



Inside Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis

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2022 Senate Overview: History Favors Republicans

By Nathan L. Gonzales and Jacob Rubashkin

Democrats have a better chance of maintaining control of the Senate than the House in 2022, but that doesn't mean the party should feel too confident about their chances.

With a 50-50 Senate and no easy takeover opportunities, Democrats have no room for error. They probably can't afford to lose even one of their own seats in a challenging environment where President Joe Biden's job approval rating has leveled off at mediocre. With control of the White House and Congress, Democrats are shouldering the blame for the country's major challenges and voters are open to change.

While the historical midterm trend for the president's party is ominous in House elections, it's more mixed in Senate races. Since the passage of the 17th Amendment (the direct election of senators) in 1913, there have been 27 midterm elections. The president's party gained Senate seats in six of those, and broke even in another two.

But that doesn't mean the president's party successfully ran against the national environment. In three of the eight instances, the Senate result was in line with the national trend as his party also gained House seats. In others, including most recently 2018, the president's party benefited from the partisanship of the most competitive states.

At first glance, the 2022 Senate map is good for Democrats considering Biden won six of the eight battlegrounds in 2020. But five of them were by such a small margin that the advantage seems negligible after Democrats significantly underperformed in Virginia and New Jersey in 2021.

It's certainly possible for stellar incumbents to overcome a poor national environment or flawed challengers to fumble away good opportunities, but those are the exception rather than the rule. Almost any partisan strategist would concede that they'd rather have the environment in their favor than the better candidate or the most money. And unless the political environment changes dramatically (and it usually doesn't), Democrats will be swimming against the tide.

The Senate battlefield continues to be well-defined with four Democratic-held states (Georgia, Nevada, Arizona and New Hampshire) and four held by Republicans (Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, North Carolina, and Florida), and limited opportunities for expansion. (This issue we're making distinctions in the competitive races by transitioning from our Battleground rating to our more traditional rating categories.)

With the calendar flipped to 2022, there will be a lot of public and private polling conducted in the next couple months as groups start to make strategic decisions. There are multiple close and undefined races, and uncertainty with the exogenous factor of Covid-19. The fight for the Senate majority is competitive, but you'd still rather be Republicans in this environment.

2022 Senate Ratings

Toss-up

Cortez Masto (D-Nev.)

Warnock (D-Ga.)

Kelly (D-Ariz.)

Tilt Democratic

Hassan (D-N.H.)

Tilt Republican

PA Open (Toomey, R)

Lean Democratic

Lean Republican

NC Open (Burr, R)

Johnson (R-Wisc.)

Likely Democratic

Likely Republican

Rubio (R-Fl.)

Solid Democratic

VT Open (Leahy, D)

Bennet (D-Colo.)

Blumenthal (D-Conn.)

Duckworth (D-Ill.)

Murray (D-Wash.)

Padilla (D-Calif.)

Schatz (D-Hawaii)

Schumer (D-N.Y.)

Van Hollen (D-Md.)

Wyden (D-Ore.)

Solid Republican

AL Open (Shelby, R)

MO Open (Blunt, R)

OH Open (Portman, R)

Boozman (R-Ark.)

Crapo (R-Idaho)

Grassley (R-Iowa)

Hoeven (R-N.D.)

Kennedy (R-La.)

Lankford (R-Okla.)

Lee (R-Utah)

Moran (R-Kan.)

Murkowski (R-Alaska)

Paul (R-Ky.)

Scott (R-S.C.)

Thune (R-S.D.)

Young (R-Ind.)

moved benefiting Democrats, * moved benefiting Republicans Takeovers in Italics

Report Shorts

California House

Rather than running for re-election in the newly-drawn 3rd District and potentially face a formidable GOP assemblyman and competitive general election, GOP Rep. Tom McClintock is choosing to run for re-election in the newly-drawn 5th District, which has more of a GOP lean. It does mean the congressman might face the winner of the yet-to-be-scheduled special election to replace GOP Rep. Devin Nunes, who recently resigned from Congress.

But in light of McClintock's decision, the initial frontrunner in the special election, state Sen. Andreas Borgeas, has said he won't run at all. Fresno County Supervisor Nathan Masgig and 2018 16th District nominee Elizabeth Heng, both Republicans, are still running in the special, as is 2020 22nd District Democratic nominee Phil Arballo.

Illinois House

Democratic Rep. Bobby Rush, 75, announced he will not seek re-election. First elected to Congress in 1992, the former Chicago city councilman might be best known in the political world for fending off a primary challenge from Illinois state Sen. Barack Obama in 2000. Now, the congressman leaves behind a heavily Democratic 1st District in Chicago in which a competitive primary will effectively choose the next Member.

Michigan House

Democratic Rep. Brenda Lawrence announced she will not seek re-election in the Detroit area. That makes life easier for her Democratic colleague, Rep. Rashida Tlaib, who plans to run in the 12th District. Democratic Rep. Debbie Dingell will run in the 6th District. Both seats will be rated Solid Democratic.

GOP Fred Upton still hasn't announced his re-election plans. He faces a potential primary fight with GOP colleague Bill Huizenga in the newly-drawn 4th District, which includes Kalamazoo and Holland.

Oregon Governor

Nicholas Kristof's campaign suffered a setback when Oregon election authorities determined the former New York Times columnist did not meet the state constitution's residency requirement. The Yamhill County native is expected to challenge the decision in court. Kristof is one of several Democrats seeking the nomination in the race to succeed term-limited Gov. Kate Brown.



Candidate Conversation



Courtesy McLeod-Skinner Campaign

Jamie McLeod-Skinner (D)

Oregon's 5th — Rating: Likely Democratic

Interview Date: December 13, 2021 (via Zoom)

Date of Birth: May 31, 1967; Milwaukee, Wis.

Education: Rensselaer Polytechnic Inst. (1992); Cornell University (Masters, 1995); Univ. of Oregon (J.D., 2016)

Elected Office: 2018 2nd District nominee; 2020 Secretary of State candidate; Santa Clara, Calif. City Councilwoman (2004-2012)

Current Outlook: McLeod-Skinner is challenging Rep. Kurt Schrader in the Democratic primary for the newly-drawn 5th District, which includes part of the Willamette Valley and the fast-growing city of Bend. Schrader currently represents 47 percent of the new seat, according to Daily Kos Elections, and he frustrated Democrats when he stymied President Joe Biden's two-track infrastructure plan. McLeod-Skinner is the sole anti-Schrader candidate, considering his 2020 opponent endorsed her. In the general election, the Democratic nominee will be favored, but Biden's 9-point win, 53-44 percent, puts this district at the edge of the competitive battlefield.

Evaluation: Even after two consecutive losses, McLeod-Skinner shouldn't be dismissed. She plans to exploit a geographic advantage considering she lives in Deschutes County, which is the Central Oregon part of the district that is new to Schrader. She's also hoping to take advantage of ideological frustration from Democrats who are upset with Schrader's pragmatic ways. McLeod-Skinner will need to boost her fundraising to get known districtwide and make up ground to the \$3.3 million the congressman had in the bank on Sept. 30.

Some Democrats are concerned she would jeopardize the party's ability to win the seat in the general election. But McLeod-Skinner, a self-described pragmatic progressive, deftly weaves typically disparate pieces of her background together when she talks about her wife's deep roots in the ranching community. And she makes the case that Schrader is a liability because of frustrated Democratic voters. Holding local office in California could be a liability for McLeod-Skinner, but California migrants are one of the key reasons Oregon gained a seat during reapportionment. Schrader shouldn't be underestimated either, but this primary could be serious if McLeod-Skinner can raise real money. It's clear that she's not a neophyte politician and running is apparently in her blood, considering she still holds the women's 800-meter record at Ashland High School.

