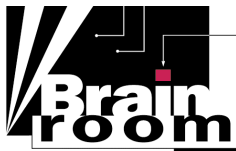


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# **DNC's Rules and Bylaws Committee Meeting Brainroom Briefing Book**



**Bryan S. Murphy**  
**Sr. Political Affairs Specialist**  
**Fox News Channel**

**Table of Contents**

Introduction.....	3
Saturday's RBC Meeting .....	4
The three pending challenges before the RBC .....	5
The Players in the RBC meeting .....	6
What happens after the meeting? .....	7
The Democratic National Committee's 30-member Rules and Bylaws Committee .....	8
The RBC Co-Chairs .....	9
Profiles of DNC Rules and Bylaws Committee Members.....	10
Rallies Planned for Saturday .....	12
Some Notes on Delegate Numbers.....	14
Endnotes .....	16

## Introduction

The Rules and Bylaws Committee of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) meets Saturday in a Washington hotel to decide how to apportion Florida's 211 delegates (including superdelegates) and Michigan's 157 (including superdelegates).

Florida and Michigan were stripped of their delegates for scheduling primaries earlier than national party rules allowed. Clinton won both contests. Neither Democrat campaigned in those states before the January primaries, and Obama took his name off the Michigan ballot.

The Clinton campaign concedes she still would trail Obama by a considerable number of delegates if the entire Michigan and Florida delegations were seated in Denver during the convention Aug. 25-28. But Clinton would surpass Obama in total popular votes, possibly bolstering her argument to party leaders known as superdelegates that she is best positioned to win in November.

Clinton wants to seat the total 368 delegates from the two states. DNC lawyers, however, told the rules committee it could count only half the delegates.<sup>1</sup>

What seemed increasingly likely is that Florida and Michigan will get just half of their total 368 delegates. It appears improbable that the entire delegations will be seated without any penalty whatsoever.

While it's clear that Clinton wants the delegations seated without penalty – she won both states – it's less clear what Obama wants. He has said only that he wants the states to be seated in a fair way.<sup>2</sup>

Obama campaign manager David Plouffe told reporters that the senator from Illinois is prepared to forfeit a portion of his delegate lead, as part of a compromise to resolve the Florida and Michigan flap. "We don't think it's fair to seat them fully," Plouffe said of the two delegations. But he added, "We're willing to give some delegates here" in order to put the matter to rest.<sup>3</sup>

The Obama campaign has said the fairest resolution "would be a 50-50 split" with Clinton, but the Clinton campaign has flatly rejected that proposal, saying she should be awarded more delegates, in proportion to her victory margin in both states.<sup>4</sup>

As of the time this brief was written, Obama was 42 delegates away from the 2,026 now needed to clinch the nomination. The panel's decision could increase the number needed to clinch.<sup>5</sup>

Depending on the allocation, Clinton could eat into Obama's lead in delegates, but adding half the delegates would put the number needed for nomination at 2,118 but not as high as the 2,210 it would be if the delegations are seated in full.<sup>6</sup>

"Our magic number could increase kind of at the eleventh hour here," Obama campaign manager David Plouffe said. The campaign expects uncommitted superdelegates to swarm to Obama and give him the votes needed to clinch after the last two primaries Tuesday in South Dakota and Montana. He leads in polls in both states. Clinton leads in Puerto Rico, which votes Sunday.<sup>7</sup>

On May 28 Obama said of the RBC meeting, "I think Saturday will be important, put the Michigan, Florida issue behind us."<sup>8</sup> Obama predicted he would be in a "pretty strong position" to clinch the nomination after Saturday's meeting and the final primaries on Tuesday June 3.<sup>9</sup>

## **Saturday's RBC Meeting**

Where: Marriott Wardman Park Hotel - Salon I  
2660 Woodley Road NW, Washington, DC

The meeting starts at 9:30 a.m. EDT. DNC chairman Howard Dean is expected to make some opening remarks followed by remarks from RBC co-chairs James Roosevelt and Alexis Herman.

