



Inside Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis

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2020 Senate Overview: Senate is (Still) In Play

By Nathan L. Gonzales & Jacob Rubashkin

The spread of coronavirus has thrown even the most mundane tasks into uncertainty, yet the fight for the Senate remains the same. Control of the Senate was on the line before the health crisis and continues to be at stake in November.

Over the last year, the size and scope of the battlefield has evolved, almost all in favor of Democrats. Minnesota and New Hampshire, currently held by Democrats, have dropped from the list of most competitive races, while Republican-held seats in Texas, Kansas, an additional Georgia seat and most recently Montana are now in play. Democrats, however, have had a plausible path since at least October.

Republicans are now defending 10 of the 12 most competitive Senate seats in the country. That discrepancy is part of the reason why Democrats are within striking distance of the net gain of four seats they need for a majority. Democrats can also control the Senate by gaining three seats and winning the presidential race.

Some Republicans believe GOP senators could see a boost from the coronavirus crisis because it's an opportunity to demonstrate tangible work being done by Congress, including dispersing cash. Only time (and future polling) will tell whether that scenario is playing out. It's more likely that the most competitive Senate races are influenced by the voter sentiment toward President Donald Trump, including his handling of the crisis.

One thing is for sure: coronavirus has changed the way campaigns will be run, at least in the short term. Because of social distancing, campaigns can no longer canvass voters, hold meet-and-greets, or host big fundraisers. Instead, they will have to rely on virtual campaign tools to conduct outreach and raise money. And then there's the possibility that a candidate gets infected or exposed and is forced to quarantine for two weeks in the heat of the campaign.

The ongoing pandemic may also give an edge to campaigns that have a financial cushion. With virtually all news coverage focused on the coronavirus, and no way for campaigns to hold events, candidates will struggle to attract earned media, and will have to use paid media to push their messages instead. And in addition, the severe economic impact of the pandemic means that potential donors may think twice before sending cash to campaigns.

Ultimately, it could all come back to the economy. Even if voters don't blame Trump for the pandemic or blame his response, a weak economy leaves independent voters without a reason to overlook the president's tweets and personal style. That will make it more difficult for Trump to recreate his 2016 victory and put pressure on GOP senators who have chosen to align themselves with the president.

2020 Senate Ratings

Toss-Up

Collins (R-Maine)# Tillis (R-N.C.)
 McSally (R-Ariz.)

Tilt Democratic

Gardner (R-Colo.)#

Tilt Republican

Lean Democratic

Peters (D-Mich.)

Lean Republican

KS Open (Roberts, R)
 Daines (R-Mont.)
 Ernst (R-Iowa)
 Jones (D-Ala.)

Likely Democratic

Likely Republican

Cornyn (R-Texas)
 Loeffler (R-Ga.)
 Perdue (R-Ga.)

Solid Democratic

NM Open (Udall, D)
 Booker (D-N.J.)
 Coons (D-Del.)
 Durbin (D-Ill.)
 Markey (D-Mass.)
 Merkley (D-Ore.)
 Reed (D-R.I.)
 Shaheen (D-N.H.)#
 Smith (D-Minn.)
 Warner (D-Va.)

Solid Republican

TN Open (Alexander, R)
 WY Open (Enzi, R)
 Cassidy (R-La.)
 Capito (R-W.Va.)
 Cotton (R-Ark.)
 Graham (R-S.C.)
 Hyde-Smith (R-Miss.)
 Inhofe (R-Okla.)
 McConnell (R-Ky.)
 Risch (R-Idaho)
 Rounds (R-S.D.)

	GOP	DEM
116th Congress	53	47
Not up this cycle	30	35
Currently Solid	13	10
Competitive	10	2

Sasse (R-Neb.)
 Sullivan (R-Alaska)

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

Alabama. **Doug Jones (D)**, elected 2017 special (50%). July 14 GOP Runoff (new, rescheduled date). Due to the coronavirus response, Republicans won't have a nominee until mid-summer. Former Auburn head football coach Tommy Tuberville (\$1.1 million in the bank on Feb. 12) finished first in the primary with 33 percent. He'll face former Sen. Jeff Sessions (\$1.8 million), who finished second with 32 percent, in the runoff. (Rep. Bradley Byrne finished third with 25 percent and 2017 nominee Roy Moore was a distant fourth with 7 percent.) President Donald Trump doesn't admit mistakes, except for appointing Sessions to be his attorney general. Those tumultuous 20 months are still percolating as Trump attacked Sessions on Twitter the morning after the primary. But, as a former four-term senator, Sessions shouldn't be counted out. His attack against Tuberville as a Florida resident who wasn't an early Trump supporter could resonate. Either Republican will start with the advantage over Jones in the general election. It's not clear how the Democratic senator will get enough crossover votes in a state Trump won by 28 points in 2016. But this race is not over yet. Jones had \$7.4 million in the bank, and Republicans may have to spend some money here before the year is done. Lean Republican.

Cygnal, March 6-8 (GOP LVs)— GOP Primary ballot: Tuberville over Sessions 52%-40%.

Mason-Dixon Polling & Research, Feb. 4-6 (RVs)— General Election ballot: Sessions over Jones 54%-41%, Tuberville over Jones 50%-42%.

Alaska. **Dan Sullivan (R)**, elected 2014 (48%). June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 18 primary. Al Gross (\$1.4 million on hand on Dec. 31) is seeking to turn the first-term senator's (\$4.1 million) re-election campaign into 2020's quirkiest sleeper race. Gross, an orthopedic surgeon and commercial fisherman, is running as an independent but with the backing of the Alaska Democratic Party and an endorsement from the DSCC.

Gross, whose father served as Alaska's attorney general in the 1970s, turned heads after outraising Sullivan in the third quarter of 2019, but was outraised by the incumbent in the fourth quarter, even after giving \$300,000 to his own campaign.

Democrats think this could develop into a more promising race. Gross has a compelling background and is working with veteran Democratic ad-maker Mark Putnam, who crafted some of 2018's most viral campaign spots. Some Democrats believe Gross's medical background will be an asset during the coronavirus pandemic, while Republicans plan to tell a different story.