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Alabama. Open; Richard Shelby (R) not seeking re-election. Jan. 28 filing deadline. May 24 primary, June 21 runoff (if necessary). The GOP field to replace Shelby has evolved over the last few months with Lynda Blanchard, former ambassador to Slovenia in the Trump administration, now running for governor against incumbent Republican Kay Ivey.

This still looks like a two-person race for the nomination between 5th District Rep. Mo Brooks (who has Trump's endorsement) and former Shelby Chief of Staff/president of the Alabama Business Council Katie Boyd Britt (who has the support of her former boss). According to a recent story, the former president is frustrated with Brooks for not doing more with the endorsement, but GOP sources don't believe Trump is about to switch support to Britt. Brooks, who has also been endorsed by Senate Conservatives Fund and Club for Growth, will have to step up his fundraising to keep up with Britt, who has her own connections and Shelby's commitment to spend a chunk of his remaining funds to help her. At the end of September, Britt already had a \$3.3 million to \$1.9 million cash advantage.

Engineering firm owner / retired Army officer Mike Durant, who was also an inspiration for the movie *Black Hawk Down*, was a later entry into the race. Republican strategists believe he has potential but are still uncertain about whether he'll break into the top tier. On Wednesday, 2018 2nd District candidate Jessica Taylor dropped out of the race and endorsed Durant.

The GOP primary is critical considering Trump won Alabama by 25 points in 2020. If no candidate receives 50 percent of the vote in May, the top two vote-getters face off one month later, which looks increasingly like where this race is headed. Democrats are not expected to compete in the general election. Solid Republican.

McLaughlin & Associates (R), Dec. 6-9, 2021 (LVs) — GOP Primary: Brooks 31%, Britt 26%, Durant 17%, Taylor 4%.

Targetpoint Consulting (R) for Britt, Nov. 3-8, 2021 (LVs) (online) — GOP Primary: Britt 31%, Brooks 30%, Durant 12%, Taylor 7%.

Cygnal (R) for Alabama Conservatives Fund (pro-Britt), Nov. 3-4, 2021 (LVs) (mixed mode) — GOP Primary: Britt 24%, Brooks 22%, Durant 9%, Blanchard 1%, Taylor 1%.

Alaska. Lisa Murkowski (R) appointed 2002, elected 2004 (49%), 2010 (39% as a write-in), 2016 (44%). June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 16 primary. Murkowski's re-election is one of the thorniest proxy fights between Senate Republicans and former President Trump, and it is complicated by the implementation of Alaska's new, unique voting system.



Lisa Murkowski

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

Instead of traditional primaries, all candidates will run in an all-party primary, and the top four vote-getters will progress to the general election, which is then decided by ranked-choice voting.

Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, the NRSC, and Senate Leadership Fund are backing Murkowski, while Trump and the Alaska Republican Party are supporting former state Department of Administration commissioner Kelly Tshibaka.

The new voting system should benefit Murkowski because it means she does not have to run in a purely Republican primary. Murkowski is unpopular among many of the state's Republican voters, especially after her vote to convict Trump of incitement last year, and she has won her last two elections with a coalition of moderate Republicans, independents, and Democrats.

One potential stumbling block for Murkowski is if a credible Democratic candidate jumps into the race. With Tshibaka expected to do well among the state's GOP base voters, if Murkowski is only the second choice, rather than the first choice, of enough of the 43 percent of Alaska voters who cast a ballot for Biden, she could be boxed out in the ranked choice voting process.

For now, Murkowski starts in a strong position. She had a cash on hand advantage on Sept. 30 of \$3.2 million to Tshibaka's \$294,000, and has already gone on the offensive over questions about her opponent's Alaska residency. Tshibaka's campaign has also underwhelmed Republican observers thus far. And no major Democrats are running yet. The party's bench is fairly thin, with state Sen. Elvi Gray-Jackson the most notable name considering the race. There's always the possibility that former Sen. Mark Begich or 2020 Democratic nominee Al Gross could run, but neither have made any moves in that direction lately. For now, the race is Solid Republican.

Alaska Survey Research (D), Oct. 22-27 (RVs) (online) — First round ballot: Murkowski (R) 35%, Tshibaka (R) 23%, Gray-Jackson (D) 22%, Sarah Palin (R) 20%. Ranked-choice simulation final round: Murkowski over Tshibaka 60% - 40%.

Arizona. Mark Kelly (D) elected 2020 special election (51%). April 4 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary. Former President Trump has yet to endorse in the race but he's already had an impact. GOP strategists continue to hope that term-limited Gov. Doug Ducey jumps into the race. Up to this point, he's stayed away, in part because Trump has made it his mission to end Ducey's political career. The former president hates him because Ducey certified Biden's 2020 win in Arizona. So even if Ducey ends up jumping in, navigating a primary would be challenging considering Trump's popularity with base Republicans.

With four non-Ducey candidates running for the GOP nomination, everyone's watching to see if Trump announces an endorsement at his Jan. 15 rally in Arizona. State Attorney General Mark Brnovich won't be getting the Trump nod because the former president has also been critical of him over the 2020 election certification. That leaves Blake Masters (the COO of investment firm Thiel Capital) and wealthy solar energy CEO Jim Lamon as the most likely contenders for the former president's endorsement. Retired U.S. Air Force Major General/former state Adjutant General Michael McGuire is also running and considered a credible candidate. State corporation commissioner Justin Olson is running as well.

If the election were held today, Brnovich would likely win largely based on name identification. But his advantage is considered tenuous, in part because of his modest fundraising. He had \$515,000 in the bank on Sept. 30 compared to \$3.6 million for Lamon, \$864,000 for Masters and \$316,000 for McGuire. Lamon has personal money to spend and Masters has wealthy friends. He's getting outside help from his former boss, billionaire Silicon Valley entrepreneur Peter Thiel, who seeded Saving Arizona PAC with \$10 million. With an August primary, this race still has a long way to go. The early betting is that Masters has the most upside to overtake Brnovich, although his "I think Trump won in 2020" campaign

video caught the attention of some GOP strategists who wonder whether Masters knows what it takes to win a general election in a competitive state.

While Republican challengers battle through the late primary, they will need someone to keep the heat on Kelly to avoid a replay of 2018, when Democrat Kyrsten Sinema had months to define herself on television and built a lead before Republicans chose their nominee. That time (and lead) was critical to her general election victory. After raising more than \$100 million last cycle, Kelly is a proven fundraising juggernaut. And he already had a self-reported \$18.5 million at the end of 2021 in this race for a full term.

On even terrain, and considering Biden's 2020 victory, Kelly would probably have a significant advantage over anyone in the current GOP field. But Republicans might not need a top-tier challenger in this political environment and there's significant doubt right now that Democrats can recreate Biden's electoral success in Arizona and other states Biden won narrowly in 2020. Toss-up.

Fabrizio Lee & Associates (R) for Saving Arizona PAC (pro-Masters), Oct. 26-28, 2021 (LVs) (mixed mode)— GOP Primary ballot: GOP Primary: Brnovich 26%, Masters 14%, Lamon 4%, McGuire 2%, Olson 2%.