Interested parties will get the chance to speak for 15 minutes to the Rules and Bylaws Committee (RBC) about the delegations to the Denver convention from Michigan and Florida.

The list includes Democratic National Committee member Jon Ausman of Tallahassee, Fla., and a representative from the Michigan Democratic Party. They are actually bringing the challenges to the penalties the party imposed.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, there will be representatives from the campaigns of Clinton and Obama and representatives for Florida and Michigan Democrats.<sup>11</sup> A representative from each state party and from each presidential campaign will have an opportunity to address the committee regarding each of the challenges. Oral arguments from the parties will be heard during the committee's morning session.<sup>12</sup>

The committee then will break for a private lunch.

At an open afternoon session, members of the committee will discuss the challenges and proceed according to parliamentary rules. Luis Miranda, a spokesman for the DNC, said he expected most of the panel's 30 members to attend the meeting Saturday. Of those members, 13 support Clinton, eight support Obama and other nine haven't committed.<sup>13</sup>

Committee members have been advised to keep their hotel rooms Saturday night in case the discussion spills over into Sunday.<sup>14</sup>

In order to maintain the decorum of the meeting, the DNC has prohibited banners, posters, signs, handouts, and noisemakers of any kind. The agenda for the meeting does not include time for questions from the general public.<sup>15</sup>

The 500 tickets set aside for spectators were snapped up within three minutes on the Internet.

The meeting is scheduled to be carried on C-SPAN and streamed live on the DNC website.<sup>16</sup>

### **The three pending challenges before the RBC**

- From Democratic National Committee member Jon Ausman of Tallahassee, Fla.: The Florida party charter requires the state's ex officio delegates, known as superdelegates, to be seated regardless of any penalties to the state's pledged delegates. (Eight of the state's superdelegates back Clinton and five support Obama while 13 are uncommitted, according to a tally by the Florida Democratic Party.)

- From Democratic National Committee member Jon Ausman of Tallahassee, Fla.: The DNC's delegate selection rules specify that any state that breaks the scheduling rules will be penalized half — not all — of their pledged delegates. Florida has 185 pledged delegates and three unpledged add-on delegates. "The reduction should have been 50 percent in the first place and I'm asking that that be imposed," Ausman said.

- From the Michigan Democratic Party: A compromise plan to fully seat the state's 128 elected delegates, giving Clinton 69 delegates and 59 for Obama. The party said the plan "splits the difference" between the results of the Jan. 15 primary, which, based on the vote, would give Clinton 73 delegates to 55 for "uncommitted," and Obama's call for an even 64-64 split of the delegates. Earlier this month, Clinton rejected this plan as unfair.

The Michigan Democratic Party argues that the state's full delegation should be seated because Michigan Democrats were already punished by the candidates not campaigning in the state. The party said that the lack of participation by the candidates cost the state exposure and influence in the national debate. "Further punishment in the form of no Michigan delegation or a reduced Michigan delegation at the National Convention will only aid the Republicans in their effort to win Michigan in November," the party said in its challenge to the Rules and Bylaws Committee.<sup>17</sup>

DNC member Joel Ferguson of Michigan, who earlier joined the state party's leadership in proposing a compromise solution to allow Michigan delegates to the Democratic National Convention, abandoned the effort Thursday. Ferguson, a Clinton supporter, said it would violate party rules to assign Michigan's uncommitted delegates to Obama, as Michigan proposes. The Michigan proposal "is fatally flawed," Ferguson said in a letter to the committee.

Michigan leaders had hoped to present a united front at Saturday's meeting, but Ferguson said he had to follow his analysis of the rules. "How can you have a unified front if you're not right?" he said. Liz Kerr, a spokeswoman for state Democratic Chairman Mark Brewer, said Ferguson is wrong about the rules, which she said give the RBC wide discretion to resolve the delegate dispute.<sup>18</sup>

## The Players in the RBC meeting

- The Democratic National Committee: DNC chairman Howard Dean is expected to speak at the start of Saturday's meeting.

