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GREENBERG RESEARCH

Anti-Trump Presidential Race Defined Early

First Presidential and Senate Battleground Poll

October 2019

CAMPAIGNS

CORPORATIONS

ADVOCACY

WORLDWIDE

Innovative Methodology

BATTLEGROUND PHONE POLL + LARGE-SCALE WEB POLL

BATTLEGROUND PHONE POLL: A phone poll of 1,000 registered voters in a 17-state Presidential and Senate battleground was conducted by phone October 5-9, 2019 from a voter-file sample. 67% of respondents were reached on cell phones in order to accurately reflect the American electorate.

- The phone survey takes political and cultural measures in the battleground and among the RAE and white working class.
- The phone survey is used to compare and apply political and cultural weights the web survey results to offset bias of online sample.
- The web survey requires this parallel phone survey that includes core demographic and ideological questions, including key thermometer measures. Only with such a survey can we properly weight our web survey, which we know are always biased to be culturally liberal and more educated.

BATTLEGROUND WEB POLL: A large-scale web survey of 2,500 registered voters in the 17-state battleground was conducted online October 4-10, 2019 from a voter-file sample.

- The registered voter web survey is voter-file matched to produce a high-quality sample of real voters with the added advantage of known vote history. It is also well-suited for conducting experiments to test message strategies and executions.



Definition of Battleground

Total 17-state Presidential and Senate battleground: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin

9 Diverse States = AZ (+5), CO (+1), FL (+2), GA (+5), NV (+1), NM (+3), NC (+3), TX (+8), VA (+1)

8 Non-Diverse States = IA (+3), MI (+1), ME (+3), MN (+1), NH (-), OH (+3), PA (-), WI (-)

4 Regions :

- Northeast (ME, NH, PA),
- Midwest (IA, MI, MN, OH, WI)
- South (FL, GA, NC, VA)
- West (AZ, CO, NM, NV, TX)

**(Republican PVI advantage) (PVI – even) (Democratic PVI advantage)*



Findings:

- The contest for president has taken form early, shaped by the intense engagement of ordinary voters and the building and intense reaction against the president, his signature issues and re-election.
- This early structured race was created by the deep anti-Trump sentiment among Democrats, the Rising American Electorate and women in every corner of the electorate.
- In the base of African American and Hispanic women, unmarried and white unmarried women, and millennials and white millennial women, both Biden and Warren are building landslide wins over Trump.
- Trump's weakened position is led first and foremost by the white working class women who form nearly a quarter of the electorate and over half the white working class.
- The third-party vote will be a big factor in how this election plays out state by state. It is intensely anti-Trump, so progressive efforts will focus on consolidating them.



Findings, cont.

Vice President Joe Biden, Senator Elizabeth Warren, or another eventual nominee will need to grow their vote and create insurance against yet unforeseen events and Trump and Republican efforts to suppress the vote and register white working class men in key states. To do so, they will need to, among other things:

- Reverse the erosion of support among African American, Hispanic and white millennial men.
- Target the surprisingly large bloc of anti-Trump third party voters who need to break more strongly for the Democrats.
- Bernie Sanders' primary voters are not consolidated and are a potential target for meddling, as happened in 2016.
- Make bigger headway with moderate Republicans who gave Democrats greater support earlier in the year and in 2018.
- Make sure Trump is not able to regain his support with white working class women.



Findings, cont.

- There are two dynamics driving the race against President Trump: first, is the surging embrace of positions opposed to his priorities; and second, is the strength of Warren's and Biden's messages compared to the president.
- Each day, the president's actions on immigration, the trade war, self-enrichment, and probably Turkey and Ukraine are producing a growing and intense anti-Trump reaction.
- Both Biden and Warren hold strong leads over Trump because 79 percent of Democrats "strongly disapprove" of Trump, and there are many more voters identifying with the Democratic Party and voting in Democratic primaries. The smaller Republican bloc is equally consolidated for Trump right now, but his "strong approval" is at only 51 percent.

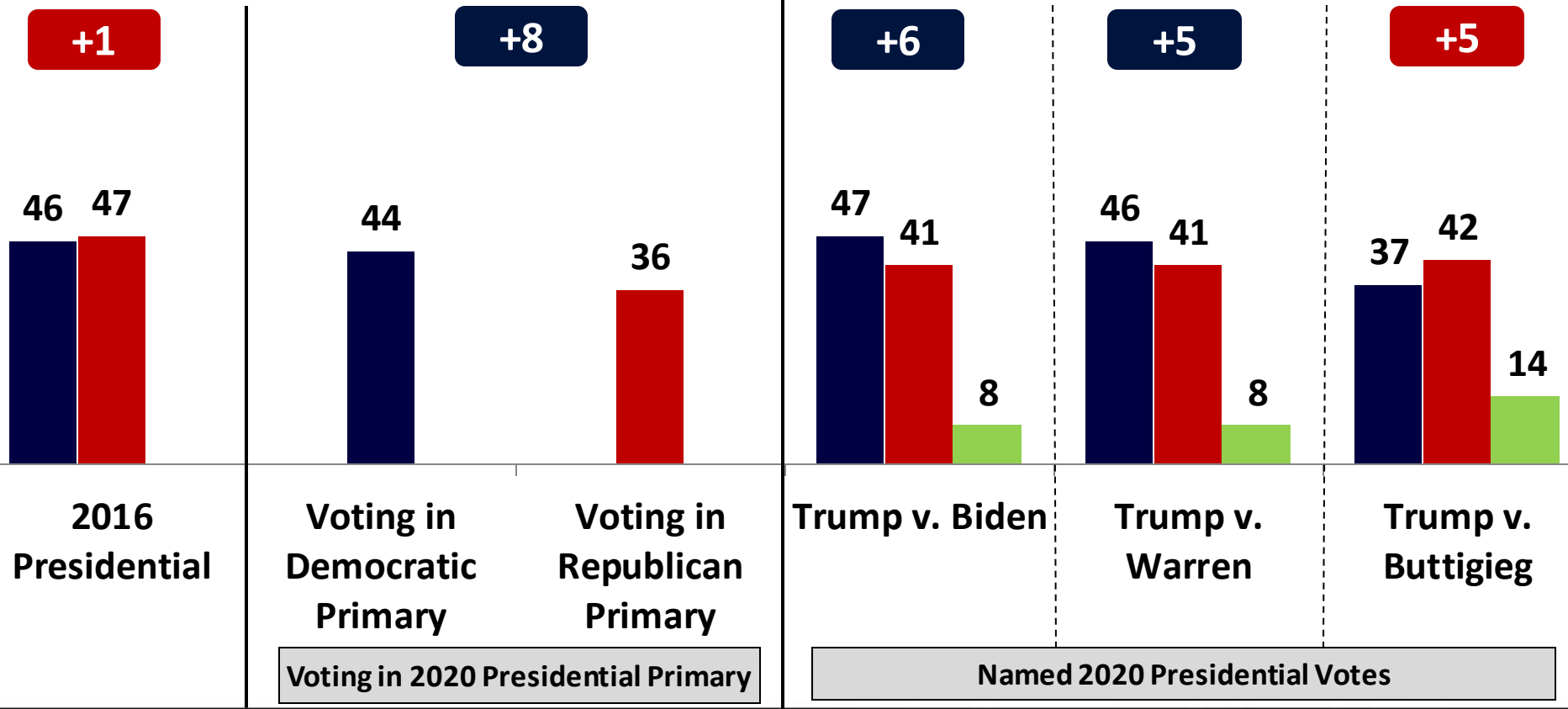


State of the Race

Biden and Warren pushing toward 8-point margin, with Trump at 41 %

2020 PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT Registered Voters in Battleground

■ Democratic Candidate ■ Republican Donald Trump ■ Libertarian/Other



Voting in 2020 Presidential Primary

Named 2020 Presidential Votes

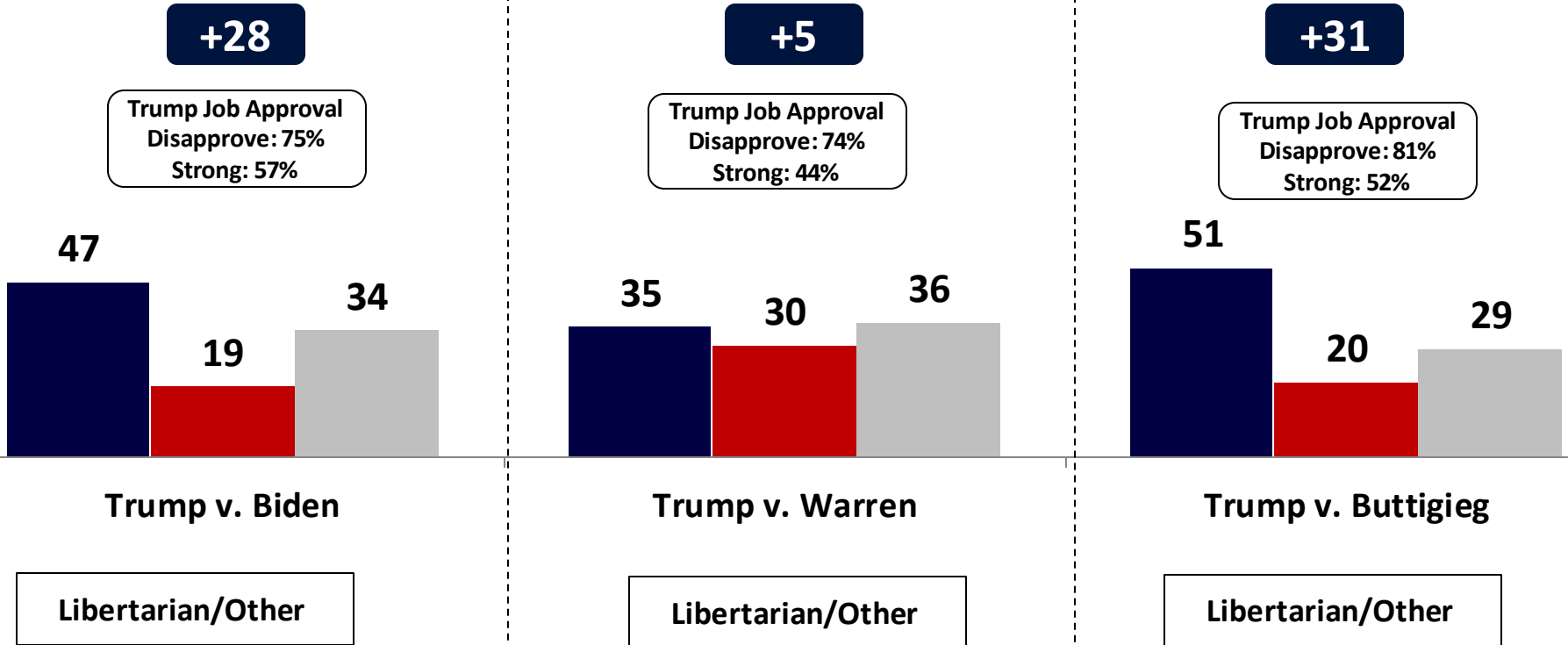
Third party vote is anti-Trump and squeezing is key to raising Democratic margin

And if you had to choose between-- Democrat (Biden/Warren/Buttigieg) and Republican Donald Trump-who would you vote for?