Arkansas. John Boozman (R) elected 2010 (58%), 2016 (60%). March 1 filing deadline. May 24 primary. June 21 runoff (if necessary). Trump won Arkansas by 28 points in 2020, so Boozman's only vulnerability would be in a primary. He has two GOP opponents, but neither of them look like they are gaining momentum. Gun shop/firing range owner Jan Morgan had just \$61,000 in the bank on Sept. 30. Local Republicans believe former Arkansas Razorback football star/military veteran Jake Bequette has a bright future, but point out the difficulty of this race. He had \$353,000 in the bank at the end of September compared to the senator's \$2.8 million.

Boozman's critics say he's just an establishment politician who doesn't have the fighting mentality necessary in Congress. But Trump's early endorsement of Boozman mutes much of the criticism that the senator no longer fits with today's Republican Party. Democrats will be looking to actually have a nominee, which is more than they had in 2020. Solid Republican.

California. Alex Padilla (D) appointed Jan. 2021. March 11 filing deadline. June 7 primary.

Padilla's winning streak continued as California's redistricting commission passed a map that does not squeeze any Democratic House members except Alan Lowenthal and Lucille Roybal-Allard (both 80 years old and retiring), meaning none of the state's delegation have any incentive to challenge the appointed senator.

Padilla does not face significant opposition from either Democrats or Republicans now that former Democratic state Assemblyman/Board of Equalization member Jerome Horton's campaign has failed to materialize, and 2018 3rd District GOP nominee Elizabeth Heng is running in the special election for the 22nd District instead of for Senate. Solid Democratic.

Colorado. Michael Bennet (D) appointed 2009, elected 2010 (48%), 2016 (50%). March 15 filing deadline. June 28 primary. As talk of a great Republican year develops, there's some growing tension between Colorado being the next state on an expanding battleground and the GOP's current field of unknown and undefined candidates.

With the most financial potential, Republican sources put construction

company CEO Jim O'Dea at the top of the field, followed by 2008 Olympic pentathlete/former El Paso County Republican Chairman Eli Bremer and former Fort Collins city councilman Gino Campana. Bremer had a modest \$209,000 in the bank on Sept. 30 while Campana got in after the third quarter deadline. O'Dea did as well, but is telling local Republicans he put together a million dollars in the last three months of 2021. Sources put talk radio host Deborah Flora and U.S. Air Force veteran Ron Hanks in another, lower tier. Hanks is a current state representative from central Colorado who ran for Congress in California in 2010 and attended the Jan. 6 "Stop the Steal" rally on the National Mall and marched on the Capitol (though he says he didn't enter).

O'Dea appears to be carving out space as the pragmatic candidate. He endorsed the bipartisan infrastructure bill, which Trump views opposing as a litmus test for party purity. O'Dea might need conservative voters to fracture among the rest of the field and get some help from unaffiliated voters (who can choose which primary to participate in). But if one of the other candidates can emerge from the rest of the field, they could get the upper hand. According to GOP sources, Bremer has potential with his background, but he'll need stronger fundraising to raise his name I.D. outside of El Paso County.

Republicans see Bennet as an unknown and uninspiring figure, but the onetime school superintendent has won two close races in tough national environments. The senator is preparing for a competitive race. He had \$3.5 million in the bank at the end of September and has a reputation for getting around the state. Colorado voters showed a strong dislike for Trump in 2016 and even more in 2020, when they also ousted GOP Sen. Cory Gardner. But GOP strategists believe Colorado is more anti-Trump than anti-Republican, and can bounce back to competitive status under the right conditions. Bennet starts the race with an edge, but Colorado is a key state to watch for if the cycle starts trending further downward for Democrats. Solid Democratic.

Global Strategy Group (D) for ProgressNow Colorado (pro-Bennet), Oct. 19-24, 2021 (RVs)— General Election ballot: Bennet over Hanks 52% -34%.

Connecticut. Richard Blumenthal (D) elected 2010 (55%), 2016 (63%). June 7 filing deadline. Aug. 9 primary. Republicans are still struggling to put Connecticut on the map of competitive races. The party's one declared candidate remains Robert Hyde, the lobbyist and Marine veteran who threatened the safety of then-Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch in text messages to a Rudy Giuliani associate. Blumenthal had \$6.9 million in the bank on Sept. 30. Solid Democratic.

Florida. Marco Rubio (R) elected 2010 (49%), 2016 (52%). June 17 filing deadline. Aug. 23 primary. With 10 months to go before Election Day, it looks like the general election is set between Democratic Rep. Val Demings and Rubio. Miami City Commissioner Ken Russell and former Rep. Alan Grayson (who last won a race in 2014) are still running on the Democratic side, but it would be a monumental upset if Demings does not win the nomination.

As a Black woman with a law enforcement background (she was police chief in Orlando), Democrats believe she's the type of candidate who can raise national money and compete with Rubio in fundraising (she had \$6 million in the bank on Sept. 30 compared to the senator's \$9.6 million). They also believe she can appeal to the various constituencies around the state necessary for Democrats to actually win a statewide race in Florida.

They will try to portray Rubio as an ambitious politician who is ignoring his current job, and note that recent Republican victories have typically been by a very narrow margin. But, make no mistake, this is a very challenging race for Democrats. Republicans have won all but one statewide race since 2012, and many of those in worse environments than what is expected in 2022. It's also one of the few places where Trump improved on his margin between 2016 and 2020, buoyed by newfound strength among Hispanic voters.

Some Democratic strategists hesitate before including this race with the seven agreed upon battleground races. And they are concerned that the Senate race's competitiveness is untenable if Democrats don't stay competitive with GOP Gov. Ron DeSantis in his re-election race. Even though it's not a toss-up, the Senate race is obviously worth keeping an eye on as two high-profile politicians battle it out, with the early advantage to Rubio. Likely Republican.

St. Pete Polls, Nov. 18-19, 2021 (RVs) (IVR)— General Election ballot: Rubio over Demings 51% - 44%.

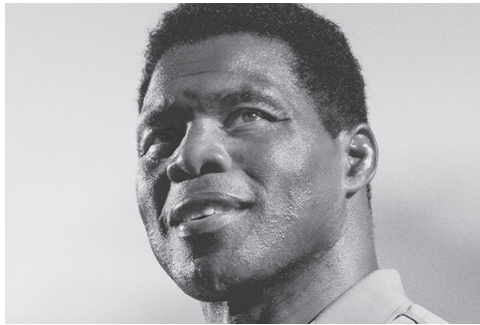
Redfield & Wilton Strategies, Nov. 9, 2021 (RVs) (online)— General Election ballot: Rubio over Demings 45% - 33%. Rubio over Grayson 43% - 34%.

Georgia. Raphael Warnock (D) elected 2020/Jan. 5, 2021 runoff (51%). March 11 filing deadline. May 24 primary, June 21 runoff (if necessary). After some early uncertainty on the Republican side, the Peach State is poised to host one of the marquee Senate races in the country. Warnock and former football star Herschel Walker are on a collision course in a state Biden won by the narrowest of margins in 2020.

It's been 40 years since Walker won the Heisman Trophy with the Univ. of Georgia Bulldogs, but he still enjoys legendary status in the state. His name I.D., reputation, fundraising ability, and explicit support from former President Trump make Walker the prohibitive favorite in the GOP primary. The former Celebrity Apprentice contestant raised a strong \$3.7 million in his first quarter of fundraising and finished September with \$2.5 million in the bank. State Agriculture Commissioner Gary Black had \$928,000, Atlanta businessman Kelvin King had \$453,000 and banking executive/former Navy Seal Latham Saddler had \$1.6 million. Unless Walker makes multiple critical fumbles, he is going to win the nomination.

