

Inside Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis

JANUARY 10, 2020

VOLUME 4, NO. 1

This issue brought to you by



2020 Senate Overview: GOP Women Hold Keys to GOP Majority

By Nathan L. Gonzales

There are just eight Republican women in the U.S. Senate, but they are critical in the GOP effort to maintain the majority.

Of those eight female Republican senators, six will be on the ballot this November and four of them are in competitive races. Martha McSally of Arizona and Susan Collins of Maine are two of the most vulnerable incumbents in the country. Joni Ernst of Iowa and newly-appointed senator Kelly Loeffler of Georgia are facing competitive races as well. Democrats need to defeat at least two, if not three of them to take control of the Senate.

Shelley Moore Capito of West Virginia and Cindy Hyde-Smith of Mississippi should win easily this fall, while Marsha Blackburn of Tennessee and Deb Fischer of Nebraska are not up for re-election this cycle.

Beyond the majority, re-electing the 2020 class is important because the results could decimate the number of Republican women in the Senate. If November goes poorly for the GOP, Republicans could get down to just five or six female senators. The high-water mark would be nine, if the vulnerable senators win re-election and a new female GOP senator is added from Wyoming, which is all-but-certain. In comparison, Democrats have 17 female senators now, and that could creep up to at least 20, depending on the 2020 results.

Overall, with the addition of Kansas, there are a dozen competitive Senate races (10 held by Republicans and two held by Democrats). But considering Republicans are currently longshots to win in New Hampshire and Democrats have considerable work to do in the two Georgia seats and Texas, the field is more narrow. The battle for the Senate comes down to eight states: Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, and North Carolina.

Based on the current partisan breakdown of those states, Democrats need to win six of the eight most competitive races for a majority or five of the eight most competitive races to control the Senate with a White House victory (because the vice president would break tie votes). That might seem like a tall task, but there's plenty of uncertainty considering five of those states (Arizona, North Carolina, Maine, Iowa, and Michigan) are likely to be competitive in the presidential contest. The White House results will have a fundamental impact on control of the Senate.

Beyond the battleground, there's uncertainty in the news. The impeachment trial and conclusion as well as developments in the Middle East could fundamentally change the political climate and tilt it in favor of Republicans or Democrats. But one thing is certain, the Senate majority continues to be in play.

2020 Senate Ratings

Toss-Up

Gardner (R-Colo.)

Tillis (R-N.C.)

McSally (R-Ariz.)

Tilt Democratic

Tilt Republican

Collins (R-Maine)

Lean Democratic

Lean Republican

Peters (D-Mich.)*

KS Open (Roberts, R)#

Ernst (R-Iowa)

Jones (D-Ala.)

Likely Democratic

Likely Republican

Shaheen (D-N.H.)

Cornyn (R-Texas)

Loeffler (R-Ga.)

Perdue (R-Ga.)

Solid Democratic

Solid Republican

NM Open (Udall, D)

TN Open (Alexander, R)

Booker (D-N.J.)

WY Open (Enzi, R)

Coons (D-Del.)

Cassidy (R-La.)

Durbin (D-Ill.)

Capito (R-W.Va.)

Markey (D-Mass.)

Cotton (R-Ark.)

Merkley (D-Ore.)

Daines (R-Mont.)

Reed (D-R.I.)

Graham (R-S.C.)

Smith (D-Minn.)

Hyde-Smith (R-Miss.)

Warner (D-Va.)

Inhofe (R-Okla.)

McConnell (R-Ky.)

Risch (R-Idaho)

Rounds (R-S.D.)

Sasse (R-Neb.)

Sullivan (R-Alaska)

	GOP	DEM
116th Congress	53	47
Not up this cycle	30	35
Currently Solid	15	9
Competitive	8	3

Takeovers in *Italics*, # moved benefiting Democrats, * moved benefiting Republicans

Important Redistricting Process Begins with Reapportionment

By Ryan Matsumoto

In December, the Census Bureau released new 2019 population estimates that give us clues about which states will gain or lose congressional seats and how the Electoral College will be impacted for the next decade.

History & Process

The Reapportionment Act of 1929 outlined the process by which states are allocated congressional seats, capping the number of representatives at 435 and setting the process in place so that reapportionment would occur after the 1930 census. Another act in 1940 made reapportionment automatic after every decennial census. A final act in 1941 chose the Huntington-Hill/Equal Proportions mathematical method for allocating seats.

Every ten years, the Census Bureau conducts a total resident population count in every state. Released by December 31 in the year of the Census (2020 is a Census year), these counts are used to distribute congressional seats to each state. Accordingly, these counts also change how many electoral votes each state gets in presidential elections. States with faster population growth relative to the nation may gain seats, while states with slower population growth relative to the nation may lose seats.

Since the census population counts will be released after the 2020 elections, they will not be used until the 2022 midterm election and the 2024 presidential election.

Which States Will Gain or Lose Seats?

According to Election Data Services, seven states are projected to gain congressional seats and ten states are projected to lose congressional seats. While the 2020 census has not been conducted yet, Election Data Services used the 2019 state-by-state population estimates to project 2020 population estimates based on growth trends from 2018-2019.

The biggest winner is Texas, which is projected to gain three seats. The second biggest winner is Florida, which is projected to gain two seats. Five other states are projected to gain a single seat: Arizona, Colorado, Montana, North Carolina, and Oregon.

On the flipside, the 10 states projected to lose a single seat are Alabama, California, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and West Virginia.

How Would This Have Impacted the 2016 Election?

If the projected congressional seat allocation was in place for the 2016

presidential election, President Donald Trump would have won by a higher electoral vote margin over Hillary Clinton than he did in 2016. While Trump's pledged electoral margin over Clinton was 306-232, he would have gained three additional pledged electors and won 309-229 if the new congressional seat allocation was in place.

However, it is important to note that the new congressional seat allocation will not impact the Electoral College until the 2024 presidential election.

Sun Belt Opportunity for Democrats

Although Republicans seem to benefit slightly from the projected Electoral College map in the short-term, Democrats may benefit in the long term if they continue to make gains in Sun Belt states with high population growth.

Arizona and Texas are two Trump states that are projected to gain Electoral College votes but have been shifting towards the Democrats lately. While Arizona voted for Romney by 9 percentage points in 2012, it voted for Trump by only 4 percentage points in 2016. While Texas voted for Romney by 16 percentage points in 2012, it voted for Trump by only 9 percentage points in 2016. Both states featured competitive Senate elections in the 2018 midterm elections. Democrat Kyrsten Sinema emerged victorious in Arizona by a narrow 2 percentage point margin, while Democrat Beto O'Rourke fell just short in Texas with a losing margin of just 3 percentage points.

