



# Inside Elections

with

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## 2020 Senate Overview: Democrats Poised to Control the Senate

By Nathan L. Gonzales & Jacob Rubashkin

The Senate has been in play for at least nine months, but Democratic chances of winning control of the chamber have improved significantly in the last few weeks.

As Joe Biden has grown a significant lead over President Donald Trump in the race for the White House, the Senate battleground has improved for Democrats down the ballot. Some states, such as Colorado, Arizona, Maine, and North Carolina, have been competitive for the entire cycle. But previously lower-tier contests in Iowa, Montana, and Georgia are now neck-and-neck races. And Kansas, Texas, and even Alaska and South Carolina can't be considered solid for Republicans anymore. That gives Democrats more than one legitimate path.

Democrats need a net gain of four seats for a majority, but can control the Senate by gaining three seats and winning the White House. With less than four months to go before Election Day, the most likely outcome is a Democratic net gain of 3-5 Senate seats. Since Biden has a clear advantage in the presidential race, that means Democrats are more likely than not to win control of the Senate.

Democratic candidates continue to raise money at astounding rates, but arguably the biggest factor in boosting Democratic chances is Trump underperforming his 2016 totals by 8-12 points or more. It's not that a large number of Democratic candidates are going to win Trump states, it's that Trump is on pace to win fewer states than four years ago.

Multiple Republican incumbents are either already trailing or hovering in the low 40s against their challengers. Of course the races aren't over and these vulnerable senators can win, particularly when tens of millions of dollars in television ads are still yet to be aired. But to say those senators have a significant advantage is overstating their prospects.

In each key race, Republicans are convinced they've identified a specific line of attack that will cut across partisan lines. But it's unlikely that all of them resonate enough. And some GOP strategists believe this is a valley that Trump will climb out of because Biden will implode and the economy will recover. But that's far from certain considering this ain't Biden's first rodeo, the uptick in positive coronavirus cases and the president's unwillingness to move beyond cultural issues that turn off college-educated voters.

After Trump's unexpected victory in 2016, there's a temptation to avoid making political projections. But one election result shouldn't cause us to ignore the data. And right now the preponderance of data points to a great election for Democrats. If the data change between now and November, our analysis will adjust accordingly.



### 2020 Senate Ratings

#### Toss-Up

Collins (R-Maine) Ernst (R-Iowa)#  
Daines (R-Mont.)# Tillis (R-N.C.)

#### Tilt Democratic Tilt Republican

*Gardner (R-Colo.)* Perdue (R-Ga.)#  
*McSally (R-Ariz.)#*

#### Lean Democratic Lean Republican

Peters (D-Mich.) Cornyn (R-Texas)#  
Loeffler (R-Ga.)#  
*Jones (D-Ala.)*

#### Likely Democratic Likely Republican

Graham (R-S.C.)#  
Sullivan (R-Alaska)#

#### 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.) Hyde-Smith (R-Miss.)  
Reed (D-R.I.) Inhofe (R-Okla.)  
Shaheen (D-N.H.) McConnell (R-Ky.)  
Smith (D-Minn.) Risch (R-Idaho)  
Warner (D-Va.) Rounds (R-S.D.)  
Sasse (R-Neb.)

	GOP	DEM
116th Congress	53	47
Not up this cycle	30	35
Currently Solid	11	10
Competitive	12	2

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

# Presidential Snapshot in Time: July 10, 2020

By Bradley Wascher

Independence Day 2020 was a time of reflection for some, a time of celebration for others, and time off for pollsters. Relatively few new polls were released in the days surrounding the holiday, but available surveys still suggest a wide gap between Joe Biden and President Donald Trump.

In an average of 14 national polls conducted over the past two weeks, Biden led Trump by 8 points (47.7 percent to 39.7 percent). Let's compare that figure to previous Snapshots:

- *Two weeks ago (June 26, 2020), Biden was ahead by 9.6 points (49.5 percent to 39.9 percent)*
- *Four weeks ago (June 12, 2020), Biden was ahead by 8.9 points (49.4 percent to 40.6 percent)*
- *Six weeks ago (May 29, 2020), Biden was ahead by 6.8 points (48.7 percent to 41.9 percent)*
- *Eight weeks ago (May 15, 2020), Biden was ahead by 5.4 points (47.6 percent to 42.2 percent)*
- *Ten weeks ago (May 1, 2020), Biden was ahead by 6.6 points (48.5 percent to 41.9 percent)*
- *Three months ago (March 12, 2019), Biden was ahead by 6.1 points (49.4 percent to 43.3 percent)*
- *Six months ago (December 12, 2019), Biden was ahead by 3.4 points (46.7 percent to 43.3 percent)*

Based solely on the two most recent toplines, one might conclude that Biden is falling while the president is gaining. Yet that's probably not the case — to understand why, look at how those averages changed throughout June.

At the end of May, Biden's average margin over Trump neared 7 points; two weeks later, that gap had grown to 9 points; then, by the end, the former vice president enjoyed his largest lead of the entire general election season so far, exceeding 10 points.

But these margins alone don't tell the full story. Instead, turn to another statistic: each candidate's total support. As an example, the June 1 Snapshot placed Biden at 48.5 percent and Trump at 41.7 percent, whereas the July 8 Snapshot found Biden at 48.2 percent and Trump at 39.6 percent.

The exact numbers obviously vary from day to day, but there's reason to believe a theme emerged over the course of the month — while Biden stayed steady, President Trump shifted, downward.

To explore this pattern further, I calculated a Snapshot polling average for every day in June, intuitively ending with a list of 30 daily percentages for Biden and 30 daily percentages for President Trump.

There are many ways to measure the spread in this month-long data,

but consider these basic descriptive statistics: between June 1 and June 30, Biden's average support was 49.4 percent, with a standard deviation of +/- 0.31 points; President Trump's average support was 40.5 percent, with a standard deviation of +/- 0.76 points. Simply put, the president teetered considerably more than his opponent.

A box plot of both candidates' support tells a similar story. President Trump's box is bigger, indicating that his average daily poll numbers fell within a wider interquartile range (IQR), or middle 50 percent:

Not to repeat the same point *ad nauseam*, but these metrics all arrive at a conclusion worth reiterating — most of the polling movement in June appears to have taken place on President Trump's end, rather than Biden's.

