

Inside Elections

with
Nathan L. Gonzales
Nonpartisan Analysis

JULY 1, 2021

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2022 Senate Ratings

BATTLEGROUND

Democratic-Held (4)

Cortez Masto (D-Nev.)
Hassan (D-N.H.)
Kelly (D-Ariz.)
Warnock (D-Ga.)

Republican-Held (4)

NC Open (Burr, R)
PA Open (Toomey, R)
Johnson (R-Wisc.)
Rubio (R-Fl.)

Solid Democratic (10)

Bennet (D-Colo.)
Blumenthal (D-Conn.)
Duckworth (D-Ill.)
Leahy (D-Vt.)
Murray (D-Wash.)
Padilla (D-Calif.)
Schatz (D-Hawaii)
Schumer (D-N.Y.)
Van Hollen (D-Md.)
Wyden (D-Ore.)

Solid Republican (16)

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.)

CALENDAR

July 27	Texas' 6th District Special Election
Aug. 3	Ohio's 11th & 15th District Special Election Primaries
Sept. 30	Block-level census data delivered to states
Nov. 2	Florida's 20th District Special Election Primary
Nov. 2	Virginia & New Jersey Gubernatorial Elections
Dec. 17	Texas Candidate Filing Deadline

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2022 Senate Overview: Defining the Battlefield

By Nathan L. Gonzales and Jacob Rubashkin

More than a year before the midterms, the narrow Senate battlefield continues to solidify as the candidate fields in key states become more clear. Yet there's still one key ingredient missing in the fight for the majority: the national political environment.

There's a rhythm to handicapping elections. At the beginning of each cycle, it's about coming up with logical hypotheses based on historical trends. With a Democratic president in the White House, 2022 is likely to favor Republicans, with a neutral political environment being a secondary scenario.

The balance of the cycle is spent testing initial hypotheses with current events and developments, and evaluating individual races accordingly. That means we should be open minded that next year will favor Democrats if that's where the news leads, it's just the least likely political environment to develop at the outset.

Considering Republicans need a net gain of just one seat for a majority, literally every seat matters, and any shift in the political environment could make the difference for which party controls the Senate in the final two years of President Joe Biden's first term.

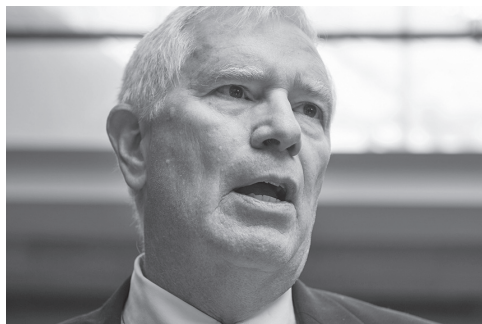
At a time of significant partisan division, there's close to bipartisan consensus on the states that will decide the majority. Democrats are on defense in Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, and New Hampshire while Republicans are defending North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Florida. The last of the eight is the one that is treated as a bubble race (meaning it's unclear whether it is or is not on the battlefield), but it looks like Democratic Rep. Val Demings' candidacy has solidified Florida's place among the most competitive races. For comparison, there were 12 competitive races leading up to Election Day 2020.

This cycle will be a test of the Democratic fundraising machine. Democrats can't rely on Trump's presence in the Oval Office or senators such as Mitch McConnell, Lindsey Graham, Ted Cruz, or Susan Collins (who were up for re-election the past two cycles) to inspire Democratic donors. This year's class is remarkably devoid of bogeymen, even though Sen. Ron Johnson of Wisconsin and Sen. Marco Rubio of Florida are climbing that list.

And finally, with control of the Senate firmly within reach, former President Donald Trump is a wild card for Republicans. His support for candidates such as Herschel Walker in Georgia or resentment toward potential candidates such as Gov. Doug Ducey in Arizona is making the GOP effort more difficult. And his focus on litigating the past doesn't always align with what Republicans need to do to win the Senate. But GOP strategists know they can't win the majority without Trump's ability to turn out his coalition when he's not on the ballot.

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ALABAMA. Open; Richard Shelby, R, not seeking re-election. Jan. 28 filing deadline. May 24 primary. Rep. Mo Brooks, the conservative firebrand and Jan. 6 Stop The Steal rally speaker, secured an early endorsement from former President Trump in the race to succeed the retiring Shelby. He also has endorsements from Senate Conservatives Fund and Club for Growth PAC. That establishes him as the early frontrunner in a state Trump won by 25 points last November. But he won't have the field to himself. Trump's former ambassador to Slovenia, Lynda Blanchard, is running. The wealthy GOP donor has already put \$5 million of her own money into the race, but reportedly angered Trump by highlighting her connections to him despite not having his endorsement. And Katie Boyd Britt, a former Shelby chief of staff and past president of the Business Council of Alabama, recently joined the race as well. Secretary of State John Merrill, who briefly ran for Senate last cycle and was considering trying again, said he wouldn't run after explicit details of a recent affair surfaced.



Mo Brooks

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

The last time Brooks ran for Senate, in the 2017 special election to replace Jeff Sessions, he faced \$15 million in negative ads from the McConnell-aligned Senate Leadership Fund and placed third in the GOP primary, behind Roy Moore and appointed-Sen. Luther Strange. This cycle, SLF has signalled it will not get involved in the primary. Blanchard's personal wealth gives her an initial financial edge (she had \$5.3 million in the bank on March 31, compared to Brooks' \$1.3 million). And Britt's ties to the Alabama business community and her support from Shelby could allow her to raise real money. But Brooks' decade in office, previous statewide run, and support from Trump make him the candidate to beat in the primary.

Democrats aren't going to compete seriously here. Former Sen. Doug Jones, who won the stunning upset against Moore in 2017 only to lose by 20 points in 2020, has ruled out a run, as has the state's sole Democrat in Congress, Rep. Terri Sewell. Solid Republican.

Alaska. Lisa Murkowski (R) appointed 2002, elected 2004 (49%), 2010 (39% as a write-in), 2016 (44%). June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 16 primary. President Trump officially intervened in the race by

endorsing former Alaska Department of Administration commissioner Kelly Tshibaka. The Republican is challenging Murkowski as a career politician and a liberal Washington insider, while highlighting her vote to convict Trump in his second impeachment trial. Even if Tshibaka's fundraising improves (she had just \$215,000 in her campaign account at the end of March, compared to \$1.3 million for Murkowski) the senator should be aided by a new voting system Alaskans approved last fall.

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. That means Murkowski doesn't have to face a GOP-only electorate, or rely on GOP base voters who are sympathetic or loyal to Trump to win. She can prevail without them as long as enough unaffiliated and Democratic voters support her.