On Tuesday night (May 27), the DNC sent a staff analysis of the challenges to the members of the Rules and Bylines Committee. Among other things, the memo examined the possibility of imposing a 50 percent sanction on the states' delegations, either by cutting the total number of delegates in half or by giving each delegate half a vote at the convention.<sup>19</sup>

In the memo, DNC lawyers wrote that the two states must forfeit at least half of their delegates as punishment for holding primaries earlier than DNC rules allowed. In the memo, party lawyers determined that full restoration, as sought by Clinton, would violate DNC rules, although it did note a loophole that would allow her to carry the challenge to the first day of the Democratic National Convention in late August.

DNC lawyers found that the Rules and Bylaws Committee acted within its rights by voiding the Florida and Michigan results, after Michigan moved its primary to Jan. 15 and Florida moved its to Jan. 29. They did so in violation of party rules that called for state parties that did not receive waivers from the DNC to schedule primaries no earlier than Feb. 5.<sup>20</sup>

In a statement Wednesday (May 28) the DNC sought to play down the importance of the memo and the media's characterization of it. The DNC characterized the memo as "intentionally neutral." The DNC said of the memo, "does not make specific recommendations."

However, the DNC did go on to say, "The analysis maintains that the RBC did have proper authority and jurisdiction in imposing the 100% sanction. The RBC had wide latitude in that decision."<sup>21</sup>

- The state parties: The Michigan Democratic Party has outlined its position in the challenge it will present Saturday. The Florida Democratic Party is hoping the full delegation will be seated but is looking to move forward, said spokesman Alejandro Miyar. "Florida needs to be represented at the convention. ... We're hoping that Saturday brings a resolution so that we can move on ahead and focus on winning in November." Miyar added: "We want our full delegation, considering we've elected our delegates, to be represented. At the same time it's really for the DNC and the campaigns to come to a satisfactory agreement between the three of them."

If a full contingent is seated, the distribution of Florida's pledged delegates would be 105 for Clinton, 67 for Obama and 13 for former presidential candidate John Edwards.

Sen. Bill Nelson will help make the case for seating Florida's Democratic delegates at the meeting.<sup>22</sup>

Also speaking for Florida: Jon Ausman of Tallahassee – Democratic National Committeeman; Raul Martinez – former Hialeah Mayor and Miami-area congressional candidate; and Janee Murphy of Tampa – Democratic National Committeewoman and secretary of the state party.<sup>23</sup>

Mark Brewer, Chair of Michigan Democratic Party, and Sen. Carl Levin are expected to present the case on behalf of Michigan.

- The two candidates: The campaigns for both Obama and Clinton reiterated their positions in separate conference calls on Wednesday. Clinton's campaign has called for the delegations to be seated based on the votes in the each state's primary and says the delegations must be seated in full with each delegate granted full voting power.<sup>24</sup>

Florida State Sen. Arthenia Joyner of Tampa will speak on behalf of Clinton.<sup>25</sup> Former Michigan Gov. Jim Blanchard will speak for Clinton on Michigan.

Florida Rep. Robert Wexler will represent Obama at the meeting. Former Michigan congressman David Bonior, who ran John Edwards unsuccessful campaign, will also represent Obama at the meeting.<sup>26</sup>

Obama's campaign originally argued the delegates for each state should be split 50-50 since the contests were not supposed to count in the nominating process, but has since amended its position. The campaign now agrees in principle to a solution that would give Clinton the advantage in the delegate count from both states since she won the primaries, but said that the full delegations should not be seated because the states broke the national party rules. "We're hoping that there's some fair resolution here that allows some participation in Denver of the two states, that would resolve, in all likelihood, in some delegate yield to Sen. Clinton," Obama Campaign Manager David Plouffe said Wednesday.<sup>27</sup>

