

Inside Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis

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2024 Senate Overview: GOP Needs Better, Not Perfect

By Nathan L. Gonzales & Jacob Rubashkin

Even though they haven't avoided primaries and are running into battle with untested candidates, Republicans are still well-positioned to win control of the Senate in 2024.

Republicans have a long history of nominating candidates who lose winnable races, from Sharron Angle, Christine O'Donnell, Ken Buck and Richard Mourdock to more recent nominees including Herschel Walker, Mehmet Oz, and Blake Masters in 2022.

Understanding history, GOP strategists were determined to break the trend this cycle by avoiding divisive primaries and choosing wealthy candidates. The strategy has had some hiccups, but Republicans may win anyway because of a favorable map and political environment.

Republicans are likely to have competitive primaries in their top three takeover opportunities. It matters less in West Virginia now that Democratic Sen. Joe Manchin is not running for re-election. But intra-party battles in Ohio and Montana will drain resources, at a minimum, and potentially result in an underfunded candidate who has already lost to Sen. Jon Tester in the latter. It remains to be seen how serious the GOP primary in Michigan will be and if they end up with a quality challenger. Republicans scored their best-possible recruit in Maryland, with former Gov. Larry Hogan, but he's running in a state President Joe Biden should win by 30 points.

Republicans might avoid serious primaries in Arizona, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, but could end up with untested nominees, even if they are wealthy. Just 15 of the current 100 senators never held office before getting elected to the Senate and just five of those had to win a competitive general election. And yet that's what Republicans are asking their candidates to do.

The GOP archetype is Ron Johnson, a wealthy businessman who defeated Democratic Sen. Ron Johnson in the Republican wave of 2010. That is a path, but it's not the easiest or most traveled.

The good news for Republicans is that they probably only need one challenger to make the successful journey, and they may not even need that. With West Virginia flipping to the GOP, Republicans can control the Senate by winning the White House without taking over any other seats, because the new vice president can break tie votes. If Republicans lose the White House, they need to gain just one more seat for the majority. That is far easier than having to defeat multiple well-funded Democratic incumbents.

Republicans could also benefit from the combination of the map and political environment. Former President Donald Trump will likely win West Virginia, Montana, and Ohio, in most presidential scenarios. And GOP chances increase even more if President Joe Biden can't match his narrow victories in Arizona, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin or improve his performance in Texas and Florida.

2024 Senate Ratings

Toss-Up (3)

Brown (D-Ohio) Tester (D-Mont.)
Sinema (I-Ariz.)

Tilt Democratic (3) Tilt Republican

MI Open (Stabenow, D)*
Casey (D-Penn.)
Rosen (D-Nev.)

Lean Democratic (1) Lean Republican

Baldwin (D-Wis.)

Likely Democratic (1) Likely Republican (1)

MD Open (Cardin, D)* Cruz (R-Texas)

Solid Democratic (14) Solid Republican (11)

CA Open (Butler, D) IN Open (Braun, R)
DE Open (Carper, D) UT Open (Romney, R)
Cantwell (D-Wash.) WV Open (Manchin, D)
Gillibrand (D-N.Y.) Barrasso (R-Wyo.)
Heinrich (D-N.M.) Blackburn (R-Tenn.)
Hirono (D-Hawaii) Cramer (R-N.D.)
Kaine (D-Va.) Fischer (R-Neb.)
King (I-Maine) Hawley (R-Mo.)
Klobuchar (D-Minn.) Ricketts (R-Neb.)
Menendez (D-N.J.)# Scott (R-Fla.)
Murphy (D-Conn.) Wicker (R-Miss.)

Sander (I-Vt.)
Warren (D-Mass.)
Whitehouse (D-R.I.)

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

CALENDAR

Feb. 11	Super Bowl LVIII
Feb. 13	New York's 3rd District Special Election
Feb. 24	South Carolina GOP Presidential Primary
Feb. 27	Michigan Presidential Primaries
March 5	Super Tuesday

Report Shorts

Alabama's 2nd District. Eleven Democrats are running for this open seat, which redistricting made a prime pickup opportunity for the party. Just two candidates have aired TV ads so far, former DOJ official Shomari Figures, whose ad leans heavily on his pedigree as the son of two prominent state senators; and state House Minority Leader Anthony Daniels. A pro-Figures super PAC is also on the air. This contest is likely to go to a runoff. On the Republican side, former state Sen. Dick Brewbaker might be the most compelling candidate, and he's aired several TV ads, but he'll have to get through state Sen. Greg Albritton and attorney Carolene Dobson, who is also on TV and has some notable local endorsements. Likely Democratic.

Indiana's 5th District. The always-unpredictable Rep. Victoria Spartz announced she will seek re-election after all, capping a year of uncertainty in which it appeared at various points that the Ukrainian-born Spartz would run for re-election, run for Senate, retire at the end of her term, or even resign early. A Spartz internal poll conducted by co/efficient from Jan. 30 to Feb. 1 showed Spartz with a healthy lead in the GOP primary over state Rep. Chuck Goodrich, 44-8 percent. Goodrich is staying in the race and has loaned his campaign \$1 million. Solid Republican.

Maryland's 2nd District. Democrat Dutch Ruppersberger is retiring after 11 terms. Baltimore County Executive Johnny Olszewski formed an exploratory committee for this seat last year and quickly launched a formal bid. He'll be the favorite in the Democratic primary against state Del. Harry Bhandari — nearly 80 percent of the district's Democrats live in Baltimore County and have voted for Olszewski several times before. Solid Democratic.

Washington's 5th District. Republican Cathy McMorris Rodgers will not seek re-election, capping a 10-term career that ended in her ongoing tenure as chairwoman of the Energy and Commerce Committee. McMorris Rodgers was at one point the highest-ranking woman in the GOP conference but left leadership in 2019. With a Baseline of R+15, the rural Eastern Washington district is not likely to be competitive for Democrats. Solid Republican. **IE**

2024 House Ratings

Toss-Up (5D, 7R)

CA 13 (Duarte, R)	NY 3 (Vacant, R)
CA 27 (Garcia, R)	NY 4 (D'Esposito, R)
CO 8 (Caraveo, D)	NY 17 (Lawler, R)
MI 7 (Open; Slotkin, D)	NY 22 (Williams, R)
NM 2 (Vasquez, D)	OR 5 (DeRemer, R)
NC 1 (Davis, D)	WA 3 (Perez, D)

Tilt Democratic (7D)

AK AL (Peltola, D)
CA 47 (Open; Porter, D)
MI 8 (Open; Kildee, D)
OH 13 (Sykes, D)
PA 7 (Wild, D)
PA 8 (Cartwright, D)
VA 7 (Open; Spanberger, D)

Tilt Republican (9R)

AZ 1 (Schweikert, R)	NY 19 (Molinaro, R)
AZ 6 (Ciscomani, R)	VA 2 (Kiggans, R)
CA 22 (Valadao, R)	
CO 3 (Open; Boebert, R)	
IA 3 (Nunn, R)	
MI 10 (James, R)	
NJ 7 (Kean Jr., R)	

Lean Democratic (12D)

CT 5 (Hayes, D)
IL 17 (Sorensen, D)
ME 2 (Golden, D)
MI 3 (Scholten, D)
MN 2 (Craig, DFL)
NV 3 (Lee, D)
NH 1 (Pappas, D)
NY 18 (Ryan, D)
OH 1 (Landsman, D)
OH 9 (Kaptur, D)
OR 6 (Salinas, D)
PA 17 (Deluzio, D)