Meanwhile, 2020 unaffiliated candidate/Democratic nominee Al Gross is seriously considering another bid. Last cycle, his candidacy received significant attention. He raised \$18 million, a record for Alaska, but he lost by 13 points to GOP Sen. Dan Sullivan (and underperformed Joe Biden, who only lost by 10 points). This cycle, he would be relying on chaos in the GOP ranks to provide a better opportunity. Trump obviously has his sights on Murkowski, but it remains to be seen how active he remains in a race that is 4,000 miles away from Mar-a-Lago. The race is worth keeping an eye on but it's not a GOP headache yet. Solid Republican.

Arizona. Mark Kelly (D) elected 2020 special election (51%). April 4 filing deadline. August 2 primary. Kelly should be a top



Mark Kelly

Courtesy Mark Kelly Campaign

GOP target, but Republicans have struggled to land a top-tier challenger against the former astronaut. So far the GOP field includes state Attorney General Mark Brnovich, retired U.S. Air Force Major General/former state Adjutant General

Michael McGuire, and solar energy CEO Jim Lamon. Blake Masters, the COO of investment firm Thiel Capital, may run as well. Another acolyte of billionaire Silicon Valley entrepreneur Peter Thiel's — author J.D. Vance — is already running for Senate in Ohio with \$10 million in

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backing from Thiel. Arizona Republican Party Chairwoman Kelli Ward and Rep. Andy Biggs haven't publicly ruled out bids but neither are mentioned in the current conversation about the race.

Outgoing Gov. Doug Ducey remains publicly uninterested in running, despite being the strongest potential candidate for Republicans — at least on paper. But Ducey's path and the GOP establishment's wooing efforts have been complicated by Trump, who blames Ducey for his November 2020 loss in Arizona. Trump continues to savage Ducey in statements, most recently saying Ducey "could not get the nomination after failing to perform on the Voter Fraud in Arizona. Also, there is no way he would get my endorsement, which means his aspirations would be permanently put to rest anyway." Brnovich too has drawn Trump's ire; the former president recently called him "lackluster" and "nowhere to be found." Kelly is a national fundraising juggernaut who raised \$101 million last cycle and had \$4.4 million in the bank on March 31.

Biden won Arizona last fall, but Democrats certainly can't take the state (or seat) for granted. Even though Republicans may not have their best candidate, any slippage in Democratic turnout and Arizona could return to its GOP lean. Battleground.

Arkansas. John Boozman (R) elected 2010 (58%), 2016 (60%).

March 1 filing deadline. June 21 primary. Gun shop/firing range owner Jan Morgan sends out a lot of emails about Boozman's alleged ideological sins, but her campaign doesn't appear to have gained much traction. She had \$29,000 in her campaign account on March 31 compared to the senator's \$1.2 million. Morgan received 30 percent of the vote in a 2018 GOP primary against Gov. Asa Hutchinson, so she shouldn't be dismissed. But with Trump's endorsement, it's unclear how Boozman loses. And Morgan hasn't attracted attention from outside conservative groups. In the general election, 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. No news is good news for Padilla as the political focus of the state continues to be on this year's recall election. Even though the Republican effort to oust Democratic Gov. Gavin



Courtesy U.S. Senate

Alex Padilla

Newsom isn't likely to be successful, it's taking up most of the political oxygen in the state, along with the impending redistricting.

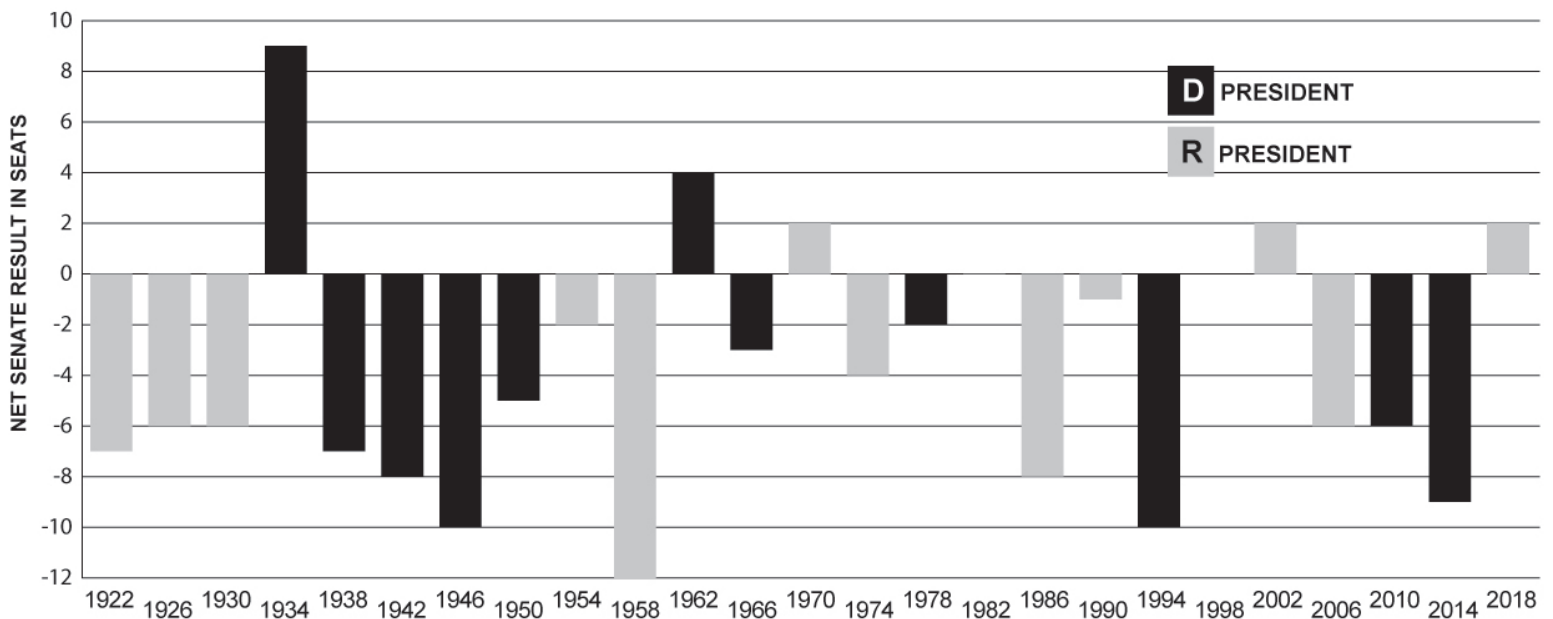
Even though some people and interest groups were disappointed with Newsom's

appointment of Padilla (\$2.4 million in the bank on March 31), there aren't any serious names being floated to challenge the senator in 2022. Every Democratic member of the California House delegation has endorsed Padilla — except for Rep. Ro Khanna (\$3.4 million), who could be an intriguing potential challenger. Khanna, the rare Democrat who maintains strong relationships with both the establishment wing of the party (he's a close Pelosi ally) and the insurgent wing (he was the co-chair of Bernie Sanders' 2020 presidential campaign) has been the source of some speculation about a run, but has been noncommittal, telling the *Los Angeles Times* that "I'm happy where I am" but also that "I haven't ruled anything out in my future." Khanna challenged and defeated Democratic Rep. Mike Honda to get to the House. Redistricting could also cause another member of the delegation to revisit the Senate race if they are left without a natural district to run in.