### **What happens after the meeting?**

The Clinton campaign's stance — calling for 100 percent participation for the delegates from Michigan and Florida based solely on the primary votes — puts it at odds with both the Obama campaign and the DNC. However, in the conference call Wednesday, Clinton advisers remained coy about what the campaign would do if the Rules and Bylaws Committee does not settle the issue in its favor. "Our focus is on Saturday," said Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson. "And our expectation and our belief is that the DNC will vote on Saturday to seat Florida and Michigan at 100 percent, and that's what we're focused on." Wolfson added: "If there is some other outcome, we can deal with it then."<sup>28</sup>

Clinton senior adviser Harold Ickes has refused to rule out a legal challenge if the committee does not rule in Clinton's favor. "That's a bridge to cross when we come to that particular stream," he said.<sup>29</sup>

If the issue isn't resolved Saturday it could go to the Credentials Committee, which is charged with coordinating issues around the selection of delegates and alternates to the convention. The members of the Credentials Committee historically meet in July or early August before the convention. The party has not yet set the date for a meeting, but all parties to the negotiations have said they hope the issue will be resolved Saturday and the Democratic National Convention has refused to speculate on next steps should the negotiations fail on Saturday.<sup>30</sup>

The party's 186-member Credentials Committee can restore 100% of the delegates, according to party lawyers. But any decision by that committee would have to be approved by the full convention in Denver — raising the prospect of a potentially damaging floor fight instead of the unity-fest that most Democrats would prefer.<sup>31</sup>

**The Democratic National Committee's 30-member Rules and Bylaws Committee**

The 30 panel members are superdelegates. Thirteen have endorsed Clinton; eight back Obama. Nine are undeclared.

<b>Candidate Support among DNC Rules and Bylaws Committee Members</b>		
<b>Hillary Clinton (13)</b>	<b>Barack Obama (8)</b>	<b>Undeclared/Undecided (9)</b>
Harold Ickes (DC)	Martha Fuller Clark (NH)	Donna Brazille (DC)
Donald Fowler (SC)	Carol Khare Fowler (SC)	Mark Brewer (MI)
Hartina Flournoy (DC)	Janice Griffin (VA)	Ralph Dawson (NY)
Jaime Gonzalez, Jr. (TX)	Thomas Hynes (IL)	Yvonne Gates (NV)
Alice Huffman (CA)	Allan Katz (FL)	Alice Germond (DC)
Ben Johnson (DC)	Sharon Stroschein (SD)	Alexis Herman (DC)
Elaine Kamarck (MA)	Sarah Swisher (IA)	David McDonald (WA)
Eric Kleinfeld (DC)	Everett Ward (NC)	James Roosevelt, Jr. (MA)
Mona Pasquil (CA)		Jerome Wiley Segovia (VA)
Mame Reiley (VA)		
Garry Shay (CA)		
Elizabeth Smith (DC)		
Michael Steed (DC)		

Overall, 11 have contributed campaign cash, according to the USA TODAY analysis.

More than a third of the Democratic Party committee charged with deciding the fate of Michigan and Florida delegates have donated to the campaigns of Clinton or Obama, a USA TODAY analysis shows.

Most of the money -- more than \$23,000 -- has gone to Clinton, who wants the delegates counted to boost her uphill presidential bid, the analysis shows. Obama has received nearly \$6,000.<sup>32</sup>

<b>Candidate Support by DNC Rules and Bylaws Committee Members</b>
<b>Endorsers:</b> Clinton 13, Obama 8, Uncommitted 9
<b>Donors:</b> Clinton 8 (\$23,200*), Obama 2 (\$5,850), Both 1

\* An Elizabeth Smith of Washington, D.C. donated \$700 to the Clinton campaign. USA Today could not confirm that the Elizabeth Smith on the committee is the same as the donor.

## **The RBC Co-Chairs**

At the heart of the mix are RBC co-chairman Jim Roosevelt and RBC co-chairwoman Alexis Herman, two longtime Democrats little-known outside party circles.

Roosevelt and Herman have been calling members of the committee to gauge opinion, and they have reached out to the two campaigns in hopes of promoting a compromise.