Lean Republican (8R)

CA 41 (Calvert, R)	PA 10 (Perry, R)
CA 45 (Steel, R)	TX 15 (De La Cruz, R)
IA 1 (Miller-Meeks, R)	
MT 1 (Zinke, R)	
NE 2 (Bacon, R)	
NY 1 (LaLota, R)	

	GOP	DEM
Solid	187	174
Likely/Lean/Tilt	29	33
Total	216	207
Toss-up	12	
Needed for majority	218	

Likely Democratic (12D, 2R)

AL 2 (Open; Moore, R)	NV 1 (Titus, D)
CA 49 (Levin, D)	NV 4 (Horsford, D)
FL 9 (Soto, D)	NH 2 (Kuster, D)
IN 1 (Mrvan, D)	OR 4 (Hoyle, D)
KS 3 (Davids, D)	TX 34 (Gonzalez, D)
LA 6 (Graves, R)	VA 10 (Open; Wexton, D)
MD 6 (Open; Trone, D)	WA 8 (Schrier, D)

Likely Republican (9R, 3D)

CA 3 (Kiley, R)	NC 14 (Open; Jackson, D)
CA 40 (Kim, R)	PA 1 (Fitzpatrick, R)
FL 13 (Luna, R)	SC 1 (Mace, R)
FL 27 (Salazar, R)	WI 1 (Steil, R)
IA 2 (Hinson, R)	WI 3 (Van Orden, R)
NC 6 (Open; Manning, D)	
NC 13 (Open; Nickel, D)	

Takeovers in *italics*. # moved benefiting Democrats. * moved benefiting Republicans

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Arizona. Kyrsten Sinema (I) elected 2018 as a Democrat (50%). Filing deadline April 8. Primary Aug. 6. It won't be official until the filing deadline, but it seems less and less likely that Sinema wages a re-election bid as an independent — The *Arizona Republic* detailed the challenge Sinema will have to gain ballot access. Party strategists on both sides of the aisle are increasingly confident this will resemble a more traditional two-way race between a Democrat and Republican rather than a topsy-turvy three-person fight. Even with Sinema's considerable war chest (\$10.6 million on Dec. 31), it's hard to see a path to victory for her against two well-funded opponents. The likely Democratic nominee is Rep. Ruben Gallego, and the likely GOP nominee is former TV anchor and 2022 gubernatorial nominee Kari Lake, though Pinal County Sheriff Mark Lamb is also in the race.

Republican strategists acknowledge that Lake's image in the state has taken a hit in the wake of her narrow 2022 gubernatorial loss. Lake refused to accept the results of that election and spent the last two years unsuccessfully suing to overturn them; party strategists are hoping that Lake will talk less about the last election and more about the upcoming one. Gallego, meanwhile, remains relatively unknown statewide. He's a Hispanic man running at a time when Democrats have struggled with that demographic, and has a compelling profile as a son of immigrants who cleaned dorms to pay his way through Harvard before joining the Marine Corps. Republicans will try to disqualify him before he can introduce himself to more voters, and are already looking to make his divorce, from now-Phoenix Mayor Kate Gallego, an issue in the race (though Kate Gallego has endorsed his Senate bid). Gallego had \$6.5 million in the bank on Dec. 31 compared to just \$1.1 million for Lake. Lake also made waves recently by releasing a secret recording she made of the state GOP chairman trying to persuade her not to run for Senate this year, saying it shows powerful DC players were trying to bribe her out of the race. It's another piece of evidence that Lake is a controversial figure among Arizona Republicans even as she has a glide path to the nomination. Toss-up.



Ruben Gallego

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

Public Policy Polling (D) for Replace Sinema PAC (pro-Gallego), Jan. 5-6 (RVs)— General election ballot: Gallego (D) 36%, Lake (R) 35%, Sinema (I) 17%; Lake over Gallego, 46% - 45%.

VCreek/AMG (R) for Americas PAC, Dec. 1-8 (LVs)(live caller)— General election ballot: Lake (R) 41%, Gallego (D) 35%, Sinema (I) 16%.

Tulchin Research (D) for Stand for Children, Nov. 13-20 (LVs)(mixed mode)— General election ballot: Gallego (D) 39%, Lake (R) 34%, Sinema (I) 17%.

California. Open; Laphonza Butler (D) not seeking re-election. Primary March 5. Rep. Adam Schiff, the Burbank Democrat who rose to prominence as a chief Trump antagonist, looks like he has one of two tickets to the general election locked down in the all-party primary. Schiff had an astronomical \$34.9 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and has unleashed a \$21 million ad buy across the state in the run-up to the primary. That leaves one other spot up for grabs, and it appears to be a race between Irvine Rep. Katie Porter, a Democrat, and former Los

Angeles Dodgers star Steve Garvey, a Republican. Rep. Barbara Lee, the Oakland Democrat also in the race, trails in polls and has been unable to keep pace with her colleagues in fundraising.

While Garvey is the only prominent Republican in the race, he's not the only one on the ballot, and he hasn't been campaigning aggressively or with TV advertisements. If he doesn't consolidate GOP votes then both Schiff and Porter might finish in the top two, setting the stage for an expensive and sharp-elbowed clash this fall. But Schiff is going out of his way to prevent that from happening. He's airing a new ad calling Garvey "too conservative for California" and noting Garvey's support for Trump. It's an old tactic intended to boost the Republican into the general election and seal Schiff's victory in March, rather than November. The ad drew immediate condemnation from Porter, but if it's effective, this race could be over soon. Solid Democratic.

USC/CSU/Cal Poly Elections and Policy Poll, Jan. 21-29 (LVs)— All-party primary ballot: Schiff (D) 26%, Porter (D) 15%, Garvey (R) 15%, Lee (D) 7%, Eric Early (R) 1%, James Bradley (R) 1%.

Emerson College for Inside Politics California, Jan. 11-14 (LVs)(mixed mode)— All-party primary ballot: Schiff (D) 25%, Garvey (R) 18%, Porter (D) 13%, Lee (D) 8%, Early (R) 3%, Bradley (R) 2%.

UC Berkeley for LA Times, Jan. 4-8 (LVs)(online)— All-party primary ballot: Schiff (D) 21%, Porter (D) 17%, Garvey (R) 13%, Lee (D) 9%, Early (R) 3%, Bradley (R) 3%.

Connecticut. Chris Murphy (D) elected 2012 (55%), 2018 (60%). Filing deadline June 11. Primary Aug. 13. The only Republican in the race, veteran Robert Hyde, had just \$51.73 in the bank on Dec. 31. Murphy had \$8.2 million. Solid Democratic.

Delaware. Open; Tom Carper (D) not seeking re-election. Filing deadline July 9. Primary Sept. 3. Democratic At-large Rep. Lisa Blunt Rochester is en route to the Senate. She had \$2.3 million in the bank on Dec. 31. Republican Eric Hansen of Wilmington, who has worked in management at Walmart and Procter & Gamble, had \$400,000. Solid Democratic.