But that's all hypothetical until it happens. And, even then, Padilla would start with a significant edge. California's top-two primary system means Padilla could end up facing another Democrat in the general

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Midterm Election Results in the Senate for President's Party



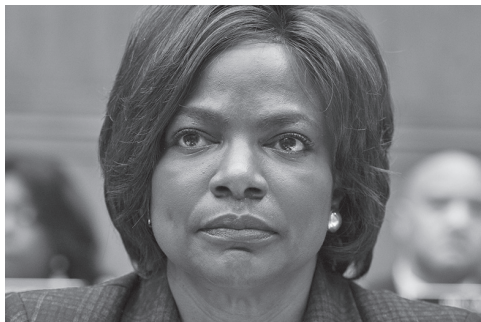
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election. Republicans haven't won a Senate race in California since Pete Wilson was re-elected in 1988. Solid Democratic.

Colorado. Michael Bennet (D) appointed 2009, elected 2010 (48%), 2016 (50%). March 15 filing deadline. June 28 primary. Republicans were drubbed last cycle as Biden defeated Trump by 13 points and GOP Sen. Cory Gardner lost re-election to former Democratic Gov. John Hickenlooper by 9 points. This cycle, with a Democrat in the White House, Republicans can hope historical midterm trends pull the state closer to the middle. It won't be easy, since Gardner was considered one of the best GOP candidates anywhere in the country and he didn't even come close. The biggest named potential Republican challenger is 2008 Olympic pentathlete/former El Paso County Republican Chairman Eli Bremer. It's far from clear whether he can put together the fundraising necessary to mount a serious race. Bennet had a modest \$1.2 million in the bank on March 31, but has the partisanship of the state in his column. This race is a good barometer of the cycle. If Democratic turnout falls off a cliff, then this seat could come into play. For now, it continues to be Solid Democratic.

Connecticut. Richard Blumenthal (D) elected 2010 (55%), 2016 (63%). June 7 filing deadline. Aug. 9 primary. Despite NRSC Chairman Rick Scott saying he'd like to put this race on the map in 2022, the GOP has failed to recruit any candidate of note so far. The only two announced Republican contenders are John Flynn, who lost state House races by 50 points (2018) and 56 points (2020), and Robert Hyde, a lobbyist and Marine veteran who became a bit player in the Trump-Ukraine controversy when he suggested in texts to Rudy Giuliani associate Lev Parnas that he was surveilling U.S. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch and threatening her safety. Blumenthal had \$5.2 million in the bank on March 31, and Joe Biden won the state by 20 points. Solid Democratic.

Florida. Marco Rubio (R) elected 2010 (49%), 2016 (52%). June 17 filing deadline. Aug. 23 primary. National Democrats got their preferred candidate in Rep. Val Demings, the former Orlando police



Val Demings

chief who rose to prominence last year as an impeachment manager and earned a spot on Biden's vice presidential shortlist. Demings had also been mulling a run for governor. The party will avoid a messy primary after Rep. Stephanie Murphy,

another Orlando-area congresswoman who fled communist Vietnam as a child and speaks fluent Spanish, abruptly reversed course and announced she would not run for Senate after spending three months preparing for a bid. Several other Democrats, including former Rep. Alan Grayson and Miami city commissioner Ken Russell, are running as well, but are not expected to be competitive in the primary. Demings is already making a financial splash: her campaign says it raised \$1 million in its first 24 hours, and has spent nearly \$1 million on Facebook ads in the

three weeks since she officially announced, making her by far the most prolific political advertiser on the site.

Rubio is already in general election mode, a shift from 2016, when he first ran for president and then maintained he wasn't running for Senate until a few days before the filing deadline. He headed off a potential primary challenge from Ivanka Trump, won an endorsement from former president/current Florida voter Donald Trump, and had \$3.9 million in the bank on March 31, after raising \$1.6 million in the first three months of the year.

Republicans are on a hot streak in Florida, having won all but one statewide contests since 2012, and the Sunshine State was one of the few places where Trump improved on his margin between 2016 and 2020, buoyed by newfound strength among Hispanic voters. But the state is still evenly divided and always plays host to close elections regardless of political environment. While it's not in the top tier of Democratic pickup opportunities, Democrats love their candidate, and both parties are going to end up spending a lot of money here. Battleground.

Georgia. Raphael Warnock (D) elected 2020/Jan. 5, 2021 runoff (51%). March 11 filing deadline. May 24 primary, June 21 runoff (if necessary). Warnock's January victory helped deliver the Senate to



Raphael Warnock

Democrats and heralded Georgia's arrival as a battleground state. Republicans would love nothing more than to prove his election was a fluky result. Trump has singled out former Univ. of Georgia/Dallas Cowboys

star running back/*Celebrity Apprentice* contestant Herschel Walker as his preferred candidate. But Walker — who has been living in Texas — appears to be in no rush to make up his mind, so the rest of the potential field has been frozen until he comes to a decision. Trump did say in a radio interview that Walker told him he was going to run, but Walker says he's still thinking it through. Aside from the residency question — he'd have to move back to Georgia to run — Walker has some real personal baggage. He's been open about his serious mental health struggles, and his ex-wife says he once held a gun to her head in the middle of an argument.

A few Republicans are not waiting for Walker to make a decision. State Agriculture Commissioner Gary Black is running, as are Atlanta businessman Kelvin King and banking executive/former Navy Seal Latham Saddler. Former Sen. Kelly Loeffler, who lost to Warnock in January, is considering another run, and Rep. Buddy Carter and former state supreme court chief justice Harold Melton could run if Walker doesn't.

Fresh off raising \$138 million last cycle, Warnock has continued pulling in serious money. He hauled in \$3.7 million over February and March, more than any other senator, and had \$5.6 million in the bank at the end of March.

Despite Democrats' recent victories, Georgia is still a purple state, and will be a center of attention in 2022 when Warnock's race shares the ticket with a likely rematch between GOP Gov. Brian Kemp and 2018 Democratic

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nominee Stacey Abrams. Republicans believe Warnock's voting record will provide them with new material to campaign on, and hope to regain some ground in the rapidly shifting suburbs. Battleground.