Republicans are more skeptical about Gross's chances, noting that Democrats often see opportunity in Alaska where none exists, and that Donald Trump carried the state by 15 points in 2016. Sullivan won by

Candidate Conversation



Thomas McKinless/CQ Roll Call

Jason Atkinson (R)

Oregon's 2nd District —
Rating: Solid Republican

Interview Date: Jan. 31, 2020

Date of Birth: Nov. 6, 1970;
Sacramento, Calif.

Education: Southern Oregon Univ. (1992); Willamette Univ. (MBA, MPA 1996)

Elected Office: State Senate (former); State House (former); Gubernatorial candidate (2006)

Current Outlook: Atkinson is a credible contender for the open seat left by retiring Rep. Greg Walden. Atkinson faces 2018 gubernatorial nominee/former state Rep. Knute Buehler, wealthy investment executive Jimmy Crumacker, former state Sen. Cliff Bentz and others in the May 19 primary. The winner is the prohibitive favorite in the general election in an eastern and southern Oregon district Donald Trump won by 20 points in 2016.

Evaluation: Atkinson grew up in southern Oregon (Ashland), the son of a radio pioneer and former state Republican Party chairman Perry Atkinson. Jason is 48 years old but already has a decade of experience in the state Legislature and a statewide run under his belt. As a candidate, Atkinson was low-key but able to weave in compelling stories of near tragedies in his life. He had a son born at 24 weeks with a birth weight of 1 pound who survived, his wife and son fought through cancer, and he was shot in an accident that nearly left him confined to a wheelchair. Now, Atkinson is a consultant, helps set up hospitals in Jordan for Syrian refugees, and finances movies, including 2014's *A River Between Us*. Ideologically, Atkinson sounded like a pre-Trump-era mainstream conservative struggling to navigate the new order of Trump's GOP. It's unclear whether his brand of Republicanism will be rewarded by primary voters. Atkinson does appear to be better positioned ideologically than Buehler, whose moderation was viewed as an asset in his 2018 gubernatorial run but is more likely to be a liability in this primary. The x-factor is Crumacker, who could overwhelm the field with personal money.

just 6,000 votes (about 2 points) over Democratic Sen. Mark Begich in the Republican wave of 2014, and even though Alaska is reliably red at the presidential level, it's less so downballot. Solid Republican.



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



Jacob Rubashkin
Reporter & Analyst
jacob@insideelections.com
@jacobrubbashkin

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

Bradley Wascher
Contributing Analyst
bradley@insideelections.com

Will Taylor
Production Artist
will@insideelections.com

Arizona. Martha McSally (R), appointed Jan. 2019. April 6 filing deadline. Aug. 4 primary. For all the twists and turns of the election cycle, the fundamentals of this race have not changed. McSally and Democrat Mark Kelly are still in the beginning stages of one of the marquee Senate races in the country in the hottest emerging presidential battleground. Kelly is regarded as one of Democrats' best candidates and fundraisers. He had \$13.6 million in his campaign account at the end of the year. As a retired astronaut and husband to former Rep. Gabby Giffords (who was shot at a constituent event in a Tucson parking lot in 2011), Kelly doesn't give Republicans a lot to attack him on in the race. They will try to paint him as a hypocrite for refusing to accept corporate PAC money even though he has given paid speeches to corporations in the past and accepted contributions from corporate CEOs.

The two candidates have been running consistently even, or Kelly a few points ahead, in hypothetical general election ballot tests. McSally's best chance of winning a full term is probably President Trump winning Arizona by a significant margin (he won it by 3.5 points in 2016). The senator had \$7.6 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and is consistently getting outtraised by Kelly. That means GOP outside groups will have to do some heavy lifting to get McSally over the line. Last week, the Mitch McConnell-aligned Senate Leadership Fund announced \$9.2 million in TV ad reservations for the fall via Defend Arizona.

With likely Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden likely to be very competitive at the top of the ballot, if not win the state altogether, it's not clear how

McSally wins. In 2018, she underperformed GOP Gov. Doug Ducey in Maricopa County and lost by more than 2 points for the state's other Senate seat. She'll get outspent in this race and hasn't shown a willingness or ability to distance herself from the president. Tens of millions of dollars of ads have yet to be aired in this race, but you would rather be Kelly at this point. Toss-Up.

Marist/NBC News, March 10-15 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 48%-45%.

Monmouth University, March 11-14 (RVs)— General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 50%-44%.

Latino Decisions/Univision, March 6-11 (RVs)— General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 48%-36%.

Arkansas. Tom Cotton (R), elected 2014 (57%). Twelve years ago, Democrat Mark Pryor won this seat with 80 percent of the vote as Republicans failed to field a challenger. In 2020 the roles are reversed. Cotton is assured a second term as the Democrats' one candidate, businessman Josh Mahony, dropped out of the race after the filing deadline and left his party without a standard bearer. Solid Republican.

Colorado. Cory Gardner (R), elected 2014 (48%). June 30 primary. After Gardner defeated a Democratic incumbent in 2014, Republicans are confident they have the better candidate this cycle in the senator's likely general election matchup with former Gov. John Hickenlooper.

Democrats are increasingly confident that Trump will lose the state handily (he lost it by 5 points in 2016) and this seat will be part of their path to the majority.



John Hickenlooper

The numbers simply aren't in Gardner's favor. Beyond the recent presidential results, Hickenlooper received more votes in 2014 than Gardner, and Republican Walker Stapleton lost his 2018 gubernatorial race by 10 points, even though he received 100,000 more votes than Gardner in 2014. Gardner had \$7.7 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and is highlighting his work on local issues, including relocating the Bureau of Land Management headquarters from Washington, D.C. to Grand Junction, bringing about 80 jobs with it. But with seven months left in the race, Gardner is losing to Hickenlooper.

Republicans are banking on a number of factors changing the trajectory of the race. They believe Hickenlooper (\$3.2 million) is another former politician, in the vein of Russ Feingold, Phil Bredesen, Ted Strickland and Evan Bayh. But he's just a year out of office, and unlike those candidates, should have the partisan wind at his back. GOPers view the former two-term governor and former Denver mayor as an untested candidate who will implode when he faces greater scrutiny. Republicans are hoping there are some disaffected Democratic voters who support other candidates in the primary, including former state House Speaker Andrew Romanoff (\$688,000), who will likely win the party's caucus endorsement convention, nonprofit group executive/immigration advocate Michelle Ferrigno Warren (\$17,000) or Baptist pastor Stephany Rose Spaulding (\$18,000). Finally, Republicans believe an investigation into whether the then-governor accepted improper travel benefits and his use of public funds to pay for legal counsel is the type of hit that will cut through the typical partisan noise.