Walker is still a bit of a wild card. He's a first-time candidate who recently touched down in the state after living in Texas. He's been open about his serious mental health issues, but hasn't fully addressed some of the jarring allegations of violence and abuse from his ex-wife. And he has a post-football record in business that is ripe with potential problems. Democrats will need to proceed delicately with some of the opposition research, and overall, they plan to make the case that Walker isn't the same person Georgians remember him to be while Republicans believe his hometown hero status and strong initial image ratings insulate him from attacks.

Both sides agree that the general election starts close and will likely end close. The polarization of the state, including a sizable Black



Herschel Walker

Courtesy Walker Campaign

population, raises the electoral floor for Warnock and Walker. With the race for governor on the ballot, Democrats are excited to have Stacey Abrams making her own appeals to Black voters while Republicans are concerned that GOP-infighting, spurred by Trump, in their primary between Gov. Brian Kemp and former Sen. David Perdue will spill over to the general election and depress GOP turnout.

This will be one of the most expensive races in the country. Warnock raised \$138 million last cycle and already had \$17.2 million in the bank on Sept. 30. And fundraising isn't going to be a problem for Walker and his political teammates. Republicans are hoping that Walker's fundraising success will free up resources to spend in other competitive states.

Even though Democrats enjoyed tremendous success in Georgia last cycle, recreating that dynamic with an unpopular Democratic president will be difficult. Warnock could run a great, well-funded campaign and still lose because the national political environment is working against Biden and the Democratic Party. Toss-up.

McLaughlin & Associates (R) for NRSC, Dec. 4-8, 2021 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Walker over Warnock 49% - 48%.

Redfield & Wilton Strategies, Nov. 9, 2021 (RVs) (online)— General Election ballot: Warnock over Walker 45% - 39%.

OnMessage Inc. (R) for 34N22 PAC (pro-Walker), Oct. 11-14, 2021 (LVs) (live caller)— GOP Primary ballot: GOP Primary: Walker 74%, Black 6%, King 1%, Saddler 1%, Jared Craig 1%, James Nestor 1%.

Hawaii. Brian Schatz (D) appointed 2012, elected 2014 (70%), 2016 (74%). June 7 filing deadline. Aug. 13 primary. No Democrats or Republicans have filed to run against Schatz. There's still five months for a challenger to emerge but none that would complicate Schatz's quest for another term. The senator had \$3.7 million in the bank at the end of September. Solid Democratic.

Idaho. Mike Crapo (R) elected 1998 (70%), 2004 (99%), 2010 (71%), 2016 (66%). March 11 filing deadline. May 17 primary. Crapo's one notable primary opponent, 34-year-old Army veteran Jeremy Gilbert, dropped out of the race, leaving the four-term incumbent on a glide path to re-election in a state Trump carried by 31 points in 2020. There will be fireworks in Idaho's gubernatorial election, where Donald Trump has endorsed a challenger to Gov. Brad Little, but in this race the former president is behind Crapo. Solid Republican.

Illinois. Tammy Duckworth (D) elected 2016 (55%). March 14 filing deadline. June 28 primary. Republicans would love to give Duckworth a run for her money but there's no obvious candidate for the GOP Rep. Adam Kinzinger will not run. The only announced GOP candidates are 2020 GOP Senate candidate Peggy Hubbard and Bobby Piton, who said he will pursue legislation to criminalize Satanism in all its forms. Duckworth had \$5.7 million in the bank on Sept. 30. Solid Democratic.

Indiana. Todd Young (R) elected 2016 (52%). Feb. 4 filing deadline. May 3 primary. Democrats in the Hoosier State are more focused on the 2024 gubernatorial election than they are taking on Young. The biggest name in the Democratic primary in this race is Hammond Mayor Tom McDermott, who finished second in the 2020 Democratic primary for the 1st District. He had just \$67,000 in the bank on Sept. 30. Young had \$5.6 million in campaign funds at the end of September and looks set for re-election. Solid Republican.

Iowa. **Chuck Grassley (R) elected 1980 (54%), 1986 (66%), 1992 (70%), 1998 (68%), 2004 (70%), 2010 (64%), 2016 (60%). March 18 filing deadline. June 7 primary.** Not much has changed in the Hawkeye State, which still sits outside the Senate battlefield. Grassley, at 88 years old, is the overwhelming favorite for re-election. He had \$3 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and gets to run in a state Trump carried by 8 points in 2020, and in a better national environment for Republicans than 2020. That year, Grassley's junior colleague Joni Ernst won her race by a 52-45 percent margin despite being outspent nearly two-to-one by her Democratic opponent.

Grassley's likely opponent is former 1st District Rep. Abby Finkenauer, who had \$598,000 in the bank on Sept. 30 but still has to get through a primary that also features 2020 Senate Democratic primary runner-up Michael Franken, a retired Navy vice admiral. Democrats like the generational contrast between the 33-year-old Finkenauer and the octogenarian incumbent, but are clear-eyed about how far down this race begins on the list of offensive opportunities. Solid Republican.

Data for Progress (D), Dec. 2-13, 2021 (LVs) (mixed mode)— General Election ballot: Grassley over Finkenauer 53% - 39%.

Cygnal (R) for Iowans for Tax Relief, Oct. 18-19, 2021 (LVs) (mixed mode)— General Election ballot: Grassley over Finkenauer 55% - 39%.

Kansas. **Jerry Moran (R) elected 2010 (70%), 2016 (62%). June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary.** Moran has Trump's endorsement, which should put off any challenge in the GOP primary, and Democrats are still feeling burned from their expensive flop in Kansas' 2020 race. The only notable Democrat in the race is former Kansas City Mayor Mark Holland, who is also a United Methodist pastor. Moran had \$4.2 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and Holland had yet to file a report with the FEC. Solid Republican.

Kentucky. **Rand Paul (R) elected 2010 (56%), 2016 (57%). Jan. 25 filing deadline. May 17 primary.** For the second cycle in a row, Kentucky is set to hold an expensive but ultimately uncompetitive Senate race. Paul's likely opponent, former state Rep. Charles Booker, has a national profile and solid donor base from his 2020 Senate run, when he narrowly lost the Democratic primary to establishment-backed Amy McGrath. He raised \$1.7 million in his first three months of this race and will continue to raise good money given how disliked Paul is among Democratic activists and grassroots donors. But Paul is also a strong fundraiser, with \$7 million in the bank following a third quarter in which he raised \$4.2 million. Kentucky voted for Trump by 26 points last year. While Democrats can continue to compete in Kentucky's gubernatorial contests, the Bluegrass State's partisan lean has become too steep to overcome in federal elections such as this one, especially with an unpopular Democrat in the White House. Solid Republican.

Louisiana. **John Kennedy (R) elected 2016 (60%). July 22 filing deadline. Nov. 8 jungle primary. Dec. 10 runoff (if needed).** Kennedy had \$9.7 million in the bank on Sept. 30 — more than all but six other Senate candidates this cycle — and an endorsement from former President Trump. Democrats are starting to coalesce around former Navy fighter pilot Luke Mixon, a commercial pilot from Baton Rouge who has an endorsement from the state party chairwoman. But progressive Gary Chambers, who placed a close third in the special election for Louisiana's 2nd District last year, could run as well. That may depend on if Baton Rouge gets its own congressional district due

to a potential court-drawn map. Either way, in a state where Trump won by 18 points, this race is Solid Republican.

