	2%	4%	22%	64%	3%	2%	1%	Bush by 15%	3%
Greenwich, Conn.	1%	5%	19%	68%	2%	3%	1%	Bush by 7%	3%
Cobb Co., Ga.	1%	2%	44%	43%	1%	1%	7%	Bush by 23%	1%
DeKalb Co., Ga.*	0%	2%	31%	55%	2%	1%	8%	Gore by 44%	1%
Montgomery Co., Md.	1%	3%	23%	66%	3%	1%	2%	Gore by 29%	3%
Prince George's Co., Md.*	1%	3%	21%	62%	1%	0%	10%	Gore by 60%	2%
Newton, Mass.	0%	4%	14%	74%	5%	1%	1%	Gore by 53%	6%
Westchester Co., N.Y.	0%	2%	16%	68%	4%	1%	6%	Gore by 21%	3%

RURAL AND SMALL-TOWN AMERICA

With the exception of Georgia and Dean's home state of Vermont, Kerry carried nearly every county and congressional district on Super Tuesday. However, Kerry did not tend to win as large a share of the vote in "small town" America as he did in the cities and suburbs. Edwards swept much of rural white Georgia March 2. And while Edwards' rural appeal was more limited elsewhere, he did tend to run better in "small town" America than in larger jurisdictions.

Fall Role: Any Democratic inroads in this bedrock of 'Red' America would boost Democratic chances of carrying key battleground states such as Ohio and Missouri.

	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton	November 2000	
								Winner	Nader %
Sumter Co., Ga. (Plains)	1%	2%	45%	45%	1%	1%	4%	Bush by 1%	0%
Towns Co., Ga. (Young Harris)	1%	2%	57%	36%	2%	1%	2%	Bush by 31%	1%
Garrett Co., Md.	2%	3%	32%	54%	1%	1%	1%	Bush by 44%	2%
Marion Co., Ohio	2%	3%	41%	49%	3%	2%	-	Bush by 13%	2%

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

Kerry may call Boston home, but in the Massachusetts primary March 2 he ran better in "blue collar" bastions such as Fall River. Outside Massachusetts, Edwards' emphasis on the issue of jobs resonated well enough in many longtime manufacturing areas to curtail Kerry's majorities.

Fall Role: Once a cornerstone of the group known as "Reagan Democrats," the normally Democratic blue-collar vote is often ripe for Republican plucking on cultural issues. It is a key constituency in the battleground states of the industrial Frost Belt.

	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton	November 2000	
								Winner	Nader %
Waterbury, Conn.	2%	3%	32%	52%	2%	4%	4%	Gore by 18%	3%
Fall River, Mass.	0%	1%	8%	88%	1%	0%	0%	Gore by 57%	3%
Rensselaer Co., N.Y. (Troy)	0%	6%	30%	55%	6%	1%	2%	Gore by 8%	5%
Mahoning Co., Ohio (Youngstown)	1%	2%	41%	48%	6%	2%	-	Gore by 25%	3%
Pawtucket, R.I.	1%	3%	16%	76%	2%	1%	-	Gore by 51%	5%

MINORITIES

Kerry's strength among minority voters, particularly African-Americans, was a key factor in his ability to wrap up the Democratic nomination as quickly as he did. Sharpton's appeal to minority voters tended to be greater in urban than rural settings, although even in the former he was never a threat to Kerry.

Fall Role: African-Americans are the most loyal part of the Democratic constituency. The question this fall is not whether they will vote heavily Democratic, but in what numbers. Hispanic voters, however, are not as monolithically Democratic and are a prime target for the Bush campaign.

								November 2000	
	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton	Winner	Nader %
Rural Black Majority									
Hancock Co., Ga.	1%	2%	24%	61%	1%	0%	8%	Gore by 57%	0%
Stewart Co., Ga.	2%	2%	38%	52%	1%	0%	3%	Gore by 30%	0%
Hispanic Majority									
Imperial Co., Calif	3%	5%	19%	61%	2%	4%	1%	Gore by 10%	2%

ACADEMIC INFLUENCE

Academic-oriented communities as well as a variety of coastal resort towns from Provincetown to Mendocino tend to be among the most culturally liberal areas in the country. Kerry won nearly all of them that voted on Super Tuesday, but not with as high a percentage as many other constituencies. Kucinich, in particular, made noticeable inroads in this very liberal portion of the Democratic coalition.

Fall Role: The threat for Democrats in liberal strongholds is less Bush than Nader. As the Green Party nominee, Nader made a significant showing in many of these communities in 2000.