Hawaii. **Brian Schatz (D) appointed 2012, elected 2014 (70%), 2016 (74%).** June 7 filing deadline. Aug. 13 primary. Hawaii was one of just seven states where Trump actually improved on his 2016 performance in the 2020 election, but that doesn't mean Republicans are going to be seriously competing in the Aloha State anytime soon. Schatz is the only candidate in the race so far, and the senator — whose national profile is only increasing — was sitting on \$3.3 million on March 31. Solid Democratic.

Idaho. **Mike Crapo (R) elected 1998 (70%), 2004 (99%), 2010 (71%), 2016 (66%).** March 11 filing deadline. May 19 primary. Idaho Republicans are gearing up for a competitive primary, but not in this race. While Gov. Brad Little is facing challenges from his own lieutenant governor and also anti-government militant Ammon Bundy, Crapo locked down an early Trump endorsement and doesn't appear to be facing any real primary opposition. He also had \$4.2 million in the bank at the end of March and is a sure bet for the general election in a state Trump carried by 31 points last November. Solid Republican.

Illinois. **Tammy Duckworth (D) elected 2016 (55%).** Nov. 29, 2021 filing deadline. March 15 primary. There's not a lot of initial hope for Republicans in the Land of Lincoln after Biden's 17-point win in 2020. Republicans don't have a serious challenger to Duckworth, who was

mentioned as a potential running mate for Biden. Illinois Democrats could actually force a credible candidate into the Senate race if the new congressional map makes running for re-election impossible for a GOP member of the delegation. But even that candidate would be an underdog against Duckworth, who had \$3.7 million in her campaign account on March 31 and, more importantly, the partisan lean of the state in her favor. Solid Democratic.

Indiana. **Todd Young (R) elected 2016 (52%).** Feb. 4 filing deadline. May 3 primary. It's been nearly a decade since Democrats won a Senate race in Indiana, and that streak is likely to continue through



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

Todd Young

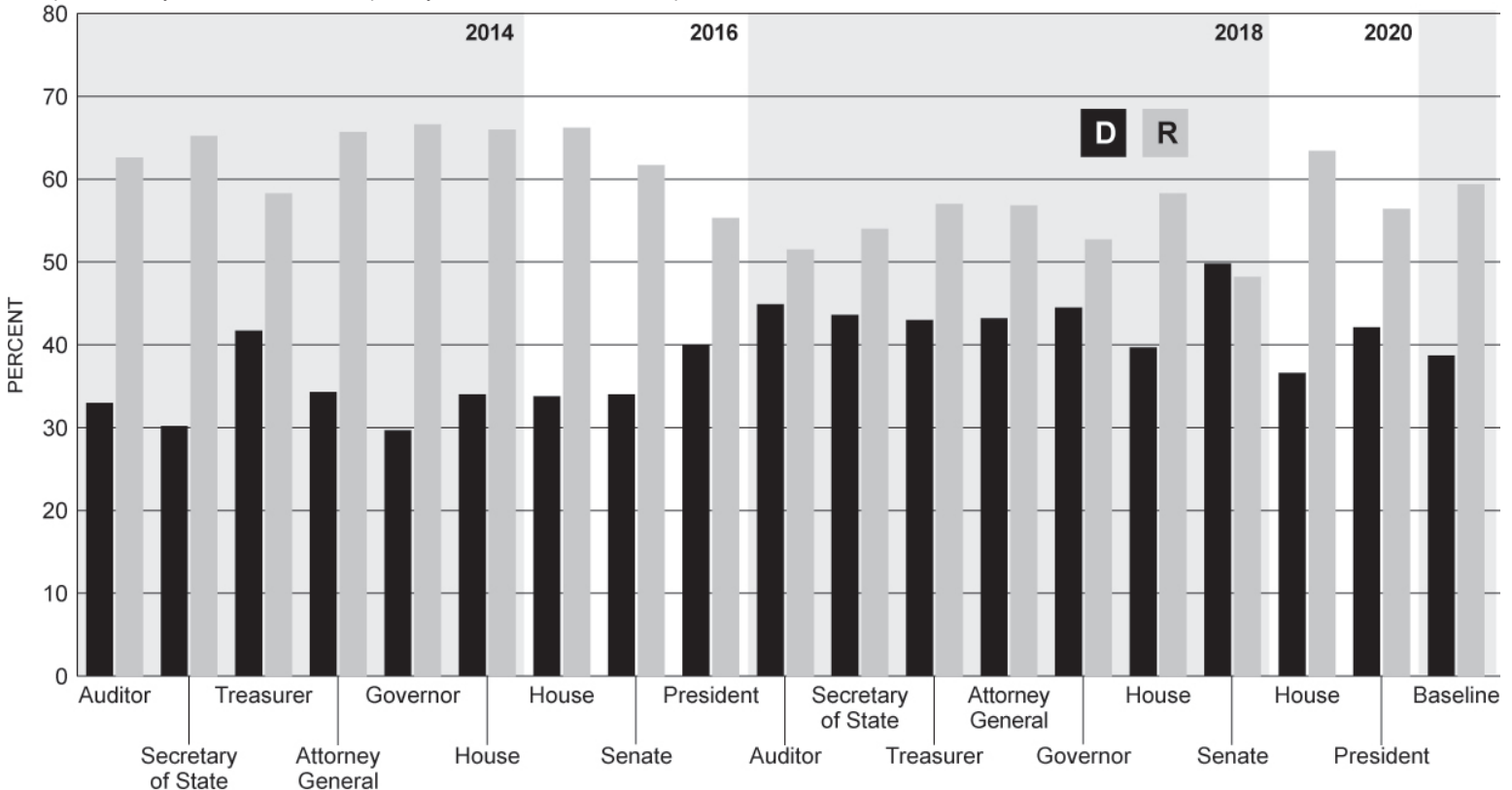
2022. Young had \$3.2 million in the bank at the end of March and Democrats aren't talking about seriously contesting the race. The top potential candidate mentioned is Hammond Mayor Tom McDermott, who finished second in the 2020 Democratic

primary to now-Rep. Frank Mrvan in northwest Indiana's 1st District. Attorney/college professor Haneefah Khaliq is running and had \$14,000 in the bank on March 31. Solid Republican.

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Statewide Election Results in Ohio's 15th District

Following GOP Rep. Steve Stivers' resignation in May, voters in Ohio's 15th District will head to the polls this fall to select his replacement. The election will be on Nov. 2, with an Aug. 3 primary. Eleven Republicans and two Democrats are running for the Columbus-area seat that voted for President Donald Trump by 14 points in 2020, and Trump has already endorsed in the GOP primary. The race is rated Solid Republican.



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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. Grassley, 87, has not officially announced whether he will seek re-election, but Republicans will be initially favored to hold the seat in either scenario. If Grassley (who had \$2 million in his campaign account on March 31) runs again, he'll be hard to beat. A recent Selzer / *Des Moines Register* poll showed that 64 percent of voters say it's time for someone else instead of Grassley, but the election won't be between Grassley and "Someone Else." It will be between Grassley and a Democrat, with control of the Senate hanging in the balance. In Iowa, where Democrats have had an abysmal decade, that's a fight that favors the senator. If Grassley doesn't seek re-election, there's a deep GOP bench, starting with state House Speaker Pat Grassley (the senator's grandson).