Maryland. **Chris Van Hollen (D) elected 2016 (61%). Feb. 22 filing deadline. June 28 primary.** A recent *Washington Examiner* story said that some Republicans are more hopeful now that outgoing GOP Gov. Larry



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

Chris Van Hollen

Hogan will change his mind and challenge Van Hollen, but Hogan himself doesn't appear to have any more interest in the Senate than he had last year (which was very little). That hasn't stopped Van Hollen from raising the specter of a Hogan candidacy

to donors to help pad his \$3.9 million war chest (as of Sept. 30). But even though the popular governor would be the only chance Republicans have at winning the seat, he'd still be an underdog in the decidedly Democratic state that Biden carried by a record 33 points. Solid Democratic.

Missouri. **Open; Roy Blunt (R) not seeking re-election. March 29 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary.** Missouri continues to linger on the periphery of the battlefield because of the possibility that disgraced former Gov. Eric Greitens (\$200,000 in the bank on Sept. 30) could be the GOP nominee. Greitens, who resigned in 2018 amid accusations of sexual assault and financial crimes, is the clear polling leader in a primary field that also includes state Attorney General Eric Schmitt (\$1.2 million), Reps. Vicky Hartzler (\$1.7 million) and Billy Long (\$539,000), personal injury lawyer Mark McCloskey (\$92,000), and recently, state Senate President Pro Tempore Dave Schatz.

Schmitt and Hartzler are seen as the strongest alternatives to Greitens, who is barely raising any money and is instead relying on residual name recognition, conservative media appearances, and air cover from a Super PAC funded by GOP mega-donor Dick Uihlein. But against a fractured field, Greitens' path to victory is relatively straightforward. Given the severity of the accusations against Greitens, there are persistent whispers that some outside group, either Senate Leadership Fund or a separate entity, will step in to take Greitens down, similar to what happened with GOP candidate Kris Kobach in the 2020 Kansas Senate election.

But in a national environment as favorable to Republicans as 2022, and in a state as GOP-friendly as Missouri, even Greitens would start out the general election as a clear favorite. That lessens the likelihood that national Republicans focused on winning back the majority will make a major investment. Trump still hasn't endorsed a candidate. Long probably needs it the most, but is far from guaranteed to get it, particularly with the congressman's standing in the polls and Trump's penchant for winners.

On the Democratic side, state Sen. Scott Sifton (\$157,000) and Marine veteran Lucas Kunce (\$667,000) are running. Kunce is the leader in fundraising and national media attention. Given that Trump won the state by 15 points and Democratic Sen. Claire McCaskill lost re-election by 7 points in 2018 (a Democratic wave year), the only way this race is remotely competitive is if Greitens is the nominee. Even then, it wouldn't crack the list of Democrats' best opportunities unless something

dramatically changes. Solid Republican.

CMA Strategies (R) for Missouri Chamber of Commerce, Dec. 14 - 19 2021 (LVs)— GOP Primary ballot: Greitens 27%, Schmitt 15%, Hartzler 12%, Long 6%, McCloskey 4%, Schatz 1%.

co/efficient (R) for Missouri First Action PAC (pro-Greitens), Dec. 16-17, 2021 (LVs) (IVR/text)— General Election ballot: Greitens over Kuncce 34%-26%. Greitens over Sifton 39%-26%.

Remington Research (R) for Missouri Scout, Dec. 1-2, 2021 (LVs) (IVR)— GOP Primary ballot: GOP Primary ballot: Greitens 27%, Schmitt 24%, Hartzler 16%, Long 7%, McCloskey 4%, Schatz 3%.

Fabrizio Lee & Associates (R) for Greitens, Oct. 3-5 (LVs) (mixed mode)— GOP Primary ballot: Greitens 36%, Schmitt 17%, Hartzler 10%. General Election ballot: Greitens over Kuncce 46% - 40%.

Nevada. Catherine Cortez Masto (D) elected 2016 (47%). March 18 filing deadline. June 14 primary. Republicans are increasingly bullish about Nevada, with some now viewing it as the party's top Senate pickup opportunity this year. The likely GOP nominee continues to be former state Attorney General Adam Laxalt, who ran for governor in 2018 and is also the grandson of former Gov./former Sen. Paul Laxalt. But first he'll have to get past Sam Brown, an Army veteran with an inspiring story who has impressed Nevada Republicans and raised more than \$1 million in his first three months in the race. With support from former president Trump and McConnell allies, Laxalt won't be easy to defeat.

Cortez Masto continues to ratchet up her fundraising, pulling in \$3.1 million between July and September and ending September with \$8.3 million in the bank, compared to \$1.3 million on hand for Laxalt and \$655,000 for Brown. She gets to run in a state that Biden carried in 2020, albeit by a narrow 2.4 points, but Nevada always plays host to tight races, especially with the state's unique "none of these candidates" option on the ballot. Democrats usually have an organizing edge in the Silver State but the recent takeover of the state party by Democratic Socialists has created a schism Cortez Masto and other statewide Democratic candidates will have to navigate. Toss-up.

Trafalgar Group (R), Nov. 24-29, 2021 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Laxalt over Cortez Masto 44% - 41%.

Tarrance Group for NRSC (R), Nov. 14-17, 2021 (RVs)— General Election ballot: Laxalt over Cortez Masto 46% - 42%.

Mellman Group (D) for the Nevada Independent, Sept. 15-22 (RVs) (mixed mode)— General Election ballot: Cortez Masto over Laxalt 46% - 41%.

New Hampshire. Maggie Hassan (D) elected 2016 (48%). June 10 filing deadline. Sept. 13 primary. In one of the biggest surprises of the cycle to date, GOP Gov. Chris Sununu announced in November that he would not challenge Hassan and will run for re-election instead. The Senate race is still competitive, but the governor's decision set Republicans back in recruiting, particularly since former Sen. Kelly Ayotte declined to run as well.

Retired Army Brigadier General Don Bolduc is running and Trump has gone out of his way to say nice things about him. But Republicans are talking more and more about Londonderry town manager/2012 gubernatorial candidate Kevin Smith as a potential challenger. Also taking a look at the race are attorney/Army veteran Corky Messner, who lost to Democratic Sen. Jeanne Shaheen by 16 points in 2020, wealthy businessman/2010 Senate candidate Bill Binnie, state Senate President Chuck Morse, and state education commissioner/2016 gubernatorial candidate Frank Edelblut. Former 1st District Rep. Frank Guinta could

run too, although he was fined by the FEC for illegally using family money that wasn't his own in 2010.

Hassan had \$6.5 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and can breathe a little easier after Sununu's announcement. But she certainly isn't out of the woods. Considering Democrats underperformed by a dozen points in Virginia and New Jersey in 2021 and Biden won the Granite State by 7 points in 2020, Democrats can't feel too comfortable. Republicans need a credible challenger, but New Hampshire tends to break with the political environment. Tilt Democratic.

Trafalgar Group (R), Dec. 10-12, 2021 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Hassan over Bolduc 46% - 40%. Hassan over Morse 46% - 38%.

Trafalgar Group (R) for Messner, Nov. 16-18, 2021 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Hassan over Messner 47% - 45%.

Univ. of New Hampshire Survey Center, Nov. 14-18 (LVs) (online panel) — General Election ballot: Hassan over Bolduc 47% - 42%.