	Clark	Dean	Edwards	Kerry	Kucinich	Lieberman	Sharpton	November 2000	
								Winner	Nader %
Alameda Co., Calif. (Cal-Berkeley)	1%	4%	17%	63%	9%	1%	3%	Gore by 45%	6%
Mansfield, Conn. (U. of Conn.)	1%	8%	22%	58%	8%	1%	1%	Gore by 39%	11%
Clarke Co., Ga. (U. of Ga.)	1%	2%	42%	47%	3%	1%	4%	Gore by 11%	4%
Amherst, Mass. (Amherst, U. of Mass.)	0%	6%	11%	54%	26%	0%	1%	Gore by 46%	25%
Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard)	1%	7%	16%	61%	13%	1%	2%	Gore by 59%	14%
Tompkins Co., N.Y. (Cornell)	1%	5%	24%	49%	19%	0%	2%	Gore by 21%	11%

The Other Primaries: Turmoil in Texas

Were it not for the recent Republican redistricting in Texas, the 2004 congressional primary season would be off to a dull start.

In the five other states that have held U.S. House primaries through mid-April – including seat-rich California, Illinois and Ohio – no Senate or House incumbent seeking reelection this year was renominated with less than 60% of their party's primary vote.

But in Texas, one Democratic representative, freshman Chris Bell, was beaten soundly while a second Democratic incumbent, Ciro Rodriguez, was counted out after a recount showed him 203 votes short of his primary challenger. Rodriguez, though, is not going quietly into retirement, and has challenged the results of the recount, in which the discovery of several hundred uncounted ballots turned Rodriguez from a narrow winner into a narrow loser.

The turmoil is an early payoff for Texas Republicans, who used their control of the governorship and the state Legislature last year to redraw the congressional district lines in a way that is designed to turn the Democrats' 17-to-15 advantage after the 2002 elections into a substantial Republican majority.

The partisan mid-decade line drawing quickly set off a round of musical chairs. In January, veteran Rep. Ralph Hall – one of the House's most conservative Democrats – switched to the GOP. And with the political ground literally shifting underneath them, several other incumbents switched districts in a search for some reasonably favorable terrain in which to run for reelection this year.

One of them was Bell. Not only was his old racially mixed Houston-area district eviscerated, but the new lines put him in a heavily Republican district he would have had to share with GOP Rep. John Culberson. Instead, Bell decided to run in a neighboring plurality black district where there was no incumbent. But the move did not pay off, as Bell lost the Democratic primary to the former head of the Houston NAACP, Al Green, by a margin of 2-to-1.

Rodriguez's path to (apparent) defeat was not quite so tortured. The Republican redistricting did not change the essential Hispanic character of his south Texas district. But Rodriguez did draw a formidable primary challenger this year in Henry Cuellar, who came within 5 percentage points of upsetting GOP Rep. Henry Bonilla in a nearby district in 2002.

The primary vote between Rodriguez and Cuellar was nearly evenly split, with the incumbent dominating in the northern part of the district near his hometown of San Antonio, and Cuellar winning big in the southern part near his base in Laredo along the Mexican border.

In challenging the outcome, Rodriguez, the chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, has questioned Cuellar's party loyalty. The challenger endorsed George W. Bush in the 2000 presidential campaign and served as secretary of state under Texas' current Republican governor, Rick Perry.

Outside the Lone Star State, congressional incumbents have had few problems thus far. Republican House Speaker Dennis Hastert of Illinois ran unopposed for renomination, as did House Majority Leader Tom DeLay of Texas and House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi of California.

In Chicago, Democratic Rep. Jesse Jackson squashed the comeback bid of the ethically challenged former Rep. Mel Reynolds by a vote of 89%-to-6%.

In Cleveland, long-shot Democratic presidential aspirant Dennis Kucinich won his congressional primary with a commanding 78% of the vote. So too did recent Republican convert Ralph Hall in his northeast Texas district.

Nor in the first three Senate primaries of the year did incumbents have to break a sweat. In California, Democrat Barbara Boxer ran unopposed, and will face Republican former Secretary of State Bill Jones in the fall. In Maryland, Democratic incumbent Barbara Mikulski rolled up 90% of the primary vote, en route to a fall

Congressional Incumbents in the '04 Primaries: An Easy Hurdle for Most

Few House incumbents these days have much trouble winning reelection. And fewer still have to break a sweat to win renomination from their party's primary voters. The chart below lists all House members who have received less than 75% of their party's primary vote through the March 16 primary in Illinois. While there is nothing particularly magic about the figure 75%, it does represent a noteworthy share of primary voters within the incumbent's party - at least 25% - who opposed his or her renomination.

Beyond that, though, the ramifications for the fall can vary widely. A difficult primary poses little problem for an incumbent who occupies a safe seat. But if the political terrain the incumbent represents is more problematic, then a tough primary could be followed by an even tougher general election.