On the Democratic side, former Crawford County supervisor Dave Muhlbauer

is the only announced candidate. Former Rep. Abby Finkenauer, who served one term in Congress before losing a close re-election in 2020, is considering a run. Retired Admiral Mike Franken, the second-place finisher in the 2020 Democratic Senate primary, has said he may run. Two people who won't run for Senate: state Rep. Ras Smith, who is running for governor, and state Auditor Rob Sand, who hasn't said if he's running for re-election or for governor, but has ruled out a Senate run. Solid Republican.

Kansas. **Jerry Moran (R) elected 2010 (70%), 2016 (62%).** June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary. Not a lot of action is expected in this race after Democrats lost what looked like a good opportunity in 2020 by 11 points. Moran (who had \$2.8 million in the bank on March 31) isn't nearly as controversial as Kris Kobach (who lost the 2018 gubernatorial election) and is a better politician than Roger Marshall, the congressman who was elected to the state's other Senate seat last year. Democrats aren't even talking up a candidate at this point and there's no indication Moran is vulnerable in a primary. Solid Republican.

Kentucky. **Rand Paul (R) elected 2010 (56%), 2016 (57%).** Jan. 7 filing deadline. May 17 primary. Former state Rep. Charles Booker, who nearly scored a stunning upset over frontrunner Amy McGrath in the 2020 Democratic Senate primary, announced his 2022 campaign this Thursday and previously said he'd raised more than \$500,000 through an exploratory committee. In 2020, Booker, who was one of just a handful of Black legislators in the state, harnessed the energy of last summer's Breonna Taylor protest movement in Louisville. He won over the hearts and pocketbooks of progressives across the country and finished just 3 points behind McGrath despite being outspent seven-to-one. Booker may be able to tap into that grassroots network again but still faces a serious uphill climb against Paul. The junior senator has won both of his races by double digits, is not as unpopular in the



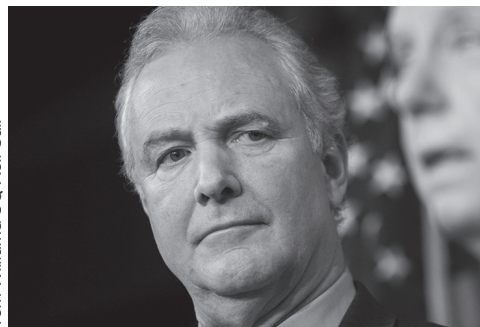
Abby Finkenauer

Caroline Brehman/CQ Roll Call

state or nationwide as his colleague McConnell, and Democrats haven't shown that they can seriously compete in Kentucky with a candidate not named Beshear. Trump won Kentucky by 26 points in 2020, and Paul is already stockpiling cash: he raised \$1.9 million in the first three months of the year and had \$3.4 million in the bank on March 31. Solid Republican.

Louisiana. **John Kennedy (R) elected 2016 (60%).** July 22 filing deadline. Nov. 8 jungle primary. December runoff (if needed). Kennedy, one of eight senators to object to the counting of the Electoral College votes in January and one of former President Trump's most vocal defenders, is running for re-election in a state Trump carried by nearly 20 points in 2020. Democrats control the governor's mansion, but Gov. John Bel Edwards' two wins are significant outliers given the state's overall partisan trend. The party's main focus over the next year will be to get the courts to draw a second majority-Black congressional seat, not to contest the Senate race. Kennedy had \$6.4 million in the bank on March 31, and has spent more than half a million dollars on Facebook ads since, more than any senator other than Georgia Democrat Raphael Warnock. Solid Republican.

Maryland. **Chris Van Hollen (D) elected 2016 (61%).** Feb. 22 filing deadline. June 28 primary. With popular outgoing GOP Gov. Larry Hogan uninterested in running against Van Hollen, Republicans lack a



Chris Van Hollen

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

credible challenger to the senator in a state Biden just won by 34 points. Greenbelt Mayor Colin Byrd, a councilman whose role as mayor is largely ceremonial, is running against Van Hollen in the Democratic primary. Byrd, who plans to

run to Van Hollen's left, had previously announced a campaign against House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer but dropped out of that race as part of a pact with fellow primary challenger Mickayla Wilkes. Van Hollen is no stranger to primaries, having won what was then the most expensive House primary in the nation in 2002 against state Del. Mark Shriver and a competitive Senate primary against fellow Rep. Donna Edwards in 2016. He had \$2.2 million in the bank on March 31 and looks to be in good shape for a second term. Solid Democratic.

Missouri. **Open; Roy Blunt, R, not seeking re-election.** March 29 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary. The Republican field vying to succeed Blunt continues to grow. Out front is former Gov. Eric Greitens, who resigned from office in 2018 after allegations of sexual assault and financial impropriety led his own party to open an impeachment inquiry and resulted in several felony charges (all of which were dropped). He starts with a polling lead and high name recognition, but is struggling to raise money. McConnell has said he and his allies may intervene in primaries to stop candidates they believe can't win a general election, and Missouri looks like a prime place for that to happen.

State Attorney General Eric Schmitt is working hard to position

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himself as the anti-Greitens candidate and is wooing the DC GOP establishment. The latest entrant to the race is Rep. Vicky Hartzler,



Vicky Hartzler

Courtesy US House of Representatives

who represents west central Missouri and is an outspoken social conservative. She starts out with nearly \$680,000 in her campaign account (on March 31) from her time in Congress.

Also running is Mark McCloskey, the personal injury

lawyer who went viral after he and his wife pointed guns at a group of Black Lives Matter protesters marching through their St. Louis gated community. McCloskey recently pleaded guilty to misdemeanor fourth-degree assault and was fined \$750 over the incident but wears his threats (and their consequences) as a badge of honor.

Yet to make a decision are Reps. Ann Wagner (who was passed over in favor of Josh Hawley in the 2018 Senate race), Billy Long, and Jason Smith, the latter two having recently made pilgrimages to Mar-a-Lago and Trump Tower to discuss the race. Rep. Blaine Luetkemeyer will not run.

Republicans are already fretting that if Greitens wins the nomination, his extensive baggage will turn a safe seat into a race the party will have to work to win. But those jitters may be premature. Missouri long ago shed its swing state status as President Trump won by 15 points last November and Gov. Mike Parson won by a similar 16-point margin. Despite a favorable national environment in 2018, Sen. Claire McCaskill couldn't hold on against Hawley.