Demographics are a big reason why Arizona and Texas are trending towards the Democrats. In Arizona, Daily Kos Elections estimates that 22 percent of the eligible voter population is Latino, almost double the national average. In Texas, about 29 percent of the eligible voter population is Latino. Both states also have above average shares of white voters with college degrees: 35 percent in Arizona and 37 percent in Texas.

Population growth has also been helping Democrats in these two states. Some of the fastest growing counties in America are in metropolitan areas such as Phoenix, Dallas-Fort Worth, Austin, San Antonio, and Houston. Many of the newcomers are college-educated professionals from blue states who are more inclined to vote Democratic than existing residents.

As Democrats look towards the future, the projected Electoral College map of 2024 may make a "Sun Belt strategy" aimed at winning states such as Arizona and Texas a more enticing long-term opportunity. This is

Continued on page 3



Nathan L. Gonzales
Editor & Publisher
nathan@insideelections.com
@nathanlgonzales

Stuart Rothenberg
Senior Editor
stu@insideelections.com

Ryan Matsumoto
Contributing Analyst
ryan@insideelections.com

Robert Yoon
Contributing Reporter & Analyst
robert@insideelections.com

@InsideElections
facebook.com/InsideElections
InsideElections.com

Will Taylor
Production Artist
will@insideelections.com

Copyright 2020,
Inside Elections LLC.
All rights reserved.

Continued from page 2

especially true considering that several Rust Belt states such as Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, all of which have above-average shares of white voters without a college degree, will likely lose electoral votes.

Partisan Control Over Redistricting

Once the new congressional seat allocations are announced, each state will have to draw new congressional district lines to account for seat changes as well as population trends within each state. Partisan control over the redistricting process in each state will be crucial in determining which party gains the upper hand in the 2022 midterm elections and beyond.

Redistricting works differently state-by-state and has changed over the years. The most common method is for state legislatures to draw congressional maps, often with veto power granted to the governor. This method has drawn scrutiny in recent years, since politicians may tip the scales in the mapmaking process to favor their own party. One alternative redistricting method is a bipartisan independent commission, where appointed members who are not elected officials handle redistricting. Another alternative is a bipartisan politician commission, where elected officials directly participate in the redistricting process on a special panel.

According to Professor Justin Levitt from Loyola Law School, 19 states have redistricting controlled by Republicans, six states have redistricting controlled by Democrats, nine states have split control of redistricting, seven states have redistricting controlled by bipartisan independent commissions, two states have redistricting controlled by bipartisan politician commissions, and the remaining seven states are projected to have only one congressional district.

Note: Nebraska officially has a nonpartisan legislature but we count it as Republican controlled based on legislators' party affiliations.

However, partisan control over the redistricting process may change by the time the new districts are drawn in 2021. Of the 34 states where

redistricting is controlled primarily by state legislatures, 29 of them have state legislative elections in 2020, according to Ballotpedia. There will also be five gubernatorial elections in states where the governor has veto power over redistricting.

This greatly increases the stakes of the 2020 elections - whichever party can gain an edge will likely gain control of the redistricting process in additional states. One reason Republicans did so well in the 2010 redistricting cycle was that they had a wave election where they won the national popular vote by 7 percentage points. This allowed them to draw congressional district lines in many states, setting them up to maintain control of the House of Representatives until 2018.

One state in particular to watch is Texas - it is both the largest state where the state legislature controls redistricting, and the state projected to gain the largest number of congressional seats in 2020 reapportionment. Republicans currently have a 19-12 advantage in the state Senate and a 83-67 advantage in the state House. However, Democrats may have a shot at flipping one or both chambers. According to calculations by Daily Kos Elections, O'Rourke won 15 of the 31 state Senate districts and 76 of 150 state House districts in his unsuccessful run for Senate in 2018.

The Bottom Line

The first big takeaway is that Sun Belt states such as Arizona, Texas, and Florida are projected to gain congressional seats, while Rust Belt states such as Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania are projected to lose congressional seats. While this appears to advantage Republicans in the short-term based on 2016 presidential election results, Democrats may benefit if they're able to flip states such as Arizona and Texas in the future.

The second big takeaway is that 2020 state legislature elections will be crucial in determining which party controls the redistricting process in many states. The party that gains the upper hand overall will gain an invaluable advantage in the battle for the House over the next decade. **IE**

States Likely to Gain or Lose House Seats in the Next Decade



Source: Election Data Services estimates

Alabama. Doug Jones (D), elected 2017 special (50%). March 3 primary. March 31 runoff. In November, former Sen. Jeff Sessions entered the race for his old seat and is the GOP frontrunner. He served as Trump's attorney general for a tumultuous nine months, but Sessions is all-but-guaranteed to make the runoff, if not win the nomination outright in early March. Former Auburn head football coach Tommy Tuberville (\$1.5 million on Sept. 30) was leading in the polls before Sessions got in and is now trying to force a runoff and finish second ahead of Rep. Bradley Byrne (\$2.5 million). The other big news is that former state Supreme Court Justice/losing 2017 GOP nominee Roy Moore (\$34,000) is largely irrelevant in the race. He was probably Jones' best chance at winning a full term.

The senator had \$5 million on Sept. 30 and will conduct a valiant effort, but the partisanship of the state and turnout will likely be too much to overcome. Outside Democratic groups will likely spend some money to support the incumbent, and Republicans will likely have to respond, but Democrats should plan on a loss here in their math to Senate control. Lean R.

JMC Analytics, Dec. 16-18 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Sessions over Jones 46%-41%, Tuberville over Jones 47%-40%. Byrne over Jones 44%-40%. Jones over Moore 47%-33%.

OnMessage (R) for Sessions, Dec. 3-5 (LVs)— GOP primary ballot: Sessions 44%, Tuberville 21%, Byrne 14%, Moore 7%, Arnold Mooney 1%.

Cherry Communications (R), Dec. 1-3 (LVs)— GOP primary ballot: Sessions 35%, Tuberville 31%, Byrne 12%, Moore 8%, Mooney 1%.

WPA Intelligence (R), Oct. 29-31 (LVs)— GOP primary ballot: Sessions 36%, Tuberville 23%, Byrne 11%, Moore 11%, John Merrill 6%, Mooney 1%.