Florida. Rick Scott (R) elected 2018 (50%). Filing deadline July 22. Primary Aug. 20. The likely Democratic nominee is former Rep. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, who served one term representing South Florida and has support from the DSCC and most of the state's Democratic delegation. She'll still have to get through a primary with former Navy pilot and golf course owner Stanley Campbell (the brother of 2 Live Crew rapper Luther Campbell), who is self-funding his bid with \$1 million. Mucarsel-Powell had \$1.5 million in the bank on Dec. 31 to Campbell's \$913,000.

Democrats are excited about running a Latina for Senate and believe that Mucarsel-Powell, an Ecuadorian immigrant, is an ideal foil to Scott, a wealthy former healthcare executive whose tenure at Columbia/HCA was marred by an investigation into what became the largest health care fraud case in history. Scott himself was never charged with wrongdoing. But Florida has trended away from Democrats in recent years, and while it's closer than the blowout results of 2022 might suggest, it is no longer a presidential swing state. That means Mucarsel-Powell is unlikely to get a significant boost from the Biden campaign spending in Florida and will have to carry her own weight. That's a tough proposition against Scott, who has nearly unlimited personal resources and is willing to spend to win, having plowed nearly \$140 million of his fortune into his three previous statewide

Continued on page 4

Continued from page 3

runs. One thing that could make this race more interesting for Democrats is if organizers are successful in placing an abortion rights referendum on the ballot this fall, which could boost turnout and enthusiasm among the voters Mucarsel-Powell needs. Solid Republican.

Hawaii. Mazie Hirono (D) elected 2012 (63%), 2018 (71%). Filing deadline June 4. Primary Aug. 10. Without any clear opponents, Hirono is on her way to a third term. She had \$1.8 million in the bank on Dec. 31. Solid Democratic.

Indiana. Open; Mike Braun (R) running for governor. Filing deadline Feb. 9. Primary May 7. Egg farmer John Rust was successful in getting on the GOP primary ballot despite a spotty voting history, but he's still a serious underdog against Rep. Jim Banks. Rust, who is self-funding his bid, has spent \$316,000 on ads since Jan. 1, but Banks reported \$3 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and has an important endorsement from Trump. Democrats are not contesting this seat — the most prominent candidate is former state Rep. Marc Carmichael, who ran for Congress unsuccessfully in 1996. Solid Republican.

Maine. Angus King (I) elected 2012 (53%), 2018 (54%). Filing deadline March 15. Primary June 11. King had \$1.9 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and his campaign website has 2024 branding, but he doesn't appear to have made an official re-election announcement. He is a clear favorite for a third term but if he doesn't run, Democratic Rep. Jared Golden seems likely to run while Republicans would be searching for a strong candidate. Former state GOP chair Demi Kouzounas just announced but is not a top-tier candidate. Solid Democratic.

Maryland. Open; Ben Cardin (D) not seeking re-election. Primary April 23. This race received a major shakeup with the news that former GOP Gov. Larry Hogan will run. Hogan is the only Republican who could conceivably make this race competitive, since he exited office in 2022 very popular. But he faces a steep climb in one of the most Democratic states in the country, and voters are much more likely to revert to partisanship in Senate contests than gubernatorial races. At minimum, though, this is a headache for Senate Democrats already on defense across the country.

On the Democratic side, Rep. David Trone's campaign released two polls indicating that his massive and unanswered ad campaign — \$19 million so far — has given him a lead over Prince George's County Executive Angela Alsobrooks, despite the latter's endorsements from much of the state's Democratic establishment. Alsobrooks had a respectable \$3.1 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and is keeping her powder dry; her allies believe Trone's support is soft and that once she begins advertising (particularly about Trone's history of political donations to Republicans through his company), she will re-establish herself in the race. Hogan's entrance puts this race on the map, but Democrats have two strong



Angela Alsobrooks

Courtesy Alsobrooks Campaign

candidates and the state's partisan lean in their favor. Move from Solid Democratic to Likely Democratic.

Hickman Analytics (D) for Trone, Jan. 18-24 (LVs)(live caller) — Democratic primary ballot: Trone over Alsobrooks, 45% - 34%.

Massachusetts. Elizabeth Warren (D) elected 2012 (54%), 2018 (60%). Filing deadline May 28. Primary Sept. 17. While the senator had \$3.9 million cash-on-hand on Dec. 31, there wasn't a Republican or Democratic candidate who reported any money in the bank at all. That looks like a third term for Warren. Solid Democratic.

Michigan. Open; Debbie Stabenow (D) not seeking re-election. Filing deadline April 23. Primary Aug. 6. On the Democratic side, Lansing Rep. Elissa Slotkin faces a nominal challenge from attorney and actor Hill Harper, best known for his roles on *The Good Doctor* and *CSI:NY*. But Harper has struggled to raise money or gain traction against the former CIA officer, who had \$6 million in the bank on Dec. 31 compared to his \$154,000.

The Republican field is much less settled. Former Rep. Mike Rogers is the preferred candidate of the NRSC, which recruited him into the race. But that hasn't kept out several other contenders: former Rep. Peter Meijer, former Detroit Police Chief James Craig, and 2018 Senate candidate Sandy Pensler are all in the race. Former Rep. Justin Amash, who left the GOP to become a Libertarian, has also formed an exploratory committee to run in the primary.

Things are already heating up among the Republicans, with the NRSC engaging in a testy back-and-forth with Meijer (the scion of one of the wealthiest families in Michigan), who lost his western Michigan seat in a GOP primary after voting to impeach Trump in 2021. Rogers has a Super PAC in his corner that's already aired \$1.8 million in TV advertising, and Pensler is taking shots at the other candidates for being insufficiently loyal to Trump.

The biggest question at this point may be if Craig, the retired chief, can make it on the ballot. He's currently the polling frontrunner, at least in part because of his high-profile role in Detroit and his national platform as a Black, conservative law enforcement officer. But his 2022 gubernatorial campaign was a fiasco and he didn't make it on the ballot. He reported just \$28,000 in the bank on Dec. 31, far less than Pensler (\$1 million), Rogers (\$945,000) and Meijer (\$389,000).

A late primary means Republicans may spend valuable time and resources chipping away at each other while Slotkin runs as a general election candidate. This race is not as high a priority for Republicans, even as Biden's numbers in the state remain anemic. But the open seat, a race void of statewide elected officials and a competitive presidential race at the top of the ballot almost guarantees it will be close. Move from Lean Democratic to Tilt Democratic.

Target Insyght for MIRS, Jan. 4-10 (LVs) — GOP primary ballot: Craig 33%, Rogers 20%, Meijer 11%, Pensler 2%, Nikki Snyder 1%. Democratic primary ballot: Slotkin 65%, Harper 7%, Leslie Love 2%.

Glengarriff Group for Detroit News, Jan. 2-6 (LVs) — General election ballot: Craig over Slotkin, 38% - 36%. Slotkin and Meijer tied at 36%. Slotkin over Rogers, 38% - 37%.

Minnesota. Amy Klobuchar (DFL) elected 2006 (58%), 2012 (65%), 2018 (60%). Filing deadline June 4. Primary Aug. 13. Republicans are still searching for a credible challenger in case Biden's support

Continued on page 5

Continued from page 4

collapses at the top of the ticket and gives the GOP an unexpected takeover opportunity. But they don't have anyone yet. Klobuchar had \$5.1 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and not much standing in her way for a fourth term. Royce White, a Republican who played three games in the NBA and believes a specialty military weapon may have caused the fires in Maui, appears to still not have filed with the FEC despite being in the race since the summer. Solid Democratic.