2020 PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT

Libertarian/Other: 2-Way Choice

■ Democratic Candidate ■ Republican Donald Trump ■ Undecided

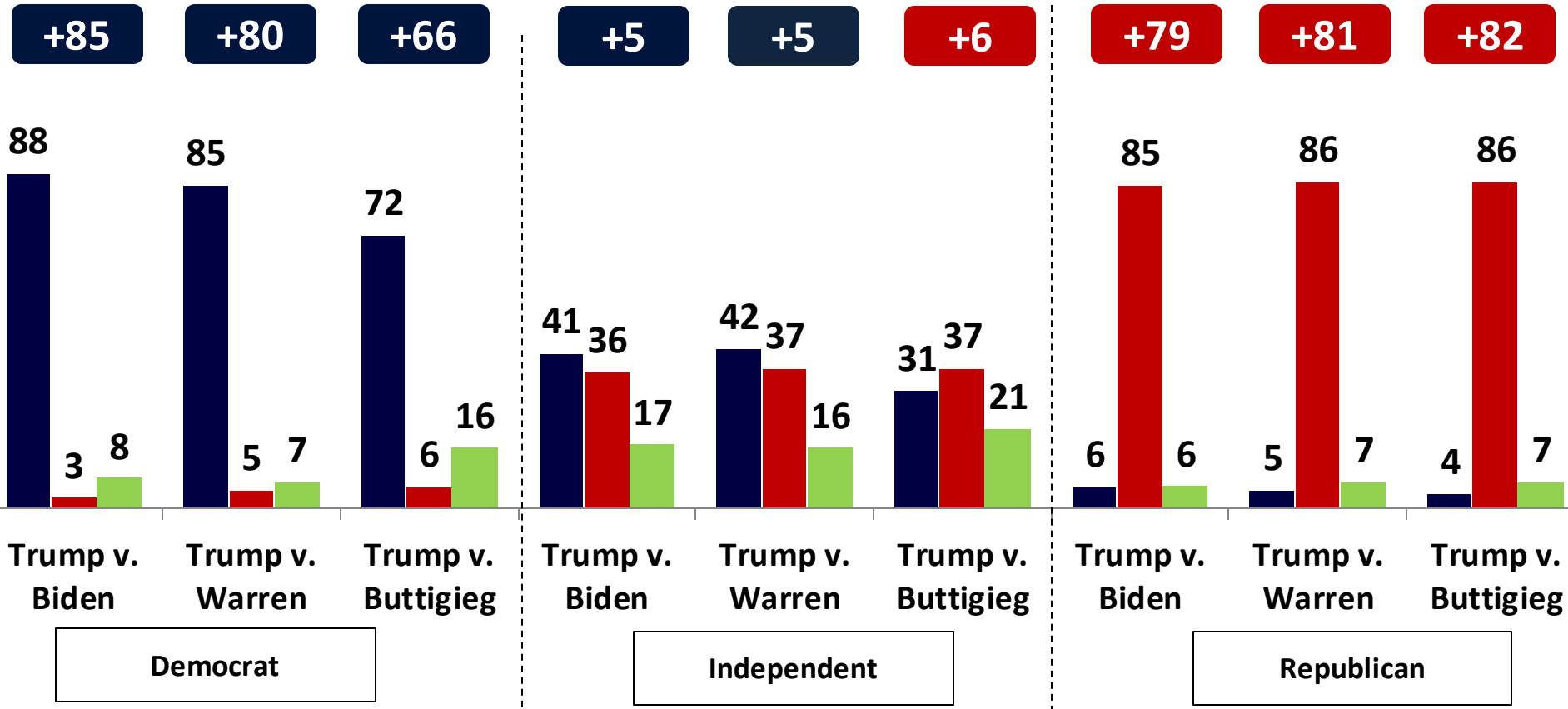


Democrats and Republicans equally consolidated, with independents breaking for Democrats

2020 PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT

PARTY ID

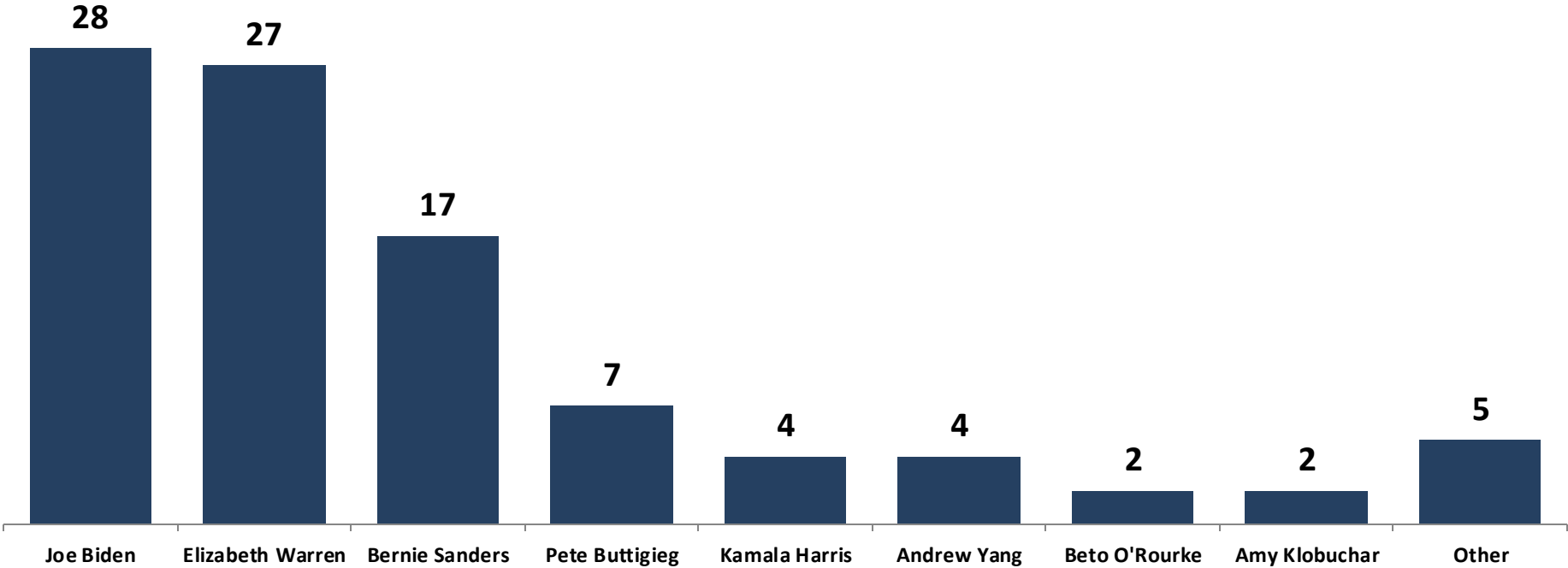
■ Democratic Candidate ■ Republican Donald Trump ■ Libertarian Justin Amash



Current standing: Democratic primary vote in the battleground

(IF DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY) I am going to read a list of nineteen of the declared candidates running for the Democratic nomination for President. After I read the entire list, please tell me if a Democratic primary for president were held today, who would you vote for?