New York. Chuck Schumer (D) elected 1998 (55%), 2004 (71%), 2010 (66%), 2016 (70%). April 7 filing deadline. June 28 primary. Senate Majority Leader Schumer had nearly \$32 million in campaign funds at his disposal on Sept. 30, and no announced or expected primary challengers. The Empire State's progressives already suffered a blow when state Attorney General Tish James dropped out of the gubernatorial race. With the legislature finally gearing up to draw a new

2022 House Ratings

Toss-Up (4D, 4R)

CA 22 (Valadao, R)	ME 2 (Golden, D)
CA 27 (Garcia, R)	NC 2 (Open; Butterfield, D)
CA 45 (Steel, R)	NM 2 (Herrell, R)
CO 8 (Open, New)	OH 9 (Kaptur, D)
IA 3 (Axne, D)	

Tilt Democratic

Tilt Republican (2D, 1R)

	AZ 6 (Open; Kirkpatrick, D)
	OH 13 (Open; A. Gonzalez, R)
	TX 15 (Open; V. Gonzalez, D)

Lean Democratic (1D)

Lean Republican (1D, 3R)

NV 3 (S. Lee, D)	AZ 1 (Schweikert, R)
	AZ 2 (O'Halleran, D)
	NE 2 (Bacon, R)
	OH 1 (Chabot, R)

Likely Democratic (11D)

Likely Republican (7R, 1D)

AZ 4 (Stanton, D)	CA 3 (Open; McClintock, R)
CA 13 (Harder, D)	CA 40 (Kim, R)
CA 47 (Porter, D)	CA 41 (Calvert, R)
CA 49 (Levin, D)	CO 3 (Boebert, R)
CO 7 (Perlmutter, D)	IA 1 (Miller-Meeks, R)
NM 3 (Leger Fernandez, D)	IA 2 (Hinson, R)
NV 1 (Titus, D)	MT 1 (Open, New)
NV 4 (Horsford, D)	NC 11 (Manning, D/Fox, R)
OR 4 (Open; DeFazio, D)	NC 4 (Open, New)
OR 5 (Kurt Schrader, D)	TX 23 (Gonzales, R)
OR 6 (Open, New)	
TX 28 (Cuellar, D)	

moved benefiting Democrats, * moved benefiting Republicans Takeovers in Italics

congressional map, the insurgent elements of the Democratic Party are more likely to be focused on opportunities in the House than taking on the formidable Senate leader. Solid Democratic.

North Carolina. Open; Richard Burr (R) not seeking re-election. New filing deadline TBD. New primary May 17. Runoff (if necessary) TBD.

The Democratic primary in North Carolina is essentially over. Former state Supreme Court Chief Justice Cheri Beasley (\$1.7 million in campaign funds on Sept. 30) is the likely nominee now that her main opponent, state Sen. Jeff Jackson, has dropped out, and state Sen. Erica Smith has switched to running for the new 2nd District.

The picture is less clear on the Republican side, where former Gov. Pat McCrory (\$1.6 million) and Trump-endorsed Rep. Ted Budd (\$2 million) are locked in a tight contest. Former Rep. Mark Walker (\$613,000) is also still running but is in a distant third place. Republicans thought Walker was going to drop out in early December and run for a newly drawn U.S. House seat. But that plan fell apart when the state Supreme Court postponed the filing deadline and primary date due to ongoing litigation. Walker's plans are still unclear — even he acknowledges that it would take “a miracle” for him to win the Senate nomination. Army veteran and author Marjorie Eastman is running as well. The primary will be one of several that test Trump's continued influence among the GOP's rank and file.

McCrory and Budd both have vulnerabilities, and McCrory seriously underperformed the last time he was on the ballot in 2016, but Beasley also still needs time to grow as a candidate. She'll be able to do so without having to worry about a primary now. Races in North Carolina are always tight, but Republicans generally come out ahead, especially in favorable environments like 2022 is shaping up to be. Lean Republican.

WPAi (R) for Club for Growth (pro-Budd), Dec. 19-21, 2021 (LVs) (live caller) — GOP Primary ballot: Budd over McCrory 47% - 43%.

Redfield & Wilton Strategies, Nov. 10, 2021 (RVs) (online) — General election ballot: McCrory over Beasley 39% - 37%. Budd over Beasley 37% - 36%.

WPAi (R) for Club for Growth (pro-Budd), Nov. 1-3, 2021 (LVs) (live caller) — GOP Primary Ballot: McCrory 36%, Budd 33%, Walker 13%.

Public Opinion Strategies (R) for McCrory, Oct. 16-19, 2021 (LVs) (live caller) — GOP Primary ballot: GOP Primary ballot: McCrory 40%, Budd 25%, Walker 8%.

North Dakota. John Hoeven (R) elected 2010 (76%), 2016 (78%).

April 11 filing deadline. June 14 primary. Hoeven had \$2.7 million in the bank on Sept. 30. Trump won the state by 33 points in 2020. Solid Republican.

Ohio. Open; Rob Portman (R) not seeking re-election. Feb. 2 filing deadline. May 3 primary.

The Republican primary is in less than four months but GOP strategists still see the race as relatively undeveloped. Six candidates with significant resources are running: former state treasurer/2012 Senate nominee Josh Mandel (\$5.9 million in the bank on Sept. 30), former state party chairwoman Jane Timken (\$3.1 million), investment banker/2018 Senate candidate Mike Gibbons (\$4.2 million), state Sen./part-owner of the Cleveland Guardians baseball team Matt Dolan (entered after the third quarter deadline), car dealership owner Bernie Moreno (\$4.7 million), and Hillbilly Elegy author JD Vance (\$846,000).

Mandel has the highest name recognition from multiple statewide races and would win the primary if it were held today. Gibbons has spent \$3 million of personal money on TV ads already, and has another

\$6 million in buys scheduled, which has helped him rise somewhat in the polls, while Moreno's millions haven't helped him much. Timken entered the race with the strongest organization on the ground but has struggled to gain traction, even after \$1.5 million in advertising. Neither Mandel nor Vance have spent much out of their campaign coffers yet, instead letting outside allies (Club for Growth for Mandel and a Peter Thiel-funded Super PAC for Vance) do the heavy lifting on TV.

Nearly all of the candidates are clamoring for an endorsement from former President Trump, who has said he will weigh in on the race. That has meant a near-universal focus on hot-button social issues such as cancel culture, tech censorship, and the conspiracy theory that Trump won the 2020 election. Dolan, the MLB owner, is attempting to cut a more moderate path to the nomination, with limited success thus far (but he hasn't been on TV yet).

On the Democratic side, Rep. Tim Ryan (self-reported having \$5 million in the bank on Dec. 31) is the heavy favorite against former Consumer Finance Protection Bureau staffer/2020 3rd District candidate Morgan Harper (\$413,000 on Sept 30). Ryan is a credible candidate trying to replicate the blue collar appeal of Sen. Sherrod Brown, Ohio's only non-judicial Democratic statewide officeholder. But Trump carried the Buckeye State by 8 points in 2020 and Biden is more unpopular now than he was then, making any Democrat a tough sell. This is Democrats' fifth-best offensive opportunity and while it could become more competitive, it still begins the year as Solid Republican.

Trafalgar (R), Dec. 12-15, 2021 (LVs) — GOP Primary ballot: Mandel 21%, Vance 15%, Gibbons 12%, Timken 10%, Dolan 5%, Moreno 2%.