Of course, caveats abound. Namely, one must remember just how small these differences actually are. The president's interquartile range only covered 1.5 percentage points, after all, compared to Biden's IQR of 0.3 percentage points. In other words, even if the president's numbers moved more dramatically, the range in which they moved was assuredly narrow.

That said, these findings do help to explain why we could expect a slightly slimmer Biden margin going forward. If the gap were to tighten, the former vice president wouldn't be crashing — because by this metric, he was never really rising all that much. Rather, President Trump might simply be recovering from a plausible low-water mark.

## The State of the States

Unfortunately, the landscape in key battleground states doesn't lend itself to such granular number-crunching. Only a handful of polls came out over the last two weeks in Arizona, Florida, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Two new polls were released in Arizona, both suggesting an advantage for the former vice president. Data Orbital found Biden ahead by 2 points, and Change Research (D) found Biden ahead by 7 points (compared to Biden +1 in mid-June). Indeed, across seven surveys conducted since the middle of June, Biden led the president by an average of 3 points (46.9 percent to 43.9 percent).

Florida, which trended heavily toward Biden last month, had two new polls. Change Research (D) found Biden ahead by 5 points (compared to their Biden +7 result from mid-June), but Trafalgar Group (R) saw both candidates at 46 percent each. In an average of six surveys conducted over the past month, Biden was ahead by 5.1 points (47.8 percent to 42.7 percent).

Although Michigan usually leads the pack when it comes to fresh polling, just two Wolverine State surveys were released in the past two



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weeks. Both placed the Democrat modestly ahead: Public Policy Polling (D) found Biden up by 6 points, and Change Research (D) saw a 5-point advantage for the former vice president (compared to Biden +2 in mid-June). Across an average of seven recent polls, Biden led by 7.7 points (48.7 percent to 41 percent).

Two new polls in North Carolina also paint favorable outlooks for Biden — especially based on their respective trendlines. Change Research (D) found Biden ahead by 7 points (compared to Biden +2 in mid-June), while East Carolina University placed that Biden advantage at only 1 point (compared to their mid-May result of Trump +3). In an average of eight new polls since mid-June, Biden led Trump by 2.5 points (47 percent to 44.5 percent).

In Pennsylvania, three new polls were released. Susquehanna Polling & Research and Trafalgar Group (R) each found Biden ahead by 5 points, and Change Research (D) saw Biden ahead by 6 points (compared to their mid-June topline of Biden +3). Across the six latest polls of Pennsylvania, Biden led President Trump by an average of 6.5 points (48.7 percent to 42.2 percent).

And finally, it shouldn't be difficult to guess how many polls were released in Wisconsin; it might be hard to predict their toplines, though. The Change Research (D) result of Biden +8 isn't surprising given their Biden +4 poll from mid-June. Yet Trafalgar Group (R) interestingly found Trump ahead by 1 point, making it the first poll since March to show the president leading in Wisconsin. Nevertheless, an average of seven polls found Biden leading here by an average of 8 points (49.1 percent to 41.1 percent).

Alongside these six battlegrounds, two additional states saw new polls as well. First in Texas, which has been rated Likely Republican by *Inside Elections*: Public Policy Polling (D) found Biden ahead by 2 points, whereas The University of Texas / YouGov measured a 4-point lead for President Trump. And in Georgia, which has been rated Lean Republican, Public Policy Polling (D) found Biden ahead by 4 points among a sample of 734 voters — for those keeping track at home, that's the largest lead recorded for the former vice president in Georgia all year.

If subsequent surveys show similar data, it will become even more clear that the presidential battleground is expanding into normally Republican states.

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## Snapshot in Time: 2020 General Election Polling Averages

(as of July 10, 2020)

What was the national polling average...	Date	Margin	Biden %	Trump %	Difference in margin: Today – Then
Today	7/10/20	Biden +8.0	47.7	39.7	---
2 Weeks Ago	6/26/20	Biden +9.6	49.5	39.9	Trump +1.6
4 Weeks Ago	6/12/20	Biden +8.9	49.4	40.6	Trump +0.9
6 Weeks Ago	5/29/20	Biden +6.8	48.7	41.9	Biden +1.2
8 Weeks Ago	5/15/20	Biden +5.4	47.6	42.2	Biden +2.6
10 Weeks Ago	5/1/20	Biden +6.6	48.5	41.9	Biden +1.4
3 Months Ago	4/10/20	Biden +5.6	47.5	41.8	Biden +2.4
6 Months Ago	1/10/20	Biden +6.4	47.6	41.2	Biden +1.6

Averages in key states (polls since mid-June)	Total # of polls	Margin	Biden %	Trump %
Arizona	7	Biden +3	47	44
Florida	6	Biden +5	48	43
Michigan	7	Biden +8	49	41
North Carolina	9	Biden +3	47	45
Pennsylvania	6	Biden +7	49	42
Wisconsin	7	Biden +8	49	41

Source: Polls

Note: Margin discrepancies due to rounding

**Alabama. Doug Jones (D), elected 2017 special (50%).** July 14 GOP Runoff (was March 31). Republicans will finally select their nominee next week in the runoff between former Auburn head football coach Tommy Tuberville (who finished first in the primary with 33 percent) and former Sen. Jeff Sessions (who was second with 32 percent). Tuberville has had the fundraising advantage and, probably more importantly, the support of President Donald Trump, who seems to have made it his mission to make sure his former attorney general does not make it back to Washington. Through June 24, Tuberville raised \$4 million and had \$448,000 in the bank compared to Sessions, who raised \$2.2 million and had \$500,000 cash on hand. That means the GOP nominee will start the general election with a steep financial disadvantage against Jones, who had \$8.3 million. The senator still faces a difficult re-election in a state Trump carried with 62 percent in 2016, but he's going to have an opportunity to define himself and it shouldn't be a surprise that Republican outside groups are already starting to reserve ad time to help the eventual nominee. Tuberville is dealing with a set of negative stories, but it's still too early to know whether they will fundamentally alter the trajectory of the primary or general elections. Lean Republican.