Gardner can win this race, but to continue to rate it as a toss-up is overstating the senator's chances of winning a second term. He's yet to begin his own ad campaign and SLF reserved \$5.5 million in ads for the final weeks of the campaign. But the senator has been trailing Hickenlooper in the race for months and it will be difficult for him to climb back with the state's political lean, and likely the national political environment, working against him. Move from Toss-up to Tilt Democratic.

Delaware. Chris Coons (D), elected 2010 (57%) and 2014 (56%). July 14 filing deadline. Sept. 15 primary. The filing deadline is still three months away but it's unlikely Republicans put up a fight against the senator, who had \$2.6 million in the bank on Dec. 31. 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 Democratic.

Georgia. David Perdue (R), elected 2014 (53%). May 19 primary. July 21 runoff. Appointed Sen. Kelly Loeffler received more attention for her stock transactions in the weeks preceding the public coronavirus crisis in the United States, but Perdue's transactions are also receiving scrutiny. This seat has consistently been on the backburner compared to the drama



Mark Kelly

of the other seat. Democratic chances, however, shouldn't be dismissed, particularly if Georgia emerges as a legitimate presidential swing state. Democrats have a competitive primary between 2017 special election 6th District nominee Jon Ossoff (\$1.5 million in the bank on Dec. 31), former Columbus Mayor Teresa Tomlinson (\$319,000) and businesswoman/former Lt. Gov. nominee Sarah Riggs Amico (\$472,000), who is trying to leverage a narrow loss with Stacey Abrams last cycle into statewide victory this year.



David Perdue

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

As a first-term senator in a growing state, Perdue (\$7.8 million) needs to work on his name identification and personal image and make sure that the stock issue doesn't define him. Republicans might dismiss Ossoff because of his 2017 loss, but he wouldn't be an easy target as the nominee because he doesn't have a voting record to defend. Trump won by 5 points in 2016, but the 2018 gubernatorial election was decided by 1.4 points. This race will likely depend how the national environment evolves. Likely Republican.

University of Georgia/Atlanta Journal-Constitution, March 4-14 (LVs)—Democratic primary ballot: Ossoff 31%, Tomlinson 16%, Riggs Amico 15%.

Georgia. Kelly Loeffler (R) appointed Jan. 6, 2020. Special election Nov. 3 (all candidates), Jan. 5 runoff (if necessary). When Gov. Brian Kemp appointed Loeffler to this seat, the businesswoman/GOP megadonor's wealth was cited as a major positive; her public commitment to spend at least \$20 million of her own money pleased national Republicans wary of putting additional resources into Georgia. But Loeffler, who co-owns Atlanta's WNBA team and whose husband is the chairman of the New York Stock Exchange, is now finding that more money may in fact equal more problems in this special election race.

A March *Daily Beast* report found that following a Senate Health Committee briefing on Covid-19 in January, Loeffler sold millions of dollars worth of stocks over the next month while publicly extolling the strength of the soon-to-collapse U.S. economy.

Loeffler denies any wrongdoing, maintaining that all her investing decisions are made by third-party advisors with no contact or input from her or her husband (although it's not a blind trust). But the political fallout might be too difficult to contain.

The McConnell-aligned Senate Leadership Fund, which had spent several million in advertising on Loeffler's behalf before the filing deadline, left Georgia off of its initial schedule of fall ad reservations. And the Club for Growth, which had been airing attack ads against Loeffler's GOP opponent, indicated it might go dark in Georgia as well; a spokesman tried to maintain that the Club hadn't endorsed a candidate in the race, even as it clearly favored Loeffler.

Even if Loeffler's actions were above board, she will continue to be mentioned in the same sentence as North Carolina Sen. Richard Burr, who also dumped significant stock holdings after a private Intelligence Committee coronavirus briefing. CNN has reported that the Department of Justice is now probing Burr's trades, which Republicans agree are more suspect due to the proportions. And the defense of Loeffler offered

by some Republicans, that the sales represent just a fraction of her estimated \$500 million net worth, is politically fraught at best.

All this severely complicates Loeffler's fight against GOP Rep. Doug Collins, whom President Trump had pushed to be appointed to this seat. Collins, who rose to national prominence as one of the president's fiercest defenders during the impeachment proceedings, is now running an insurgent campaign against the establishment-backed Loeffler. The price of his ambition has been millions in ads from SLF and the Club attacking him as a DC insider and tax-and-spender, and assailing his record on criminal justice reform. Collins has focused on painting Loeffler as inauthentic and out of touch with Georgians, and will likely be aided by the scandal surrounding Loeffler's finances.

Democrats, including the DSCC and statewide powerhouses such as Stacey Abrams, have largely fallen behind Reverend Raphael Warnock, who leads a historic church in Atlanta, as their candidate, despite a recent negative headline surrounding his ongoing divorce. Also running are former U.S. Attorney/state senator Ed Tarver and businessman Matt Lieberman (\$369,000 on Dec. 31), son of former Connecticut Sen. Joe Lieberman.

The special election has unique parameters. All candidates will run



Kelly Loeffler

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

together on Nov. 3, and if none receive over 50 percent of the vote, the top two vote-getters, regardless of party, advance to a Jan. 5, 2021 runoff. Democrats have struggled to win runoffs in Georgia, which see reduced turnout. But Loeffler's

ongoing scandal, and Collins' reputation as an ideological hardliner, have Democrats sensing opportunity.

It is still too early to gauge how badly Loeffler is damaged, and Warnock, who entered the race too late to file an FEC report for 2019, still has to prove himself as a fundraiser and campaigner. But if this race progresses to a runoff and the Senate is evenly divided, there's a chance we won't know who controls the chamber until January of 2021, in which case this race becomes a national priority for both parties. Likely Republican.

Idaho. Jim Risch (R), elected 2008 (58%), 2014 (65%). May 19 primary. The 76-year-old Risch has finally drawn a serious challenger — or as serious as a Democrat can be in scarlet Idaho. Paulette Jordan, the former state representative who attracted national attention during her historic run for governor in 2018 (she would have been the first Native American woman governor), announced in February she would take on Risch and faces only nominal primary opposition. (The secretary of state has asked the primary be delayed until at least June 16.) That doesn't mean this race is competitive. In 2018, Jordan lost the gubernatorial race by 21 points, and that was an open seat for a state position where voters are more forgiving of ideological differences. Now she's running against an incumbent in a federal race. Risch had \$1.9 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and should win easily. Solid Republican.