Moore Information Group (R) for Timken, Nov. 29, 2021 (LVs) (IVR) — GOP Primary ballot: Mandel 21%, Timken 17%, Gibbons 13%, Vance 10%, Dolan 4%, Moreno 3%.

Fabrizio Lee & Associates (R) for Protect Ohio Values PAC (pro-Vance), Oct. 17-18, 2021 (LVs) (mixed mode) — GOP Primary ballot: Mandel 19%, Vance 16%, Rep. Mike Turner 7%, Gibbons 6%, Timken 4%, Dolan 3%, Moreno 1%.

Oklahoma. James Lankford (R) elected 2014 special (68%), 2016 (68%).

April 15 filing deadline. June 28 primary. Lankford has two primary challengers — Tulsa pastor Jackson Lahmeyer and state Sen. Nathan Dahm — who are attacking him for perceived disloyalty to Trump. But Lankford appears to be in the driver's seat. He's raising money at a healthy clip, and had \$2.4 million in campaign funds on Sept. 30, compared to \$141,000 for Lahmeyer and \$58,000 for Dahm (who entered the race just 10 days before the filing deadline), and has a substantial lead in the limited public polling. The only thing that might make a difference is if Trump endorses one of his opponents. Both Lahmeyer (whose campaign is being run by Trump confidant/pardoned trickster Roger Stone) and Dahm are openly angling for the former president's nod but don't appear close to getting it. Solid Republican.

Amber Integrated (R), Dec. 15-19 (RVs) (live caller/online) — GOP Primary ballot: Lankford 56%, Dahm 9%, Lahmeyer 8%.

Oregon. Ron Wyden (D) elected 1996 special (48%), 1998 (61%), 2004 (63%), 2010 (57%), 2016 (56%).

March 8 filing deadline. May 17 primary. Most of the Republican energy in the state is focused on House opportunities presented by the new congressional map and succeeding term-limited Democratic Gov. Kate Brown. There just isn't any buzz about this race, which might be due to the Oregon GOP's 20-year losing streak. Wyden had \$6 million in the bank on Sept. 30 and the initial Republican field is lackluster. Jo Rae Perkins, the Q-Anon promoter

who lost to Sen. Jeff Merkley in 2020 by 17 points, is running (and had no campaign money in the bank at the end of September), as are Grant County Commissioner Sam Palmer (\$19,000) and Prineville Mayor Jason Beebe (\$4,000). It's not clear that a historic Republican wave would be enough to defeat the senator. Solid Democratic.

Pennsylvania. Open; Pat Toomey (R) not seeking re-election.

March 8 filing deadline. May 17 primary. The GOP field saw a massive shake up with the precipitous decline and withdrawal of Trump-endorsed candidate Sean Parnell in November. The former Army Ranger and unsuccessful congressional candidate was the early frontrunner but dropped out after he lost custody of his children during public divorce proceedings that included allegations of abuse. GOP strategists are breathing a bit easier because Parnell's baggage would have complicated the party's ability to hold the open seat. But the GOP race is actually less clear than it was before.



David McCormick

Courtesy Department of Defense

Mehmet Oz, the surgeon known as Dr. Oz on television, jumped into the race and former hedge fund CEO David McCormick recently left Bridgewater Associates ahead of his likely candidacy. Meanwhile, the three candidates who have been in the race for months are getting overshadowed. Real estate developer/2018 lieutenant governor nominee Jeff Bartos, who led the charge against Parnell, had \$2.2 million on Sept. 30, but GOP sources believe he's in the new second tier behind Oz and McCormick. Former U.S. Ambassador to Denmark Carla Sands had \$3.3 million at the end of September, but that includes mostly personal money that she may not end up spending. And former Trump campaign activist/2020 4th District nominee Kathy Barnette's early fundraising strength has tapered off. She had \$371,000 on Sept. 30.

With new candidates just now entering the race, it's difficult to handicap. But the primary is just more than four months away. Oz and McCormick are already overwhelming the field with ads (they have a combined \$6.1 million in ad buys scheduled through January), and Oz benefits from initial name recognition from his time on television. But Bartos and Sands shouldn't be dismissed, particularly if McCormick and Oz bludgeon each other, or if Sands spends more of her personal money. For now, GOP strategists are comfortable going to the general election with any of the top candidates.

Lt. Gov. John Fetterman is the frontrunner in the Democratic primary with western Pennsylvania Rep. Conor Lamb and physician/Montgomery County Commission Chair Val Arkoosh credible contenders for the nomination. State Rep. Malcolm Kenyatta of Philadelphia is a bit of a wild card. He's not expected to win the nomination but could be a factor considering his potential appeal to important Black voters in the Democratic primary and Fetterman's 2013 incident when he pulled a gun on an unarmed Black jogger. Arkoosh is the only woman in the race and the only one from the left-trending suburbs in southeast Pennsylvania, but starts behind in name I.D. and fundraising.

Fetterman had \$4.2 million at the end of September and self-reported having \$5.3 million at the end of the year. (FEC reports aren't due until the end of January.). Lamb had \$2.2 million on Sept. 30, compared to \$1 million for Arkoosh and \$319,000 for Kenyatta. Overall, Fetterman will continue to cultivate his image as a populist champion, Lamb believes his moderate reputation will resonate with primary voters, and Arkoosh presents herself as the pragmatic problem solver. You'd rather be Fetterman at this point, but the race is not over.

Pennsylvania is Republicans' biggest vulnerability in their quest to win a majority in the Senate. Parnell's absence should help, but Oz's weaknesses are unknown, including thousands of hours of television shows to be mined for controversial comments. And McCormick hasn't even officially announced yet. Democratic strategists see their primary as a proving ground for the candidates, but none of them are perfect. The Democratic nominee's biggest challenge will likely be environmental. Specifically, recreating Biden's 1-point win in 2020 will be difficult when the president's job approval rating is mediocre and some voters are looking for a check on Democrats in Washington. This should be a top battleground to the end. Tilt Republican.

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research (D) for Kenyatta, Dec. 14-16, 2021 (LVs)— Democratic Primary Ballot: Fetterman 44%, Kenyatta 20%, Lamb 15%, Arkoosh 6%.

Trafalgar Group (R), Dec. 13-16, 2021 (LVs)— GOP Primary ballot: Oz 19%, Barnette 8%, Sands 7%, Bartos 3%, Sean Gale 1%.

Data for Progress (D) for Fetterman, Dec. 3-5, 2021 (LVs)— General Election ballot: Fetterman over Oz 44% - 42%.

Civiqs (D), Oct. 31-Nov. 5, 2021 (LVs) (online panel)— Democratic Primary ballot: Fetterman 52%, Lamb 12%, Kenyatta 5%, Arkoosh 2%, Sharif Street 2%.

South Carolina. Tim Scott (R) appointed 2013, elected 2014 special (61%), 2016 (61%).

March 30 filing deadline. June 14 primary. Scott had a presidential-campaign-worthy \$18.8 million in his campaign account on Sept. 30. And it's more likely that money goes toward a nationwide 2024 campaign than his 2022 re-election effort, which looks like a non-event. Democratic State Rep. Krystle Matthews is running as "one tough mother" but had just \$7,500 in the bank on Sept. 30. Solid Republican.

South Dakota. John Thune (R) elected 2004 (51%), 2010 (unopposed), 2016 (72%).

March 29 filing deadline. June 7 primary. Thune hasn't announced whether he'll run for re-election. If he does, he's the natural successor to Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell. But he's made known his distaste for the current political climate in Washington, especially for Trump's attacks on GOP Senate leadership, and also says his wife "is done with it." If Thune runs, he'll win. If he doesn't, multiple Republicans will assess their opportunities.