Total 2020 Democratic Primary Voters

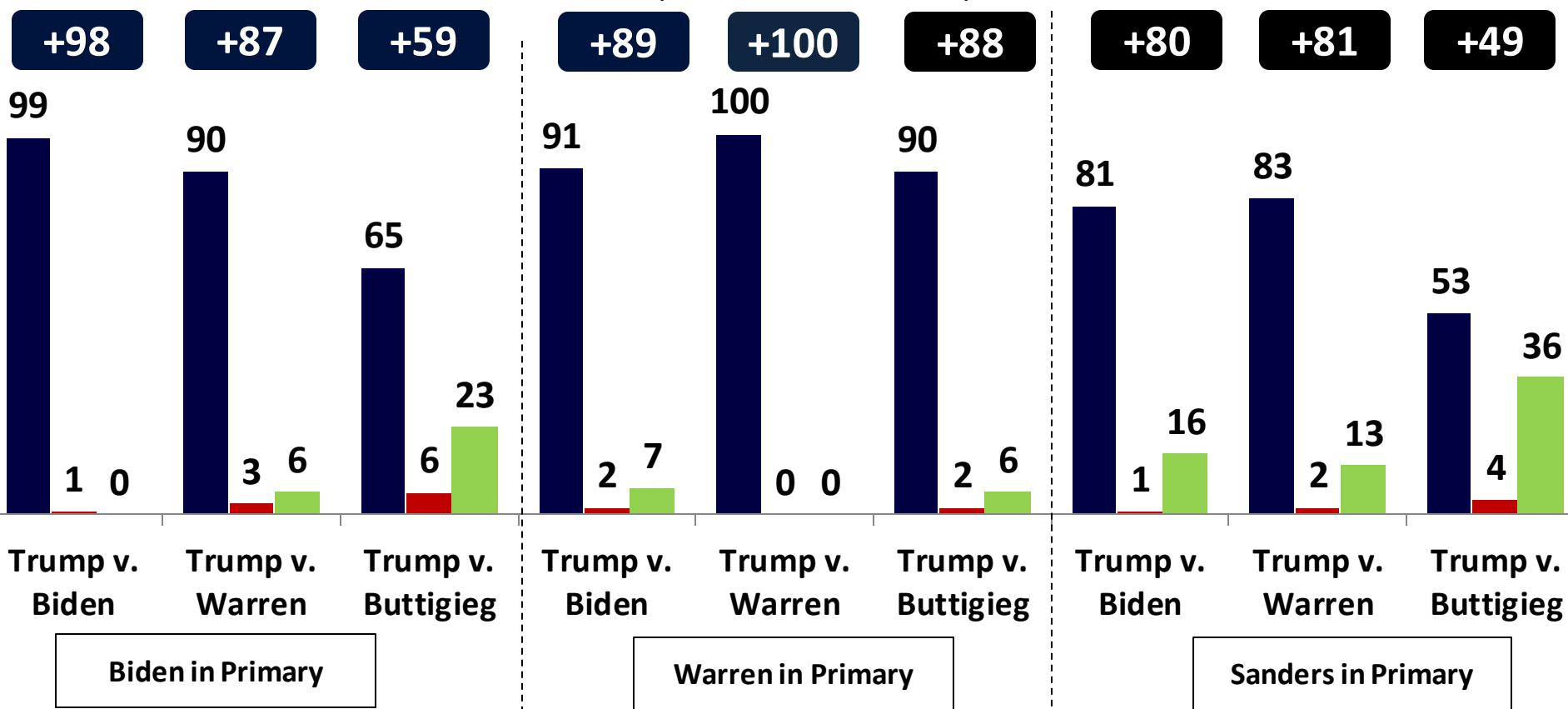


Biden and Warren voters mostly consolidate around nominee; Sanders voters less

2020 PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT

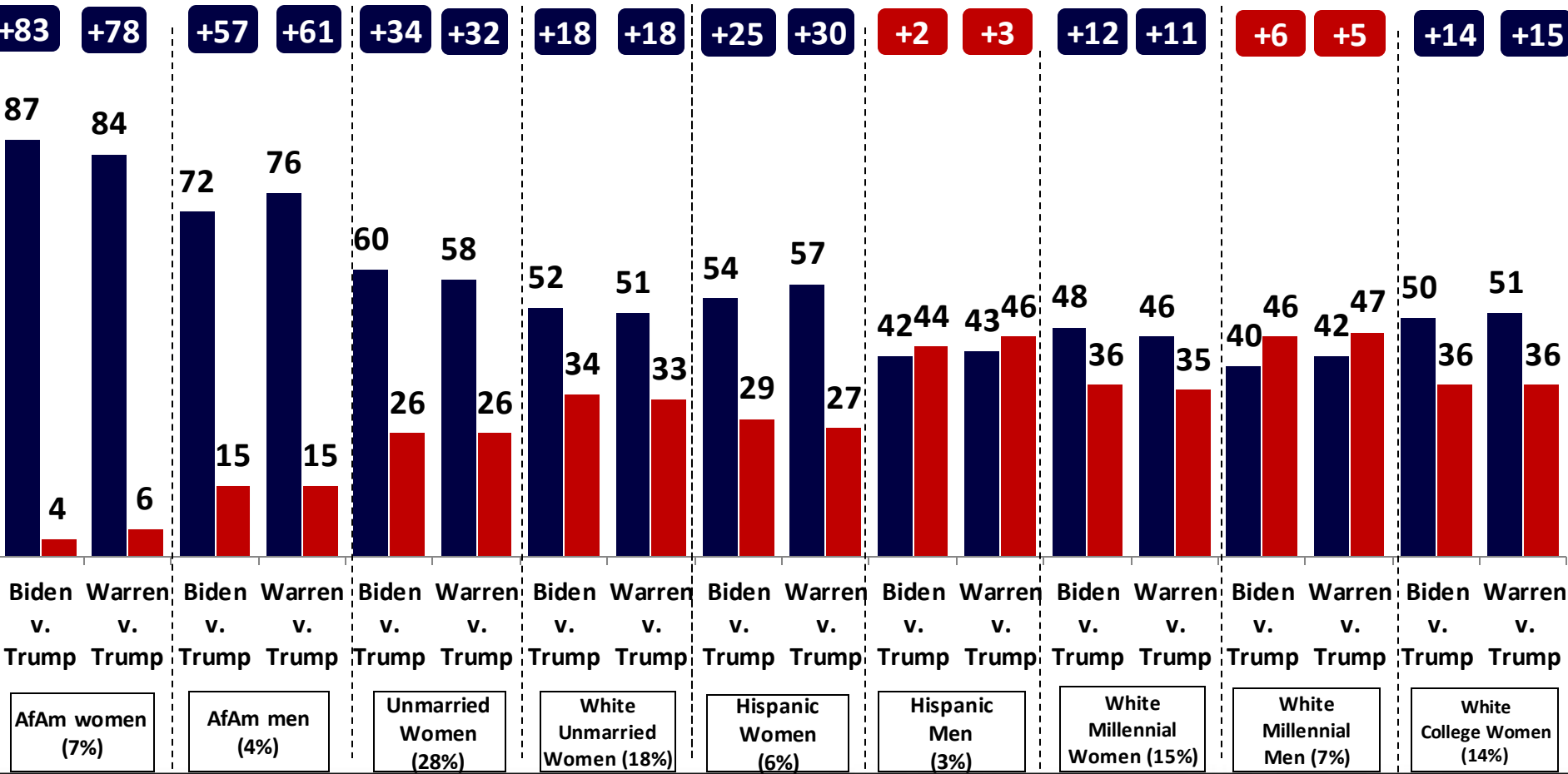
Democratic Primary Voters

■ Democratic Candidate ■ Republican Donald Trump ■ Libertarian Justin Amash



Gangbuster results with AA, unmarried women, and Hispanic, white millennial and white college women, though male erosion in base

I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for President in 2020, if the election for President were held today, would you vote for -- (ROTATE CANDIDATES) the Democratic candidate or Republican Donald Trump?

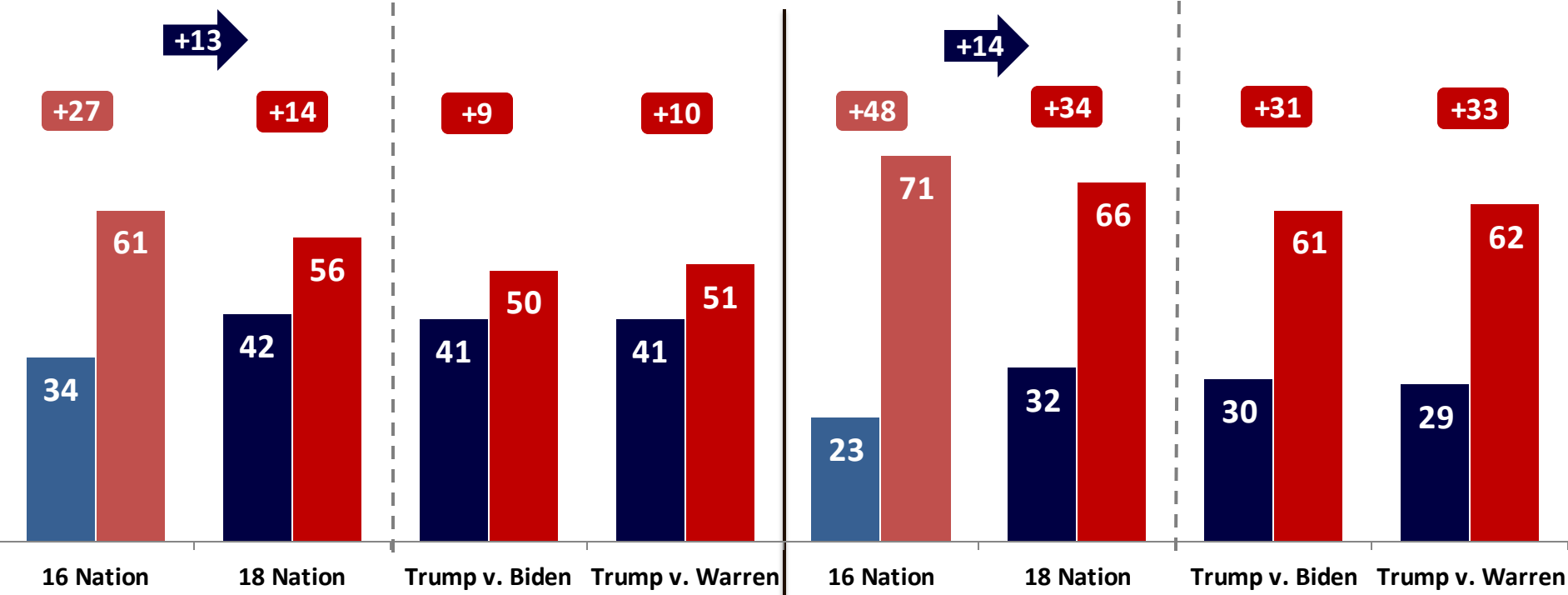


Nationally, Democrats making major headway with white working class (combined data base)

2016 V. 2018 V. 2020 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

■ Clinton 2016/Democrat 2018/Democrat 2020

■ Trump 2016/Republican 2018/Trump 2020



White Working Class Women
25%

White Working Class Men
23%



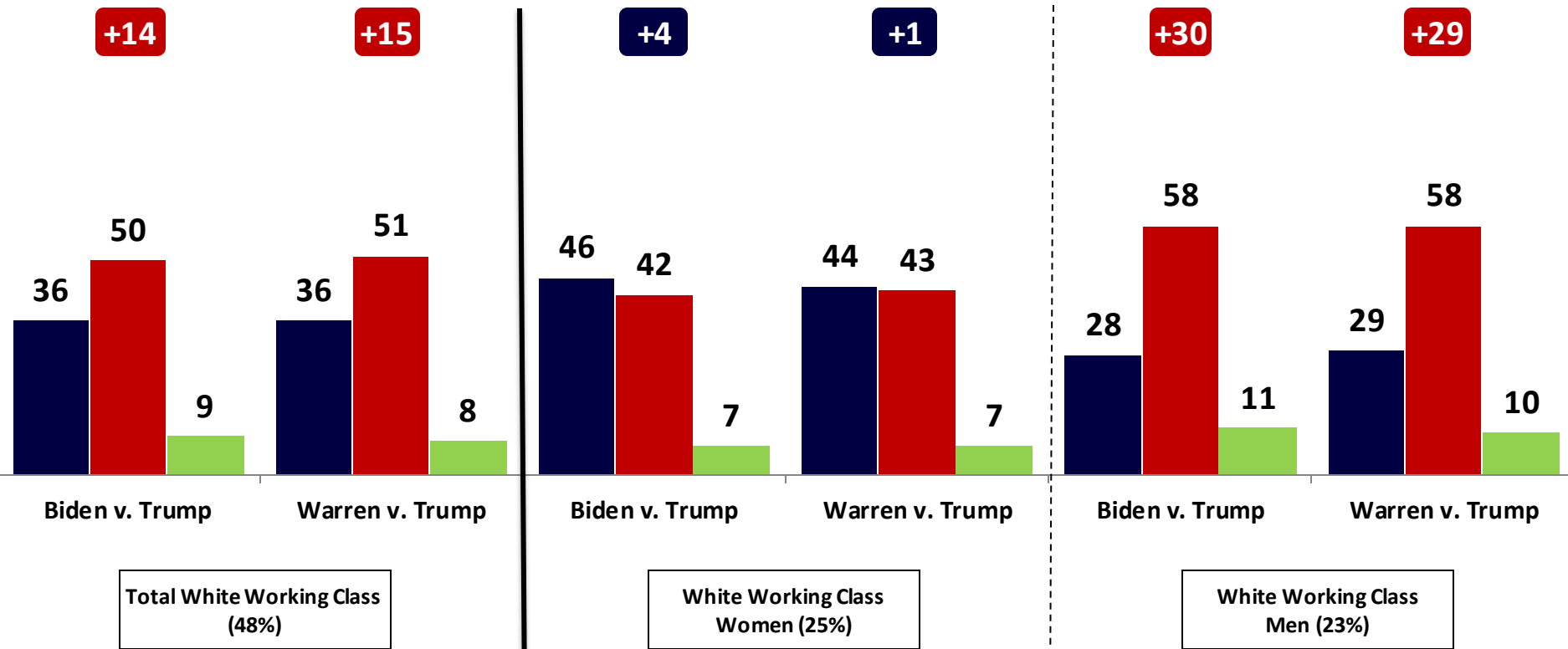
Democracy Corps combined 2019 national data compared to the 2016 presidential vote and 2018 Congressional vote in national exit polls. White working class = non college educated.