Illinois. Dick Durbin (D), elected 1996 (56%), 2002 (60%), 2008 (68%) and 2014 (54%). The senator ran unopposed in the March 17 primary

and had \$4.6 million in the bank on Feb. 26. Former Lake County sheriff Mark Curran won the GOP nomination, but had just \$9,964.40 in his campaign account. Solid Democratic.

Iowa. Joni Ernst (R), elected 2014 (51%). June 2 primary. While some Republicans believe Ernst is in solid shape for re-election in a state Trump won by nearly 10 points, GOP-aligned Senate Leadership Fund reserved a considerable \$12.6 million for TV ads in Iowa in the weeks before the election. Ernst had \$4.8 million on Dec. 31, but some Republicans have seen



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

erosion in her favorability ratings that could lead to a more competitive ballot test as Democrat Theresa Greenfield raises her profile. That should be easier now that the presidential caucuses are complete (we think).

Democrats are not letting Ernst off the hook for her potential connection to an outside group founded by and independently run by one of her consultants as part of a larger narrative that the senator has failed in her promise to shake up Washington. Real estate executive Greenfield (\$2.1 million) is the Democratic frontrunner but still has to win the primary against insurance broker Eddie Mauro (\$1.4 million) and retired Navy Admiral Mike Franken (\$124,000).

Iowa's partisan lean is difficult to pin down. After voting for Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012, it swung significantly toward Trump in 2016. Two years later, Republicans held the governorship but lost three of four congressional races. Greenfield will likely need to overperform the top of the ticket to defeat Ernst, but Biden should keep the presidential race close, and Iowa is a place that could swing back against the president. Lean Republican.

Public Policy Polling (D), Dec. 13-15, 2019 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Ernst over Greenfield 47%-41%.

Kansas. Open; Pat Roberts (R) not seeking re-election. June 1 filing. Aug. 4 primary. Kansas is Schrodinger's race for Democrats. It is at once a highly competitive pickup opportunity, and a low-tier contest in a state that has only ever sent three Democrats to the Senate, and none since 1939. And it is liable to stay that way until the August GOP primary.

Republican leadership failed to persuade U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who would have been the prohibitive favorite in the primary and general, to run for this seat. With Pompeo out of the picture, Republicans fear that polarizing former Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach (\$190,000 in the bank on Dec. 31) will win the nomination. Kobach, who made negative national headlines for a botched anti-voter fraud effort, lost the 2018 gubernatorial race by 5 points to Democrat Laura Kelly, and Republicans worry he could turn in a similarly unsuccessful performance in the 2020 Senate race.

Kobach's main primary competitor has been 1st District Rep. Roger Marshall (\$1.9 million) with state Senate President Susan Wagler (\$522,000) running as well. Marshall has the resume of a conventional frontrunner: he's a well-funded House member and his district

encompasses more than half of the entire state. But some Republicans still aren't sold on him. That's why some operatives have been talking up a late entrant to the race, Overland Park plumbing CEO Bob Hamilton. Hamilton, best known for his comical billboards and radio ads, has the potential to spend a few million dollars of his own money on a run, but

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 (9D)

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 3 (Kim, D)
NM 2 (Torres Small, D)
VA 7 (Spanberger, D)

Tilt Republican (7R, 1I)

IA 4 (King, R)
MI 3 (Amash, I)
MN 1 (Hagedorn, R)
NJ 2 (Van Drew, R)
PA 1 (Fitzpatrick, R)
PA 10 (Perry, R)
TX 22 (Open; Olson, R)
TX 24 (Open; Marchant, R)

	GOP	DEM
116th Congress	200	234
Currently Solid	170	199
Competitive	30	35
Needed for majority	218	

Lean Democratic (7D, 1R)

CA 48 (Rouda, D)
KS 3 (Davids, 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 (5R)

MO 2 (Wagner, R)
NE 2 (Bacon, R)
NY 2 (Open; King, R)
NY 24 (Katko, R)
OH 1 (Chabot, R)

Likely Democratic (12D, 2R)

AZ 1 (O'Halleran, D)
CA 10 (Harder, D)
CA 25 (Vacant, D)
CA 39 (Cisneros, D)
CA 45 (Porter, D)
FL 26 (Mucarsel-Powell, D)
NH 1 (Pappas, D)
MI 8 (Slotkin, D)
MI 11 (Stevens, D)
NC 2 (Open; Holding, R)
NC 6 (Open; Walker, R)
NY 19 (Delgado, D)
PA 8 (Cartwright, D)
PA 17 (Lamb, D)

Likely Republican (13R)

AZ 6 (Schweikert, R)
FL 15 (Spano, R)
IN 5 (Open; Brooks, R)
MI 6 (Upton, R)
NC 8 (Hudson, R)
NC 9 (Bishop, R)
NY 1 (Zeldin, R)
OH 12 (Balderson, R)
TX2 (Crenshaw, R)
TX 10 (McCaul, R)
TX 21 (Roy, R)
TX 31 (Carter, R)
WA 3 (Herrera-Beutler, R)

moved benefiting Democrats, * moved benefiting Republicans Takeovers in Italics

he'll have to make up significant ground. A mid-February poll taken by McLaughlin & Associates for the Kobach campaign showed him with just 2 percent support.

Club for Growth just announced \$2.1 million in ads to oppose Marshall and this primary is just getting started.

The likely Democratic nominee is state Sen. Barbara Bollier (\$810,000), who served in the state legislature as a Republican for eight years before switching parties in December 2018. Bollier has impressed national Democrats, who like her fundraising ability, bipartisan credentials, and her background as a doctor (particularly salient in the time of coronavirus). Bollier faces primary opposition from Manhattan, Kansas city commissioner Usha Reddi (\$55,000) but should prevail easily.