Most importantly, Democrats don't have a top-tier challenger who could take advantage of a Greitens nomination. The two biggest names in the field right now are state Sen. Scott Sifton (\$145,000 in the bank on March 31), and Marine veteran Lucas Kuncle (who had \$194,000 on hand and a semi-viral ad featuring him wielding an assault rifle, a proud bipartisan tradition in Missouri Senate races). Also running are 2020 6th District nominee/community college professor Gena Ross, medical device company CEO Spencer Toder, Air Force veteran Jewel Kelly, and LGBT activist Tim Shephard.

MSNBC Analyst McCaskill has ruled out a comeback run, as have former state Secretary of State Jason Kander, who nearly pulled off an upset victory against Blunt in 2016, and Rep. Cori Bush. State Auditor Nicole Galloway, the last remaining Democrat in statewide elected office and the 2020 gubernatorial nominee, will not run for Senate (or for re-election). Former Gov. Jay Nixon, who left office in 2017, is considering it, but doesn't appear to be particularly interested at the moment. Former Democratic governors have also struggled to win Senate races in red states.

One intriguing potential candidate is Kansas City Mayor Quinton Lucas, who overcame poverty and homelessness as a child to become an Ivy League-educated lawyer and law professor. Lucas would be a different kind of candidate for Democrats. He's Black, and Missouri has never elected a Black person to statewide office. He's also from a city, while Democrats' most recent statewide candidates have come from the interior of the state. Lucas has publicly mused about running but hasn't

made a decision, and if he did, he'd be a serious underdog in a general election, even against Greitens. Solid Republican.

Nevada. Catherine Cortez Masto (D) elected 2016 (47%). March 18 filing deadline. June 14 primary. GOP Sen. Dean Heller and GOP gubernatorial nominee Adam Laxalt both lost in 2018 and could top the ballot for the Republicans in 2022. GOP strategists are hoping that the midterm dynamic will be different with a Democratic president compared to Trump's first midterm. This cycle, Heller is exploring a run for governor while Laxalt, the former state attorney general, is emerging as the likely GOP Senate nominee, even though he hasn't officially announced his campaign yet. Laxalt is also the son of former New Mexico Sen. Pete Domenici and grandson of former Nevada Sen. Paul Laxalt. Other potential GOP candidates include former Lt. Gov. Mark Hutchison and state Sen. Ben Kieckhefer, but Adam Laxalt's name ID and proximity to Trump makes him formidable in any GOP contest.

Meanwhile, Cortez Masto was sitting on \$4.7 million in the bank at the end of March. But Nevada is consistently competitive and Biden's 2-point win in 2020 should be concerning for Democrats if their party sees a drop in enthusiasm and turnout now that Trump is out of office and not on the ballot. It's also unclear whether there will be any fallout from the state party taking a turn to the left by electing a candidate aligned with Bernie Sanders and the local chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America as chairman. Battleground.

New Hampshire. Maggie Hassan (D) elected 2016 (48%).

June 10 filing deadline. Sept. 13 primary. A recent poll laid out the initial



Chris Sununu

Courtesy Office of Chris Sununu

contours for what could be the marquee Senate race of the cycle. Forty-three percent of registered voters in the Granite State approved of the job Hassan is doing, compared to 49 percent who disapproved,

according to a June 9-11 online survey by the Saint Anselm College Survey Center. That's a stark contrast from GOP Gov. Chris Sununu's job rating (68 percent approve/30 percent disapprove) in the same poll.

Voters were also more optimistic about the state of the state than the state of the country, which could help Sununu if he runs. Forty-two percent of respondents said the state was headed in the right direction while just 30 percent said the same was true for the country. And 59 percent said the country was off on the wrong track compared to 37 percent who felt that way about the state.

It's unclear whether Sununu will run, but GOP strategists believe it's more than a 50-50 proposition, and he looks unlikely to seek re-election to yet another two-year term. In any event, the governor is in no hurry to announce a decision. "I won't make a decision for a really long time," Sununu told local radio host Jack Heath on the morning news/talk program "Good Morning New Hampshire" a few weeks ago. "I'm really going to enjoy having a summer and fall ... of just being a governor."

The Saint Anselm results also don't tell us whether Sununu can

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maintain those lofty job approval ratings in a race for federal office, when control of the Senate will be on the line. Other past and current governors around the country have struggled to make the jump recently, but they often had to overcome more partisanship in their state. And Hassan and Democrat Jeanne Shaheen, the state's other senator, are proof that it's not hard for New Hampshire governors to make the jump to senator. Hassan had \$4.4 million in the bank on March 31 and will be ready, but this could be a very tough race for her. Battleground.

New York. Chuck Schumer (D) elected 1998 (55%), 2004 (71%), 2010 (66%), 2016 (70%). April 7 filing deadline. June 28 primary. Schumer is taking plenty of typical criticism from Republicans for Democrats' agenda and criticism from some Democrats for not getting rid of the legislative filibuster in order to pass that agenda, but the majority leader is not currently in danger of losing re-election. Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez pops up from time to time as a potential primary challenger, but be skeptical. There's little reason to believe she'd jeopardize losing her seat (and platform) in the House for a difficult bid against the majority leader. Schumer had \$17.7 million in the bank at the end of March and has things to worry about other than winning a fifth term. Solid Democratic.

North Carolina. Open; Richard Burr, R, not seeking re-election. Dec. 17, 2021 filing deadline. March 8 primary. The Republican field got a little more clear a few weeks ago when Trump came to the state for an event. His daughter-in-law, Lara Lea Trump announced she would not run (after months of speculation), and the former president endorsed Rep. Ted Budd, in somewhat of a surprise decision. But Trump's endorsement has not cleared the field. Former Charlotte mayor/former GOP Gov. Pat McCrory (who lost re-election in 2016) is still running, as is former Rep. Mark Walker. Budd's campaign admitted that McCrory is the frontrunner, according to their own polling memo, but they see the congressman catapulting to the top as voters find out about Trump's support. It will be up to Budd to raise the money necessary to communicate that message. He had \$1.2 million in the bank on March 31 compared to \$912,000 for Walker. McCrory's end of June report, which is due July 15, will be his first for this race. Republicans are headed for a competitive primary that should help their eventual nominee gear up for a competitive general election.

Democrats are likely to have a primary as well. Former state supreme court chief justice Cheri Beasley is consolidating establishment



Cheri Beasley

support including endorsements from EMILY's List and the Congressional Black Caucus PAC. But state Sen. Erica Smith (who lost the 2020 Democratic primary to former state Sen. Cal Cunningham) and Afghanistan war veteran/state Sen. Jeff

Jackson are running as well. At the end of March, Jackson had \$838,000 in campaign funds compared to \$140,000 for Smith. Beasley's end of June report (due July 15) will be the first window into her campaign fundraising. It's clear national strategists have a preference in the race for

Beasley, particularly since she is a Black woman, but the party isn't likely to be heavy-handed in the primary.