In the battleground, Biden and Warren battling to an historic tie with white working class women

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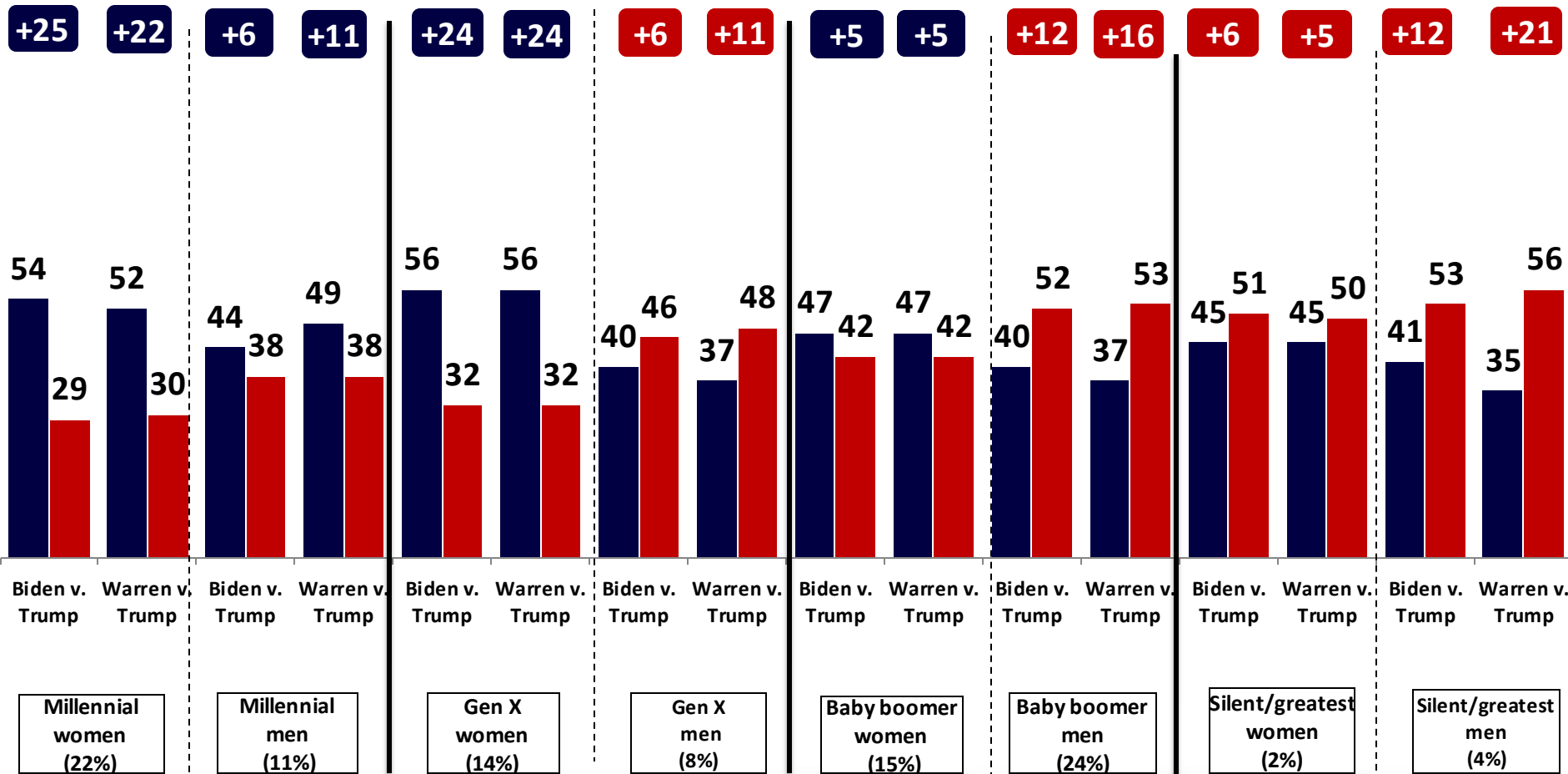
2020 PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT

White Working Class in Battleground



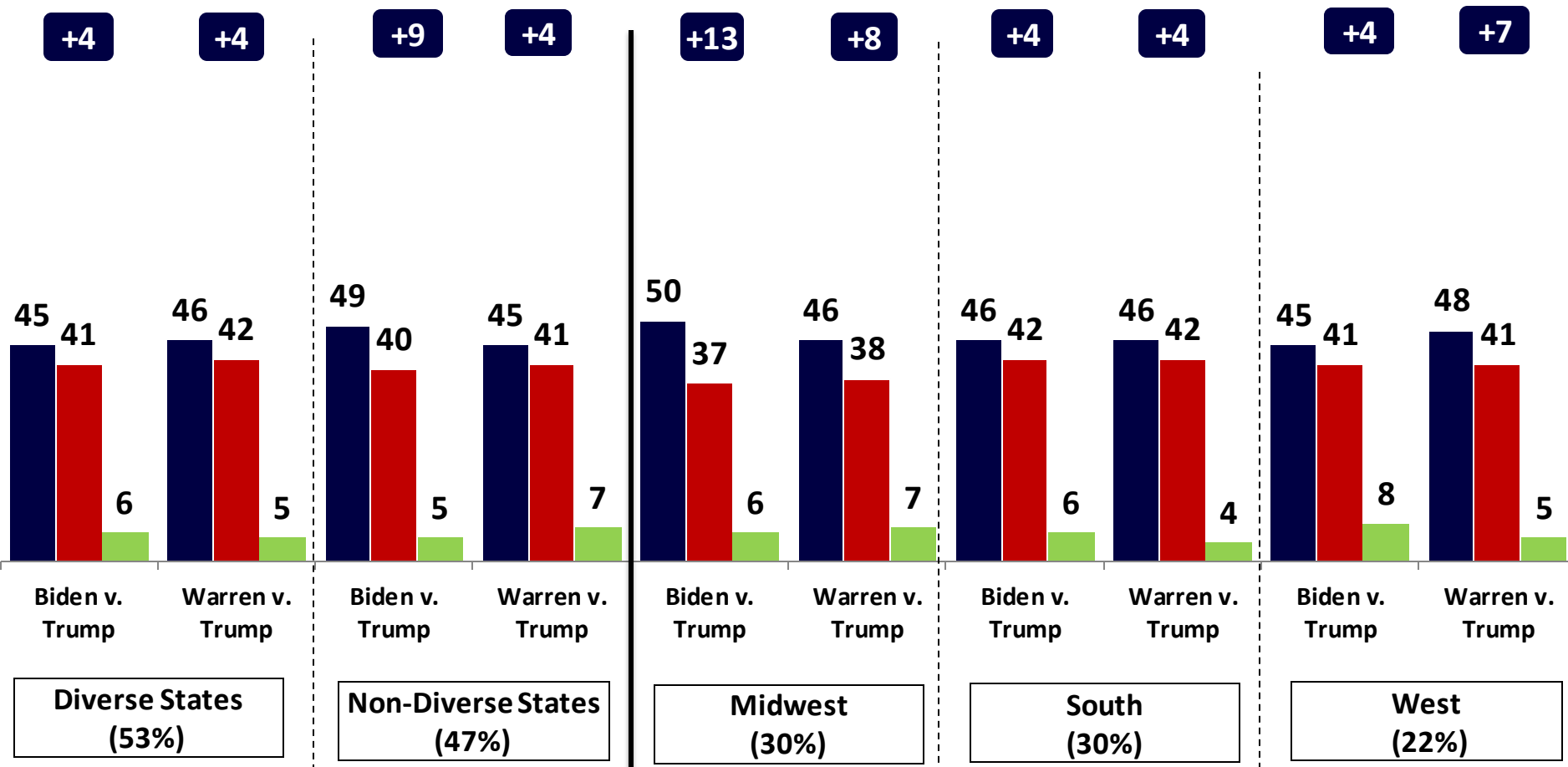
Women at each generation support both Biden and Warren, post-millennial men give Biden more support

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Regional results very encouraging, with Biden stronger in Midwest and Warren in West

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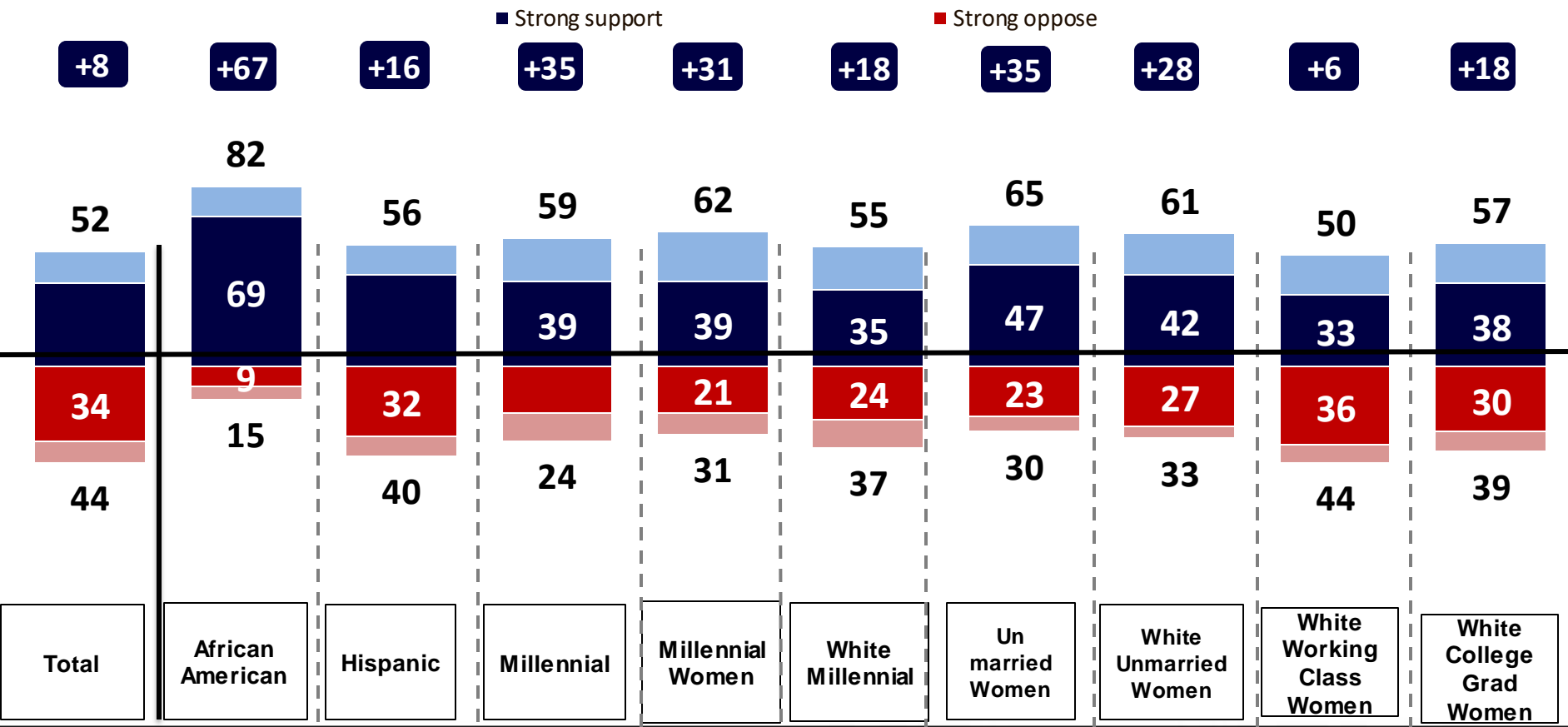


Impeachment inquiry has majority support overall and across the RAE+

Do you support or oppose the Congress starting an impeachment inquiry for President Donald Trump?