Mississippi. Roger Wicker (R) appointed 2007, elected 2008 special (55%), 2012 (57%), 2018 (59%). Primary March 12, runoff (if necessary) April 2. Wicker isn't taking anything for granted. The senator has spent or is scheduled to spend \$835,000 in ads through the primary and an outside group, Elect Principled Veterans Fund, has spent nearly \$200,000 supporting him as well. Timothy Ghannon Burton, a retired Marine colonel and former fighter pilot, is running against Wicker in the primary, but has spent just \$2,000 on ads, according to AdImpact. Youth pastor/former state Rep. Dan Eubanks is also running but had just \$23,000 in the bank on Dec. 31 and hasn't aired ads yet. Wicker had \$5.4 million in the bank at the end of the year and realizes the primary is the only threat. Any Democratic hopes of making this race evaporated when they fell short yet again in the 2023 gubernatorial race. Democratic Senate candidate Ty Pinkins had \$3,000 in the bank on Dec. 31. Solid Republican.

Missouri. Josh Hawley (R) elected 2018 (51%). Filing deadline March 26. Primary Aug. 6. Lucas Kunce, the Marine veteran and antitrust advocate who narrowly lost the 2022 Democratic primary for the state's other Senate seat, has outraised Hawley two quarters in a row, though Hawley still had significantly more cash on hand at the end of December (\$4.9 million to \$2.2 million). Kunce has a compelling background and cultivates a populist image but faces an uphill climb in a state that has become inhospitable to Democrats. He received some welcome news when St. Louis County Prosecutor Wesley Bell dropped down from this race to run for Congress against Rep. Cori Bush in the 1st District (state Sen. Karla May is still in the Senate race but had just \$15,000 in the bank on Dec. 31). Solid Republican.



Lucas Kunce

Courtesy Kunce Campaign

Montana. Jon Tester (D) elected 2006 (49%), 2012 (49%), 2018 (50%). Filing deadline March 11. Primary June 4. This race entered a new phase Friday morning, with 2nd District Rep. Matt Rosendale making his long-awaited entrance. He joins former Navy SEAL Tim Sheehy in the GOP primary. Sheehy, who has been running since June and has support from the NRSC, Sen. Mitch McConnell, and Gov. Greg Gianforte, has already spent \$3.5 million on advertising. Democrats have been on the air as well, with a super PAC aligned with Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer spending \$6.8 million on anti-Sheehy ads and Tester himself spending \$5.8 million on positive advertising.

The looming Sheehy vs. Rosendale primary has the potential to get

nasty, especially given NRSC chairman/Montana Sen. Steve Daines' frosty relationship with Rosendale, who lost the 2018 race to Tester and who many national Republican strategists believe would be a weak general election candidate. Sheehy's allies believe that he has overtaken Rosendale



Tim Sheehy

Courtesy Sheehy Campaign

in polling following months of unanswered advertising, and that Rosendale's on-again, off-again relationship with Trump will hurt him with GOP primary voters, but Rosendale shouldn't be underestimated — he's won two statewide elections

and three statewide GOP primaries and remains popular. He'll probably have to step up his fundraising, though, especially now that his allies at the Club for Growth have signaled they are not as likely to invest in this race. Rosendale raised just \$92,000 from October through December of 2023. He did have more cash on hand on Dec. 31 than Sheehy (\$1.6 million versus \$1.3 million) and an even greater advantage when looking just at money that can be spent in a primary, but Sheehy is wealthy and could chip in personal funds if necessary.

Meanwhile, both parties are ramping up for one of the two most important Senate races in the country (along with Ohio). Two Democratic super PACs have reserved a combined \$45 million in ad time beginning in August, and two GOP super PACs have reserved a combined \$50 million in ad time over a similar schedule. Tester had \$11.2 million on Dec. 31, but is already starting to spend on TV advertising himself. Republicans acknowledge that Tester has a positive brand in the state, but they'll make that case that he's changed after 18 years in the Senate. Overcoming a likely double-digit loss by Biden in the state at the top of the ticket won't be easy for Tester. Toss-up.

coefficient (R), Nov. 12-14 (LVs)(live caller/texts) — GOP primary ballot: Sheehy over Rosendale, 40% - 24%

Fabrizio Lee & Associates (R), Oct. 23-25 (LVs)(live caller/texts) — GOP primary ballot: Sheehy 38%, Rosendale 35%, Brad Johnson 6%.

Nebraska. Deb Fischer (R) elected 2012 (58%), 2018 (58%). Filing Deadline March 1. Primary May 14. Fischer had \$3.3 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and no Democratic opponent. Independent Dan Osborn, who led a high-profile strike at the Kellogg plant in Omaha in 2021 as president of the labor union, has support from the Democratic Party but had just \$75,000 at the end of the year. A poll from a Democratic firm found Osborn leading Fischer within the margin of error, but for now that's an outlier, and Fischer has plenty of money — \$3.2 million on Dec. 31 — to campaign if she needs to. Solid Republican.

Change Research (D) for Nebraska Railroaders for Public Safety, Nov. 13-16 (LVs) — General election ballot: Osborn over Fischer, 40% - 38%.

Nebraska Special. Pete Ricketts (R) appointed 2023. Filing Deadline March 1. Primary May 14. Since he was appointed, there was a chance Ricketts would face a primary from a disgruntled politico who didn't get the nod, but it doesn't look like that's going to materialize. Ricketts had \$1.8 million in his campaign account on Dec. 31, but

Continued on page 6

Continued from page 5

effectively unlimited personal money to make any challengers think twice before mounting a campaign. Solid Republican.

Nevada. Jacky Rosen (D) elected 2018 (50%). Filing deadline March 15. Primary June 11. Nevada is a bit of a white whale for Republicans, who haven't won a Senate race since 2012 but come close every time. The fundamentals of the state will make it an attractive target again this year. Strategists in both parties expect a close presidential race, and Rosen will have to wrestle with the transient nature of Nevada's population by introducing herself to voters who weren't even residents the last time she was on the ballot. As much as a third of the state's population is new since her election in 2018.

Republicans have a primary to sort through. Army veteran Sam Brown far outpaced his rivals in fundraising; the 2022 candidate reported \$1.7 million in the bank on Dec. 31 compared to \$57,000 for former state Assemblyman Jim Marchant, \$56,000 for Air Force veteran Tony Grady and \$29,000 former Ambassador to Iceland Jeff Gunter. None of the candidates are particularly well known, but Brown's financial advantage — which also includes a super PAC funded by billionaire David Duffield — means he's the only candidate with the ability to introduce himself in the expensive Las Vegas media market. Democrats made clear how important they see this state when WinSenate, a newly created Democratic super PAC that won't have to disclose its donors for another month, reserved \$35 million in advertising to run from mid-July through Election Day. Tilt Democratic.

The Tarrance Group (R) for the NRSC, Oct. 23-26 (LVs)(live caller) — GOP primary ballot: Brown 24%, Marchant 9%, Grady 5%, Gunter 1%.