Throughout, they've kept a public face of neutrality, even as others on the committee have been picking sides and, in some cases, lobbying furiously.

"People need to feel things were fair and inclusive," said Tom Hynes, a prominent Chicago Democrat who serves on the panel. "Although everyone's not going to get everything they want, Alexis and Jim will ensure everyone has their say. ... That will help produce a good feeling about the outcome."

The proceedings are more likely to be orderly, says panel member Don Fowler, Carol Fowler's husband and a former Democratic National Committee chairman, because Roosevelt and Herman are respected in Democratic political circles.

Roosevelt and Herman have a long history with the party.

Roosevelt, a lawyer and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's grandson, was appointed by President Bill Clinton to serve as associate commissioner for the Social Security Administration.

Herman served as secretary of labor, appointed to that position by President Clinton after serving as director of the White House Office of Public Liaison.

She has been active in Democratic politics for years and organized the 1992 Democratic National Convention.

Howard Dean appointed Roosevelt and Herman to co-chair the Rules Committee after he took over as DNC chairman in 2005.

One member is from Florida and another from Michigan, and they can't vote on anything affecting their home states.

Colleagues say Roosevelt and Herman, who would vote only in the event of a tie, are keeping a low public profile.

"Those two are working hard behind the scenes, distilling it all," Carol Fowler said. "They'll know Saturday what's going to come out of everybody's mouth. And some of us are pretty unpredictable."<sup>33</sup>

## **Profiles of DNC Rules and Bylaws Committee Members**

### **Chairs**

- Alexis Herman served in the Clinton administration as secretary of labor from 1997 to 2001, but has stayed neutral in the Democratic primary.
- James Roosevelt, Jr. is president and CEO of Tufts Health Plan, a Massachusetts based HMO. He is also neutral.

### **Members**

- Donna Brazile is chair of the Democratic National Committee's Voting Rights Institute and is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University in Washington, DC. She is neutral in the Democratic primary.
- Mark Brewer is chairman of the Michigan Democratic Party and has not endorsed a candidate.
- Martha Fuller Clark is a member of the New Hampshire state senate who was defeated in a House race against then-incumbent John Sununu (R-N.H.). Clark backs Sen. Barack Obama (D-III.).
- Ralph Dawson is an attorney with the international law firm Fulbright and Jaworski, where he is engaged in the practice of labor and employment law and civil litigation in the firm's New York office. Dawson has not endorsed a candidate.
- Hartina Flournoy serves as assistant to the president of the American Federation of Teachers, where she focuses on public policy. She supports Clinton.
- Carol Khare Fowler is chairwoman of the South Carolina Democratic Party and is an Obama backer.
- Donald Fowler is professor of public administration and American politics at the University of South Carolina and served as national chairman of the Democratic National Committee from 1995 to 1997. He backs Clinton.
- Yvonne Atkinson Gates was Clark County (Nev.) Commissioner from 1993 to 2007 and is neutral in the race.
- Alice Germond has served as secretary of the Democratic National Committee since 2002 and has not backed a candidate.
- Jaime Gonzalez, Jr. is an attorney and a member of the American Association for Justice and the Texas Trial Lawyers Association. Gonzalez backs Clinton.
- Janice Griffin is president and CEO of Griffin & Associates, a government affairs consulting firm. She supports Obama.
- Alice Huffman is president of the California State Conference of the NAACP and is founder and president/CEO of A.C. Public Affairs, Inc., a firm that specializes in public and grass roots advocacy. Huffman backs Clinton.
- Thomas Hynes is a member of the governmental relations group of Chapman and Cutler LLP, where he focuses on governmental relations, commercial law, state and local taxation and local government law. Hynes has endorsed Obama.