SUPPORT FOR IMPEACHMENT INQUIRY

Registered Voters in the Battleground



The Message Battle

Correlation Matrix: Why “moderate Democrats” are open to all

Correlation Matrix (3-1-3 Democrats)			
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Liberal	1.000000	-0.808501	-0.297541
Moderate	-0.808501	1.000000	-0.246239
Conservative	-0.297541	-0.246239	1.000000
WARM undocumented immigrants	0.246914	-0.175586	-0.106819
COOL undocumented immigrants	-0.185219	0.100414	0.145037
WARM immigrants US	0.256772	-0.137188	-0.189714
COOL immigrants US	-0.111891	-0.003033	0.181067
WARM NRA	-0.185200	0.057787	0.227568
COOL NRA	0.294163	-0.156919	-0.247670
WARM pro-life groups	-0.123554	0.039013	0.133530
COOL pro-life groups	0.305476	-0.176153	-0.194663
WARM gay marriage	0.241772	-0.090454	-0.246092
COOL gay marriage	-0.151985	0.007101	0.221522
WARM CEOs of large businesses	-0.055255	0.041862	0.059814
COOL CEOs of large businesses	0.067429	-0.038737	-0.056332
WARM Measures to prevent global warming	0.122858	-0.045825	-0.117168
COOL Measures to prevent global warming	-0.039610	0.022680	0.061472
WARM Government guarantee that all have good health care	0.150182	-0.097663	-0.090440
COOL Government guarantee that all have good health care	-0.099568	0.052420	0.080408
WARM Raising taxes on those making over \$250,000	0.175792	-0.140238	-0.059814
COOL Raising taxes on those making over \$250,000	-0.075243	0.010942	0.078127
WARM Government assistance for people unable to work	0.238576	-0.164082	-0.108600
COOL Government assistance for people unable to work	-0.075171	0.021627	0.096459



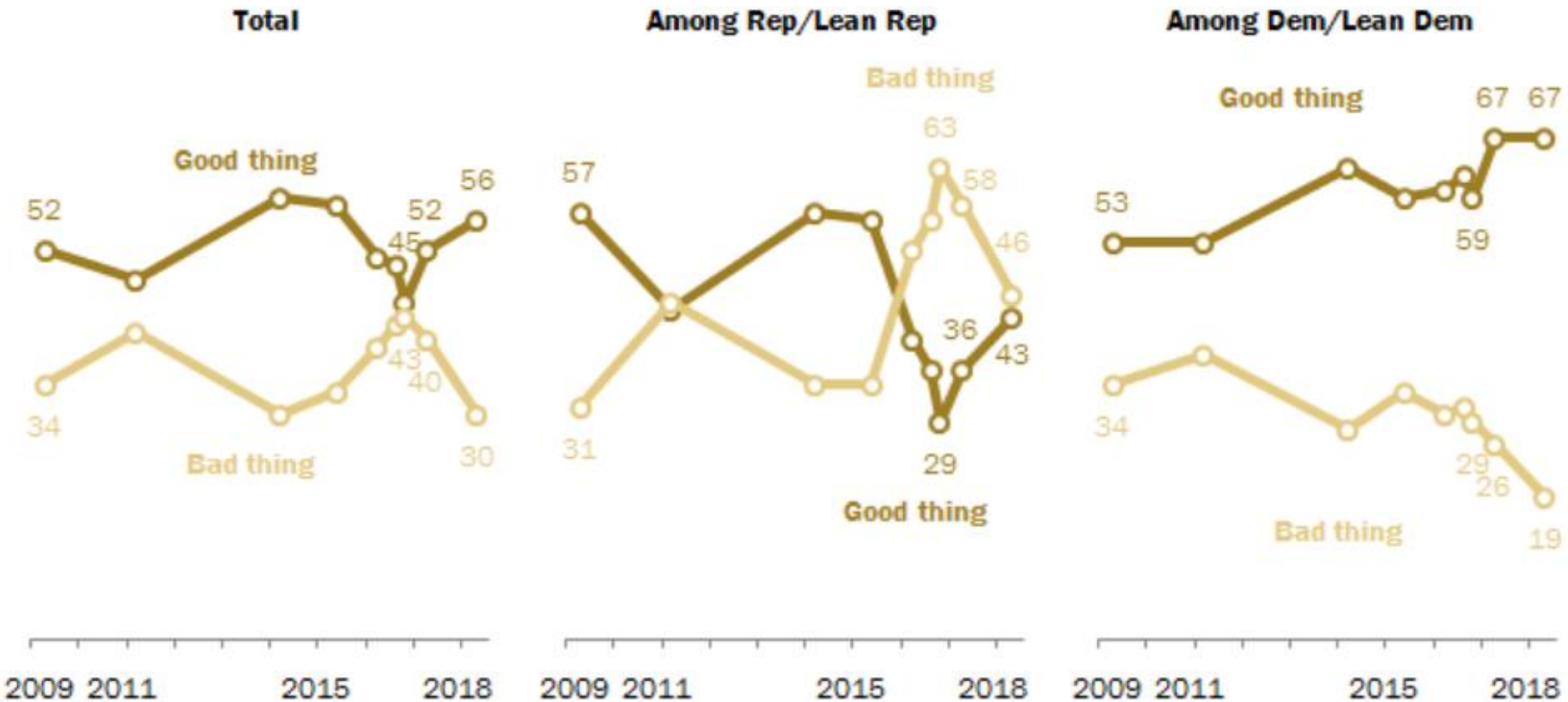
Post-Trump era: most voters looking for country “united” and to get “back to traditional values”

When you think about our country after the next election, which of TWO of these words or phrases best captures what you are looking for

Looking for after the election									
	Total	Republican		Dem Primary			3 rd Party Voters		
		All	Mod erate	Biden	Warren	Sanders	Trump v. Biden	Trump v. Warren	Trump v. Buttigieg
Back to traditional values	32	14	50	19	9	6	33	21	20
United	30	29	26	36	31	17	27	25	21
Hard work is rewarded	26	10	37	10	7	10	24	25	25
At peace	19	19	18	15	14	18	26	24	12
All rise together	17	30	7	29	43	23	15	14	17
Country open to different kinds of people	17	19	16	19	21	21	13	17	20
Without racism AfAm/Hispanics face with law enforcement	14	22	5	31	17	24	12	15	18
Fairer	12	19	6	13	26	27	11	17	13
Happier	11	13	13	9	13	21	14	13	12
Changing	9	12	6	8	11	20	10	15	3

Surge in support for free trade post Trump, Democrats hit 67%

% who say free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have generally been a ____ for the U.S.



Note: Don't know response not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted April 25-May 1, 2018.

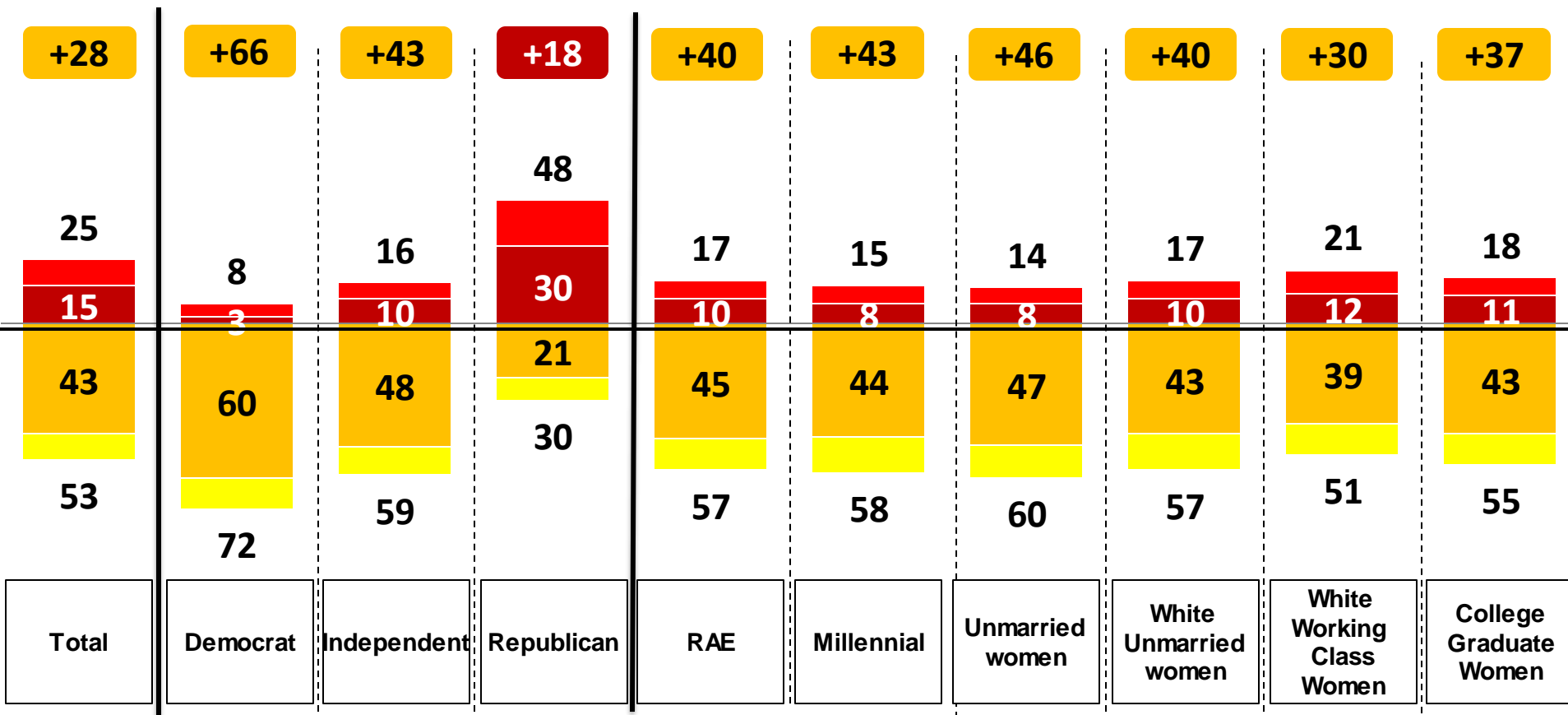
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

New Tariffs on trade with China hated by Democrats and base

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

New Tariffs on Trade with China

■ Cool (26-49)
 ■ Very cool (0-25)
 ■ Warm (51-74)
 ■ Very warm (75-100)

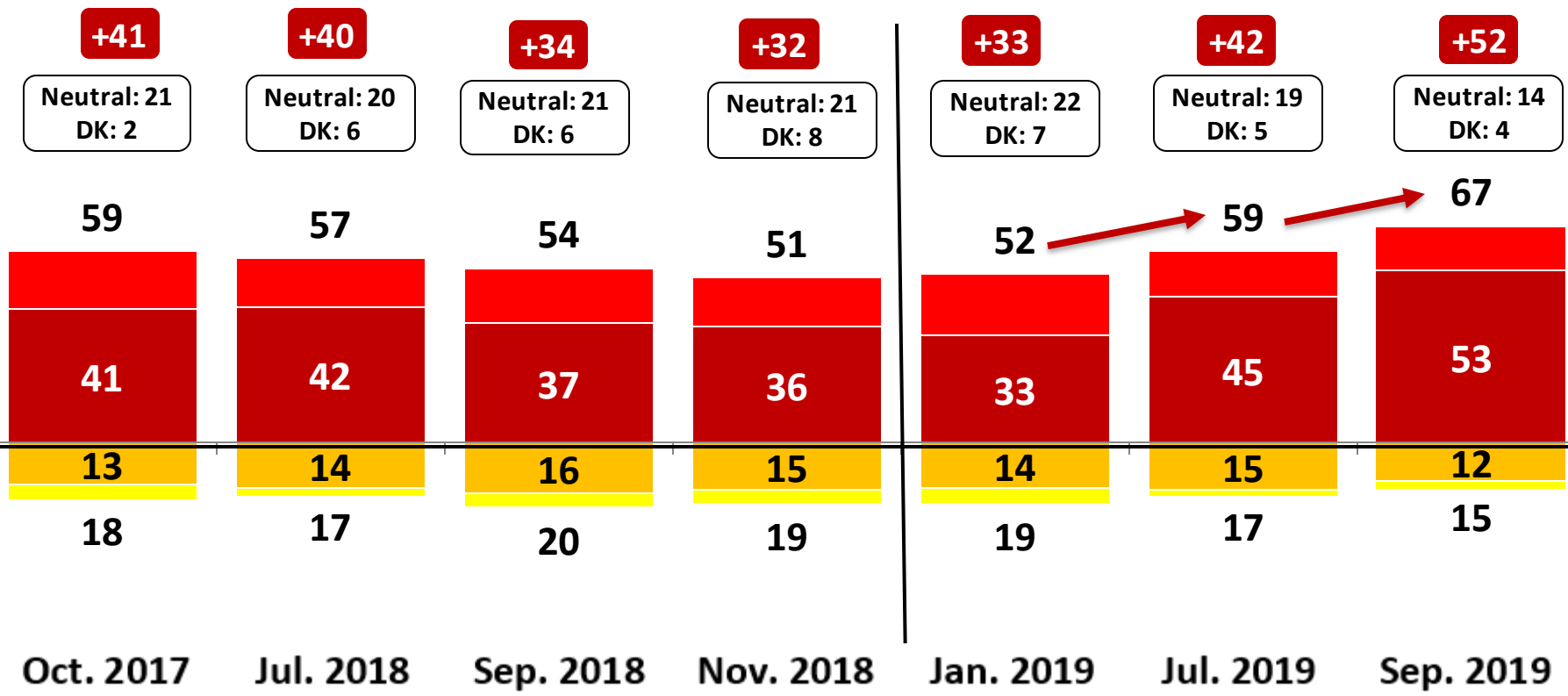


America rushes to embrace immigrants under assault from President Trump

Now, I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and ideas, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling.