New Jersey. Bob Menendez (D) appointed 2006, elected 2006 (53%), 2012 (58%), 2018 (54%). Filing deadline March 25. Primary June 4. Menendez shows no signs of resigning from office after being indicted by federal prosecutors on charges of taking bribes from foreign governments to influence U.S. policy. He maintains his innocence and has signaled that he plans to fight the charges in court. But while the Democrat has been quiet on his 2024 plans, the race has progressed without him, and he polls in the single digits in the Democratic primary.

Rep. Andy Kim was the first to launch a challenge to Menendez and picked up endorsements from some liberal groups including VoteVets and End Citizens United. New Jersey First Lady Tammy Murphy followed Kim into the race, quickly locked down support from much of the state's congressional delegation and has secured important endorsements from county party leaders across the state. The next stage of this primary battle is for the various "county lines" that give candidates preferential ballot placement. The first such contest, in Monmouth County, takes place this weekend and will be a test of Kim's grassroots strength.

Both candidates are evenly matched financially, each reporting roughly \$2.7 million in the bank on Dec. 31. Murphy, a wealthy former Goldman Sachs banker, has said she does not intend to self-fund her bid. The most notable Republican in the race is Mendham Borough Mayor Christine Serrano Glaser (who had \$265,000 at the end of the year). It's increasingly clear that Democratic voters will have moved on from Menendez by the time the general election rolls around, and that's good news for the party. Move from Likely Democratic to Solid Democratic.

Braun Research for Fairleigh Dickinson Univ., Jan. 21-28 (LVs)(live caller/text) — Democratic primary ballot: Kim 32%, Murphy 20%, Menendez 9%, Patricia Campos-Medina 8%.

Breakthrough Campaigns (D) for Kim, Dec. 7-14 (LVs) — Democratic primary ballot: Kim 45%, Murphy 22%, Menendez 6%, Larry Hamm 4%.

New Mexico. Martin Heinrich (D) elected 2012 (51%), 2018 (54%). Primary June 4. National GOP strategists are bullish on their recruit in this race: Nella Domenici, the former CFO of the hedge fund Bridgewater and the daughter of the late Sen. Pete Domenici. The senior Domenici was the last Republican to win a Senate race here, back in 2002, and Democrats are salivating at the opportunity to use Nella Domenici's time away from the state and career in finance against her (another



Courtesy Domenici Campaign

Nella Domenici

former Bridgewater executive, Dave McCormick, took serious heat for his tenure as CEO when he ran for Senate in Pennsylvania last cycle). Domenici, who could put personal money into the inexpensive state, will have to

get past former Albuquerque sheriff Manny Gonzales in the primary first. Gonzales is a former Democrat who was named in a recent federal investigation into a gun trafficking operation. The race could get more competitive, but isn't on the battleground yet. Solid Democratic.

New York. Kirsten Gillibrand (D) appointed 2009, elected 2010 special (63%), 2012 (72%), 2018 (67%). Filing deadline April. Primary June 25. Much of the political drama in the Empire State continues to be on the House side with more than a handful of critical general election races and some interesting primaries. Meanwhile, Gillibrand had \$9.2 million in the bank on Dec. 31. In the primary, former Andrew Cuomo staffer William Schweitzer had \$2,600 and human rights activist Khaled Salem had \$18,700. In the general election, businessman Josh Eisen had \$208,000 and no other Republican had more than \$250. Eisen is co-chairman of the George Pataki Foundation and received 1.9 percent as a third-party candidate in the 17th District in 2020. Solid Democratic.

North Dakota. Kevin Cramer (R) elected 2018 (55%). Filing deadline April 8. Primary June 11. The only uncertainty is whether Cramer opts to run for governor, now that incumbent Doug Burgum is not seeking re-election. But if Cramer runs for re-election, he shouldn't have a problem. He had \$2.5 million in the bank on Dec. 31 compared to Democrat Katrina Christansen's \$62,000. Christansen, an engineering professor at University of Jamestown, won 25 percent in the 2022 Senate race. Solid Republican.

Ohio. Sherrod Brown (D) elected 2006 (56%), 2012 (51%), 2018 (53%). Primary March 19. Cleveland businessman Bernie Moreno received a big boost when he secured an endorsement from Trump, whose selection last cycle of J.D. Vance elevated the now-senator to the top of the GOP primary (Moreno's daughter is a former Trump staffer). Moreno, who also ran in the 2022 primary but dropped out at Trump's urging, has spent \$5.3 million on advertising so far, and loaned his own campaign \$3 million. His main challenger in the race is probably state Sen. Matt Dolan, the runner-

Continued on page 7

Continued from page 6

up in the 2022 primary and a member of the wealthy family that owns the Cleveland Guardians MLB team. Dolan has contributed \$7 million to his campaign and has already spent \$6 million on advertising. The third candidate, Secretary of State Frank LaRose, has won several statewide elections before but cannot compete with the others financially; he reported just \$771,000 in the bank on Dec. 31. While LaRose was the early polling leader, that was likely a function of name recognition, and he will be heavily outspent by both Moreno and Dolan (and Moreno's allies at the Club for Growth) over the last month of the election.

National Republicans got a jump-start on the general election too; the McConnell-aligned Senate Leadership Fund and its affiliate American Crossroads have reserved \$62 million in ad time for the fall. Democrats have not yet made any reservations, but party strategists believe that Brown's working class brand is still strong, and also believe they have all three GOP contenders dead to rights on abortion issues. Brown had \$14.6 million in the bank on Dec. 31. Toss-up.

Emerson College, Jan. 23-25 (RVs)(mixed mode)— GOP primary ballot: Moreno 22%, LaRose 21%, Dolan 15%.

McLaughlin & Associates (R) for Buckeye Values PAC (pro-Moreno), Dec. 12-14 (LVs)— GOP primary ballot: Moreno 22%, LaRose 18%, Dolan 16%.

SurveyUSA for Center for Election Science, Dec. 8-12 (LVs)(online)— GOP primary ballot: LaRose 22%, Dolan 18%, Moreno 12%.

Fabrizio, Lee & Associates (R) for Moreno, Dec. 3-5 (LVs)— GOP primary ballot: Moreno 23%, LaRose 19%, Dolan 18%.

Pennsylvania. Bob Casey, Jr. (D) elected 2006 (59%), 2012 (54%), 2018 (56%). Filing deadline February 20. Primary April 23. Republicans effectively cleared the field for former Bridgewater hedge fund CEO David McCormick, who narrowly lost the 2022 GOP primary for the state's other Senate seat. (Brandi Tomasetti, the secretary and treasurer for Conestoga Township in Lancaster County, is also running but unlikely to be a factor.) GOP strategists like McCormick's ability to self-fund — he spent \$15 million of his own money on his 2022 bid — and his deep-pocketed friends who have already pumped \$18 million into an allied super PAC. Democrats like their extensive opposition research book on the wealthy Republican, some of which was already explored in 2022 when allies of Dr. Mehmet Oz torched McCormick over his business dealings in China, and the opportunity to call into question McCormick's current ties to the state, where he owns property but hasn't spent much time recently (he owns property there but the AP reported last August that he lives primarily in Connecticut, a circumstance his campaign pins on his daughters, who are completing high school there). Republicans have their own plans to target the business dealings of Casey's family, but it remains to be seen if those attacks counteract Casey's deep history in the state — he's the only person to win six statewide elections in Pennsylvania, three as senator, one as treasurer, and two as auditor. For now, he holds a lead in polling over McCormick, but there hasn't been any paid media yet. Tilt Democratic.