*Anzalone Liszt Grove Research (D), June 18-22 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Tuberville over Jones 47%-44%, Sessions over Jones 45%-43%.*

*Cygnal (R), June 13-16 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Tuberville over Jones 50%-36%, Sessions over Jones 45%-33%.*

**Alaska. Dan Sullivan (R), elected 2014 (48%).** Aug. 18 primary. If you're looking for a sleeper race, look no farther than The Last Frontier. Trump carried the state by 15 points in 2016, but limited polling data is showing a much closer contest in the presidential race, and that doesn't bode well for Sullivan's chances for re-election. The senator is likely to face Al Gross,



Dan Sullivan

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

an orthopedic surgeon and commercial fisherman, who is running as an independent with the backing of the Alaska Democratic Party and the endorsement of the DSCC. He also has veteran Democratic consultant Mark Putnam making his TV ads. Sullivan had a \$4.5 million to \$2 million cash advantage on March 31, but Gross has been outraising the incumbent and Alaska is a cheap state to advertise. Some Democrats believe Gross's medical background will be an asset during the coronavirus pandemic, while Republicans plan to tell a different story. Trump's downturn looks like a problem for the senator. This race is no longer as solid as it should be for Republicans. Move from Solid Republican to Likely Republican.

*Public Policy Polling (D) for Election Twitter, July 7-8 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Sullivan over Gross 39%-34%.*

**Arizona. Martha McSally (R), appointed Jan. 2019.** Aug. 4 primary. Joe Biden has led Trump in 11 of the last 13 public polls of Arizona voters dating back to early March, and the private polling ain't any better. That's terrible news for the senator, who hasn't demonstrated the ability to reach

or exceed the president's performance at the top of the ballot. It doesn't help that McSally is getting consistently outraised by retired astronaut Mark Kelly, the husband of former Rep. Gabby Giffords. Kelly had \$19.7 million in the bank on March 31 compared to \$10.5 million for the senator.

That financial disparity will make it challenging for McSally to frame the debate on her terms. Republicans are attacking Kelly for Chinese business interests in recent years, but overall, he doesn't have a lengthy record for the GOP to exploit. Meanwhile McSally underperformed GOP Gov. Doug Ducey in 2018 and hasn't shown a path to making inroads with voters in important Maricopa County. She has a good resume, but after three years of running for the Senate, it just hasn't come together statewide. Kelly has led in 13 of 14 public polls over nearly a year and by an average of nearly 7 points over the last five weeks, according to RealClearPolitics.

GOP strategists express more confidence in Sen. Cory Gardner winning in Colorado, even though he's running in a more difficult state for a Republican. Arizona is still likely to be a marquee battleground with important races for the Senate and 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. The entire state looks to be slipping out of reach for Trump and the Republicans. Move from Toss-Up to Tilt Democratic.

*Data Orbital, June 27-29 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 50%-43%.*

*Global Strategy Group (D) for End Citizens United/Let America Vote, June 19-24 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 49%-42%.*

*New York Times/Siena College, June 8-16 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 47%-38%.*

*Fox News, May 30-June 2 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Kelly over McSally 50%-37%.*

**Arkansas. Tom Cotton (R), elected 2014 (57%).** Now that the senator is running unopposed because his Democratic opponent dropped out after the filing deadline, Cotton can focus on running for president in 2024. He ended up in a fight with *The New York Times* and proponents of DC residents being represented in Congress, so he's in decent shape with the Republican base. But if a public poll showing a tight presidential race is even close to true, Democrats are going to wish they had a candidate on the ballot. Solid Republican.

**Colorado. Cory Gardner (R), elected 2014 (48%).** It was a rocky couple of weeks for former Democratic Gov. John Hickenlooper. He was forced to pay a \$2,750 fine after the state's Independent Ethics Commission found him guilty of accepting two illegal gifts on trips he took as governor; he was found to be in contempt after previously refusing to appear on video for testimony earlier in the hearings, video surfaced of him from six years ago comparing the pressure on politicians from schedulers to slaves being whipped in the galley of an ancient ship, and he defined the Black Lives Matter movement in a way that's rejected by most black activists. Republicans watched with glee as the Democratic primary received national attention. It culminated with Hickenlooper winning the primary 59-41 percent over former state Speaker Andrew Romanoff, who was running as the progressive insurgent.

In spite of the noisy primary, the fundamentals of the race have not changed. Gardner is consistently trailing Hickenlooper in the polls anywhere from mid-single digits to double digits. And the senator is not being helped by the top of the ballot, where Trump isn't currently close to matching his 5-point loss in 2016. Gardner is highlighting his

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work to bring jobs to Colorado through the relocation of the Bureau of Land Management headquarters, to secure 100,000 N95 masks from Taiwan and recently to author and pass the Great American Outdoors Act. But that doesn't change his past appearances with Trump and reluctance to oppose some of the president's unpopular issue stances.



Cory Gardner

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

Gardner will be well-financed. He had \$9.3 million in the bank on June 10 compared to Hickenlooper's \$5.9 million. But the former governor's fundraising should improve now that the primary is over and Gardner may not receive as much outside help in the homestretch if the race isn't close in the final months. Republicans are convinced the ethics hit on Hickenlooper resonates beyond partisan lines, and Gardner and the NRSC are up on television with significant ad buys. But if the ads don't start to move more numbers soon, then it's hard to see how Gardner wins. Tilt Democratic.

*Public Policy Polling (D) for End Citizens United, June 29-30 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Hickenlooper over Gardner 51%-40%.*

**Delaware.** Chris Coons (D), elected 2010 (57%) and 2014 (56%). July 14 filing deadline. Sept. 15 primary. Business consultant Jess Scarane is challenging Coons in the primary and has been endorsed by some lower-tier progressive groups such as 350Action. But she had just \$84,000 in the bank on March 31 compared to the senator's \$2.8 million. In the general election, Coons will share the ballot with former Delaware Sen. Joe Biden, who used to hold this seat. Multiple Republicans are running including Trump activist Lauren Witzke (\$7,000), who could add to the list of QAnon followers winning GOP nominations. Solid Democratic.

**Georgia.** David Perdue (R), elected 2014 (53%). Jan. 5 runoff (if necessary). While the state's other seat has received more attention over the last few months considering the special election and the investigation into appointed-Sen. Kelly Loeffler's stock sales, this seat may be in more jeopardy for the GOP. Documentary filmmaker/2017 6th District special election nominee Jon Ossoff won the Democratic nomination after clearing 50 percent in last month's primary. Republicans dismiss him as young, inexperienced, and too liberal, but Ossoff doesn't have a legislative voting record to be exploited.