- Harold Ickes. Harold Ickes is co-chair of Meyer, Suozzi, English & Klein, P.C.'s labor and government relations groups and manages the firm's Washington, DC office. Ickes served as deputy White House chief of staff in the Clinton administration from 1994-1997. Ickes is a senior adviser on Clinton's campaign.
- Ben Johnson was an assistant to the president during the Clinton administration and backs Clinton.
- Elaine Kamarck is a lecturer in public policy who came to the Kennedy School in 1997 after creating and administering the National Performance Review from 1993 to 1997. The former senior aide to Vice President Al Gore is backing Clinton.
- Allan Katz is a Florida superdelegate and Tallahassee city commissioner who supports Obama. Katz is the only member of rules and bylaws committee who voted against sanctioning Florida and Michigan.
- Eric Kleinfeld. Eric Kleinfeld is a Washington, DC attorney and Clinton supporter who worked on Howard Dean's 2004 presidential campaign.
- David McDonald is an attorney at K&L Gates whose practice focuses on intellectual property litigation. He also regularly advises on matters of constitutional and statutory law relating to political parties and has served as lead counsel for the Washington State Democratic Party. He has not endorsed a candidate.
- Mona Pasquil is Northern California co-Chair of Asian American and Pacific Islanders (AAP) for Hillary and is former deputy political director of constituency outreach for Kerry-Edwards 2004. She is backing Clinton.
- Mame Reiley is Democratic National Committee Women's Caucus chair and backs Clinton.
- Garry Shay is chairman of the California Democratic Party Rules Committee and backs Clinton.
- Elizabeth Smith is a member-at-large of the Democratic National Committee from the District of Columbia. She supports Clinton.
- Michael Steed is managing director of Paladin Capital Group, a firm which provides equity capital to small to medium sized companies. Steed backs Clinton.
- Sharon Stroschein heads Sen. Tim Johnson's (D-S.D.) office in Aberdeen, S.D. and has endorsed Obama.
- Sarah Swisher is first vice chairwoman of the Iowa Democratic Party and an Obama endorser.
- Everett Ward is a North Carolina superdelegate and Obama supporter.
- Jerome Wiley Segovia is a Virginia superdelegate and founder of Latinos for Dean. He has not endorsed a candidate.<sup>34</sup>

## Rallies Planned for Saturday

Hundreds of Clinton backers plan to protest outside the Washington hotel hosting the RBC.

Clinton's loyalists are encouraging the protests - and ratcheting up arguments for why Clinton deserves the lion's share of the unseated delegates because she handily won the two states' unsanctioned primaries. By contrast, Obama's campaign told its supporters in an e-mail to stay away.

"With a click of a mouse in the mid-Atlantic, we could get thousands of people there," Obama's campaign manager, David Plouffe, told reporters on Wednesday. "But in the interest of party unity, we are not encouraging a protest. We don't think a scene is helpful as we try to bring the party together."<sup>35</sup>

Clinton supporters are organizing a "Count Every Vote" rally outside the meeting site and have bombarded committee members with phone calls and Florida oranges to press their case.

Saturday's pro-Clinton event is being co-organized by the Women Count PAC -- founded by five top Clinton supporters, including longtime friend and fundraiser Susie Tompkins Buell -- and a coalition of disparate other groups working under the umbrella of Count Every Vote '08.

Organizers said that they expect people to come from 26 states for the rally, as well as some major celebrity speakers, and that they are receiving logistical assistance or other support from the pro-Clinton United Federation of Teachers and Emily's List.

Count Every Vote '08 first came together in mid-March to lobby Democratic superdelegates on behalf of Clinton. Allida M. Black, project director and editor of the Eleanor Roosevelt papers at George Washington University, joined with Tompkins Buell to start Women Count PAC two weeks ago. They raised more than \$250,000 and used the money to buy newspaper ads, including ones that ran in the New York Times over the weekend calling on female readers to attend Saturday's rally.<sup>36</sup>

Women Count and Count Every Vote '08 announced the speaker line-up for Saturday's rally outside the DNC's Rules and Bylaws Committee meeting:

- Jehmu Greene, Former President of Rock the Vote
- Rep. Kirsten Gillibrand (D- NY)
- Rep. Corrine Brown (D-FL)
- Rep. Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH)
- Rep. Eric Massa (D-NY)
- Ambassador Elizabeth Bagley, former U.S. Ambassador to Portugal
- Kim Gandy, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW)
- Brent Wilkes, national executive director, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
- Lulu Flores, president, National Women's Political Caucus