Marshall, Wagle, or Hamilton as the GOP nominee would make this race relatively straightforward for Republicans. But if Kobach gets the nod, this becomes a serious pickup opportunity for Democrats, who are encouraged by their 2018 victories in the gubernatorial race and the 3rd District. A Kobach nomination expands the map for Democrats and forces Republicans to spend money in yet another race they should have locked up. This race is currently Lean Republican, but if Kobach wins in August, that will change.

DFM Research/SMART Union, Jan. 30-Feb. 6 (Adults)— General Election ballot: Kobach and Bollier tied at 43 percent.

Kentucky. Mitch McConnell (R), elected 1984 (50%), 1990 (52%), 1996 (55%), 2002 (65%), 2008 (53%) and 2014 (56%). May 19 primary. The same reasons Democrats nationally love to hate the majority leader, make him difficult to defeat for re-election. McConnell's effort to help President Trump shape the courts for a generation with dozens of judicial confirmations put him in line with a state that is likely to win by more than 25 points. It's unclear why thousands of Kentucky voters would want a Democratic majority in the Senate during president Trump's second term. That won't stop Democrats from putting up a fight. Veteran/former 6th District nominee Amy McGrath raised an incredible \$6.2 million in the last three months of 2019 alone and finished the year with \$9.1 million in the bank. McConnell won't suffer from a lack of funds. He had \$11.5 million at the end of the year and SLF announced \$10.8 million in ad reservations for the fall.

If McGrath starts to gain traction, 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's path to victory includes gathering votes from traditionally GOP voters who supported Democrat Steve Beshear in the 2019 gubernatorial race and convincing some Republicans that McConnell is part of the swamp in Washington and so disconnected from Trump that they support Libertarian candidate Brad Barron. Both avenues look difficult. Libertarian nominees received 2 percent in the 2019 gubernatorial election and 3 percent in the 2014 Senate race. McConnell can't, and won't, take his race for granted, the race might be closer than some



Barbara Bollier

Courtesy Bollier Campaign

people might be expecting, and Republicans will have to spend millions of dollars that could be spent elsewhere, but the majority leader will likely win re-election. Solid Republican.

Louisiana. Bill Cassidy (R), elected 2014 (56%). July 17 filing deadline. Nov. 3 jungle primary. Dec. 5 Runoff. The Senate race was not a focus of attention even before Louisiana became a hotspot for the spread of coronavirus. Now it could be months before anyone realizes what is on the ballot. Democrats don't have a serious challenger to Cassidy, who had \$5.3 million on Dec. 31. Democrat Antoine Pierce, a community activist who lost a 2016 race for Baton Rouge metro council, had \$463 at the end of the year. Solid Republican.

Maine. Susan Collins (R), elected 1996 (49%), 2002 (58%), 2008 (61%) and 2014 (69%). June 9 primary. State House Speaker Sara Gideon was the frontrunner in the Democratic primary even before wealthy former Google executive Ross Lajeunesse dropped out of the race last week.



Susan Collins

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

Technically, Gideon, who had \$2.7 million in the bank on Dec. 31, still must get past 2018 gubernatorial candidate Betsy Sweet (\$55,000), but the primary is essentially over. The Democratic nomination is valuable because Collins is more vulnerable

than she's been in years. After voting to confirm Brett Kavanaugh for the Supreme Court and against President Trump's removal from office, Collins can't count on significant crossover votes from Democrats (she received 39 percent in 2014, according to exit polling). The president could win the rural, 2nd District, but won't win the 1st District and not likely to win statewide. Collins had \$7.2 million in the bank on Dec. 31, and SLF reserved another \$7.2 million in ads for the fall. 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 the Kavanaugh vote. Collins' personal and job ratings continue to deteriorate and her advantage in ballot tests is slipping as well. Collins has disposed of credible candidates in the past, but this race will be more challenging. Gideon hasn't faced a race this difficult either, but she might be the right candidate at the right time for Democrats. 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. Move from Tilt Republican to Toss-Up.

Colby College/SocialSphere, March 10-13 (RVs)— General Election ballot: Gideon over Collins 43%-42%.

Public Policy Polling (D), March 2-3 (RVs)— General Election ballot: Gideon over Collins 47%-43%.

Massachusetts. Ed Markey (D) elected 2013 special (55%), 2014 (62%). May 5 filing. Sept. 15 primary. This safe Democratic seat is home to one of the most interesting primary races this cycle. Markey is facing a primary challenge from 4th District Rep. Joe Kennedy III. The intra-party contest is a sharp departure from other high-profile primary races of the cycle; in Massachusetts, the elder incumbent, not the challenger, is

the Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez-backed progressive trying to overcome a financial mismatch against a better-known opponent.

Markey (\$4.4 million on hand on Dec. 31) has been a senator for seven years, has won statewide election twice, and is a favorite among the left wing of the Democratic party for his support of the Green New Deal and other progressive priorities. But even Democrats close to the senator agree he still starts

at a disadvantage against Kennedy (\$5.5 million), the scion of Massachusetts' most famous political family. Joe is the grandson of former New York senator / US Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and grand-nephew of both President John F. Kennedy and the late-Sen. Ted Kennedy.



Ed Markey

Caroline Brehman/CQ Roll Call

Markey and Kennedy both want the race to be about themselves, not their opponent; Markey wants to draw attention to his liberal politics and strong working relationships with politicians such as AOC and fellow Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren, who has endorsed him, and groups such as the Sunrise Movement. Kennedy, 35 years Markey's junior, is highlighting his youth and arguing for a new generation of Democratic leadership. While he's not running as a centrist or moderate, Kennedy isn't going to try and box in Markey on ideology.

This race will turn on whether Markey can mobilize enough younger voters, liberal voters, and party activists to counteract Kennedy's strength among working class voters and lower-information voters, for whom the Kennedy name is still golden. Kennedy starts out a bit ahead, but a Sept. 15 primary is an eternity in politics, and Markey is no pushover. Also running in the primary is wealthy attorney Shannon Liss Riordan (\$2.4 million), who has spent \$3 million of her own money but hasn't gained traction. Solid Democratic.

Suffolk University, Feb. 26-29 (LVs) — Democratic primary ballot: Kennedy over Markey, 42%-36%.

UMass Amherst/YouGov Feb. 18-24 (LVs) — Democratic primary ballot: Markey over Kennedy, 39%-36%.

UMass Lowell/YouGov Feb. 12-19 (LVs) — Democratic primary ballot: Kennedy over Markey 35%-34%.