More concerning for Republicans is that multiple public and private polls show that Georgia is a presidential battleground. And there's no reason to believe Perdue (who had \$9.3 million in the bank on May 20) will dramatically outpace Trump on the ballot. Ossoff (\$950,000) has to recover financially from the primary, but he isn't likely to lose this race from a lack of funds. The NRSC just reserved a couple weeks of TV ad time, and GOP leadership-aligned outside groups One Nation and Senate Leadership Fund announced a combined \$21 million in ad reservations — yet another sign that Republicans know this is a serious race. Ossoff likely needs to win the race outright in November by clearly 50 percent, rather than hoping that turnout is better than usual for Democrats in a January runoff. But don't assume it will be easy

for Perdue to clear 50 percent in November either. Move from Likely Republican to Tilt Republican.

*Fox News, June 20-23 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Perdue over Ossoff 45%-42%.*

*Public Policy Polling (D) for End Citizens United, June 12-13 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Ossoff over Perdue 45%-44%.*

Continued on page 6

## 2020 House Ratings

### Toss-Up (2R, 4D)

GA 7 (Open; Woodall, R)	NY 11 (Rose, D)
IA 3 (Axne, D)	OK 5 (Horn, D)
IL 13 (Davis, R)	SC 1 (Cunningham, D)

### Tilt Democratic (10D, 1R)

CA 21 (Cox, D)
CA 25 (Garcia, R)
GA 6 (McBath, D)
IA 1 (Finkenauer, D)
IA 2 (Open; Loeb sack, D)
ME 2 (Golden, D)
MN 7 (Peterson, DFL)
NM 2 (Torres Small, D)
NY 22 (Brindisi, D)
UT 4 (McAdams, D)
VA 7 (Spanberger, D)

### Tilt Republican (6R)

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	201	233
Currently Solid	174	202
Competitive	27	31
Needed for majority	218	

### Lean Democratic (8D, 1R)

CA 48 (Rouda, D)
IL 14 (Underwood, D)
KS 3 (Davids, D)
NJ 3 (Kim, D)
NJ 7 (Malinowski, D)
TX 7 (Fletcher, D)
TX 23 (Open; Hurd, R)
TX 32 (Allred, D)
VA 2 (Luria, D)

### Lean Republican (6R, 1L)

MI 3 (Open; Amash, L)
MO 2 (Wagner, R)
NE 2 (Bacon, R)
NY 2 (Open; King, R)
NY 24 (Katko, R)
OH 1 (Chabot, R)
TX 21 (Roy, R)

### Likely Democratic (9D, 2R)

AZ 1 (O'Halleran, D)
CA 39 (Cisneros, 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)
NV 3 (Lee, D)
PA 8 (Cartwright, D)
PA 17 (Lamb, D)

### Likely Republican (9R)

AZ 6 (Schweikert, R)
FL 15 (Spano, R)
IN 5 (Open; Brooks, R)
MI 6 (Upton, R)
MT AL (Open; Gianforte, R)
NC 8 (Hudson, R)
NY 1 (Zeldin, R)
TX 10 (McCaul, R)
WA 3 (Herrera-Beutler, R)

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

Continued from page 5

**Georgia. Kelly Loeffler (R) appointed Jan. 6, 2020.** Special election Nov. 3 (all candidates), Jan. 5 runoff (if necessary). One of the Senate's most complicated races won't have a conclusion until early next year. The biggest question is whether the outcome will determine control of the chamber.

The special election has unique parameters. All candidates will run 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. And there are currently two sub-races within the broader race.

On the Republican side, Loeffler and Rep. Doug Collins are battling it out. Loeffler was appointed by GOP Gov. Brian Kemp against the wishes of the president, who preferred Collins. She also endured negative headlines when 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. The FBI investigated and closed the matter, but the story played out at a critical time when she was largely unknown and undefined by the statewide electorate, and it has done significant damage to her image among voters. However, Collins wasn't able to consolidate GOP support, so the race continues. Collins had \$2.2 million in the bank on March 31 while Loeffler has said she'd spend \$20 million of her own money.

Democratic hopes rest on Reverend Raphael Warnock, who leads a historic church in Atlanta. But his campaign has been slow to come together. He had \$1.1 million in the bank on March 31, but reportedly raised \$2.85 million in the second quarter, and will need to spend and utilize his financial advantage to boost his profile statewide. That's a little complicated with multiple Democrats in the race including businessman Matt Lieberman (\$308,000 as of March 31) and former U.S. attorney / state Sen. Ed Tarver (\$41,000). If the election were held today, Warnock may not even finish in the top two and make the runoff. This entire race is taking place with the backdrop of an increasingly competitive presidential race where Trump's 2016 margin has evaporated. So even though there's a lot of uncertainty, the underlying performance of the state has shifted toward Democrats, making the seat more vulnerable. Move from Likely Republican to Lean Republican.

*Public Policy Polling (D) for End Citizens United, June 25-26 (RVs) — Initial Special Election ballot: Collins (R) 23%, Loeffler (R) 21%, Warnock (D) 20%, Lieberman (D) 11%, Tarver (D) 3%.*

*Civiqs (D), May 16-18 (RVs) — Initial Special Election ballot: Collins (R) 34%, Warnock (D) 18%, Lieberman (D) 14%, Loeffler (R) 12%, Tarver (D) 6%.*

*Public Opinion Strategies (R) for Loeffler Campaign, May 4-7 (LVs) — Initial Special Election ballot: Collins (R) 19%, Loeffler (R) 18%, Lieberman (D) 17%, Warnock (D) 9%.*

**Idaho. Jim Risch (R), elected 2008 (58%), 2014 (65%).** Former state Rep. Paulette Jordan gained some national attention in 2018 during her historic run to become the first Native American woman elected governor. But she lost the race by 21 points and only had \$13,000 in her campaign account on May 13 for this race. Risch had \$2.3 million 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 primary and had \$5 million in the bank on March 31. Former Lake County sheriff

Mark Curran won the GOP nomination, but had just \$5,900 in his campaign account. Solid Democratic.