Alaska. Dan Sullivan (R), elected 2014 (48%). June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 18 primary. A quirky race is developing as Al Gross seeks to become just the fourth senator to be popularly elected as an independent, as pointed out by Jacob Rubashkin of NBC News. Democrats are not fielding a candidate of their own. The DSCC endorsed Gross and introduced him to Democratic donors around the country in an email. Gross, who announced in July, is an orthopedic surgeon whose father served as state attorney general under GOP Gov. Jay Hammond in the late 1970s.

Gross had \$682,000 in the bank on Sept. 30, and the DSCC didn't endorse until early December, so we'll see how that impacts his fundraising. If Gross starts to gain traction, Republicans will dissect his professional career and lack of ties to Alaska. Sullivan had \$3.3 million at the end of September and is running for a second term in a state where Trump won by 15 points in 2016. The race could get more interesting, but for now it's still Solid R.

Arizona. Martha McSally (R), appointed Jan. 2019. April 6 filing deadline. Aug. 4 primary. Not a lot has changed in this race over the last few months. McSally and Democrat Mark Kelly are on a collision course for one of the most expensive and competitive races in the country. McSally had \$5.7 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and is likely to keep raising considerable money but she is running against one of Democrats' most prolific fundraisers. Kelly had \$9.5 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and will likely outpace the senator by a significant margin over the course of the race. That means GOP outside groups will have to do some heavy lifting to get McSally over the line.

Republicans will try to paint Kelly as a hypocrite for refusing to accept corporate PAC money even though he has given paid speeches to

corporations in the past, but overall, without a legislative voting record, he will be a tough target for the GOP. Democrats will make the case that



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

Mark Kelly

the state's other Senate seat by more than 2 points in 2018, McSally probably needs Trump to pull her over the line. She'll need to persuade moderate voters in Maricopa County who voted for GOP Gov. Doug Ducey and against her in 2018 to make a different choice in 2020.

Tens of millions of dollars of ads have yet to be aired in this race, which is likely within the margin of error at this stage. But Kelly is in decent shape as long as the Democratic presidential nominee keeps the race close. If Democrats can't win here, they probably ain't winning back the Senate. Toss-up.

Public Policy Polling (D), Jan. 2-4 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 46%-42%.

OH Predictive Insights (R), Dec. 3-4 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 47%-44%.

Emerson College Polling Society, Oct. 25-28 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 46%-45%.

Change Research (D), Sept. 27-28 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 47%-45%.

Arkansas. Tom Cotton (R), elected 2014 (57%). March 3 primary. March 31 runoff. Josh Mahony, who owns a natural resources company, dropped out of the race after the November filing deadline, leaving Democrats without a candidate. Cotton had \$4.2 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and is on his way to a second term. Solid R.

Colorado. Cory Gardner (R), elected 2014 (48%). March 17 deadline for petitions. June 30 primary (if held). Republicans view Gardner as one of their most talented senators but he's in the most precarious political position this cycle. Trump lost Colorado in 2016 and he's likely to lose it again. Gardner had \$6.7 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and is likely to overperform the president, but it's unclear how big of a hole Trump will dig at the top of the ticket for the senator to climb out of.

The likely Democratic nominee is former Denver mayor/former governor/former presidential candidate John Hickenlooper, even though he might lose the party's caucus endorsement convention. He had \$1.7 million in the bank on Sept. 30 after entering the race at the end of August. Former state House speaker Andrew Romanoff (\$727,000) lost a Senate race in 2010 and a House race in 2014 and is trying to consolidate progressive voters for this race. Nonprofit group executive/immigration advocate Michelle Ferrigno Warren (\$23,000) and Baptist pastor Stephany Rose Spaulding (\$11,000) are also still in a field that has narrowed considerably since Hickenlooper's entry.

While Gardner will try to localize the race and make it a personality

Continued on page 5

Continued from page 4

contest, Democrats will say that he hasn't delivered on his promise to be different and that he's too close to President Trump, including diverting more than \$8 million from Peterson Air Force Base to fund a border wall. Publicly, Republicans don't fear Hickenlooper, since they view him as an untested politician. They're also encouraged by the ethics investigation into whether the then-governor accepted improper travel benefits and his use of public funds to pay for legal counsel as well as his general demeanor in handling tougher scrutiny. But none of these attacks have been litigated with paid ads yet.

Hickenlooper likely starts the race with the lead and should have the partisan wind at his back. Republicans are hoping this race is close throughout, but there's a chance it slips out of reach before Election Day. Toss-up.

Keating Research (D), Oct. 10-14 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Hickenlooper over Gardner 53%-42%.

Emerson Polling (mixed-mode), Aug. 16-19 (RVs)— General Election ballot: Hickenlooper over Gardner 53%-40%.

Global Strategy Group (D)(mixed-mode), Aug. 13-14 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Hickenlooper over Gardner 49%-39%.

Delaware. Chris Coons (D), elected 2010 (57%) and 2014 (56%). July 14 filing deadline. Sept. 15 primary. The filing deadline is still six months away but it's unlikely Republicans put up a fight against the senator, who had \$2.1 million in the bank on Sept. 30. Without apparent pressure from the Left or Right, Coons is trying to cultivate a moderate profile and could be a senator to watch in the future. Solid D.

Georgia. David Perdue (R), elected 2014 (53%). March 6 filing deadline. May 19 primary. July 21 runoff. The Peach State is gearing up to host two Senate races this year. Democrats are still sorting through a field of candidates challenging Perdue. The biggest name is Jon Ossoff, who lost the high-profile special election in the 6th District in 2017. He had \$1.3 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and raised another \$1 million in the last three months of the year. Former Columbus Mayor Teresa Tomlinson (\$290,000 on Sept. 30) is trying to garner support from progressive groups while businesswoman/former Lt. Gov. nominee Sarah Riggs Amico (\$426,000) is trying to leverage a narrow loss with Stacey Abrams last cycle into statewide victory this year. Fourth quarter FEC reports from all the candidates, due at the end of the month, could help clarify the Democratic race. But all of the candidates appear set on challenging Perdue rather than switching to take on the newly appointed senator in the other seat.

As a first-term senator in a growing state, Perdue likely needs to work on his name identification and personal image before the Democratic attacks begin in earnest. But he doesn't have a glaring weakness. Republicans might dismiss Ossoff because of his special election loss, but he wouldn't be an easy target as the nominee because he doesn't have a voting record to defend. In spite of the close race for governor and buzz about the state as an emerging battleground, Republicans still have a 54-46 percent Baseline advantage and Trump won by 5 points in 2016. This race will likely depend on how the Democratic candidates and the national environment evolve. Likely R.