Susquehanna Polling & Research (R), Jan. 15-21 (LVs)— General election ballot: Casey over McCormick, 46% - 42%.

Quinnipiac University, Jan. 4-8 (RVs)(live caller)— General election ballot: Casey over McCormick, 52% - 43%.

Rhode Island. Sheldon Whitehouse (D) elected 2006 (54%), 2012 (65%), 2018 (61%). Filing deadline June 26. Primary Sept. 10. Whitehouse had \$3.4 million in the bank on Dec. 31 on his way to a

fourth term. Former state House Minority Leader Patricia Morgan, who is controversial in GOP circles after she endorsed an independent candidate for governor in 2018 over the GOP nominee, had \$51,000 and political consultant Ray McKay had \$23,000. Solid Democratic.

Tennessee. Marsha Blackburn (R) elected 2018 (55%). Filing deadline April 4. Primary Aug 1. Runoff Aug. 31. Democratic state Rep. Gloria Johnson has used her national profile to her fundraising advantage; the member of the "Tennessee Three" that faced expulsion votes for their role in protesting gun violence has raised more than \$1 million in each of her two fundraising quarters in the race so far. But there's probably no amount of money that can make a Democrat competitive statewide in Tennessee right now. Johnson will also have to keep an eye out for 2020 nominee Marquita Bradshaw, who is running again. Though she only reported \$2,400 in the bank on Dec. 31, Bradshaw has shocked before — in 2020, she won the Democratic primary after being outspent 1,000-to-1 by the DSCC-endorsed candidate. Blackburn is taking the race seriously and had stockpiled \$7.4 million on Dec. 31. Solid Republican.

Texas. Ted Cruz (R) elected 2012 (56%), 2018 (51%). Primary March 5. Runoff May 28. Rep. Colin Allred is still the frontrunner for the Democratic nomination, but it's not obvious if he'll clear the majority threshold necessary to avoid a runoff against his top opponent, state Sen.



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

Colin Allred

Roland Gutierrez, who represents Uvalde. Gutierrez has an endorsement from the Latino Victory Fund, and candidates with Hispanic surnames tend to do well in Texas primaries. But Allred has a massive fundraising

advantage — \$10.1 million in the bank on Dec. 31 compared to \$315,000 for Gutierrez — and backing from influential groups such as the Texas AFL-CIO. Allred is the only candidate airing TV ads, with a \$1 million buy starting January 16 across the Dallas and Houston markets. Dallas County state Rep. Carl Sherman and Nueces County District Attorney Mark Gonzalez are both running in the primary as well but neither have raised enough money to be competitive.

Allred has more money in the bank than Cruz, who reported \$6.2 million on Dec. 31, and if he can wrap up the nomination in March rather than May it bodes better for his underdog bid against the Republican; Democrats still blame a late and testy runoff for 2020 nominee MJ Hegar's inability to seriously challenge Sen. John Cornyn. While Texas is Democrats' best shot at flipping a GOP-held seat, it's a massive state with multiple expensive media markets, and with the national party on defense elsewhere, Allred may not get overwhelming outside support. But he should be able to fundraise from a national donor base given Cruz's unpopularity among Democrats, similar to how Beto O'Rourke raised a then-record amount against Cruz in 2018. Ultimately, Allred likely needs the presidential election at the top of the ticket to be a few points closer than it was in 2020, when Biden lost by 5.5 points, in order

Continued on page 8

Continued from page 7

to have a real shot at taking out Cruz. Likely Republican.

YouGov for University of Houston, Jan. 11-24 (LVs)(online)— General election ballot: Cruz over Allred, 48% - 39%; Cruz over Gutierrez, 48% - 38%. Democratic primary ballot: Allred 40%, Gutierrez 12%, Meri Gomez 4%, Gonzalez 2%, Sherman 1%, Robert Hassan 1%, Steven Keough 1%, Heli Rodriguez Prilliman 1%. Democratic primary runoff: Allred over Gutierrez, 46% - 26%.

Utah. Open; Mitt Romney (R) not seeking re-election. Filing deadline March 21. Primary June 25. The GOP field got a significant shakeup when Rep. John Curtis reversed track and jumped into the contest after previously saying he would stay out. Curtis leads in the limited public polling, but former state House Speaker Brad Wilson already has endorsements from the state's governor and most state legislators. Wilson also has a fundraising advantage, reporting \$2.1 million in the bank on Dec. 31 compared to Curtis's \$1.1 million; Wilson has loaned his

campaign \$1.8 million. Riverton (pop. 45,000) Mayor Trent Staggs is also in the mix, with support from Trump allies such as activist Charlie Kirk and Ric Grenell, the former acting Director of National Intelligence. Staggs reported \$503,000 in the bank on Dec. 31.

The race's biggest wildcard might be Brent Orrin Hatch, an attorney whose father held this seat for 42 years. Hatch was a recent entrant into the race and doesn't have a political base like the other contenders, and it remains to be seen if he can raise significant money. But his last name makes him a factor in the race — he polled in second place behind Curtis in a recent *Deseret News* survey. An April 27 convention could winnow the sizable field down to those with grassroots support and/or the political operation necessary to secure 28,000 signatures to make it on the ballot directly. Solid Republican.

Dan Jones & Associates for the Deseret News, Jan. 16-21 (RVs)— GOP primary ballot: Curtis 18%, Hatch 14%, Wilson 8%, Staggs 3%, Josh Randall 2%, Carolyn Phippen 1%, Brian Jenkins 1%, Jason Walton 1%.

Vermont. Bernie Sanders (I) elected 2006 (65%), 2012 (71%), 2018 (67%). Filing deadline May 30. Primary Aug. 13. Sanders, 82, is expected to run for a fourth term and had \$9.5 million in his campaign account at the end of the year. If he doesn't run, Democrats are likely to win the seat. Republican Gerald Malloy received 28 percent in the 2022 race and had \$27 cash-on-hand at the end of the year for this race. Solid Democratic.

Virginia. Tim Kaine (D) elected 2012 (53%), 2018 (57%). Filing deadline April 11. Primary June 18. Nearly a dozen Republicans have filed to take on Kaine, but the only ones who look like they have the resources to run a statewide campaign are Navy veteran Hung Cao and former Club for Growth vice president Scott Parkinson, who reported \$528,000 and \$431,000 in the bank, respectively, on Dec. 31; Cao, a later entrant, continues to raise much more money than Parkinson, pulling in \$490,000 over the last three months of 2023 to Parkinson's \$112,000.



John Curtis

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

But either one will be hard-pressed to win against Kaine, a popular incumbent with \$7.7 million in the bank — especially with Trump at the top of the ticket. Solid Democratic.

Washington. Maria Cantwell (D) elected 2000 (49%), 2006 (57%), 2012 (60%), 2018 (58%). Filing deadline May 17. Primary Aug. 6. GOP strategists don't even mention Washington when thinking about long-shot opportunities. Cantwell had \$5.4 million in the bank on Dec. 31 and personal money if necessary. Republican Raul Garcia, a physician who received 5.4 percent in the 2020 primary governor, had just \$111,000 cash-on-hand at the end of the year. Republicans' best shot at breaking their drought in the Pacific Northwest is former Rep. Dave Reichert in this year's race for governor. Solid Democratic.