**Iowa. Joni Ernst (R), elected 2014 (51%).** The senator has been on the list of vulnerable incumbents for the entire cycle, but her race is looking particularly complicated as the president struggles to match his 9-point victory in 2016. Republicans crowded while Democrats spent millions of dollars getting their preferred candidate, former real estate executive Theresa Greenfield, through the June 2 primary. But similar to what



Courtesy Greenfield for Senate

**Theresa Greenfield**

happened in North Carolina, the preferred candidate won handily (by 22 points), and a post-primary survey by the most respected nonpartisan pollster in the state showed Ernst down a couple points. It looked like the senator would start the general election with a cash advantage (\$7 million to \$4.7 million on May 13), but Greenfield reported raising \$5.6 million in the full second quarter and is quickly closing that gap as Democratic donors nationwide flex their wallets. The NRSC and GOP outside groups have reserved more than \$15 million in ads for the fall as a significant indication that Republicans believe this is a firewall state for control of the Senate. The DSCC and Democratic outside groups have reserved \$25 million for ads.

Republicans are hopeful that attacks on Greenfield's business record — specifically that she evicted small businesses to make room for a big-box retailer that never came to fruition — will cut across partisan lines. Ernst has vulnerabilities as well as she gets six years from the outsider message that propelled her to Congress. On Sunday, she was unable to articulate to CNN's Dana Bash how two American Ebola deaths under President Barack Obama was evidence of Obama's "failed leadership" while 130,000 American deaths from coronavirus was not similar evidence for Trump. Like some of her colleagues, Ernst's fate looks tied to Trump's in the state, and that's not going well. Shift from Lean Republican to Toss-Up

*Greenberg Quinlan Rosner (D) for End Citizens United, June 23-28 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Greenfield over Ernst 49%-47%.*

*J. Ann Selzer and Co. for the Des Moines Register, June 7-10 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Greenfield over Ernst 46%-43%.*

*Civiqs (D), June 6-8 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Greenfield over Ernst 48%-45%.*

**Kansas. Open; Pat Roberts (R) not seeking re-election.** Aug. 4 primary. For most of the cycle, the biggest concern for Republicans concerned about holding the seat was making sure former Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach didn't win the primary. But recent reporting by *The New York Times* shows this race may be even more problematic for the GOP.

Kobach and 1st District Rep. Roger Marshall are the frontrunners for the GOP nomination, with wealthy Overland Park plumbing company CEO Bob Hamilton running a credible campaign as well. Through March 31, Hamilton invested \$2 million of his own money into the campaign with \$2.1 million in the bank. Marshall had \$1.9 million while Kobach continued his under-funded ways with \$317,000. Some GOP strategists

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believe Marshall is finally emerging from the pack, but there's a large number of undecided voters. According to the *Times*, Trump leaned on former Indiana Rep. David McIntosh to have the Club for Growth stop attacking Marshall. But Hamilton is on television attacking Marshall for using his political connections to get a reckless driving charge reduced.

State Sen. Barbara Bollier, the likely Democratic nominee, reported raising \$3.7 million in the second quarter and having more than \$4 million in the bank at the end of June, and she is a credible candidate if Republicans stumble. She served in the state legislature as a Republican for eight years before switching parties in December 2018. She's combining her bipartisan credentials with her background as a doctor (particularly salient in the time of coronavirus).

Kobach winning the nomination is Democrats' best shot at flipping this seat. He not only lost the 2018 gubernatorial election by 5 points, it was easily the worst statewide performance by a Republican in Kansas in at least a decade. He's a polarizing figure both in the state and nationally. But even if Marshall or Hamilton win the nomination, Republicans might not be out of the woods, considering the *Times* referred to a presidential poll in Kansas that showed Biden running even with Trump. Kansas has only ever sent three Democrats to the Senate, and none since 1939, so a Democratic victory would be stunning, but not a complete surprise based on the contours of this race. Lean Republican.

*Civiqs (D), May 30-June 1 (RVs) — GOP Primary ballot: Kobach 35%, Marshall 26%, Hamilton 15%, Lindstrom 4%; General Election ballot: Bollier over Kobach 42%-41%, Marshall over Bollier 42%-41%, Bollier over Hamilton 41%-40%.*

*Tarrance Group (R) for NRSC, May 17-19 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Kobach over Bollier 44%-43%, Marshall over Bollier 46%-35%.*

**Kentucky. Mitch McConnell (R), elected 1984 (50%), 1990 (52%), 1996 (55%), 2002 (65%), 2008 (53%) and 2014 (56%).** A sleepy Democratic primary victory by veteran Amy McGrath turned into a nationally-watched affair as state Rep. Charles Booker surged in the final weeks with endorsements from Sen. Bernie Sanders and Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, and as an African-American legislator and candidate running in the middle of a national conversation about racism in America. In the end, McGrath prevailed 45-43 percent, while Andrew Yang-backed veteran Mike Broihier was third with 5 percent. Both Booker and Broihier criticized McGrath for being insufficiently progressive, which is a stark contrast to the Republican message run against her in 2018, when she ran unsuccessfully in the 6th District.

Even though the primary got bitter and divisive, Kentucky Democrats will be united in November. None of them want to see McConnell for another six years. The challenge for Democrats is that a united party is not enough to win statewide. Andy Beshear was elected governor in 2019 against a dreadfully unpopular incumbent and still only received 49 percent of the vote. In order to win, Democratic outside groups are likely to spend money to promote Libertarian candidate Brad Barron. That could siphon some votes away from McConnell and lower the threshold of victory for McGrath.

At a minimum, this race is going to cost Republicans money that they can't spend on more competitive races elsewhere. McGrath raised a whopping \$47 million through June 30 and had previously reported \$19 million in the bank on June 3. Sure, she had to spend money getting out of the primary, but McGrath won't lose the general election from a lack of funds. The Senate majority leader raised \$33 million and had

\$15 million in the bank on June 3.

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 hundreds of judicial confirmations put him in line with a state that Trump should win by more than 20 points. But even against the partisan backdrop of the state, this race probably won't be a blowout.

The math is hard for Democrats, but it's increasingly difficult to rate a race in which GOP outside groups will spend more than \$15 million defending as Solid Republican.

*Civiqs (D) for Data for Progress, June 13-15 (RVs) — General Election ballot: McConnell over McGrath 53%-33% with Brad Barron (L) at 4%.*

*RMG Research for U.S. Term Limits, May 21-24 (RVs) — General Election ballot: McGrath over McConnell 41%-40%.*

**Louisiana. Bill Cassidy (R), elected 2014 (56%). July 17 filing deadline. Nov. 3 jungle primary. Dec. 5 Runoff.** Democrats don't have a serious challenger to Cassidy, who had \$5.8 million on March 31. Democrat Antoine Pierce, a community activist who lost a 2016 race for Baton Rouge metro council, had \$2,800 at the end of the first quarter of the year for this race. Solid Republican.