Michigan. Gary Peters (D), elected 2014 (55%). April 21 filing. Aug. 4 primary. Republicans love their likely nominee, John James, and need the race to be competitive to offset potential losses elsewhere. But it might be difficult to find the resources necessary to win when the party is playing defense in 10 other states with competitive races. Even though James lost to Democratic Sen. Debbie Stabenow by 6 points last cycle, Republicans are confident the 38-year-old retired Army helicopter pilot and businessman has what it takes to defeat Peters. They believe Trump at the top of the ticket will boost GOP prospects and the first-term senator is less defined than Stabenow, who was first elected in 2000. The latter might be true, but it's a similar challenge to GOP senators facing voters in Colorado, North Carolina, Arizona, Iowa, and Georgia.

James has raised his profile nationally this cycle allowing him to raise more money, and he finished the year with \$6 million in the bank. Peters had \$8 million on hand on Dec. 31. Democrats have only started

their negative campaign against James, via Senate Majority PAC, after they gave him a pass last cycle. GOP-aligned SLF declined to include Michigan in its initial round of TV ad reservations for the fall. This will likely be an expensive Senate race because the candidates and parties will be competing with presidential ads. In the end, James probably needs Trump to win Michigan again after winning it by less than half of 1 percent, which will be a difficult task against Joe Biden, unless Trump's standing improves dramatically. Lean Democratic.

Public Policy Polling (D) for Progress Michigan, March 31-April 1 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Peters over James 45%-38%.

Marketing Research Group (R), March 16-20 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Peters over James 42%-35%.

Quinnipiac, Feb. 12-18 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Peters over James 45%-39%.

Minnesota. Tina Smith (DFL), appointed Jan. 2018, elected 2018 special (53%). June 2 filing. Aug. 11 primary. Tina Smith, who was appointed to replace former Sen. Al Franken, faces her second election in as many cycles. Minnesota may be competitive at the presidential level



Tina Smith

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

(Hillary Clinton won by less than 2 points in 2016), but Smith won a convincing 11-point victory in 2018 while her colleague Amy Klobuchar crushed her opponent by 24 points. The likely GOP nominee is former Rep. Jason Lewis, the controversial radio

host who lost his seat in the Twin Cities suburbs by 5 points in 2018. Lewis, who would need to win that district to win statewide, had just \$425,000 in the bank on Dec. 31, while Smith had \$3.6 million. This race is off the map unless a Trump surge brings it back. Solid Democratic.

Mississippi. Cindy Hyde-Smith (R), appointed April 2018, elected 2018 special (54%). 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 (\$205,000 on Feb. 19) against Hyde-Smith (\$783,000). Solid Republican.

Mason-Dixon Polling & Research, Feb. 26-28 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Hyde-Smith over Espy 53%-43%.

Montana. Steve Daines (R), elected 2014 (58%). June 2 primary. This race shot onto the Senate battlefield when Democratic Gov. Steve Bullock announced his candidacy after declining for almost a year. Bullock, whose seven-month presidential campaign never got off the ground, is the popular two-term governor of this state, which is not as red as it appears on the presidential level. He's the only Democrat who makes this seat competitive, a fact understood by his two main Democratic primary opponents, former State Department advisor Cora Neumann and Helena Mayor Wilmot Collins, who both dropped out and endorsed Bullock following his entry.

Despite his long history with the state, Bullock still faces an uphill

climb to defeat Daines (\$5 million cash on hand on Dec. 31), who served one term in the House before winning election to an open Senate seat in a 2014 walkover against replacement Democratic nominee Amanda Curtis. Republicans point to several policy shifts Bullock made during his presidential run, from his stances on gun control to immigration, abortion, and the impeachment of President Trump, as evidence that he has moved too far to the left to win again.

Whether voters feel the same is the key question for this race. The last time Bullock was on the ballot, he scored a 4-point victory over now-Rep. Greg Gianforte in the gubernatorial race while Trump won the state by 21 points. His path in 2020 looks much the same as it did in 2016, a very similar track to the one Sen. Jon Tester took en route to a 3.5-point victory in 2018. The governor also got a boost with the entry of a Libertarian Party candidate, who could potentially siphon off Republican votes in the eastern part of the state, lowering the threshold of victory for Democrats.

But now Bullock is a challenger, not an incumbent, and he'll be running a federal race imbued with questions of judicial appointments, the president's agenda, and control of the US Senate. As a sitting governor, though, he'll be the face of the state's coronavirus response, which could elevate his standing, profile, and image even if it keeps him off the campaign trail.

If the election were held today, it would likely be a very close race. But Republicans feel they have enough material to sink Bullock, even if they have to spend some resources in a previously solid state. For his part, Bullock will need to show the fundraising strength to counter the onslaught of negative ads coming his way. Lean Republican.

Public Policy Polling (D), March 12-13 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Daines and Bullock tied at 47%.

Nebraska. Ben Sasse (R), elected 2014 (64%). May 12 primary. Sasse had \$3 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and there isn't another Republican or Democrat who had more than \$10,000 on hand at the same point. Solid Republican.

New Hampshire. Jeanne Shaheen (D), elected 2008 (52%), 2014 (52%). June 12 filing. Sept. 8 primary. On paper, Shaheen should be vulnerable because she represents a state that Clinton won narrowly. But she had \$5.7 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and Republicans don't have a top-tier challenger. Retired Army Brigadier General Don Bolduc (\$114,000) isn't living up to the early hype and former state House Speaker Bill O'Brien (\$46,000) or attorney / Army veteran Bryant "Corky" Messner (\$1 million, after giving \$1.2 million in personal money) are not considered serious threats to Shaheen. Republicans need a big Trump win at the top and a significant investment from the party and outside groups. None of that is likely at this point. Move from Likely Democratic to Solid Democratic.

University of New Hampshire Survey Center, Feb. 19-25 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Shaheen over Bolduc 49%-30%; Shaheen over O'Brien 51%-30%; Shaheen over Messner 52%-28%.

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 Dec. 31 but could transfer some presidential funds (\$983,000 in his presidential account on Feb. 29). Attorney Stuart Meissner (\$186,000) 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. Solid Democratic.