Georgia. Kelly Loeffler (R) appointed Jan. 6, 2020. Special election Nov. 3 (all candidates), Jan. 5 runoff (if necessary). Gov. Brian Kemp appointed Loeffler to the seat left behind by GOP Sen. Johnny Isakson,

who resigned for health reasons. Loeffler, an Illinois native, is a businesswoman, philanthropist, co-owner of the WNBA's Atlanta Dream, as well as a GOP donor.

Kemp's choice gained significant attention because Trump lobbied the governor to select Judiciary Committee Ranking Member /9th District Rep. Doug Collins, one of the president's most vocal defenders. Aside from not being the president's top choice, Loeffler is being criticized by some Republicans for not being sufficiently conservative and donating to some Democratic candidates in the past. But as an incumbent, she will have the full backing of the NRSC and Majority Leader Mitch McConnell.

Since the appointment just became official this week, Democrats are still finding a candidate. DeKalb County District Attorney Sherry Boston, Pastor Raphael Warnock, and state Sen. Jen Jordan are three of the most-mentioned names. Businessman Matt Lieberman, son of former Connecticut Sen. Joe Lieberman, was running before the appointment but he isn't scaring away other candidates from looking. Democrats don't have a deep bench of potential candidates because of their lack of statewide success in recent cycles. But they will criticize Loeffler for being a political insider and scrutinize her business connections.

Loeffler has publicly committed to spending \$20 million of her own money on the race, which is likely to cause critics on both sides to pause before entering the race. Collins hasn't ruled out running and has said he would wait until after the impeachment process is over to make a decision. He had \$1.4 million in his House campaign account on Sept. 30.

This is a special election with slightly different parameters than the Perdue seat. All candidates will run together on Nov. 3. (That means a recent Democratic poll showing Collins leading Loeffler in a hypothetical GOP primary isn't particularly useful.) If no one receives a majority in November, then the top two finishers move to a Jan. 5 runoff. Republicans are confident in a potential runoff, when Democrats have traditionally struggled to turn out African-American voters. But that also means, if control of the Senate is hinging on one seat, then we may not know control of the Senate until 2021. The race has barely started, but because of the strong correlation between races when both seats are up at the same time in a state (one party wins both more than 90 percent of the time), our rating is the same as the other seat for now. Likely R.

Idaho. Jim Risch (R), elected 2008 (58%), 2014 (65%). March 13 filing. May 19 primary. The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee had \$1.8 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and no serious Democratic opponent. Retired businesswoman Nancy Harris has been the top fundraising challenger, and she had \$2,747 on hand at the end of the third quarter. Solid R.

Illinois. Dick Durbin (D), elected 1996 (56%), 2002 (60%), 2008 (68%) and 2014 (54%). March 17 primary. The senator had \$3.8 million in the bank on Sept. 30. A handful of Republicans are running against him, although none of them had more than \$75,000 in the bank. And Illinois is a solidly Democratic state. Solid D.

Iowa. Joni Ernst (R), elected 2014 (51%). March 13 filing deadline. June 2 primary. Real estate executive Theresa Greenfield is the Democratic frontrunner, with support from Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, EMILY's List, League of Conservation Voters, End Citizens

Continued on page 6

Continued from page 5

United, and some organized labor groups. On Thursday, her campaign announced she raised \$1.6 million in the last three months of the year and had \$2.1 million in the bank on Dec. 31. Greenfield was considered a top House recruit in 2018 in the 3rd District but dropped out of the race before the primary when she revealed that a campaign aide had collected invalid signatures to make the ballot. But Greenfield's handling of the situation left a positive impression on party operatives, while her background in ag issues helped her recruitment for this race. She doesn't have the Democratic field to herself. Insurance broker Eddie Mauro (\$1.1 million on Sept. 30) and retired Navy Admiral Mike Franken (\$107,000) are running as well.

Republicans are confident in Ernst, who had \$3.9 million on Sept. 30. Over the last few weeks, she has had to navigate stories about her potential connection to an outside group founded by and independently run by one of her consultants. Democrats don't believe the story is enough to defeat her, but fits into their overall message that the senator has failed in her promise to shake up Washington.

Iowa's current political position is difficult to gauge. Republicans are resting on Trump's 9-point victory in 2016 and Republicans' gubernatorial win in 2018. Democrats are excited about controlling three congressional seats after the 2018 elections, and nearly winning the fourth, as well as increasing uncertainty about the consequences of the president's policies on the ag industry. Even though it's not certain, Trump is likely to win Iowa again, meaning Greenfield will likely need to overperform to defeat Ernst. But Iowa has a history of swinging with the national trend and could be poised for a backlash against Republicans. Lean R.

Public Policy Polling (D), Dec. 13-15 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Ernst over Greenfield 47%-41%.

Emerson College, Oct. 13-16 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Ernst over Greenfield 47%-40%.

Kansas. Open; Pat Roberts (R) not seeking re-election. June 1 filing. Aug. 4 primary. After multiple public denials about his interest, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo informed Majority Leader Mitch McConnell on Monday that he had decided not to run for the Senate. The private meeting, first reported by *The New York Times*, is being viewed as a definitive moment in the race, at least for now.

Pompeo has long been viewed as the Republicans' easiest path to keeping the open seat in GOP hands. There's significant concern that polarizing former Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach will win the GOP nomination and lose the 2020 Senate race in the same way he lost the 2018 race for governor. Kobach (\$198,000 in the bank on Sept. 30) is currently leading the GOP primary field that includes 1st District Rep. Roger Marshall (\$1.9 million) and state Senate President Susan Wagle (\$495,000), and Republican strategists are divided on Marshall's ability to overcome the deficit and win the nomination. A majority of GOP sources believe Marshall's financial and geographic advantage, combined with Kobach's comical demands before he would join the Trump Administration, will turn off enough primary voters. Other Republicans are more skeptical and fear a redo of 2018, when Kobach lost the gubernatorial race by 5 points.

While Republicans battle for the nomination, the likely Democratic nominee is state Sen. Barbara Bollier who was first elected as a Republican and later switched parties. Her campaign announced she raised \$1.1 million in the last three months of the year. She's viewed as a credible candidate if Republicans nominate Kobach. Usha Reddi

(\$54,000) — a teacher and city commissioner from Manhattan, Kansas — is also running on the Democratic side, and would be the first Hindu senator.