Immigrants to the U.S.

■ Somewhat cool ■ Very cool ■ Somewhat warm ■ Very warm



Warren messages

Here are some statements from a Democratic candidate on how to change the direction of our country. For each statement, please tell me how much more positive you feel about the candidate after reading that?

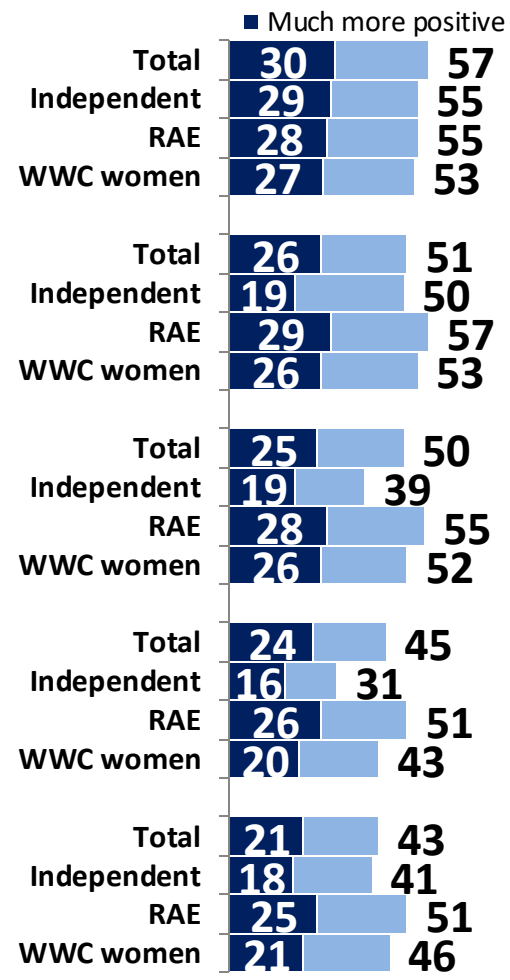
Corruption: We need to tackle the corruption in Washington that makes our government work for the wealthy and well-connected, but kicks dirt on everyone else. We will start by ending lobbying as we know it by closing loopholes so everyone who lobbies must register, shining sunlight on their activities, banning foreign governments from hiring Washington lobbyists, and shutting down the ability of lobbyists to move freely in and out of government jobs.

Rigged: We must fight for an America that works for everyone, not just the wealthy and well-connected. The Middle Class is hurting because corporations use their money to rig our politics and have accumulated enormous power. That is corruption, and we need to attack it. We must break up corporate monopolies and end special-interest lobbying and tax ultra-millionaires to support investments to create American jobs and, help families with universal childcare and healthcare.

2% Tax: A small group of families has taken a massive amount of the wealth American workers have produced. That is worse than other leading economy, and its wrong. A two-cent tax on the great fortunes of more than \$50 million can bring in nearly \$3 trillion to rebuild America's middle class, so we can make big investments that support American jobs, greatly expand innovation in renewable energy and green manufacturing, and help families by funding universal pre-K and child care, early childhood education, and student loan debt relief.

Immigration: In this country, immigration does not make us weaker, it makes us stronger. President Trump sees things differently. He's advanced a policy of cruelty and division that demonizes immigrants. We need expanded legal immigration that will grow our economy, reunite families, and meet our labor market demands. We need cost-effective security at our borders and relieves the burden on our criminal justice system, addresses the root causes of migration, and gets back to a system of legal immigration that enriches our country.

Think Big: We need big, disruptive change to level the playing field, so our democracy and economy work for everyone, not just those at the top. We can start by ending lobbying as we know it, We can create an Ultra-Millionaire Tax on America's 75,000 richest families so we can build an economy that works for everyone. That means investing in universal childcare, student loan debt relief, affordable housing, and down payments on a Green New Deal and Medicare for All. It won't be easy. But united by our values, we can make big, structural change



Warren messages with Democratic primary voters

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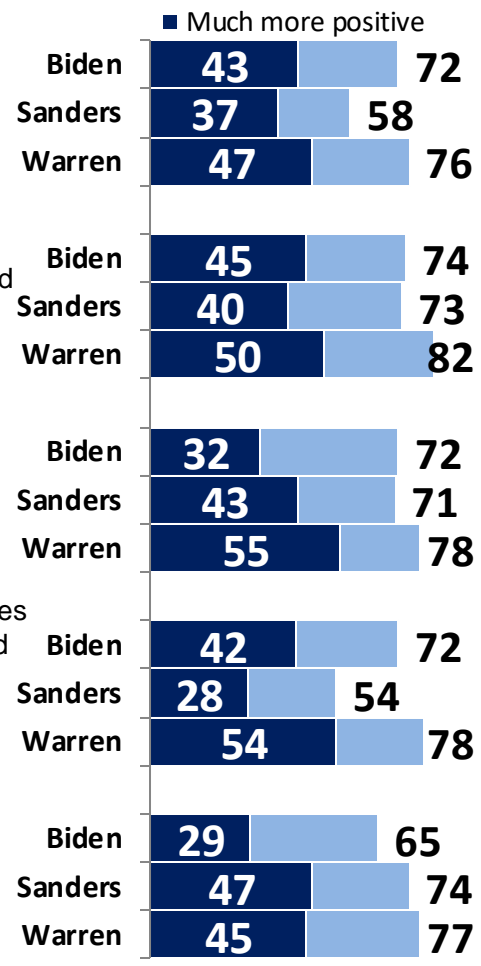
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Biden messages

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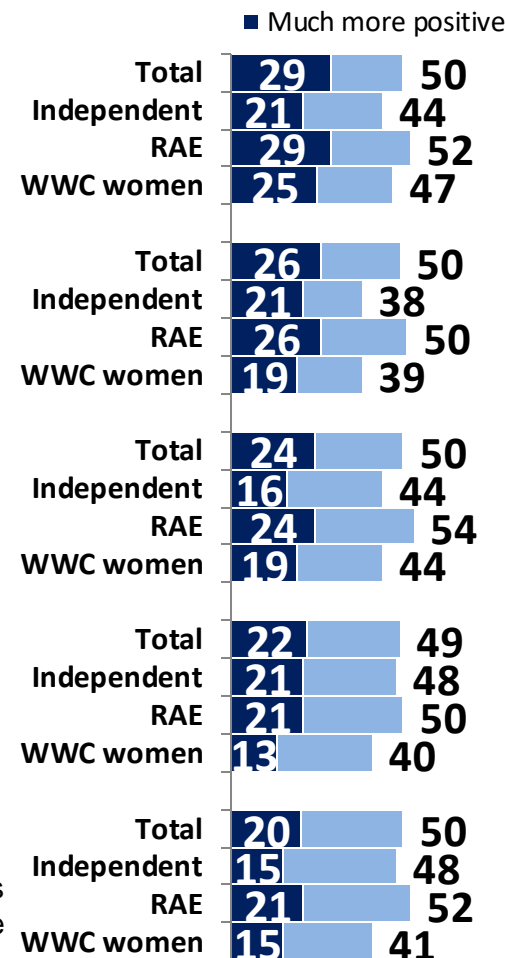
Values: Today, we are in a battle for the soul of America, and Donald Trump has decided not to represent the whole country. It's time to remember who we are and fight back against the incredible abuses of power we're seeing. It's time for respected leadership on the world stage, dignified leadership at home, and an economy that rewards those who actually do the work. It's time for a president who will stand up for all of us.

Engage the world: This is a moment when American leadership is needed more than ever to address some of the greatest economic and security challenges in the world, but this administration has repeatedly broken our word and withdrawn from our commitments to allies. The leaders of the world are watching this, not just our adversaries, but also our allies, and it undermines our strength as a nation. And when that happens, there are serious consequences. The next president must repair our relationships with our friends and allies and stand up to strongmen and thugs on the global stage

Build on ACA: Because of Obamacare, over 100 million people no longer worry that an insurance company will deny coverage or charge higher premiums because they have a pre-existing condition. Insurance companies can no longer set limits on coverage. Roughly 20 million additional Americans obtained the peace of mind that comes with health insurance. Young people who are in transition from school to a job have the option to stay covered by their parents' plan until age 26.

Middle class: This country was not built by Wall Street bankers and CEOs. It was built by the great American Middle Class. But the Middle Class is hurting today and powerful forces are trying to tear America apart instead of lifting it up. Our political system is broken and excludes too many. Until we fix campaign finance and voting rights it will continue to get more polarized.

Immigration: It's no secret that our immigration system is broken, and for years we have lacked the political will to fix it. There is a crisis at the border. We can secure our border and humanely enforce our laws without putting people in cages and tearing children from parents. But we'll only fix the crisis if we address the root causes of migration that push people to leave behind their homes. At the same time, must never forget that legal immigration is a source of strength for our country.



Biden messages with Democratic primary voters

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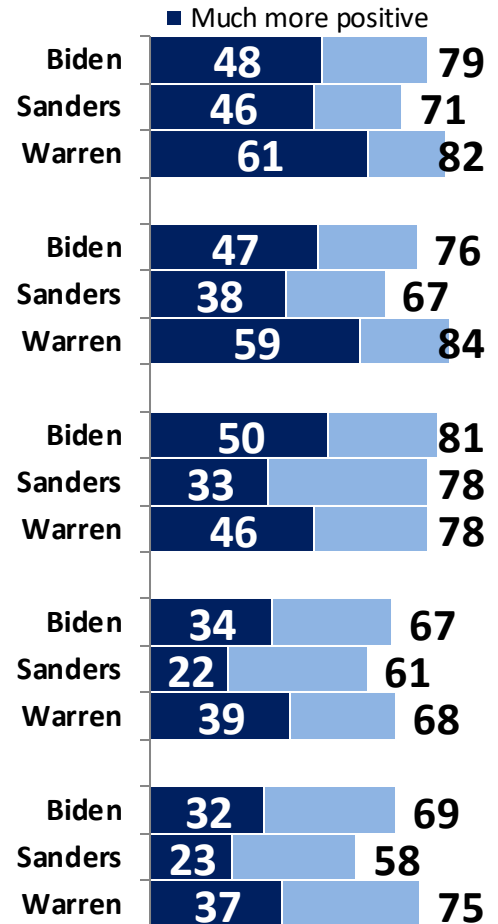
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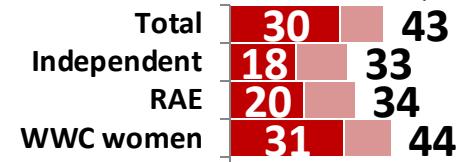


Trump Messages

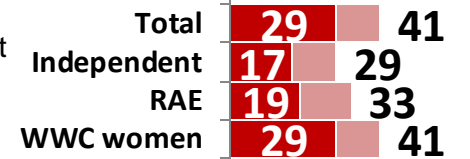
Here are some things President Trump and Republicans are saying about how to improve the country and make the economy better. For each statement, please say how much more positive you feel about President Trump after reading that?