- Amy Rao, founder, Integrated Archive Systems and president, 11th Hour Project
- The Rev. Marcia Dyson, African-American minister
- Jim Hannagan, founder, Florida Demands Representation
- Expect additional participants to be announced.<sup>37</sup>

## **Some Notes on Delegate Numbers**

### **Florida and Michigan Totals**

Florida would have had 185 pledged delegates without the DNC sanctions.  
Florida would have had 26 unpledged delegates without the DNC sanctions.  
Florida would have had a total of 211 delegates (pledged + unpledged) without the DNC sanctions.

Michigan would have had 128 pledged delegates without the DNC sanctions.  
Michigan would have had 29 unpledged delegates without the DNC sanctions.  
Michigan would have had a total of 157 delegates (pledged + unpledged) without the DNC sanctions.

### **Florida and Michigan Primary Results**

Pledged delegate breakdowns from Florida & Michigan based on their primary results:

Florida  
Clinton: 105 delegates  
Obama: 67 delegates  
Edwards: 13 delegates

Michigan  
Clinton: 73 delegates  
Uncommitted: 55 delegates

Florida & Michigan Total  
Clinton: 178 delegates  
Obama: 67 delegates  
Uncommitted: 55 delegates  
Edwards: 13 delegates

NOTE: Obama and Edwards did not have their names on the ballot in Michigan, many of their supporters voted for uncommitted.

### **Delegates Needed to Secure Nomination**

The current total number of delegates needed delegates to secure the nomination is 2,026.

If half the Florida and Michigan delegates (including half of each state's slate of unpledged delegates) were restored the total number of delegates needed delegates to secure the nomination would be 2,118.

If the Florida and Michigan delegates (including each state's slate of unpledged delegates) were restored the total number of delegates needed to secure the nomination would be 2,210.

## **Rough Estimates of Possible Delegate Outcomes**

These estimates are provided to show how the overall delegate situation probably won't change considerably after Saturday's meeting. I haven't tried to cover every scenario; there are a number of ways this could play out.

There are also a number of problems when attempting to estimate what the resulting delegate counts would be. These estimates use the current superdelegate situation as a base. These estimates do not attempt to take into account the possible movement of the pledged delegates that Edwards would get from Florida under the different scenarios – delegates pledged to Edwards in other states have been moving to Obama.

These are rough estimates since the preferences of Florida's superdelegates and Michigan's superdelegates have not been tracked by all the usual sources. The following estimates use Democratic Convention Watch's Florida and Michigan superdelegate totals. Their superdelegate tracking for those two states is: Clinton 15; Obama 10; Uncommitted and unselected 30 (Florida: Clinton 8, Obama 5, Uncommitted 13; Michigan: Clinton 7, Obama 5, and Uncommitted 15).

- Current Rules: No delegates from Florida or Michigan
  - Delegates need to nominate: 2,026. Obama is 42 delegates short of the number needed to nominate. Obama is 202 delegates ahead of Clinton.
    - Obama 1,984
    - Clinton 1,782
    - Edwards 8
  
- Half pledged delegate votes/Half superdelegate votes: Using primary results from Florida and Michigan; awarding Michigan uncommitted pledged delegates to Obama
  - Delegates need to nominate: 2,118. Obama is 68 delegates short of the number needed to nominate. Obama is 171.5 delegates ahead of Clinton.
    - Obama 2,050
    - Clinton 1,878.5
    - Edwards 14.5
  
- Full delegate votes/Michigan 69-59/Full superdelegate votes: Using primary results from Florida and Michigan; awarding Michigan delegates according to 69-59 plan
  - Delegates need to nominate: 2,210. Obama is 90 delegates short of the number needed to nominate. Obama is 149 delegates ahead of Clinton.
    - Obama 2,120
    - Clinton 1,971
    - Edwards 21