New Mexico. Open; Tom Udall (D), not seeking re-election. June 2 primary. Rep. Ben Ray Luján (\$2 million in the bank on Dec. 31) is the frontrunner in the Democratic primary and general election. Republicans are still intrigued by Mark Ronchetti, a popular chief meteorologist for the CBS affiliate in the Albuquerque media market (which covers more than 80 percent of the statewide electorate), who entered the race a few months ago with higher name ID than a typical first-time candidate. But it's still too early to know what type of candidate he will be or what his fundraising will look like. Former Trump administration official Gavin Clarkson (\$134,000) is running as well. Trump lost the Land of Enchantment by 8 points in 2016, but would need to do significantly better for the Senate seat to become competitive. Solid Democratic.

North Carolina. Thom Tillis (R), elected 2014 (49%). In the face of a multi-million dollar GOP effort to influence the Democratic primary, Iraq War veteran / former state Sen. Cal Cunningham won



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

Thom Tillis

the nomination 57-35 percent over state Sen. Erica Smith. Republicans reveled in watching outside Democratic groups spend \$11.7 million to make sure Cunningham won, but Democrats don't consider it

wasted calories since it dovetailed with their general election message: that Cunningham fought in Iraq and is now fighting for North Carolina on health care. Cunningham (\$1.2 million in the bank on Feb. 12) will have to catch up in fundraising compared to Tillis (\$5.4 million). But there will be no shortage of ads in North Carolina. The GOP-aligned Senate Leadership Fund announced \$21.8 million in ads for the fall, Democratic-aligned Senate Majority PAC reserved \$25.6 million, and that's just the tip of the iceberg in a state featuring competitive races for president, governor, and Senate. Tillis not only needs Trump to carry North Carolina again (he won it by 3.5 points in 2016) but needs to raise his name I.D. and positive image. The first-term senator is significantly underwater on his job approval rating. Toss-Up.

Eastern Carolina University, Feb. 27-28 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Tillis over Cunningham 44%-42%.

Public Policy Polling (D), Late Feb. (RVs) — General Election ballot: Cunningham over Tillis 46%-41%.

Marist/NBC News, Feb. 23-27 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Cunningham over Tillis 48%-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 announced in early March that he'll seek a fifth full term. He had \$2.3 million in his campaign account on Dec. 31, while former local NBC reporter / attorney Abby Broyles, the top fundraising Democrat, had \$42,000. Solid Republican.

Amber Integrated (R), March 5-8 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Inhofe over Broyles 57%-31%.

Oregon. **Jeff Merkley (D), elected 2008 (49%), 2014 (56%).** May 19 primary. Republicans don't have a serious challenger to Merkley, who had \$3.2 million in the bank on Dec. 31. At the same point, GOP activist Jo Rae Perkins had \$826. Solid Democratic.

Rhode Island. **Jack Reed (D), elected 1996 (63%), 2002 (78%), 2008 (73%) and 2014 (71%).** June 27 filing, Sept. 15 primary. Republican Allen Waters, who started the cycle running in Massachusetts, didn't have more than \$1,000 in campaign funds on Dec. 31. Reed had \$2.8 million and Trump will likely struggle to reach 40 percent. Solid Democratic.

South Carolina. **Lindsey Graham (R), elected 2002 (54%), 2008 (58%) and 2014 (55%).** June 9 primary. June 23 runoff. Former state Democratic Party chairman Jaime Harrison is generating some buzz with big fundraising numbers and campaign polling showing a dead even race. But even some Democrats doubt the veracity of South Carolina as a legitimate takeover target. Harrison had a considerable \$4.7 million in the bank on Dec. 31, though that is less than half of Graham's total (\$10.3 million) at the same point. Fundamentally, it's still unclear how Harrison will defeat one of Trump's strident allies in a state the president is likely to win by at least a dozen points. The race is worth keeping an eye on, but not ripe yet for Democrats. Solid Republican.



Lindsey Graham

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

Brilliant Corners (D) for Harrison Campaign, March 3-11 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Graham over Harrison 47%-43%.

Marist, Feb. 18-21 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Graham over Harrison 54%-37%.

South Dakota. **Mike Rounds (R), elected 2014 (50%).** June 2 primary. The senator had \$1.8 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and Democrats don't have a candidate who had more than \$20,000. Solid Republican.

Tennessee. Open; Lamar Alexander (R) not seeking re-election. April 2 filing. Aug. 6 primary. Former US Ambassador to Japan Bill Hagerty had \$3 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and is the frontrunner in the GOP primary and general election. He also has the endorsement of Trump, which is particularly important in a race without an incumbent or candidate who has won statewide. Surgeon Manny Sethi (\$1.9 million) 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 (\$402,000) is running but unlikely to make this much of a race in a state Trump will win handily. Solid Republican.

Texas. **John Cornyn (R), elected 2002 (55%), 2008 (65%) and 2014 (62%).** July 24 Democratic Runoff (new, rescheduled date). Democratic Rep. Beto O'Rourke set the bar high for Democrats after his 3-point loss

to GOP Sen. Ted Cruz. That close race and Democrats flipping a couple House seats in 2018 is more evidence of Texas as an emerging swing state. But it's not there yet. By mid-December, national Democrats had rallied behind Air Force veteran/2018 31st District nominee MJ Hegar. She finished first in the March 3 primary (but with just 22 percent) and faces a runoff with state Sen. Royce West (15 percent). Hegar is better funded (she had \$850,000 in the bank on Feb. 12 compared to \$307,000 for West) and should win the nomination, but it's not guaranteed. The early primary was supposed to give Democrats plenty of time to regroup before taking on Cornyn (\$12 million), but the runoff and subsequent delay because of the coronavirus changed that equation.

Trump won Texas by 9 points in 2016, but his margin could be half that in the fall. And the Senate race could be a tempting target for Democrats. Hegar, however, won't be able to raise as much money as O'Rourke, Texas is a huge state with multiple expensive media markets, and Democrats are unlikely to invest the money necessary to win. Democrats don't need Texas to win the majority and might leave it to fight another day. Likely Republican.

Marist/NBC News, Feb. 23-27 (RVs)— General Election ballot: Cornyn over Hegar 49%-41%.

Virginia. **Mark Warner (D), elected 2008 (65%), 2014 (49%).** March 26 filing. June 9 primary. Just more than a dozen years ago, Virginia



Mark Warner

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

had two Republican senators. Now, Republicans can't field a credible candidate. Republicans have attorney/2018 Maryland 8th District candidate Keith Williams (\$400,000 in the bank on Dec. 31), retired Army Lt. Col. Daniel Gade (\$142,000) and a handful of other candidates with less money vying for the right to lose to Warner (\$7.4 million). Solid Democratic.