■ Much more positive

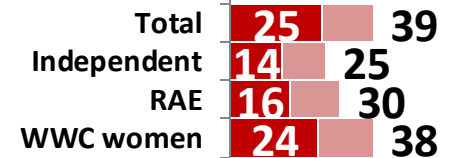
Greatest Economy: Over the last two years, the Trump administration has moved with urgency and historic speed to confront problems neglected by leaders over many decades. Under Trump, we have seen an unprecedented economic boom and the best economy in the history of our country, including 5.3 million new jobs and 600 thousand new manufacturing jobs. Wages are rising at the fastest pace in decades and are growing for blue collar workers and faster than anyone thought possible



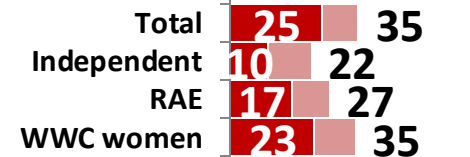
Borders: We have a state of emergency at our southern border. Border patrol, our military, and local law enforcement are doing a great job, but without the wall and tougher immigration enforcement, you cannot have border security. It is time to get serious on addressing illegal immigration and the crisis at our southern border. Drugs, gangs and human trafficking must be stopped.



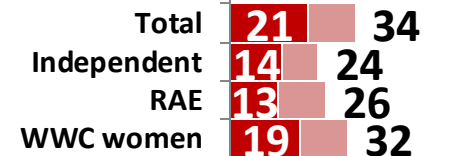
America First: Thanks to Republican leadership, America is winning again and respected again worldwide because we are finally putting America first. American workers will be the biggest winners. We have withdrawn from disastrous trade deals like the TPP that treat us unfairly and renegotiated the disastrous NAFTA. The new NAFTA is the largest and most modern trade deal in history and will cut red tape and greatly expand exports for our farming, manufacturing, and service industries.



Impeachment Scam: We're fighting to drain the swamp, but our country is at stake like never before. The Democrats are trying to undo the election regardless of facts. What's going on now is the single greatest scam in the history of politics. They are trying to stop president Trump because he is fighting for the forgotten Americans. It's nothing short of an attempted coup



Stood up to China: China is looking at the Democratic Candidates and hoping they get elected so it can continue to rip off our country like they've been doing for the last 30 years. The Democrats have never stood up to China and other countries who took advantage of us. And, now Democrats have delayed action on the Trump administration's new trade deal that replaces NAFTA, which was the worst trade deal in the history of our country.



Top 2020 campaign messages

Total Registered Voters in Battleground

■ Much more positive

Warren (Corruption): We need to tackle the corruption in Washington that makes our government work for the wealthy and well-connected, but kicks dirt on everyone else. that makes our government work for the wealthy and well-connected, but kicks dirt on everyone else. We will start by ending lobbying as we know it...



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Biden (Values): Today, we are in a battle for the soul of America, and Donald Trump has decided not to represent the whole country. It's time to remember who we are and fight back against the incredible abuses of power we're seeing. Its time for respected leadership on the world stage, dignified leadership at home...



Warren (2% Tax) A small group of families has taken a massive amount of the wealth American workers have produced. That is worse than other leading economy, and its wrong. A two-cent tax on the great fortunes of more than \$50 million can bring in nearly \$3 trillion to rebuild America's middle class...



Biden (Engage the world): This is a moment when American leadership is needed more than ever to address some of the greatest economic and security challenges in the world [...] The next president must repair our relationships with our friends and allies and stand up to strongmen and thugs on the global stage



Trump (Greatest Economy): Over the last two years, the Trump administration has moved with urgency and historic speed to confront problems neglected by leaders over many decades. [...] Wages are rising at the fastest pace in decades and are growing for blue collar workers and faster than anyone thought possible



Trump (Borders): We have a state of emergency at our southern border. Border patrol, our military, and local law enforcement are doing a create job, but without the wall and tougher immigration enforcement, you cannot have border security.



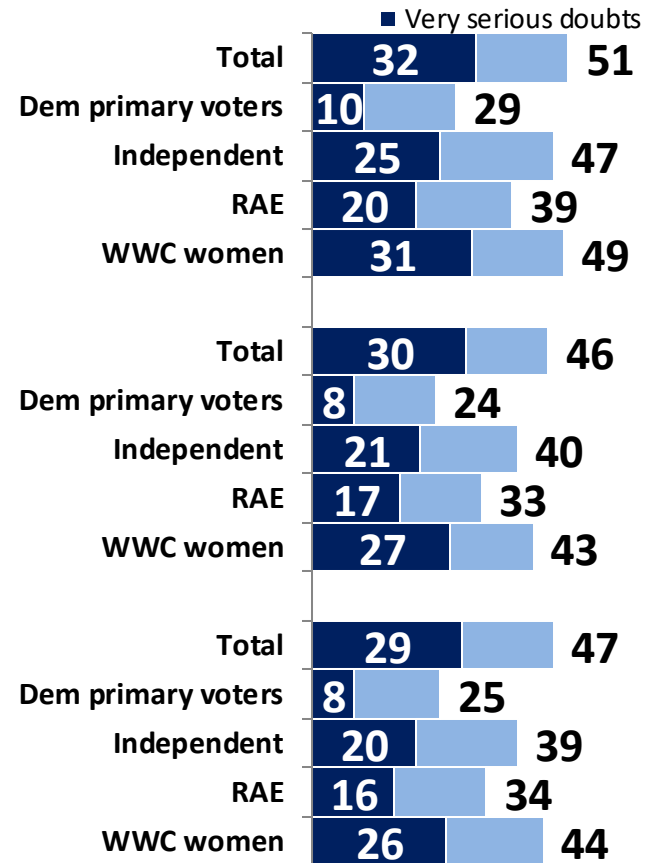
Democratic attacks on Warren

Now you will read a few statements that some Democrats might say about Elizabeth Warren. After each statement, please say whether it raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Elizabeth Warren.

Private Insurance: Elizabeth Warren's Medicare for All plan would result in chaos for tens of millions of Americans with private health insurance that already works for them and their families. The reality is that we can improve on what is already working, without kicking millions of Americans off their private insurance.

Too Many Plans: Elizabeth Warren has a lot of plans that may sound good when she is giving campaign speeches, but the reality is there is no way to pay for them. The more expensive a plan is doesn't make it more progressive. Running for president is about making people's lives better, and that only happens if the change proposed becomes reality.

Fracking: Elizabeth Warren's plan to ban fracking would threaten U.S. energy security and millions of American jobs. Hydraulic fracking is one of the reasons America is the top energy producer in the world. But Warren's ban on fracking would kill over 14 million of those jobs, and would increase out-of-pocket living expenses for Americans by an average of \$4,000 per year.



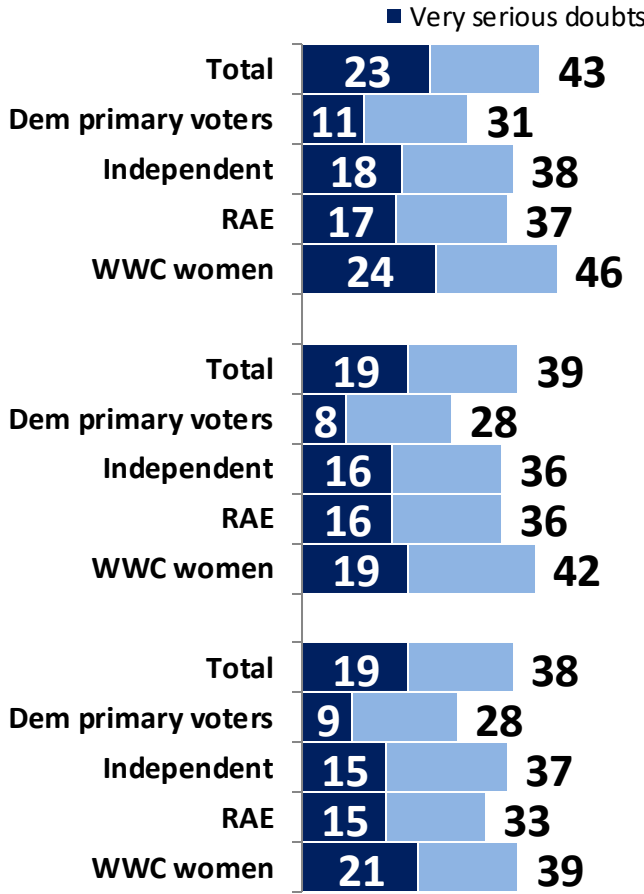
Democratic attacks on Biden

Now you will read a few statements that some Democrats might say about Joe Biden. After each statement, please say whether it raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Joe Biden.

Big Fundraisers: The Democratic nominee should be chosen by voters, not millionaires and corporate special interests. Joe Biden's biggest fundraisers include a billionaire real estate magnate, Comcast executive, and lobbyists. He also has an organized army of dark money super PACs that are ready to spend millions on his behalf. Democratic voters want to decide this primary, not the corporate special interests that call the shots.

Criminal Justice Reform: Joe Biden led the anti-crime effort that imprisoned as many people as possible. It created the sentencing disparities between crack and powder cocaine and that fueled huge racial disparities in who went to jail, which he himself now says was "unnecessary and "unjust."

Tax Cuts for Rich: Joe Biden brags about his bipartisan deal making skills, citing the deal he cut Republican Senate leader McConnell to raise the top tax rate by \$600 billion. What he doesn't mention, is that deal was a complete victory for the Tea Party because it kept in place the tax cuts for those earning over \$250,000. It put in place the mindless cuts to vital programs that we still are dealing with today. That was a great deal for Mitch McConnell, but not for hard working Americans.



Republican attacks on Democratic presidential candidates

These are some things that Republicans and Donald Trump are saying about the Democratic candidates running for president. After I read each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Democrats running for president.