If either Marshall or Wagle is the GOP nominee, Democrats don't have much of a chance. But there's a reasonable chance Kobach wins the primary, which would make Kansas a serious takeover opportunity. And it would have a significant impact on the path to Democratic control of the Senate because winning in Kansas would take pressure off of defeating GOP incumbents in Maine and Iowa. We're changing our rating of the race from Solid Republican to Lean Republican.

Kentucky. Mitch McConnell (R), elected 1984 (50%), 1990 (52%), 1996 (55%), 2002 (65%), 2008 (53%) and 2014 (56%). Jan. 28 filing deadline. May 19 primary. Just looking at the fundraising, you'd



Sarah Silbiger/CQ Roll Call

Amy McGrath

think control of the Senate hinged on the outcome in Kentucky. But that's not the case. Because of his effort to help President Trump shape the courts for a generation with dozens of judicial confirmations, McConnell has

become one of the most hated Republicans among Democrats. That helped Democrat Amy McGrath raise an incredible \$6.2 million in the last three months of 2019 alone and finish the year with \$9.1 million in the bank, according to her campaign. The majority leader (who had \$9 million in the bank on Sept. 30) won't suffer from a lack of funds and has the advantage of running in a state that Trump is likely to win by more than 25 points.

Even with that partisan buffer, McConnell can't take the race for granted. But after losing a House race in the Lexington-area district in 2018, McGrath hasn't proven how she's going to win statewide. Republicans will bring up the same comments that GOP Rep. Andy Barr used to take her down last cycle. "I am further left, I am more progressive, than anyone in the state of Kentucky," she said at a Massachusetts fundraiser. McGrath also has a primary against young, African-American state Rep. Charles Booker, but the fundraising discrepancy will be laughable.

Democrat Andy Beshear narrowly defeated unpopular GOP Gov. Matt Bevin, 49.2-48.8 percent, in the November 2019 gubernatorial election. But defeating McConnell will be more difficult considering he isn't as unpopular as Bevin and voters often make a different calculation in federal races when control of the Senate is at stake. At a minimum, Democrats can enjoy watching Republicans divert money and resources to Kentucky that can't be spent elsewhere. Solid R.

Louisiana. Bill Cassidy (R), elected 2014 (56%). July 17 filing deadline. Nov. 3 jungle primary. Dec. 5 Runoff. Democratic Gov. John Bel Edwards won re-election in November, but Democrats don't have a challenger to the senator. That's probably because state races and federal races are often very different. Cassidy's \$4.7 million on Sept. 30 is probably giving any potential candidates pause as well. Solid R.

Continued on page 7

Continued from page 6

Maine. Susan Collins (R), elected 1996 (49%), 2002 (58%), 2008 (61%) and 2014 (69%). March 16 filing. June 9 primary. Collins took some uncertainty out of the race by announcing her re-election bid in December. Her retirement would have been disastrous for the GOP because it would have been nearly impossible to find another Republican candidate who could replicate her electoral strength. Now the senator is likely to face state House Speaker Sara Gideon. She received early endorsements from the DSCC, EMILY's List, and NARAL, and has a significant fundraising advantage over her primary opponents. She had \$2.8 million in the bank on Sept. 30 compared to 2018 gubernatorial candidate Betsy Sweet, who had \$88,000, and former Google executive Ross LaJeunesse, who just entered the race in November.

Collins had \$7.1 million in the bank on Sept. 30. But if she's the nominee, Gideon will inherit close to \$4 million in campaign funds that was raised from Democratic activists around the country after Collins supported Brett Kavanaugh for the U.S. Supreme Court. Collins' personal and job approval ratings have ticked down but she is still ahead of Gideon on ballot tests. Democrats are encouraged by the trend but admit they still have work to do. And Republicans admit that this is a real race, even though Collins has disposed of credible candidates in the past.

Collins' greatest challenge might be convincing enough Democratic voters to support her again when Democrats have no appetite for Trump or anyone connected to him. Democrats will also question what Collins has delivered for the state after 24 years in office. On the other side, this is by far the most difficult race Gideon has ever faced. This continues to look like a close and expensive contest. It might not be a must-win for Democrats but could be a bellwether for how Election Night is unfolding. Tilt R.

Massachusetts. Ed Markey (D) elected 2013 special (55%), 2014 (62%). May 5 filing. Sept. 15 primary. One thing is certain: a Democrat is going to win in November. It's just not clear whether it will be the senator or Rep. Joe Kennedy. The congressman made the somewhat surprising decision to challenge the incumbent in the Democratic primary— setting off an expensive intra-party battle. This week, the Markey campaign announced he raised \$1.4 million in the last three months of the year and had \$4.4 million on hand. Kennedy raised \$2.4 million in the same time period and finished 2019 with \$5.5 million. Brookline labor attorney Shannon Liss-Riordan is also running and had \$2.8 million at the end of September after contributing \$3 million of her own money. Obviously the Kennedy name is golden in Massachusetts and the congressman is more than 30 years younger, but it will be hard to get to Markey's left in the primary, particularly since he has the support of Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. This race is still getting started considering the primary isn't until after the beginning of the next NFL season. Solid D.

Suffolk Univ. for Boston Globe, Sept. 3-5 (LVs)— Dem. primary ballots: Kennedy 35%, Markey 26%, Steve Pemberton 1%. [Two-way:] Kennedy over Markey 42%-28%.

Michigan. Gary Peters (D), elected 2014 (55%). April 21 filing. Aug. 4 primary. Republicans are all-in on their likely nominee, John James. He's a 38-year-old retired Army helicopter pilot and businessman who also happens to be African-American. James ran for nearly a year last cycle

before anyone paid attention to his campaign and he lost by 6 points to Democratic Sen. Debbie Stabenow. That means James performed as well as any generic GOP candidate (according to Baseline, which takes into account the last four cycles) and didn't perform any better with

Continued on page 8

2020 House Ratings

Toss-Up (2R, 7D)

GA 7 (Open; Woodall, R)	NY 11 (Rose, D)
IA 3 (Axne, D)	NY 22 (Brindisi, D)
IL 13 (Davis, R)	OK 5 (Horn, D)
IL 14 (Underwood, D)	SC 1 (Cunningham, D)
	UT 4 (McAdams, D)

Tilt Democratic (11D)

CA 21 (Cox, D)
GA 6 (McBath, D)
IA 1 (Finkenauer, D)
IA 2 (Open; Loeb sack, D)
ME 2 (Golden, D)
MN 7 (Peterson, DFL)
NJ 2 (Van Drew, D)
NJ 3 (Kim, D)
NM 2 (Torres Small, D)
NY 19 (Delgado, D)
VA 7 (Spanberger, D)