Rules on voter participation in the primaries vary by state. In "closed" primaries, only a party's registered voters may participate. In "semi-open" primaries, independents may also take part but crossover votes from members of the other party are prohibited. In "open" primaries, any registered voter may cast a ballot. Results are from the six states that held congressional primaries in March - California, Illinois, Maryland, Mississippi, Ohio and Texas. Primary vote percentages are based on nearly complete but unofficial returns. Incumbents who lost their primary this year are indicated in bold type. An asterisk (*) indicates that the primary vote in 2002 is from a runoff election.

Congressional incumbents who have received less than 75% of their party's primary vote:

	Terms	'04 Primary %	Type of Primary	Incumbent's '02 Primary %/Gen. %	'00 Pres. Vote in CD
SENATORS					
None as yet					
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES					
Chris Bell, D-Texas 9	1	31%	Open	54%* / 55%	Gore by 37%
Ciro Rodriguez, D-Texas 28	3	49.8%	Open	100% / 71%	Gore by 2%
Wayne Gilchrest, R-Md. 1	7	62%	Closed	60% / 77%	Bush by 17%
Lloyd Doggett, D-Texas 25	5	64%	Open	90% / 84%	Gore by 24%
Juanita Millender-McDonald, D-Calif. 37	4	65%	Semi-open	78% / 73%	Gore by 54%
Philip Crane, R-Ill. 8	17	69%	Open	100% / 57%	Bush by 14%
Roscoe Bartlett, R-Md. 6	6	70%	Closed	100% / 66%	Bush by 25%
John Carter, R-Texas 31	1	70%	Open	57%* / 69%	Bush by 37%
Tom Lantos, D-Calif. 12	12	74%	Semi-open	100% / 68%	Gore by 38%

Source: The November 2000 presidential vote margin by congressional district is taken from the *2004 Almanac of American Politics*, (National Journal), with the exception of Texas, where the 2000 presidential vote for the state's newly created districts was provided by the Texas Legislative Council.

campaign against GOP state Sen. E.J. Pipkin. And in Ohio, Republican incumbent George Voinovich, who has angered ardent Bush loyalists with his criticism of the size of White House tax cuts, was renominated with 77% of the vote. Voinovich will face former Democratic Rep. Eric Fingerhut in the general election.

But the string of primary cakewalks by Senate incumbents is expected to end April 27 in Pennsylvania, where moderate Republican Sen. Arlen Specter is facing a vigorous challenge from Rep. Pat Toomey. Specter is well financed and has the conspicuous support of the Bush White House and the state's conservative Republican senator, Rick Santorum. But Toomey has ardent conservative supporters of his own and favorable terrain in which to mount a highly competitive challenge. The Republican primary in Pennsylvania is limited to registered Republicans. No Democrats or independents may participate.

Yet while the congressional action in many places this spring has not been scintillating, that does not mean it has been inexpensive. In Illinois' Democratic Senate primary, wealthy businessman Blair Hull reportedly spent \$29 million on a campaign that netted barely 10% of the vote after questions surfaced about his family life.

The easy Democratic winner was state Sen. Barack Obama who will face Republican Jack Ryan for the seat being vacated by Republican Peter Fitzgerald, who is retiring after one term in the Senate.

The Obama-Ryan contest is already being billed as one of the year's more intriguing Senate races. Ryan is an investment banker turned parochial school teacher; Obama, whose father is from Kenya and mother from Kansas, has been a community organizer, state legislator, lawyer and lecturer on constitutional law. Both candidates have Ivy League degrees.

2004 Congressional and Gubernatorial Primary Calendar

Listed below are the dates for this year's congressional and gubernatorial primary elections. Dates for runoff elections are also indicated for the states that have them. Nearly all the runoff states are in the South, and are triggered if the top finisher in the primary does not win a certain percentage of the vote (usually 50%). An asterisk (*) indicates the unique situation in Louisiana, where there is no primary. Candidates from all parties run together on the general election ballot Nov. 2 with a runoff Dec. 4 if necessary. A pound sign (#) indicates governors and senators who assumed their office since the last election and were not elected to it.