Trump and GOP Sen. Thom Tillis' victories in 2020 continued the recent Republican trend in North Carolina. But their narrow margins are evidence that Republicans can't take the state for granted. Battleground.

North Dakota. John Hoeven (R) elected 2010 (76%), 2016 (78%). April 11 filing deadline. June 14 primary. Hoeven had \$2.1 million in the bank on March 31, Trump won the state by 34 points in November, and the senator appears to still be on the good side of the former president. That looks like a recipe for re-election. Solid Republican.

Ohio. Open; Rob Portman, R, not seeking re-election. Feb. 2 filing deadline. May 3 primary. Trump stopped in Ohio last weekend for a campaign-style rally but declined to endorse a candidate in the crowded



Jane Timken

race to replace Portman. Former state Treasurer/2012 Senate nominee Josh Mandel (\$4.2 million in the bank on March 31) is the frontrunner with his initial lead in name I.D. and campaign funds, but he doesn't have the race locked up. Jane

Timken (\$1.7 million), the former head of the state party, is a top-tier candidate while businessman/car dealership owner Bernie Moreno and investment banker Mike Gibbons are running as well and could be contenders depending on their finances and ability to get Trump's endorsement. Cleveland Indians co-owner/state Sen. Matt Dolan formed an exploratory committee, but hasn't jumped in yet. And Hillbilly Elegy author JD Vance is expected to announce his campaign imminently and Paypal founder/Silicon Valley entrepreneur Peter Thiel already set up a super PAC with \$10 million to help him. Senate Conservatives Fund and Club for Growth PAC endorsed Mandel.

The Democratic side is more clear with Youngstown-area Rep. Tim Ryan as the likely nominee. With Ryan's support from organized labor and some key campaign hires, former state health director Amy Acton didn't have much of a choice but to pass on the race. State House Minority Leader Emilia Sykes hasn't officially ruled out a bid, but if she is planning to run, every day she doesn't announce is a day Ryan consolidates grassroots and establishment support. For now the key is whether Ryan can put together the fundraising necessary to overcome the clear GOP trend of the state. The congressman had \$1 million in the bank on March 31, but will need to put together some bigger fundraising quarters in the future. While Democrats can point to Sen. Sherrod Brown's victories in 2012 and 2018 as evidence of a viable path, Ryan could have a more difficult time if the midterm political environment is working against him and without the advantages that come with incumbency, including the ability to outspend his opponent (as Brown did). And even though Mandel seems intent on being one of the most provocative candidates in the country, it's not clear his nomination would jeopardize the seat for Republicans. This race could become a battleground before the cycle is over, but it's not there yet. Solid Republican.

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Oklahoma. James Lankford (R) elected 2014 special (68%), 2016 (68%). April 15 filing deadline. June 28 primary. Jackson Lahmeyer, lead pastor of Sheridan Church in Tulsa, is challenging the senator in the GOP primary, which would be the only potentially competitive part of this race in a state where Trump won by 33 points and GOP Sen. Jim Inhofe won re-election by 30 points in 2020. Lahmeyer has said the senator is not supportive enough of Trump because Lankford ended up voting to ratify Biden's Electoral College victory, but the former president has yet to turn his ire on Lankford. Meanwhile Lahmeyer had just \$34,000 in the bank on March 31 compared to the senator's \$1 million. Unless Trump starts to make Lankford one of his targets, this looks like an uneventful race. Solid Republican.

Oregon. Ron Wyden (D) elected 1996 special (48%), 1998 (61%), 2004 (63%), 2010 (57%), 2016 (56%). March 8, 2022 filing deadline. May 17 primary. There was a time when Oregon played host to highly competitive Senate races, but that time has long passed. Republicans have next to no bench in the state, and what resources the party does have will be focused on the open gubernatorial race and the new congressional district the state will gain. The only announced GOP candidate is Jo Rae Perkins, the Q-Anon promoter who lost to Sen. Jeff Merkley in 2020 by 17 points. The senator has \$3.5 million in the bank and a clear path to a fifth full term. Solid Democratic.

Pennsylvania. Open; Pat Toomey (R) not seeking re-election. March 8 filing deadline. May 17 primary. With multiple members of the U.S. House delegation deciding to pass on the race, the initial Democratic field includes Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, state Rep. Malcolm Kenyatta of Philadelphia and Val Arkoosh, the chairwoman of the Montgomery County Board of Commissioners and a 2014 13th District congressional candidate. EMILY's List endorsed Arkoosh, making it difficult for any other women to enter the race (though all four women in the congressional delegation declined to run). Fetterman, the 6'9" former mayor of Braddock, Pa. (population 2,100) who previously ran for this seat in 2016, raised a massive \$3.9 million in the first quarter of 2021 and finished March with \$1.9 million in the bank. Fetterman has a national following, but he'll have to answer for a 2013 incident in which he pulled a gun on an unarmed Black jogger passing by his house he says he suspected of a crime. As an open LGBTQ person of color, Kenyatta has an opportunity with those important communities in a Democratic primary.

U.S. Rep. Conor Lamb, who won a high-profile special election in 2018 outside of Pittsburgh, is still seriously considering the race. He's widely expected to get in, although he hasn't officially announced a decision. State Sen. Sharif Street, the son of former Philadelphia Mayor John Street, is seriously considering a bid as well. While the national Democratic party has been heavy-handed in its preference in races such as Florida, it looks like the primary in Pennsylvania will be a proving ground in advance of a competitive general election.

The initial Republican field has narrowed to former Army Ranger Sean Parnell and real estate developer Jeff Bartos. Parnell, who lost a close race to Lamb in the 17th District in 2020 and has ties to the Trump family, previously generated some buzz within the party with his primetime speaking spot at the 2020 Republican National Convention. Bartos ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor in 2018 and is a

former finance chairman for the state party. Former U.S. Ambassador to Denmark Carla Sands looks poised to enter the race, but hasn't



Courtesy Parnell Campaign
Sean Parnell

officially announced. And former Southeast Pennsylvania Rep. Ryan Costello is still a prospective candidate, but won't likely make a decision until later in the year. It's not clear if there's any appetite among GOP primary voters for a more

traditional, pre-Trump era, Republican alternative, which would likely be Costello's lane.

Both parties are headed for competitive primaries in one of the most important states in the fight for the Senate. Biden won Pennsylvania narrowly in 2020, but any disproportionate decline in turnout for Republicans or Democrats as a result of Trump not driving turnout, could result in a loss. Battleground.

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2022 Governor Ratings

Battleground

Democratic-held (6)

Kelly (D-Kan.)
Mills (D-Maine)
Whitmer (D-Mich.)
Sisolak (D-Nev.)
PA Open (Wolf, D)
Evers (D-Wisc.)