Tilt Republican (6R)

IA 4 (King, R)
MN 1 (Hagedorn, R)
PA 1 (Fitzpatrick, R)
PA 10 (Perry, R)
TX 22 (Open; Olson, R)
TX 24 (Open; Marchant, R)

	GOP	DEM
116th Congress	199	235
Currently Solid	168	196
Competitive	31	39
Needed for majority	218	

Lean Democratic (8D, 1R)

CA 48 (Rouda, D)
KS 3 (Davids, D)
MI 8 (Slotkin, D)
NJ 7 (Malinowski, D)
NV 3 (Lee, D)
TX 7 (Fletcher, D)
TX 23 (Open; Hurd, R)
TX 32 (Allred, D)
VA 2 (Luria, D)

Lean Republican (8R, 1I)

CA 50 (Hunter, R)
MI 3 (Amash, I)
MO 2 (Wagner, R)
NC 9 (Bishop, R)
NE 2 (Bacon, R)
NY 2 (Open; King, R)
NY 24 (Katko, R)
OH 1 (Chabot, R)
TX 31 (Carter, R)

Likely Democratic (13D, 2R)

AZ 1 (O'Halleran, D)
AZ 2 (Kirkpatrick, D)
CA 10 (Vacant, D)
CA 39 (Cisneros, D)
CA 45 (Porter, D)
IL 6 (Casten, D)
NH 1 (Pappas, D)
MI 11 (Stevens, D)
MN 2 (Craig, DFL)
NC 2 (Holding, R)
NC 6 (Walker, R)
NJ 11 (Sherrill, D)
PA 8 (Cartwright, D)
PA 17 (Lamb, D)
WI 3 (Kind, D)

Likely Republican (12R)

AZ 6 (Schweikert, R)
IN 5 (Open; Brooks, R)
KY 6 (Barr, R)
MI 6 (Upton, R)
MN 8 (Stauber, R)
NC 8 (Hudson, R)
NY 1 (Zeldin, R)
OH 12 (Balderson, R)
TX2 (Crenshaw, R)
TX 10 (McCaul, R)
TX 21 (Roy, R)
WA 3 (Herrera-Beutler, R)

moved benefiting Democrats, * moved benefiting Republicans Takeovers in Italics

Continued from page 7

black voters than Trump did in 2016. And that's without enduring any negative ads from Democrats.

This cycle, James is becoming a national figure among GOP donors and he's translating that into great fundraising. He raised nearly \$8 million in 2019, including \$3.5 million in the fourth quarter, according to his campaign. Peters raised \$9.3 million last year, including \$2.5 million in the fourth quarter, according to his campaign. This will be an expensive Senate race because the candidates and parties will be competing with presidential ads.



John James

Even though James received a lower percentage in 2018 than Trump received in 2016, Republicans are confident in James' ability to overperform Trump in 2020. That could be necessary if Trump can't replicate his narrow 2016 victory, and a challenge when Democrats tie him to Trump with his comment on video about supporting the president's agenda "2,000%." James does have the advantage of running against Peters, who is in his first term and has lower name identification than Stabenow, James' 2018 opponent who was first elected to the Senate nearly two decades ago.

Republicans need the race to be in play because a victory in Michigan would force Democrats to win in a more conservative state. Without it, they're left with Alabama as the sole legitimate takeover opportunity while defending nine vulnerable seats.

The two parties have different views on the current state of the race but agree that it is competitive. Our rating change is not an indicator of momentum for James but an acknowledgement that Trump won Michigan narrowly in 2016, it's likely to be close again, and the James has established himself as a good fundraiser. Although even with all that money, James is probably at the mercy of the presidential result. Move from Likely D to Lean D.

Glengriff Group (R), Jan. 3-7 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Peters over James 44%-40%.

Restoration PAC (R), Dec. 2 (LVs)— General Election ballot: James over Peters 44%-43%.

Emerson College, Oct. 31-Nov. 3 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Peters over James 46%-40%.

MRG (R), Oct. 7-10 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Peters over James 43%-40%.

Minnesota. Tina Smith (DFL), appointed Jan. 2018, elected 2018 special (53%). June 2 filing. Aug. 11 primary. Minnesota could be one of the most important states in the presidential race, considering Hillary Clinton won it by less than 2 points in 2016, but the state is unlikely to be a factor in the fight for the Senate. The likely GOP nominee is former Rep. Jason Lewis, who lost re-election by 5 points in 2018 in a district he'd have to win in order to win statewide, and he had just \$361,000 in the bank on Sept. 30 for this race. North Central University professor Rob Barrett (\$1,300) is also running. Smith (\$2.7 million) is favored to win her first full term and only loses if the Democratic presidential ticket collapses. Solid D.

Mississippi. Cindy Hyde-Smith (R), appointed 2017, elected 2018 special (54%). Jan. 10 filing. March 10 primary. March 31 runoff. Former Democratic Rep. Mike Espy lost to Hyde-Smith by 7 points in 2018 and decided that was close enough to give it another shot. Democrats' strongest statewide candidate, state Attorney General Jim Hood, ran for governor in 2019 and lost by 5 points. That doesn't bode well for Espy (\$131,000 on Sept. 30) against Hyde-Smith (\$583,000). Solid R.

Montana. Steve Daines (R), elected 2014 (58%). March 9 filing. June 2 primary. Democratic Gov. Steve Bullock dropped out of the presidential race at the beginning of December but is unlikely to challenge Daines. Some Democrats are excited about Cora Neumann, who has a Ph.D. in public health and worked with the Global First Ladies Alliance and the State Department's Economic Bureau. She raised \$460,000 before the end of the year, according to her campaign. Helena Mayor Wilmot Collins (\$49,000 in the bank on Sept. 30) and Navy veteran John Mues (\$51,000) are also running in the Democratic primary. Daines (\$4.2 million) is in good shape as long as Bullock doesn't run. Solid R.

Nebraska. Ben Sasse (R), elected 2014 (64%). March 1 filing deadline. May 12 primary. After being one of the president's most vocal GOP critics during the 2016 campaign, Sasse's chief vulnerability would have been in the primary. But the senator softened his stance on the president, and now has an endorsement from Trump. Sasse had \$2.7 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and there isn't another Republican or Democrat who had more than \$8,000 on hand at the same point. According to Baseline, Republicans have a 61-37 percent Baseline advantage in the state, so Democrats would need a lot of breaks to win. Solid R.