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> USA Today, "Donors among those ruling on delegates," 29 May 2008.
- <sup>2</sup> Detroit Free Press, "Compromise gaining favor with Clinton, Obama supporters," May 30, 2008.
- <sup>3</sup> Washington Post, "DNC Lawyers Rule Against Clinton," May 29, 2008.
- <sup>4</sup> Boston Globe, "Delegate fight draws Clinton loyalists," May 29, 2008.
- <sup>5</sup> USA Today, "Donors among those ruling on delegates," 29 May 2008.
- <sup>6</sup> Detroit Free Press, "Compromise gaining favor with Clinton, Obama supporters," May 30, 2008.
- <sup>7</sup> USA Today, "Fate of Fla., Mich. delegates gets down to nitty-gritty," May 30, 2008.
- <sup>8</sup> RealClearPolitics.com, "Obama Says He Will Be the Nominee," May 28, 2008.
- <sup>9</sup> Reuters News, "Obama expects to clinch nomination next week," 28 May 2008.
- <sup>10</sup> CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Answers Five Burning Questions About Saturday's DNC Rules Meeting," May 28, 2008.
- <sup>11</sup> CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Answers Five Burning Questions About Saturday's DNC Rules Meeting," May 28, 2008.
- <sup>12</sup> DNC, "DNC Rules & Bylaws Committee to Meet Saturday, May 31st," May 21, 2008.
- <sup>13</sup> CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Answers Five Burning Questions About Saturday's DNC Rules Meeting," May 28, 2008.
- <sup>14</sup> LA Times, "The Democrats' Michigan-Florida mess," May 30, 2008.
- <sup>15</sup> DNC, "DNC Rules & Bylaws Committee to Meet Saturday, May 31st," May 21, 2008.
- <sup>16</sup> Los Angeles Times, "30 Democrats hold key to end a heated race," 29 May 2008.
- <sup>17</sup> CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Answers Five Burning Questions About Saturday's DNC Rules Meeting," May 28, 2008.
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- <sup>21</sup> PRNewswire-USNewswire, "DNC Statement on RBC Meeting," May 28, 2008.
- <sup>22</sup> OrlandoSentinel.com, "Saturday's delegate show-down lineup," May 29, 2008.
- <sup>23</sup> Tallahassee Democrat, "Party leaders weigh Florida primary delegation," May 13, 2008.
- <sup>24</sup> CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Answers Five Burning Questions About Saturday's DNC Rules Meeting," May 28, 2008.
- <sup>25</sup> PalmBeachPost.com, "Wexler to represent Obama at DNC meeting," May 29, 2008.
- <sup>26</sup> Detroit Free Press, "Bonior to represent Obama at meeting," May 29, 2008.
- <sup>27</sup> CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Answers Five Burning Questions About Saturday's DNC Rules Meeting," May 28, 2008.
- <sup>28</sup> CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Answers Five Burning Questions About Saturday's DNC Rules Meeting," May 28, 2008.
- <sup>29</sup> Washington Post, "DNC Lawyers Rule Against Clinton," May 29, 2008.
- <sup>30</sup> CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "CQ Answers Five Burning Questions About Saturday's DNC Rules Meeting," May 28, 2008.
- <sup>31</sup> LA Times, "The Democrats' Michigan-Florida mess," May 30, 2008.
- <sup>32</sup> USA Today, "Donors among those ruling on delegates," 29 May 2008.
- <sup>33</sup> Chicago Tribune, "Panel's job is to settle Democrats' delegate dispute," May 30, 2008.
- <sup>34</sup> The Hill, "DNC Rules and Bylaws Committee," May 27, 2008.
- <sup>35</sup> Boston Globe, "Delegate fight draws Clinton loyalists," May 29, 2008.
- <sup>36</sup> Washington Post, "DNC Lawyers Rule Against Clinton," May 29, 2008.
- <sup>37</sup> The Hotline – On Call, "Loud And Clear," May 29, 2008.