**Maine. Susan Collins (R), elected 1996 (49%), 2002 (58%), 2008 (61%) and 2014 (69%).** July 14 primary (was June 9). Collins has built a reputation

as a moderate senator who has defeated credible opponents in the past, but this race is unlike any other she has faced. The senator has been blanketing the airwaves with TV ads highlighting her work on the Paycheck Protection Program as the country navigates



Courtesy Maine House of Representatives

Sara Gideon

the coronavirus response. But her vote to confirm Brett Kavanaugh for the Supreme Court has lowered her electoral ceiling and severely limited the number of Democratic voters willing to support her, even if they've voted for her in the past (she received 39 percent in 2014, according to exit polling). Collins' early double-digit advantage has evaporated, even though one public GOP poll showed her with a significant advantage.

If more evidence is needed that the Kavanaugh vote is hurting Collins, look no further than the fundraising by her likely Democratic opponent, state House Speaker Sara Gideon. Gideon raised \$23 million through June 24 and had \$5.5 million in the bank. That's \$7 million more total raised than Collins (\$16 million) and more cash on hand than the senator (\$5 million). Gideon's cash totals don't include the \$3.7 million she will inherit after the primary from an account national Democratic donors used to express their disapproval with Collins in the immediate aftermath of the Kavanaugh vote. Gideon is the clear favorite over 2018 gubernatorial candidate Betsy Sweet (\$45,000 in the bank on June 24) in next week's race.

Some Republicans believe this race has been of a roller coaster, specifically with Collins bouncing back with her coronavirus response ads. The majority of the data point to a steady erosion in the senator's numbers to the point where she is trailing in some surveys. That is more difficult

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to bounce back from when she'll be outspent considerably and Trump is losing the presidential race by a wide margin at the top of the ballot. The ranked-choice system is in place for the Senate race, but it's looking like the challenger has the advantage under either scenario. Republicans are leveling attacks on Gideon for harboring a fellow state legislator accused of sexual misconduct. But if Trump's standing doesn't improve dramatically soon, we'll change this rating toward Democrats in the coming weeks. Toss-up.

*Public Policy Polling (D), July 2-3 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Gideon over Collins 46%-42%.*

*Moore Information (R) for the NRSC, June 20-24 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Collins over Gideon 45%-37%.*

**Massachusetts. Ed Markey (D) elected 2013 special (55%), 2014 (62%).**

Sept. 15 primary. Unlike some of the House primaries in which progressive stars line up behind insurgent challengers to old incumbents, this race is more complicated. Markey is facing a primary challenge from 4th District Rep. Joe Kennedy III,

but it's the senator who has the reputation of being a liberal stalwart and he has support from New York Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. Unlike most of the upstart House challengers, Kennedy is going dollar-for-dollar in fundraising



**Joe Kennedy III**

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

against Markey; at the end of the second quarter, June 30, Kennedy reported \$4.7 million in the bank, compared to Markey's \$4.8 million. Kennedy has struggled to articulate why Markey should be fired, but as the scion of Massachusetts' most famous political family, and with a current lead in the polls, the congressman may not need to change his message all that much. Fellow Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren has also endorsed Markey, but it's unclear how much she'll do to help him, or what tangible support Markey will receive from the DSCC or any outside groups.

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. Also running in the primary is wealthy attorney Shannon Liss Riordan (\$2.2 million), who has spent \$3 million of her own money but hasn't gained traction. No matter who wins the primary, this is not a GOP takeover opportunity. Solid Democratic.

**Michigan. Gary Peters (D), elected 2014 (55%).** Aug. 4 primary. To truly follow where the fight for the Senate is taking place, follow where the outside groups are planning to spend money on TV ads. And up to this point, neither party is planning to spend big in Michigan. Likely GOP nominee John James, a retired Army helicopter pilot and businessman, has been raising good money: he had \$8.5 million in the bank on March 31 and reportedly raised \$6.4 million in the second quarter. But aside from a \$2 million investment from the NRSC in July, he doesn't appear to have reinforcements for the fall. On the other side of the aisle, Democratic-aligned Senate Majority PAC has been spending to make sure the senator doesn't get overwhelmed by early ads from James and outside GOP groups, but doesn't have a fall reservation. Peters, who raised \$5.2 million

in the second quarter, had more than \$12 million in his campaign account at the end of June, so he's prepared for a competitive race.

Republicans are confident James can and will overperform Trump. But not only is there little evidence he'll do that (considering he performed as well as a typical Republican in his 2018 loss to Democratic Sen. Debbie Stabenow), Trump is getting destroyed at the top of the ballot. Biden led the president by 7.5 points, according to the RealClearPolitics average of public polls over the last month, and private polling isn't any better for Republicans. That means Trump is digging a hole at the top of the ballot that's too deep for James to climb out of. Michigan is a great example of how things have changed for the better for Democrats since 2016. Lean Democratic.

*Public Policy Polling (D) for Progress Michigan, June 26-27 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Peters over James 47%-39%.*

*Hodas and Assoc. (R) for Restoration PAC, June 17-20 (LVs) — General Election ballot: Peters over James 50%-37%.*

*New York Times/Siena College, June 8-17 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Peters over James 41%-31%.*

**Minnesota. Tina Smith (DFL), appointed Jan. 2018, elected 2018 special (53%).**

Aug. 11 primary. Considering Clinton won the state by less than 2 points in 2016, Minnesota has been considered a presidential battleground for most of the cycle. But that narrative has all but faded away completely as the president is struggling in the Midwest against Biden. Likely GOP nominee/former Rep. Jason Lewis simply isn't strong enough to overperform the president at the top of the ballot. The controversial radio host lost his seat in the Twin Cities suburbs by 5 points in 2018 and had just \$713,000 in the bank on March 31 compared to Smith's \$4.6 million. Solid Democratic.