New Hampshire. Jeanne Shaheen (D), elected 2008 (52%), 2014 (52%). June 12 filing. Sept. 8 primary. Former Trump adviser Cory Lewandowski said he would have defeated Shaheen but decided not to run anyway. The polls said otherwise. There are different views on whether he would have been an asset or liability but, at a minimum, he helped Shaheen raise even more money in her re-election bid. Now Republicans might be worse off than before Lewandowski explored the race.

On paper, Shaheen should be vulnerable because she represents a state that Clinton won narrowly. But she had \$4.3 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and Republicans don't have a top-tier challenger. Some Republicans were initially excited about retired Army Brigadier General Don Bolduc running as a political outsider against Shaheen, who's been in elected office for more than 25 years. But he had just \$144,000 at the end of September and is not likely to post good fourth quarter numbers. Former state House Speaker Bill O'Brien (\$48,000) and attorney/Army veteran Bryant "Corky" Messner (\$1.2 million, including \$1 million in personal money) are running but not considered serious threats to Shaheen. Republicans probably need a big Trump win at the top of the ticket to defeat Shaheen, and that's not likely at this stage. Likely D.

New Jersey. Cory Booker (D), elected 2013 special (55%), 2014 (56%). March 30 filing. June 2 primary. Booker had just \$75,000 in his Senate account on Sept. 30 but could transfer some presidential funds when he ends his bid. According to state law, he can run for president (and presumably vice president) and re-election at the same time, so Booker doesn't have to make a decision between returning

Continued on page 9

Continued from page 8

to the Senate or pursuing the presidency. But voters in Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada, and South Carolina will all voice their opinion before the New Jersey Senate filing deadline. Attorney Stuart Meissner (\$230,000) and a handful of other Republicans are running but they aren't going to win. Democratic Sen. Bob Menendez won re-election in 2018 by more than 10 points under a significant ethical cloud. If Booker happens to get elected president or vice president, Democratic Gov. Phil Murphy would get to appoint a replacement, leaving the Senate seat safe. Solid D.

New Mexico. Open; Tom Udall (D), not seeking re-election.

March 3 primary. Secretary of State Maggie Toulouse Oliver dropped out of the race, paving the way to the Democratic nomination for Rep.

Ben Ray Lujan, who was already the frontrunner. The congressman had \$1.6 million in the bank and a Democratic-leaning state in his favor.



Ben Ray Lujan

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

The Republican field got more interesting this week when

popular meteorologist Mark Ronchetti entered the race. As the chief meteorologist for the CBS affiliate in the Albuquerque media market (which covers more than 80 percent of the statewide electorate), he enters the race with higher name ID than a typical first-time candidate. He's also put together a serious consulting team. But there's no indication of what type of candidate he will be or what his fundraising will look like. And there's no guarantee he'll even win the primary against Mick Rich (\$152,000) and former Trump administration official Gavin Clarkson (\$179,000). The Trump campaign is trying to make some noise about New Mexico as a target, and Ronchetti is interesting, but this race still has a long way to go for Republicans. Solid D.

North Carolina. Thom Tillis (R), elected 2014 (49%).

March 3 primary. Tillis received some good news when his wealthy primary opponent, Garland Tucker, dropped out of the race, and Rep Mark Walker, who was left without a winnable district, declined to run. But Tillis (who had \$4.9 million in the bank on Sept. 30, but spent part of it on early television ads) remains one of the most vulnerable senators in the country. He's been a vocal ally of Trump, which could be fine as long as the president wins the Tar Heel State again.

On the Democratic side, Iraq War veteran/former state Sen. Cal Cunningham (who announced he raised \$1.6 million in the fourth quarter and had \$1.7 million at the end of the year) is the likely nominee, although he can't take the primary for granted. State Sen. Erica Smith (\$56,000 on Sept. 30) has been underfunded, but there's a history of black candidates overperforming in Democratic primaries in North Carolina. Mecklenburg County Commissioner Trevor Fuller (\$458) is running as well.

As a presidential and Senate battleground with multiple media markets, North Carolina will be a crowded and expensive place for outside groups to be involved. Both Cunningham and Tillis have to

build their positive profiles while the other party paints a different picture. According to Inside Elections' Baseline calculation, North Carolina is one of the most narrowly divided states in the country: Republicans have a 1-point advantage over Democrats. And while Tillis could benefit from the slight GOP historical advantage and Trump turning out the base, Democrats could benefit from favorable trends in the suburbs. Toss-Up.

Fox News, Nov. 10-13 (LVs) — Dem Primary ballot: Smith 18%, Cunningham 13%, Fuller 10%.

Meredith College, Sept. 29-Oct. 7 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Tillis and Cunningham tied at 33%.

Public Policy Polling (D), Sept. 16-17 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Cunningham over Tillis 45%-43%.

Oklahoma. Jim Inhofe (R), elected 1994 special (55%), 1996 (57%), 2002 (57%), 2008 (57%), and 2014 (68%).

April 10 filing. June 30 primary. Aug. 25 runoff. The 85-year-old chairman of the Armed Services Committee is likely to win a fifth full term if he wants it. He had \$2 million in his campaign account on Sept. 30. Democrats don't have a candidate who raised any money in the first nine months of 2019. Solid R.

Oregon. Jeff Merkley (D), elected 2008 (49%), 2014 (56%).

March 10 filing. May 19 primary.

Republicans don't have a serious challenger to Merkley. Former state Rep. Knute Buehler received good reviews for his 2018 gubernatorial run, even though he lost by 6 points. But Buehler is running for GOP Rep. Greg Walden's open 2nd District seat in Eastern Oregon. Merkley had \$2.8 million in the bank on Sept. 30. Solid D.

Rhode Island. Jack Reed (D), elected 1996 (63%), 2002 (78%), 2008 (73%) and 2014 (71%).

June 27 filing. Sept. 15 primary. In December, Republican Allen Waters gave up his challenge to Massachusetts Sen. Ed Markey to move back to his childhood home and run against Reed. Waters campaign website still has Massachusetts information on it and he didn't have more than \$5,000 in reported campaign funds on Sept. 30. Reed had \$2.6 million and Trump will likely struggle to reach 40 percent. The political landscape will get more complicated during the 2022 elections, when Rhode Island likely loses a congressional district, forcing Reps. Jim Langevin and David Cicilline to face off in a Democratic primary or one of them to seek another opportunity. Solid D.

South Carolina. Lindsey Graham (R), elected 2002 (54%), 2008 (58%) and 2014 (55%).