West Virginia. **Shelley Moore Capito (R), elected 2014 (62%).** May 12 primary. The senator had \$2.6 million in the bank on Dec. 31 in a state Trump is likely to win by at least 30 points. Environmental activist Paula Jean Swearengin, who received 30 percent in the 2018 Democratic primary against Joe Manchin, is running but had just \$88,000 cash on hand. She'll face 2018 3rd District nominee/former state Sen./former 2020 Democratic presidential candidate/election Twitter favorite Richard Ojeda in the primary. Solid Republican.

Wyoming. Open; Mike Enzi (R) not seeking re-election. May 29 filing. Aug. 18 primary. Former Rep. Cynthia Lummis is the prohibitive favorite for the GOP nomination and is likely to become Wyoming's first female senator. At-Large Rep. Liz Cheney avoided an epic primary battle by announcing she'll run for re-election instead of for the Senate. Since 1979, Lummis has 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 \$740,000 in the bank on Dec. 31 for this race and she can commit significant personal resources, if necessary. Solid Republican.



Amidst Coronavirus Crisis, Presidential Race Takes Shape

By Nathan L. Gonzales & Jacob Rubashkin

Even though the coronavirus is a historic global event, the most important political event over the last couple months was the near end of the Democratic primary and the likely nomination of former Vice President Joe Biden.

Biden isn't a perfect candidate, but he makes it more difficult for Republicans to frame the election as a choice between socialism and capitalism, which would have been more potent if Bernie Sanders topped the ballot for Democrats. And with Biden as the nominee, Democrats have a good chance of solidifying and building on the suburban gains they've made.

The overall impact of coronavirus is likely to be vast and breathtaking, but the political impact could be more limited. With crisis comes opportunity for leaders to rise to the challenge (and approval ratings to soar) or be punished for their response. But President Donald Trump has a limited political ceiling because he will never get significant crossover support.

Even if the fallout is less severe than expected, Democrats will criticize the administration's slow response, or fall back to other sins they believe the president has committed during his first term. On the other hand, Trump's base is unlikely to waiver. If the situation deteriorates more than anticipated, Republicans will blame China, Democrats' focus on impeachment, and state and local governments instead of their commander in chief.

The greatest danger for Trump is likely to be the economic fallout. For independent voters who don't blame the president for the pandemic and don't criticize his response, a loss of faith in the economy and Trump's handling of the economy leave them without a reason to overlook his Twitter feed and personal style. Even if the physical toll on the country isn't as bad as expectations, it's unlikely that the economy recovers to anywhere near its previous heights by Election Day.

Simply, Biden's likely nomination and the poor economic conditions heighten Trump's precarious political position.

Amidst the uncertainty, Biden has a plausible chance in November. By winning the same states Hillary Clinton carried in 2016 along with victories in Michigan and Pennsylvania, Biden would have 268 electoral votes. Then he would just need to win one of the toss-up states including Arizona, Florida, North Carolina, or Wisconsin. None of those are guarantees, but having options is a good thing.

Changing race ratings in the middle, or even beginning, of a crisis is usually not the best timing. But due to the uncertainty in the Democratic nominating contest, we hadn't touched our electoral college ratings in almost a year. There is still uncertainty in the race, and the race certainly

isn't over, but these ratings more accurately reflect the current state of play.

Five states are in a better position for Democrats compared to a year ago. Those include Arizona (now a Toss-Up), Georgia (Lean Republican), Texas (Likely Republican), Maine (statewide, Likely Democratic) and Nevada (Likely Democratic). One state is better for Republicans; Minnesota, now rated Lean Democratic.

Trump's path to victory looks largely the same as it did in 2016. If he wins re-election, it will be through the Electoral College while losing the popular vote. We're still months away from knowing the true impact of coronavirus on the size and shape of the electorate, but one thing seems clear: more voting by mail will increase the likelihood we will not know the outcome of presidential election on election night, and it could take days or weeks to count all the votes.



2020 Presidential Ratings (Electoral Votes)

Toss-Up (66)			
Arizona (11)#	Florida (29)	Nebraska 2nd (1)	North Carolina (15)
Wisconsin (10)			
Tilt Democratic (36)		Tilt Republican (1)	
Michigan (16)	Pennsylvania (20)	Maine 2nd (1)	
Lean Democratic (14)		Lean Republican (22)	
Minnesota (10)*	New Hampshire (4)	Georgia (16)#	Iowa (6)
Likely Democratic (8)		Likely Republican (56)	
Maine At-Large (2)	Nevada (6)#	Ohio (18)	Texas (38)#
Solid Democratic (210)		Solid Republican (125)	
California (55)	Rhode Island (4)	Alabama (9)	North Dakota (3)
Colorado (9)	Vermont (3)	Alaska (3)	Oklahoma (7)
Connecticut (7)	Virginia (13)	Arkansas (6)	South Carolina (9)
Delaware (3)	Washington (12)	Idaho (4)	South Dakota (3)
D.C. (3)		Indiana (11)	Tennessee (11)
Hawaii (4)		Kansas (6)	Utah (6)
Illinois (20)		Kentucky (8)	West Virginia (5)
Maine 1st (1)		Louisiana (8)	Wyoming (3)
Maryland (10)		Mississippi (6)	
Massachusetts (11)		Missouri (10)	
New Jersey (14)		Montana (3)	
New Mexico (5)		Nebraska At-Large (2)	
New York (29)		Nebraska 1st (1)	
Oregon (7)		Nebraska 3rd (1)	
270 needed to win			
			GOP
			DEM
		2016 Results	304
		2016 Results	227
# moved benefiting Democrats,		2020 Ratings	204
* moved benefiting Republicans		Toss-up	66

CALENDAR

Aug. 17-20	Democratic National Convention (Milwaukee)
Aug. 24-27	Republican National Convention (Charlotte)
Sept. 29	First Presidential Debate (Indiana)
Oct. 7	Lone Vice Presidential Debate (Utah)
Oct. 15	Second Presidential Debate (Michigan)
Oct. 22	Third Presidential Debate (Tennessee)