Republican-held (5)

AZ Open (Ducey, R)
DeSantis (R-Fl.)
Kemp (R-Ga.)
MD Open (Hogan, R)
Sununu (R-N.H.)

Solid Democratic (10)

Newsom (D-Calif.)
Polis (D-Colo.)
Lamont (D-Conn.)
HI Open (Ige, D)
Pritzker (D-Ill.)
Walz (D-Minn.)
Lujan Grisham (D-N.M.)
Cuomo (D-N.Y.)
OR Open (Brown, D)
McKee (D-R.I.)

Solid Republican (15)

Ivey (R-Ala.)
Dunleavy (R-Alaska)
AR Open (Hutchinson, R)
Little (R-Idaho)
Reynolds (R-Iowa)
Baker (R-Mass.)
NE Open (Ricketts, R)
Noem (R-S.D.)
DeWine (R-Ohio)
Stitt (R-Okla.)
McMaster (R-S.C.)
Lee (R-Tenn.)

2021 RACES

Likely Democratic

CA Recall (Newsom, D)
VA Open (Northam, D)

Solid Democratic

Murphy (D-N.J.)

Abbott (R-Texas)
Scott (R-Vt.)
Gordon (R-Wyo.)

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South Carolina. Tim Scott (R) appointed 2013, elected 2014 special (61%), 2016 (61%). March 29 filing deadline. June 7 primary. Scott announced his re-election campaign on Monday, eliminating any of the little doubt there was about the race. Last year, Democrats rallied behind Democrat Jaime Harrison in his race against Sen. Lindsey Graham to the tune of \$130 million in donations, but Harrison still lost by 10 points as Trump won by nearly a dozen points. Scott is better liked than Graham within the state, and inspires far less vitriol than Graham among Democratic donors and activists around the country. State Rep. Krystle Nichole Matthews, a single mom of five kids, is running as a “tough mother” on the Democratic side this time, but she’s got a lot of work to do to take down Scott, who had \$8.9 million in the bank on March 31. Solid Republican.

South Dakota. John Thune (R) elected 2004 (51%), 2010 (unopposed), 2016 (72%). March 29 filing deadline. June 7 primary. Even as Trump started to make good on his promises to recruit or endorse primary challengers to many of his political opponents, he has yet to return to Thune, about whom he once declared “he will be primaried in 2022, political career over!!!” With \$13.8 million in the bank at the end of March, Thune is well-positioned even if a primary challenger does emerge, but for now it seems the former president and his allies are more focused on Republicans who voted to impeach or convict Trump. Democrats haven’t won a statewide contest since 2008. Solid Republican.

Utah. Mike Lee (R) elected 2010 (62%), 2016 (68%). March 17 filing deadline. Spring nominating conventions. June 28 primary. Former state Rep. Becky Edwards, who served a decade in the state legislature, is challenging Lee for the GOP nomination. That’s the most important race in a state Trump won by 20 points in 2020. But Edwards is running as the more moderate candidate, and it’s far from clear how that message is going to resonate with enough primary voters for her to oust the incumbent. Solid Republican.

Vermont. Pat Leahy (D) elected 1974 (50%), 1980 (50%), 1986 (63%), 1992 (54%), 1998 (72%), 2004 (71%), 2010 (64%), 2016 (61%). May 26 filing deadline.

Aug. 9 primary. As of now, the 81-year-old Leahy looks like he’s running for a ninth term and the potential to become the longest-serving senator in U.S. history. But his health is a bit of a question mark; he was briefly hospitalized during



Patrick Leahy

Trump’s second impeachment trial, over which he was presiding. If Leahy opts out of running, there’s a whole slate of ambitious Democrats — whose advancements have been stymied by the lengthy careers of Leahy, the 79-year-old Sen. Bernie Sanders, and the 74-year old at-large Rep. Peter Welch — to watch out for. Gov. Phil Scott, a liberal Republican and one of the most popular figures in the state (he just won a third term by 41 points, 69-28 percent) has repeatedly said he has no interest in running, against Leahy or for an open seat. Solid Democratic.

Washington. Patty Murray (D) elected 1992 (54%), 1998 (58%), 2004 (55%), 2010 (52%), 2016 (59%). May 20 filing deadline. Aug. 2 primary. Republicans haven’t won a U.S. Senate race in more than a quarter of a century and Biden just won the state by nearly 20 points in 2020. GOP strategists are intrigued by Tiffany Smiley, a veterans advocate and former triage nurse. But Republicans probably need the first-time candidate to turn into a stellar challenger and have the national political environment be dramatically in their favor to break the party’s losing streak. Washington conducts elections using a top-two primary system, so all candidates will appear on the same ballot, and the top two finishers will advance to the general election. Murray had \$3.9 million in her campaign account on March 31 and starts as a heavy favorite. Solid Democratic.

Wisconsin. Ron Johnson (R) elected 2010 (52%), 2016 (50%). June 1 filing deadline. Aug. 9 primary. Johnson is quickly moving up the ranks of Democrats’ most hated Republican senators as he continues



Godlewski for State Treasurer

Sarah Godlewski

to cast doubt on what happened on January 6 and on the effectiveness and safety of the COVID-19 vaccine. And a crowd of Democrats is forming to challenge him.

State Treasurer Sarah Godlewski, 2016 8th District

nominee/Outagamie County Executive Tom Nelson, Milwaukee Bucks executive Alex Lasry, state Sen. Chris Larson, and radiologist Gillian Battino are running and could be joined by Steven Olikara, the founder of non-profit group Millennial Action Project, which aims to foster young leaders in Washington. Some Democrats also mention Milwaukee City Alderwoman Chantia Lewis as a potential candidate.

One potential entrant whose name has picked up steam is Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes. Barnes has been viewed as a rising star in the party, but he won’t likely clear the field and Democratic strategists appear unlikely to try and pave the way for him. The primary will be a proving ground for all the candidates. Larson has been endorsed by Progressive Change Campaign Committee. EMILY’s List just endorsed Godlewski. And Lasry, the son of billionaire Bucks owner Marc Lasry, could overwhelm the field with personal cash. The Democratic nomination is important, not only because every seat matters in the fight for the majority but because it’s one of only two 2022 Senate seats held by a Republican in a state Biden won in 2020.

Johnson has not officially announced whether he will run for re-election and holds his cards close to the vest. He doesn’t appear in a hurry to announce a decision even though waiting and then deciding not to run could hurt Republicans trying to replace him, because they won’t have as much time to set up their campaign for a top-tier race. Some Democrats have convinced themselves that running against Johnson would be easier than an open seat because he has become such a polarizing figure. But Democrats have underestimated him twice and he won both times. If the senator declines to run for a third term, 8th District Rep. Mike Gallagher will receive much of the initial attention. Regardless of whether Johnson runs again, this race will be a top contest for the duration of the cycle. Battleground.

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