West Virginia. Open; Joe Manchin (D) not seeking re-election. Primary May 14. Gov. Jim Justice is the heavy favorite in the GOP primary, which is the most important contest now that Manchin has made clear he's not running for re-election. Manchin was the only Democrat with a hope of holding this seat given the state's heavy Republican bent. Justice still faces Rep. Alex Mooney in the primary, though he has a hefty polling advantage and the support of Senate leadership in Washington, D.C. The McConnell-aligned Senate Leadership Fund recently transferred \$895,000 to a pro-Justice super PAC, and a new super PAC funded by cryptocurrency interests has also begun spending on pro-Justice advertisements.

Mooney, meanwhile, has endorsements from several senators who often clash with leadership, such as Texas Sen. Ted Cruz, Kentucky Sen. Rand Paul, and Utah Sen. Mike Lee. But his most crucial backer, the anti-tax Club for Growth, is still unengaged in this race; the deep-pocketed organization had pledged to spend \$15 million on his behalf, but other than a tiny advertising buy last year has been uninvolved. If Mooney wants any shot at overtaking Justice he'll need the full force of the Club behind him. Solid Republican.

American Pulse Research & Polling (R) for WMOV, Nov. 13-14 (LVs)— GOP primary ballot: Justice over Mooney, 46% - 20%.

Wisconsin. Tammy Baldwin (D) elected 2012 (51%), 2018 (55%). Filing deadline June 1. Primary Aug. 13. At this point, Godot might show up before Republican Eric Hovde makes his long-anticipated entrance into this race. For months, national strategists have been saying the wealthy real estate development/2012 Senate candidate was on the verge of jumping in, but it hasn't happened yet, though *WisPolitics* reported he's bringing on staff. That is not stopping Democrats from unloading opposition research on Hovde, who could put serious personal money behind his bid, perhaps as much as \$20 million. Former staffing company CEO Scott Mayer could run as well. And former Milwaukee Sheriff David Clarke insists he is still making his mind up too, though he'd be the weakest general election candidate for Republicans. Wisconsin is shaping up to be another nailbiter on the presidential level, but Republicans can't beat Baldwin, who had \$8 million on Dec. 31, with nobody, and that's who they have right now. Lean Democratic.

Wyoming. John Barrasso (R) appointed 2007, elected 2008 special (73%), 2012 (76%), 2018 (67%). Filing deadline May 31. Primary Aug. 20. Barrasso's one primary challenger, Casper financial adviser Reid Rasner, had just \$52,000 in the bank on Dec. 31. That's not going to scare the number three GOP senator who had \$6.7 million and is a potential successor to Mitch McConnell as the Republican leader of the Senate. Solid Republican. **IE**

New York 3 Special: On Weekends, We Campaign

By Jacob Rubashkin

GLEN COVE, N.Y.— Two weeks before the most important special election of the cycle, a solitary Tom Suozzi for Congress staffer sat at a folding table at a campaign headquarters in New York’s 3rd District. Behind him loomed empty shelves bearing signs for GNC supplements and one-hour photo development, a reminder of the massive space’s previous tenant.

The Monday morning scene in a former Rite Aid tucked between a Petco and a liquor store in a Glen Cove shopping center, was mirrored at similarly quiet Suozzi outposts across the district: a former carpet cleaner overlooking Manhasset Bay in Port Washington, a storefront in Bayside, Queens just steps away from a Ben’s Kosher Deli (try the Cel-Ray soda, it counts as a vegetable).



Tom Suozzi

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

[Editor’s Note: This story was first published online on Feb. 2. The election is Feb. 13.]

Suozzi is the Democratic nominee for the special election in New York’s 3rd District, where 15 months ago voters sent George Santos to Congress and on Feb. 13 will get a mulligan on that decision.

The election has significant national implications — House Republicans hold just a five-seat majority, but between resignations and health-related absences, the GOP’s working majority is often just one or two votes. But the energy on the ground doesn’t always appear to match the stakes, and some Democrats are growing concerned that a lack of enthusiasm may diminish their chances against a formidable Republican machine that has won the area in nearly every competitive local, state and federal election since Joe Biden carried the district in 2020.

“I worry that people in my party look at this district and see the presidential result, and see Suozzi, and assume it’s going to be an easy victory,” one senior New York Democrat told *Inside Elections*. “But I think it’s going to be very, very tight.”

Democrats know that their path runs squarely through blue districts in New York and California districts such as this one. A win here would not only mean getting a head start on that project, but would also cut down on the number of seats Democrats have to flip elsewhere to get to 218 members.

On one level, the contest has all the trappings of a competitive race. It has attracted millions of dollars in TV ad spending from both parties, \$9.8 million through February 1 per AdImpact, with several million more to come, and in one evening news broadcast you can catch spots from both candidates and their allied super PACs in one commercial break. Residents’ mailboxes are probably groaning under the weight of all the literature being distributed. And you can’t drive very far along Port Washington Boulevard without seeing signs for Suozzi and Mazi Pilip, the Republican nominee, though more often you’ll find them in public spaces — traffic medians and intersections — rather than in front lawns.

But with just 14 days to go before Election Day, the district was, all things considered, pretty quiet — especially during the week, when

neither candidate is holding public events. On Monday, a scheduled canvassing event in Suozzi’s hometown of Glen Cove brought out one person to the campaign’s office.

Several local Democratic activists and leaders grouched that attendance at events and for volunteer canvassing was lacking, especially when compared to Pilip.

“I would have thought that people would be more tuned in to how important this Democratic seat is,” one longtime local official and party activist told *Inside Elections*.

“In person, he’s very charming, he can wow people,” the activist said of Suozzi, but that doesn’t help when “[Pilip] gets 800 people in a crowd and we get 50.”

Not everyone feels that way. “You do feel, wherever you go, there’s an energy and urgency,” said Jon Kaiman, a former North Hempstead town supervisor and Democratic candidate for this seat in 2022. “You don’t necessarily see it, but you feel it.”

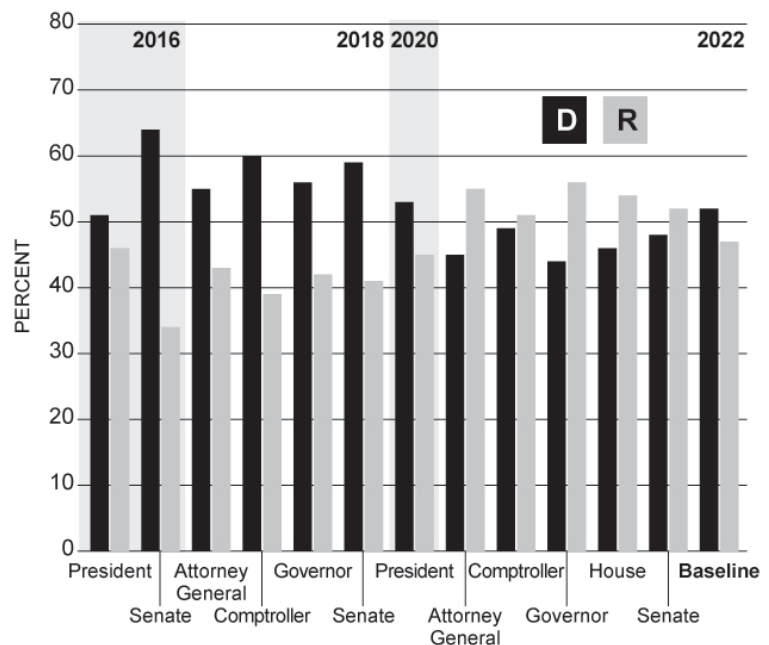
Suozzi also doesn’t lack for paid ground canvassing support; the League of Conservation and the hotel unions have reported spending roughly \$860,000 on canvassing expenses.