If at-large Rep. Dusty Johnson runs for Senate, he will be viewed as the initial favorite and then there would be a scramble for his open House seat. Former state attorney general Marty Jackley, who lost to Kristi Noem in the 2018 gubernatorial primary and is currently running for his old job, could run for federal office. State House Majority Leader Kent Peterson and former state Senate majority leader/power cooperative CEO Russ Olson could run, depending on the circumstances. And Sioux Falls Mayor Paul TenHaken will be in the mix for an open seat somewhere. Gov. Noem is a wildcard. She's up for re-election but may decide the Senate is the next, best step on the political ladder. Even in an open-seat scenario, the seat will remain in GOP hands. Solid Republican.

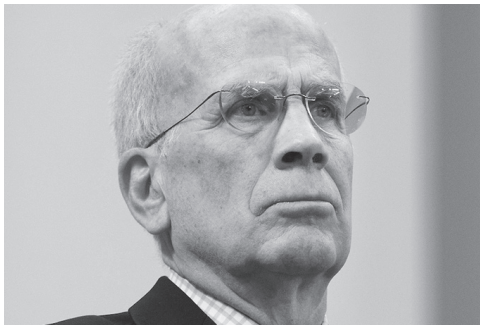
Utah. Mike Lee (R) elected 2010 (62%), 2016 (68%). March 17 filing deadline. Spring nominating conventions. June 28 primary. Lee still faces challenges in the GOP primary from former state Rep. Becky Edwards and Ally Isom, who was then-Gov. Gary Herbert's spokeswoman from 2010 to 2013. But the incumbent has a substantial lead in the one public poll of the race thus far, and in fundraising, with \$1.9 million in the bank on Sept. 30 compared to \$483,000 for Edwards and \$310,000 for Isom.

Former CIA officer/House GOP staffer Evan McMullin, who as an independent 2016 presidential candidate won 22 percent of the vote in Utah, is running as an independent in this race. He entered after the latest FEC filing deadline. McMullin has endorsements from former 4th District Rep. Ben McAdams, a Democrat, and Illinois Rep. Adam Kinzinger, a Republican.

The burden is still on McMullin to prove viability and begin to consolidate support from not only moderates and independents but all of the state's Democrats, which he'll need if he wants to seriously contest against Lee. Solid Republican.

Dan Jones & Associates for Desert News/Hinckley Institute of Politics, Oct. 14-21, 2021 (LVs)— GOP Primary ballot: Lee 53%, Edwards 7%, Isom 2%.

Vermont. Open; Pat Leahy (D) not seeking re-election. May 26 filing deadline. Aug. 9 primary. First elected to the Senate in 1974, the 81-year-old Democratic senator is not running for re-election. The frontrunner to replace him is Democratic Rep. Peter Welch, who already represents the state as its At-Large U.S. House member. The competitive race to watch is the primary to replace Welch. Considering Biden won Vermont by 35 points in 2020, Democrats shouldn't have a problem holding the seat unless Republicans can convince GOP Gov. Phil Scott to run now that Leahy isn't running. Solid Democratic.



Peter Welch

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

Washington. Patty Murray (D) elected 1992 (54%), 1998 (58%), 2004 (55%), 2010 (52%), 2016 (59%). May 20 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary. Republicans are excited about veterans advocate/former triage nurse Tiffany Smiley, who they believe will be a credible candidate and in place to take advantage of an opportunity if a sizable GOP wave develops. At the same time, GOP strategists realize this race is not on the current battlefield and is probably behind Colorado in a list of states that could become more competitive this year.

Smiley has an engrossing story of overcoming adversity alongside her husband Scotty, who was blinded in a suicide bombing in Iraq while serving in the Army and went on to become the first active-duty blind Army officer, and a motivational speaker and triathlete. She had \$1.7 million in the bank on Dec. 31, according to her campaign (compared to \$5.9 million on Sept. 30 for Murray) and has broad party support at the national and local levels. Republicans are hoping that Murray, who is running for a sixth term, has lost a step and can be portrayed as out of touch.

But Republicans haven't won a U.S. Senate race in Washington

since 1994, when Seattle Seahawks quarterback Russell Wilson was in elementary school, and Biden won by nearly 20 points in 2020. That means it would take an extraordinary set of circumstances for Murray to lose. Solid Democratic.

Public Policy Polling (D) for Northwest Progressive Institute, Nov. 10-11, 2021 (LVs) (mixed mode) — General Election ballot: Murray over Smiley 50% - 37%.

SurveyUSA for KING-TV, Oct. 25-28, 2021 (RVs) (online) — General Election ballot: Murray over Smiles 49% - 31%.

Wisconsin. Ron Johnson (R) elected 2010 (52%), 2016 (50%). June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 9 primary. Despite passing several self-imposed deadlines (and a decade-old commitment to serving just two terms) Johnson still has not said whether he'll seek re-election. But most Republicans and Democrats think he will and want him to. If he doesn't, former Rep. Sean Duffy (a Trump favorite who no longer lives in the state) seems to have taken himself out of contention in a recent talk radio interview, but Rep. Mike Gallagher could run and 2018 Senate candidate Kevin Nicholson has said he will too.

Democrats are still sorting through their field of four major candidates: Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes, Milwaukee Bucks executive Alex Lasry, state Treasurer Sarah Godlewski, and Outagamie County Exec. Tom Nelson. Barnes (\$711,000 in the bank on Sept. 30) begins with a name recognition advantage that makes him the early frontrunner. But Lasry, whose billionaire father Marc owns the reigning NBA champion Bucks, has virtually limitless personal resources and is also raising good money (\$1.5 million cash on hand on Sept. 30, including an \$800,000 personal loan); an early statewide TV buy has pushed him slightly ahead of Godlewski and Nelson into second place.

Godlewski has struggled to get her campaign off the ground (\$786,000 cash on hand on Sept. 30), but has a valuable endorsement from EMILY's List and has been making up for fundraising shortcomings with \$1.1 million of her own substantial personal resources. Nelson (\$417,000) won't have the resources of the other three but is hoping his electability argument as the only candidate not from Madison or Milwaukee can help him sneak past the other candidates.

The primary is late, so all of the candidates still have time to make their moves. But that also means the eventual nominee will only have a few months to focus on the general election campaign. To Democrats, Johnson is easy to hate, but they've underestimated him twice before and he's won each time. With Biden's low approval ratings and the poor national environment for Democrats, that means whoever wins the Democratic primary will begin as an underdog. Lean Republican.

ALG Research (D) for Barnes, Dec. 8-16 (LVs) (mixed mode)— Democratic Primary ballot: Barnes 40%, Lasry 11%, Godlewski 10%, Nelson 8%.

Data for Progress (D) for Way to Lead PAC (pro-Barnes), Nov. 11-15, 2021 (LVs) (SMS)— Democratic Primary ballot: Barnes 39%, Lasry 16%, Nelson 6%, Godlewski 5%, Gillian Battino 1%, Adam Murphy 1%, Steve Olikara 0%. **IE**

CALENDAR

Jan. 11	Florida's 20th District Special General Election
Jan. 28	Alabama Candidate Filing Deadline
Jan. 29	West Virginia Candidate Filing Deadline
Feb. 1	New Mexico Candidate Filing Deadline
Feb. 13	Super Bowl LVI