State	Primary	House Seats	Seats At Stake in 2004	
	(and Runoff if needed)		Senators	Governors
California	March 2	53	Barbara Boxer (D)	-
Maryland	March 2	8	Barbara Mikulski (D)	-
Ohio	March 2	18	George Voinovich (R)	-
Mississippi	March 9 / March 30	4	-	-
Texas	March 9 / April 13	32	-	-
Illinois	March 16	19	Peter Fitzgerald (R)	-
Pennsylvania	April 27	19	Arlen Specter (R)	-
Indiana	May 4	9	Evan Bayh (D)	Joe Kernan (D)#
Nebraska	May 11	3	-	-
West Virginia	May 11	3	-	Bob Wise (D)
Arkansas	May 18 / June 8	4	Blanche Lincoln (D)	-
Kentucky	May 18	6	Jim Bunning (R)	-
Oregon	May 18	5	Ron Wyden (D)	-
Idaho	May 25	2	Michael Crapo (R)	-
Alabama	June 1 / June 29	7	Richard Shelby (R)	-
New Mexico	June 1	3	-	-
South Dakota	June 1 / June 15	1	Tom Daschle (D)	-
Iowa	June 8	5	Charles Grassley (R)	-
Maine	June 8	2	-	-
Montana	June 8	1	-	Judy Martz (R)
New Jersey	June 8	13	-	-
North Dakota	June 8	1	Byron Dorgan (D)	John Hoeven (R)
South Carolina	June 8 / June 22	6	Ernest Hollings (D)	-
Virginia	June 8	11	-	-
Utah	June 22	3	Robert Bennett (R)	Olene Walker (R)#
Georgia	July 20 / Aug. 10	13	Zell Miller (D)	-
North Carolina	July 20 / Aug. 17	13	John Edwards (D)	Mike Easley (D)
Oklahoma	July 27 / Aug. 24	5	Don Nickles (R)	-
Kansas	Aug. 3	4	Sam Brownback (R)	-
Michigan	Aug. 3	15	-	-
Missouri	Aug. 3	9	Christopher Bond (R)	Bob Holden (D)
Tennessee	Aug. 5	9	-	-
Colorado	Aug. 10	7	Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R)	-
Connecticut	Aug. 10	5	Christopher Dodd (D)	-
Wyoming	Aug. 17	1	-	-
Alaska	Aug. 24	1	Lisa Murkowski (R)#	-
Florida	Aug. 31	25	Bob Graham (D)	-
Arizona	Sept. 7	8	John McCain (R)	-
Nevada	Sept. 7	3	Harry Reid (D)	-
Delaware	Sept. 11	1	-	Ruth Ann Minner (D)

State	Primary (and Runoff if needed)	House Seats	Seats At Stake in 2004	
			Senators	Governors
Massachusetts	Sept. 14	10	-	-
Minnesota	Sept. 14	8	-	-
New Hampshire	Sept. 14	2	Judd Gregg (R)	Craig Benson (R)
New York	Sept. 14	29	Charles Schumer (D)	-
Rhode Island	Sept. 14	2	-	-
Vermont	Sept. 14	1	Patrick Leahy (D)	Jim Douglas (R)
Washington	Sept. 14	9	Patty Murray (D)	Gary Locke (D)
Wisconsin	Sept. 14	8	Russell Feingold (D)	-
Hawaii	Sept. 18	2	Daniel Inouye (D)	-
Louisiana	Nov. 2 *	7	John Breaux (D)	-

For The Record: March 2004 Senate Primary Results

The opening round of congressional primaries in March featured action in six states, with Senate contests in four of them. Texas and Mississippi held primaries for the House of Representatives on March 9, but there is no Senate election in either state this year.

Listed below are results from the four Senate primaries held in March. Results are based on nearly complete but unofficial returns. Nominees are indicated in bold type; incumbents in capital letters. All candidates are listed that drew at least 10% of their party's primary vote. Percentages do not always add to 100 due to rounding. The total votes cast in the Democratic or Republican primary are indicated in italics under the results.

DEMOCRATIC			REPUBLICAN		
CALIFORNIA (March 2)					
Candidates	Occupation	%	Candidates	Occupation	%
BARBARA BOXER (Total Vote - 2,532,621)	INCUMBENT	100%	Bill Jones	Ex-CA Sec. of State	45%
			Rosario Marin	Ex-U.S. Treasurer	20%
			Howard Kaloogian	Ex-State Assemblyman	11%
			Others	-	24%
			(Total Vote - 2,235,733)		
MARYLAND (March 2)					
Candidates	Occupation	%	Candidates	Occupation	%
BARBARA MIKULSKI Others (Total Vote - 454,876)	INCUMBENT	90%	E.J. Pipkin	State Senator	51%
			John Stafford	-	11%
			Others	-	39%
(Total Vote - 138,855)					
OHIO (March 2)					
Candidates	Occupation	%	Candidates	Occupation	%
Eric Fingerhut Norbert Dennerll (Total Vote - 929,587)	Ex-U.S. Representative Ex-Cleveland Councilman	71%	GEORGE VOINOVICH	INCUMBENT	77%
			John Mitchel	Ex-Air Force officer	23%
			(Total Vote - 814,650)		
ILLINOIS (March 16) OPEN: Peter Fitzgerald (R)					
Candidates	Occupation	%	Candidates	Occupation	%
Barack Obama Daniel Hynes Blair Hull Others (Total Vote - 1,237,705)	State Senator IL Comptroller Financial investor -	53%	Jack Ryan	Investor, teacher	36%
			Jim Oberweis	Dairy owner	23%
			Steve Rauschenberger	State Senator	20%
			Andy McKenna	Businessman	15%
			Others	-	6%
(Total Vote - 638,502)					

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