And former Nassau County Executive Laura Curran lauded Suozzi’s approach to politicking the district’s diverse political constituencies. “Tom may be the only Democrat who can win this race,” she told *Inside Elections* over coffee at a diner in Baldwin, just south of the district. She pointed to his schedule on the previous Sunday, which saw him attend an event calling for the release of hostages held by Hamas in Gaza, followed by appearances at a Dim Sum, a Korean church, and meetings with Tibetan and Indian leaders.

Both Suozzi and Pilip’s campaigns say the weekends are where the action is (“much better for coverage,” said one Suozzi advisor). The

Continued on page 10

Statewide Election Results for New York’s 3rd District



weekend of January 27, Pilip’s campaign hosted a big rally with several Republican members of Congress, though the candidate herself was a no-show; for some reason the rally was scheduled on a Saturday, and Pilip, who is an Orthodox Jew, did not attend. Suozzi is planning an event with House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries the first weekend in February to kick off early voting.

But with less than two weeks to go before Election Day, that means just four days of weekend campaigning (and that’s including Super Bowl Sunday) compared to 10 days of weekday quiet, including Election Day.

That’s a far cry from the hubbub that has surrounded some of the most significant House special elections in recent memory:

Democrat Conor Lamb’s victory in Pennsylvania’s ruby-red 18th District in 2018, Jon Ossoff’s narrow loss in

Georgia’s 6th the year before, and several races in New York, including upstate wins by Bill Owens and now-Gov. Kathy Hochul in 2009 and 2011.

“There’s typically a very high level of engagement, not only in the district but also engaging out-of-district volunteers to knock doors and make phone calls,” said one national Democratic strategist with extensive experience in special elections. “They usually will send phone banking volunteer asks, and I haven’t gotten any of that,” they said, “which is just kind of weird, actually.”

“Specials I’ve been involved with have had a lot of activity, and felt all-consuming in the weeks leading up to it,” said another Democratic consultant who played a central role in several House special election victories.

“I would have thought there would be more activity, but I can understand why there might not be,” the consultant said, “I don’t think the DCCC or the NRCC really want to be making this a bellwether race.”

In the tradition of special elections, that will be the case until one of them wins, after which the result will be recast by the winner as evidence of momentum, and a harbinger of electoral doom for the loser.

But if Democrats want to get to that point, they have to win the election. And even the local and national Democrats skeptical of ultimately believe that Suozzi will win, given his name ID and financial advantages over the less experienced Pilip, and the desire among the district’s hard-core Democrats to win back something on Long Island.

But that doesn’t mean they’re going to stop worrying.

“The worst thing is apathy,” said the local official and activist, “and if we don’t get the people excited in the next two weeks, we’re going to get clobbered.”



Mazi Pilip

Courtesy Pilip Campaign

2024 House Open Seats

District	Outgoing Member	2022 Result	2020 Presidential Result	Rating
AL-02	Barry Moore (R)	New	Biden 56%	Likely Democratic
AZ-03	Ruben Gallego (D)	77%	Biden 75%	Solid Democratic
AZ-08	Debbie Lesko (R)	96%	Trump 56%	Solid Republican
CA-12	Barbara Lee (D)	91%	Biden 89%	Solid Democratic
CA-16	Anna Eshoo (D)	58%	Biden 75%	Solid Democratic
CA-29	Tony Cardenas (D)	59%	Biden 75%	Solid Democratic
CA-30	Adam Schiff (D)	71%	Biden 72%	Solid Democratic
CA-31	Grace Napolitano (D)	60%	Biden 65%	Solid Democratic
CA-47	Katie Porter (D)	52%	Biden 55%	Tilt Democratic
CO-03	Lauren Boebert (R)	50%	Trump 53%	Tilt Republican
CO-04	Ken Buck (R)	61%	Trump 58%	Solid Republican
CO-05	Doug Lamborn (R)	56%	Trump 53%	Solid Republican
DE-AL	Lisa Blunt Rochester (D)	56%	Biden 59%	Solid Democratic
GA-03	Drew Ferguson (R)	69%	Trump 64%	Sold Republican
IN-03	Jim Banks (R)	65%	Trump 64%	Solid Republican
IN-06	Greg Pence (R)	68%	Trump 65%	Solid Republican
IN-08	Larry Buschon (R)	66%	Trump 66%	Solid Republican
MD-02	Dutch Ruppersberger (D)	57%	Biden 59%	Solid Democratic
MD-03	John Sarbanes (D)	60%	Biden 62%	Solid Democratic
MD-06	David Trone (D)	55%	Biden 54%	Likely Democratic
MI-07	Elissa Slotkin (D)	52%	Biden 49.4%	Toss-up
MI-08	Dan Kildee (D)	53%	Biden 50.3%	Tilt Democratic
MN-03	Dean Phillips (DFL)	60%	Biden 60%	Solid Democratic
MO-03	Blaine Luetkemeyer (R)	65%	Trump 62%	Solid Republican
NC-06	Kathy Manning (D)	New	Trump 57%	Likely Republican
NC-08	Dan Bishop (R)	New	Trump 57%	Solid Republican
NC-10	Patrick McHenry (R)	New	Trump 58%	Solid Republican
NC-13	Wiley Nickel (D)	New	Trump 55%	Likely Republican
NC-14	Jeff Jackson (D)	New	Trump 57%	Likely Republican
ND-AL	Kelly Armstrong	62%	Trump 65%	Solid Republican
NJ-03	Andy Kim (D)	56%	Biden 56%	Solid Democratic
OH-02	Brad Wenstrup (R)	75%	Trump 72%	Solid Republican
OR-03	Earl Blumenauer (D)	70%	Biden 73%	Solid Democratic
SC-03	Jeff Duncan (R)	98%	Trump 68%	Solid Republican
TX-12	Kay Granger (R)	64%	Trump 58%	Solid Republican
TX-26	Michael Burgess (R)	69%	Trump 59%	Solid Republican
TX-32	Colin Allred (D)	65%	Biden 66%	Solid Democratic
UT-03	John Curtis (R)	64%	Trump 58%	Solid Republican
VA-07	Abigail Spanberger (D)	52%	Biden 53%	Tilt Democratic
VA-10	Jennifer Wexton (D)	53%	Biden 58%	Likely Democratic
WA-05	Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R)	60%	Trump 53%	Solid Republican
WA-06	Derek Kilmer (D)	60%	Biden 57%	Solid Democratic
WV-02	Alex Mooney (R)	66%	Trump 68%	Solid Republican

Inside Elections Podcast: Episode 15

Nathan, Jacob, and Politico’s Melanie Mason discuss the upcoming Senate and House primaries in California on March 5. It’s available on all major podcast platforms and YouTube.

The *Inside Elections Podcast* is sponsored by George Washington University’s Graduate School of Political Management.