**Mississippi. Cindy Hyde-Smith (R), appointed April 2018, elected 2018 special (54%).**

Mississippi made news recently for finally jettisoning its Confederate battle flag from its state flag. But the state likely won't make news in November, when Hyde-Smith (who in 2014 posted a photograph of herself wearing a Confederate Army hat and wielding a CSA rifle, with the caption "Mississippi history at its best!") will face off against former Rep. Mike Espy for the second time in two years. Hyde-Smith (\$1.1 million in the bank on March 31) defeated Espy (\$382,000) in that race by 7 points, and in 2019 state Attorney General Jim Hood, the most popular Democrat in the state, ran for governor and lost by 5 points. Neither are promising signs for Espy. Solid Republican.

*Public Policy Polling (D) for the Espy Campaign, May 27-28 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Hyde-Smith over Espy 49%-41%.*

**Montana. Steve Daines (R), elected 2014 (58%).** Republicans admit that Democratic Gov. Steve Bullock's entry into the race created a close and competitive contest where a race didn't previously exist. Yet their confidence in retaining the seat rested in Trump's ability to win Montana by 20 points again (as he did in 2016) and Bullock's brief presidential run, when he took liberal stances on gun control, immigration, abortion, and the impeachment of the president. But that scenario is in significant doubt.

As Trump's standing has fallen around the country, his lead in Montana is essentially gone. At best, the president is ahead of Biden by a few points in public and private polling. That dynamic alone significantly lowers the bar for Bullock, who may not need nearly as many crossover voters from the presidential race. It's also not clear

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that Bullock's presidential positions will resonate as deeply when he's leading the state's coronavirus response. He's the only sitting governor running for the Senate this cycle, and positive cases are rising in Montana after a quiet spring. Bullock has also quickly closed the fundraising gap. His campaign says that on June 30, it had \$7.4 million in cash on hand. Daines has not released his second quarter numbers, but had \$5.7 million in the bank on May 31.

The race is also complicated because of Daines' business background. The senator, and Republicans in general, are determined to demonize China as a key component to winning in November. But Daines' past work with Procter & Gamble in China in the 1990's could muddy his message or even turn into a liability. This race is a bonafide opportunity for Democrats. Move from Lean Republican to Toss-Up.

*University of Montana Big Sky Poll, June 17-26 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Bullock over Daines 47%-43%.*

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

**Nebraska. Ben Sasse (R), elected 2014 (64%).** Sasse had \$2.5 million in the bank on April 22, and Democratic nominee Chris Janicek (\$2,718) lost the backing from the state party after stories about how he sexually harassed a campaign staffer. Solid Republican.

**New Hampshire. Jeanne Shaheen (D), elected 2008 (52%), 2014 (52%).** Sept. 8 primary. President Trump stepped into the GOP race and endorsed attorney / Army veteran Bryant "Corky" Messner. He had \$3 million in the bank on March 31, including a personal contribution of \$3.2



Jeanne Shaheen

million. Retired Army Brigadier General Don Bolduc (\$102,000) had the early hype but his stature in the race has diminished. Clinton won the Granite State narrowly in 2016, but considering the president's struggles in distinctly Republican

states, there's no indication Trump will compete here and buoy a lower-tier challenger. Shaheen (\$7 million) is in good shape for re-election. Solid Democratic.

**New Jersey. Cory Booker (D), elected 2013 special (55%), 2014 (56%).** Though he ended the year with just \$75,000 in his bank account, Booker quickly returned to Senate campaigning mode after shuttering his presidential operation, and reported \$2.9 million in cash on hand on June 17. The Republican nominee, who will not win this race, will be either tech executive Hirsh Singh (\$35,000) or attorney Rik Mehta (\$48,000) as this week's primary is still too close to call. Solid Democratic.

*Monmouth University, April 16-19 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Booker over Mehta 55%-32%; Booker over Singh 58%-33%.*

**New Mexico. Open; Tom Udall (D), not seeking re-election.** Republicans believe CBS Albuquerque meteorologist Mark Ronchetti (\$430,000), whose time on TV lends him higher-than-normal name recognition for a challenger, has the opportunity to be special. But Rep.

Ben Ray Luján, who oversaw the Democratic takeover of the House in 2018 as chairman of the DCCC, is the overwhelming favorite to succeed the retiring Udall. Trump lost this state by 8 points in 2016 and is likely down double-digits now. Ronchetti would need to see a significant Trump resurgence to even be competitive. Solid Democratic.

*Public Policy Polling (D) for New Mexico Political Report, June 12-13 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Luján over Ronchetti 48%-34%.*

**North Carolina. Thom Tillis (R), elected 2014 (49%).** The good news for Tillis is that he's been consistently locked in a competitive race in a presidential battleground state that Trump won by 3.5 points in 2016, and the president has been competitive with Biden for most of the cycle. The bad news is that the senator has been mired in the low- to mid-40s on the ballot test and Trump's downturn might be masked by the lack of recent polling. There's no reason to believe that if Trump has cratered nationally to the point where Ohio and Texas are competitive, he's immune from the collapse in North Carolina.

Republicans were delighted to watch Democrats spend money to get Iraq War veteran / former state Sen. Cal Cunningham through the primary. But he doesn't appear any worse for the wear and the primary spending helped boost his profile around the state. GOP strategists admit that Cunningham is close to a generic Democrat, which in this case is good for him. The NRSC just began a television ad coupling video of Cunningham saying he's progressive with clips of Bernie Sanders and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez saying the same thing. We'll see if it resonates with voters.

Cunningham is closing the fundraising gap. He reported \$6.6 million in the bank at the end of the second quarter, June 30. Tillis has yet to file his second quarter report but had \$6.4 million in the bank on March 31. But there will be no shortage of ads in North Carolina. Between past buys and future reservations, North Carolina has attracted more than \$100 million in advertising, currently making it the most expensive Senate race according to Kantar / CMAG. And that's just the tip of the iceberg in a state featuring competitive races for president, governor, and Senate. Tillis needs Trump to win North Carolina again and that is far from a guarantee. Toss-Up.

*Public Policy Polling (D), June 22-23 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Cunningham over Tillis 44%-40%.*

*New York Times/Siena College, June 8-18 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Cunningham over Tillis 42%-39%.*

**Oklahoma. Jim Inhofe (R), elected 1994 special (55%), 1996 (57%), 2002 (57%), 2008 (57%), and 2014 (68%).** Former local NBC reporter / attorney Abby Broyles won the Democratic nomination and had just \$114,000 in the bank on June 10. She's got an uphill battle against the 85-year-old chairman of the Armed Services Committee (\$2.2 million). Solid Republican.