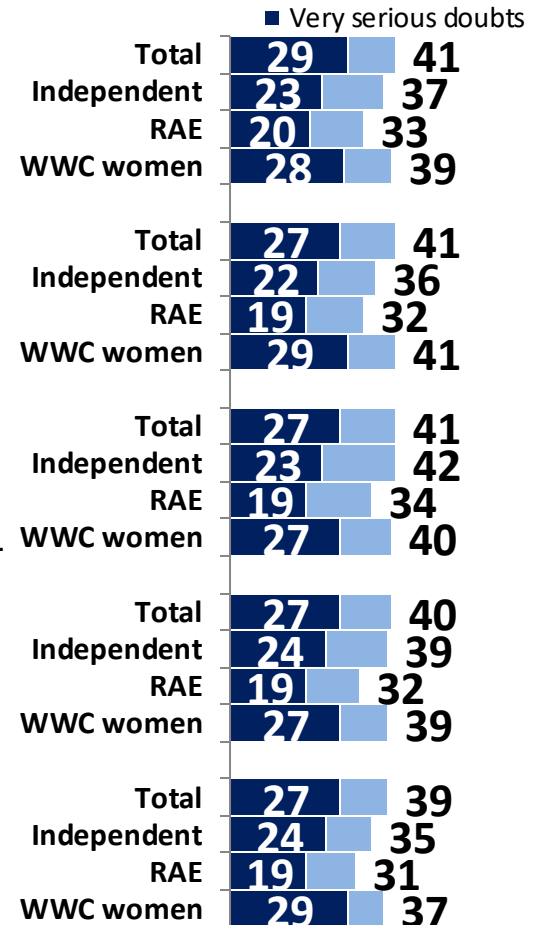
Green New Deal: The Democrats' Green New Deal is a ridiculous proposal with no way to pay for it and it will kill millions of jobs. I will not stand for it. We will defend the environment, but we will also defend American sovereignty, American prosperity, and we will defend American jobs. Next they will call to eliminate all Planes, Cars, Cows, Oil, & the Military that would turn the United States into a hermit nation.

Open Borders: No betrayal of American workers has been worse than the Democratic Party's pursuit of open borders. Democrats won't do anything about border security, and people are coming in by the thousands which means job losses, violent crime, drugs, and human trafficking. Our border patrol, our law enforcement and our detention facilities are overwhelmed. As fast as we build them, they fill up, and our hospitals, schools and public resources are overburdened. It is time to get serious about border security.

Ukraine: Joe Biden's son got rich serving on the board of Ukraine's largest private gas company, even though it was under investigation by Ukrainian prosecutors. At the same time, Joe Biden used his role as Vice President to withhold millions in U.S. aid from Ukraine until they fired the prosecutor investigating his son's company. This is clear corruption, and it is time for transparency from Joe Biden.

Impeachment: Joe Biden promised Ukraine \$1 billion if they fired the prosecutor investigating his son's company. And now that President Trump has asked Ukraine to investigate corruption, the Democrats are trying to impeach him by slinging false allegations, while their media lap dogs all follow along. The Democrats lost the last election, and now they are trying to steal this one.

Healthcare: Obamacare has been a disaster and the Democrats have blocked the Trump administration's efforts to fix it at every turn. The Democrats running for president want to end private insurance and bring socialism to our country with their Medicare for All plan, but the Trump administration has been hard at work with a new plan for putting the people back in charge with more choice for better care at a far lower cost and we won't be taxing you into oblivion.



Medicare for All paths

FIGHT FOR MEDICARE FOR ALL

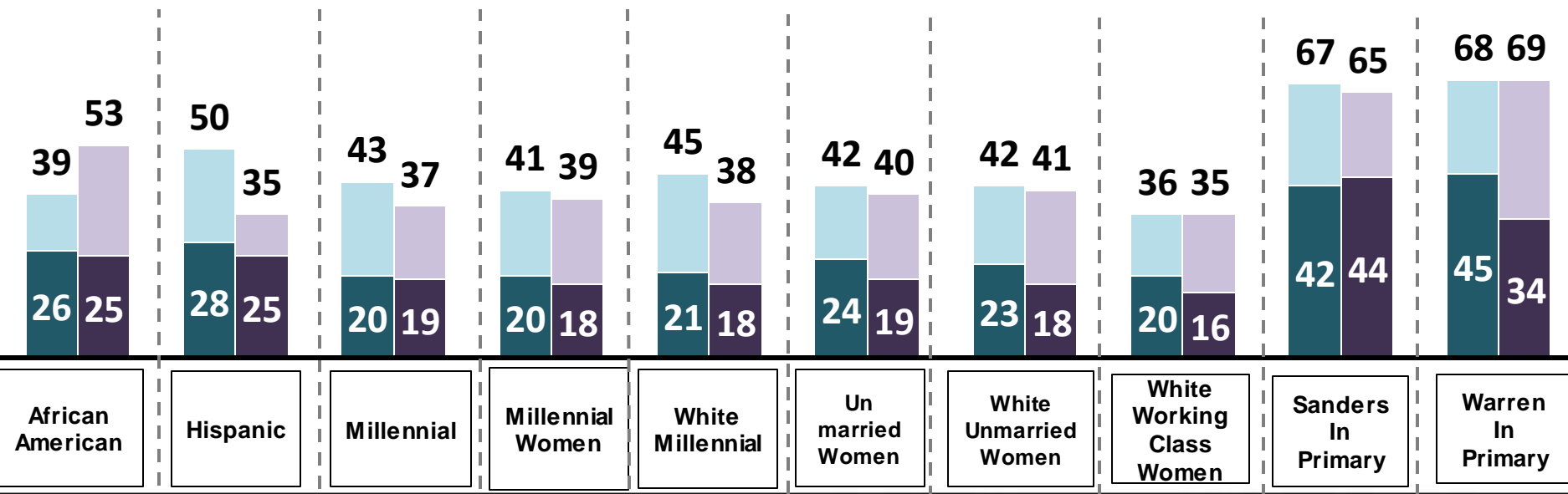
Healthcare is a basic human right, and I won't stop fighting to get to Medicare for all, even though ending private health insurance will be very hard to achieve. The basic business model of an insurance company is to take in as much money as they can in premiums and pay out as little as possible in health care coverage. We can always look for better ways to regulate business, but it doesn't work in health care because the motivation for profit produces out of control prices and drug costs that kill people. So, I'm going to fight to get to Medicare for all.

MEDICARE FOR ALL WITH 5 YEAR ENHANCED MEDICARE TRANSITION

I support Medicare for all and getting to a single payer system, like Canada. Here is how I will get there. I would greatly improve Medicare immediately to reduce prescription drug prices, cover dental and long-term care and have no deductibles. Medicaid would become part of plan and all children would be automatically enrolled. Employers who provide comparable coverage can continue providing private insurance or enroll them in this enhanced Medicare. Employees can change to Medicare at any point. After 5 years, the Congress will vote on whether to transition to Medicare for all or continue with the mixed system of enhanced Medicare and private insurance.

RAE+ VOTERS IN BATTLEGROUND

■ Much more positive
■ Somewhat more positive

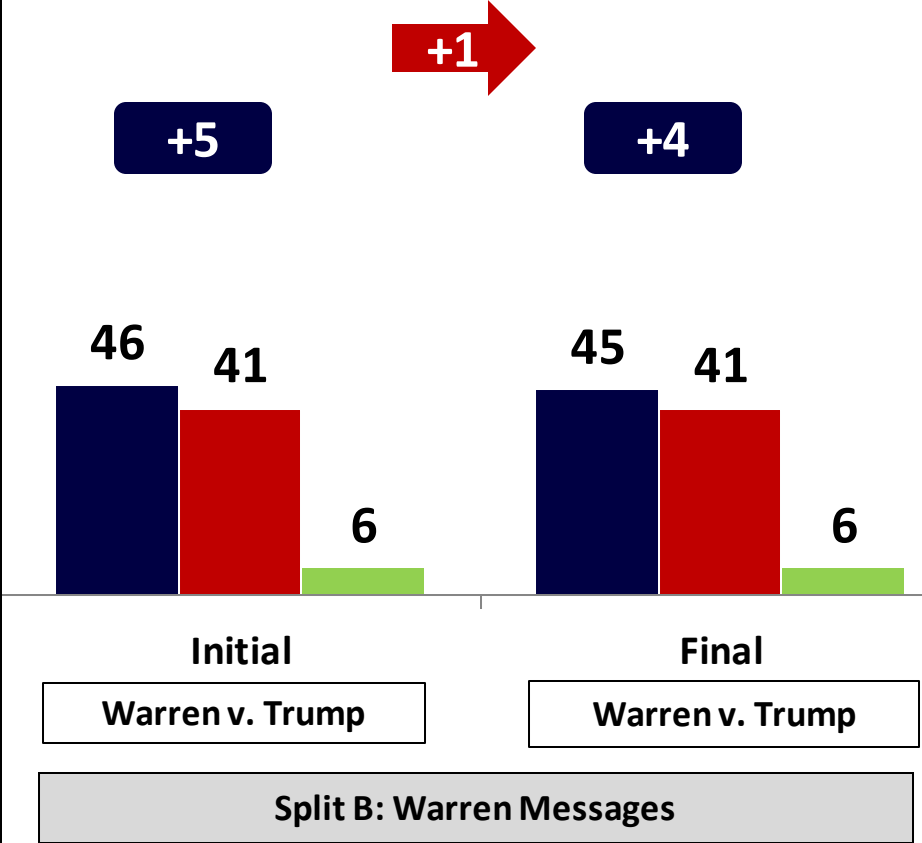
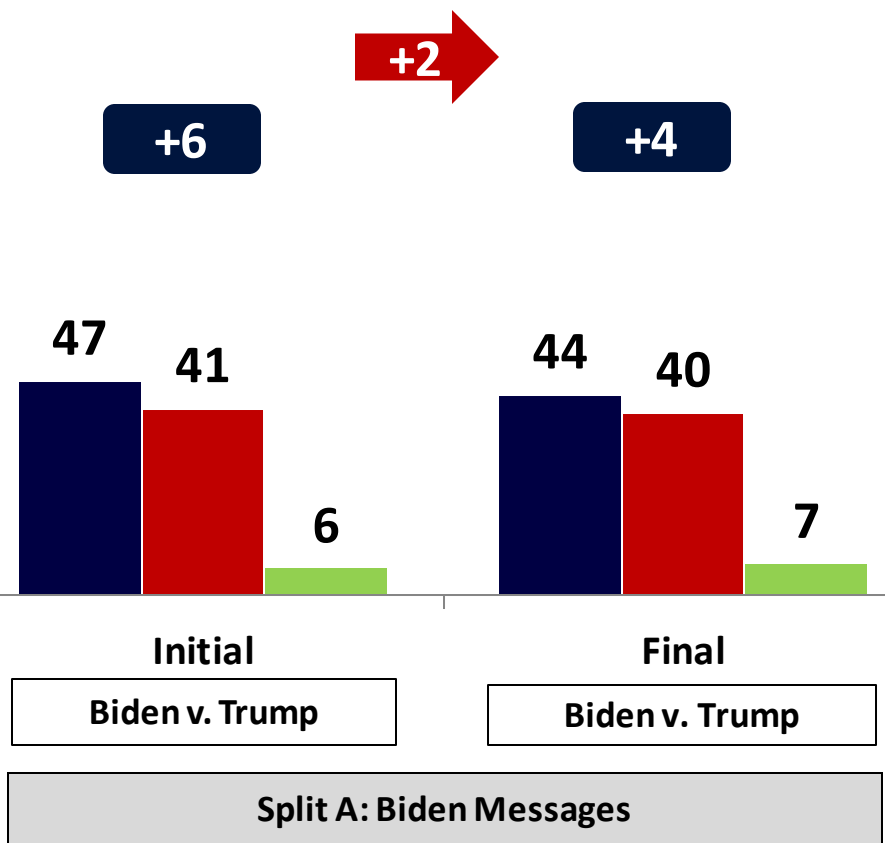


After simulated campaign, Biden vote wavers, while Warren stable, but both lead by 4 points and Trump stuck at 41 percent

2020 PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT

Initial and Final Vote by Split

■ Democrat Biden/Warren ■ Republican Donald Trump ■ Libertarian/Other



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