March 30 filing. June 9 primary. June 23 runoff. Former state Democratic Party chairman Jaime Harrison is generating some buzz with a Democratic poll that showed him running virtually even with Graham and a big fundraising quarter. But that understates Democrats' challenge in knocking off one of Trump's strident allies in a state the president is likely to win by at least a dozen percentage points.

Harrison announced that he raised \$3.5 million in October, November, and December and finished the year with \$4.6 million in the bank. Graham had not announced his year-end fundraising totals by press time, but had \$8.4 million on Sept. 30. It remains to be seen whether the latest Democratic poll is an outlier or the beginning of a trend. For now, Harrison should still be considered the underdog in spite of his fundraising. One GOP strategist compared it to the Senate version of

Continued on page 10

Continued from page 9

California GOP Rep. Devin Nunes' race in 2018, when his Democratic opponent raised and spent more than \$9 million and the congressman won by 6 points. The race is worth keeping an eye on, but not ripe yet for Democrats. Solid R.

Change Research (D), Dec. 6-11 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Graham over Harrison 47%-45%.

Benchmark Research, Oct. 15-21 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Graham over Harrison 53%-30%.

Change Research (D), Sept. 17-21 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Graham over Harrison 50%-43%.

South Dakota. Mike Rounds (R), elected 2014 (50%). March 31 filing. June 2 primary. The senator had \$1.6 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and Democrats don't have a candidate who had more than \$10,000. And Trump is likely to win South Dakota by at least 25 points. Solid R.

Tennessee. Open; Lamar Alexander (R) not seeking re-election. April 2 filing. Aug. 6 primary. The race for the seat is in the GOP primary. Former US Ambassador to Japan Bill Hagerty had \$1.9 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and is the initial frontrunner for the GOP nomination. He also has the endorsement of President Trump, which is particularly important in a race without an incumbent or candidate who has won statewide. Surgeon Manny Sethi could mount a credible campaign as the anti-establishment candidate, with a few million dollars of his own money, but the Hagerty/Trump combination will be tough to defeat. On the Democratic side, attorney/Iraq War veteran James Mackler (\$296,000) is running but unlikely to make this much of a race in a state Trump will win handily. Solid R.

Texas. John Cornyn (R), elected 2002 (55%), 2008 (65%) and 2014 (62%). March 3 primary. After Democratic Rep. Beto O'Rourke's meteoric rise (and 3-point loss) in 2018, Texas is no longer slipping below the radar. Even though Cornyn is likely to be a tougher opponent than GOP Sen. Ted Cruz, a crowd of Democrats entered the race. In mid-December, national Democrats got involved in an effort to rally around a single challenger with the DSCC endorsement of Air Force veteran/2018 31st District nominee MJ Hegar. Through the end of September, she was the strongest fundraiser (she had \$894,000 in the bank on Sept. 30) and met the committee's other benchmarks.

Hegar was outpacing Houston City Councilwoman Amanda Edwards (\$338,000), state Sen. Royce West (\$377,000), former U.S. Rep. Chris Bell (\$112,000), nonprofit group founder Cristina Ramirez (\$225,000), and businesswoman Sema Hernandez, who received 24% in the 2018 primary. The early primary should help the Democratic nominee regroup before the general election, but Democrats can't afford to let Cornyn (\$10.8 million on Sept. 30) get too far ahead in fundraising.

Geographically, Texas still has wide swaths of rural areas that could turn out greater numbers of Republicans in the presidential year. But the state is changing with growth in suburban areas around Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and Austin — and turnout among nonwhite and young voters, which tends to be higher in presidential years, could give Democrats a boost.

Democrats are more likely to gain another House seat or two before winning statewide. But there's a chance Republicans have to spend some time and money making sure this doesn't become a problem. Likely R.

Virginia. Mark Warner (D), elected 2008 (65%), 2014 (49%). March 26 filing. June 9 primary. Former GOP Rep. Scott Taylor dropped his long-shot challenge to the senator in favor of a slightly less difficult race in the 2nd District, where he lost re-election in 2018. For the time being, that leaves Republicans with attorney/2018 Maryland 8th District candidate Keith Williams (\$400,000 in the bank on Sept. 30), retired Army Lt. Col. Daniel Gade (\$100,000) and a handful of others with less money. Warner (\$6.6 million) is on his way to a third term. Just more than a dozen years ago, Virginia had two Republican senators. Now, Republicans can't field a credible candidate. Solid D.

West Virginia. Shelley Moore Capito (R), elected 2014 (62%). Jan. 25 filing. May 12 primary. Democrats hold one of the state's Senate seats with Joe Manchin but aren't likely going to field a credible challenger in the other seat. Environmental activist Paula Jean Swearengin, who received 30 percent in the 2018 Democratic primary against Manchin, is running but had just \$34,000 in her campaign account on Sept. 30 for this race. Capito had \$2.4 million and Trump is likely to win the state big at the top of the ticket. Solid R.

Wyoming. Open; Mike Enzi (R) not seeking re-election. May 29 filing. Aug. 18 primary. Former GOP Rep. Cynthia Lummis is in the race, but everyone is still waiting for At-Large Rep. Liz Cheney to announce her intentions. If Cheney runs, it would set up one of the biggest races in recent state history. If Cheney decides to stay in the House, Lummis will start as the heavy favorite.

Since 1979, Lummis been elected statewide six times (as state Treasurer and the at-large U.S. Representative) and elected to the state House and state Senate. Lummis did not seek re-election in 2016 and had \$312,000 in the bank on Sept. 30 for this race. Cheney is the third-highest ranking Republican in the House and had \$758,000 in her House account that could be transferred to a Senate race. She's a reliable GOP vote but was critical of President Trump's decision to remove US troops from Syria. The Cheney brand could be a mixed bag for the congresswoman. Her father Dick Cheney was a former congressman and there's some residual loyalty for (or even fear of) the family. But he has been a critic of Trump's foreign policy. Liz Cheney might still have to deal with the fallout from challenging Sen. Mike Enzi in the 2014 primary (she dropped out before the election) and for the lack of maintaining a consistent presence in the state.

Lummis' initial fundraising hasn't been stellar, but she can commit significant personal resources, if necessary. Even though Cheney gets the most attention because of her last name and position in Congress, Lummis should not be dismissed. Any way you slice the race, the GOP nominee should win the general election. Solid R. **IE**

CALENDAR

Jan. 13	College Football National Championship
Feb. 2	Super Bowl LIV
Feb. 3	Iowa Caucuses
Feb. 11	New Hampshire Primary
Feb. 22	Nevada Caucuses
Feb. 29	South Carolina Primary
March 3	Super Tuesday (14 states)