**Oregon. Jeff Merkley (D), elected 2008 (49%), 2014 (56%).** Republicans chose a proud QAnon conspiracy follower, Jo Rae Perkins (\$1,181 cash on hand on April 29), as their nominee against Merkley (\$3.5 million). GOP party leaders haven't backed away Perkins, but she has no shot in this race. Solid Democratic.

**Rhode Island. Jack Reed (D), elected 1996 (63%), 2002 (78%), 2008 (73%) and 2014 (71%).** Sept. 15 primary. Republican Allen Waters, who started the cycle running in Massachusetts, had less than \$4,000 in campaign funds on March 31. Reed had \$3.1 million and Trump will struggle to reach 40 percent at the top of the ballot. Solid Democratic.

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**South Carolina. Lindsey Graham (R), elected 2002 (54%), 2008 (58%) and 2014 (55%).** The Democratic base continues to be excited by former lobbyist/former state party chairman Jaime Harrison's campaign, the most serious Democratic Senate campaign in the state since 2004. But while some party leaders express hope this could develop into a legitimate pickup opportunity, most agree it's not there yet. Harrison's fundraising has been a rising tide, even though he still trailed Graham in cash on hand \$13.9 million to \$6.7 million on May 20. Harrison reported that he raised an additional \$9.7 million between May 20 and June 30, but Graham hadn't released his full second quarter totals by our deadline. Both candidates are up on TV, and while Harrison's messaging is positive biography, Graham has already started running attack ads against his opponent, indicating that he takes the race seriously. For now, it's hard to see how Harrison can win against a top Trump ally in a state the president should carry by double digits. But if growing suburban areas continue to be problematic for the president, the Senate seat looks more within reach. Move from Solid Republican to Likely Republican.

*Civiqs (D) for Daily Kos, May 23-26 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Graham and Harrison tied at 42%.*

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

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

**South Dakota. Mike Rounds (R), elected 2014 (50%).** The senator had \$1.8 million in the bank on May 13 and Democratic nominee, former state legislator Dan Ahlers, had just \$43,000. Solid Republican.

**Tennessee. Open; Lamar Alexander (R) not seeking re-election.**

**Aug. 6 primary.** Former US Ambassador to Japan Bill Hagerty had \$5.6 million in the bank on March 31, as well as an endorsement from Trump, which is worth as much if not more. Surgeon Manny Sethi has put in \$2 million of his own money and is running on an anti-immigration, anti-protest platform, but Hagerty is the frontrunner for both the GOP nomination and the general. On the Democratic side, attorney/Iraq War veteran James Mackler (\$531,000), who dropped out of the 2018 Senate race to clear the field for former Gov. Phil Bredesen, will get a chance to show he can do better than Bredesen's 11-point loss. Trump should win the state easily, but everything is turning out to be a struggle for the president. Solid Republican.

*Trafalgar Group (R), July 6-8 (LVs) — GOP Primary ballot: Hagerty 42%, Sethi 39%, George Flinn 4%.*

*Victory Phones (R) for Sethi Campaign, June 30-July 1 (LVs) — GOP*

*Primary ballot: Hagerty 33%, Sethi 31%, George Flinn 6%.*

*Tarrance Group (R) for Hagerty Campaign, June 28-30 (LVs) — GOP Primary ballot: Hagerty 47%, Sethi 29%, Flinn 5%.*

**Texas. John Cornyn (R), elected 2002 (55%), 2008 (65%) and 2014 (62%).** July 14 Democratic Runoff (new, rescheduled date). Democrats still haven't selected a nominee, but the most important factor in the race is the presidential ballot. Trump won Texas by 9 points in 2016, but his margin could be half of that, if not much closer, if public polls are



Courtesy Hegar for Senate

**M.J. Hegar**

accurately reflecting the state of play in the Lone Star State. Most Democratic strategists, and Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, believe Air Force veteran/2018 31st District nominee MJ Hegar has a better chance in the general election compared

to state Sen. Royce West. She raised \$6.5 million for the race through June 24 and had \$1.6 million in the bank. West raised \$1.8 million and had \$159,000 cash on hand at the same time. That means Cornyn (\$12.9 million in the bank on June 9) will start the general election with a cash advantage.

Republicans view Rep. Beto O'Rourke's 3-point loss to GOP Sen. Ted Cruz as the new Democratic high-water mark. But the current national and local polling demonstrates Trump and the GOP may not be done hemorrhaging voters, particularly in the suburbs. Hegar's supporters are trying to convince other Democrats that this race is a prime opportunity for an influx of spending considering other top-tier races are already flush with cash — in a state as large as Texas, she'll need the money to be competitive. With the strong correlation between presidential and Senate results, Texas could become an expensive headache for Republicans. Move from Likely Republican to Lean Republican.

*Public Policy Polling (D) for EMILY's List, June 24-25 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Cornyn over Hegar 42%-35%.*

*Fox News, June 20-23 (RVs) — General Election ballot: Cornyn over Hegar 46%-36%, Cornyn over West 47%-37%.*

**Virginia. Mark Warner (D), elected 2008 (65%), 2014 (49%).**

Republicans nominated Army Lt. Col. Daniel Gade (\$105,000 on hand on June 3) to lose to Warner (\$8.7 million) in a state that had two GOP senators not long ago and President George W. Bush won by 8 points in 2004. Solid Democratic.

**West Virginia. Shelley Moore Capito (R), elected 2014 (62%).**

The senator had \$3.1 million in the bank on May 20 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, won the nomination this time but had just \$29,000 cash on hand on May 20. Solid Republican.

**Wyoming. Open; Mike Enzi (R) not seeking re-election.** Aug. 18 primary. Former Rep. Cynthia Lummis (\$1 million in the bank on March 31) is likely to become Wyoming's first female senator. Solid Republican. **IE**

## CALENDAR

<b>Sept. 29</b>	First Presidential Debate (Indiana)
<b>Oct. 7</b>	Lone Vice Presidential Debate (Utah)
<b>Oct. 15</b>	Second Presidential Debate (Florida)
<b>Oct. 22</b>	Third Presidential Debate (Tennessee)
<b>Nov. 3</b>	Election Day
<b>Jan. 5</b>	Georgia Senate Runoffs (if necessary)