



TIME FOR A
NEW GENERATION?

The

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Time for a New Generation in the White House?

Every 30 years or so of late, there has been a generational change in the White House.

In 1960, the election of John F. Kennedy ushered into the presidency members of the “greatest generation” – raised during the Depression and prime combatants during World War II.

In 1992, the election of Bill Clinton flipped the White House to the “baby boom” generation – steeped in the Great Society, urban race riots, and the war in Vietnam.

Now, by the calendar, it may be time for a new generation to take the helm. It could be in the presidential election of 2020, almost certainly in 2024. And it would be “Generation X” into whose hands the presidency would likely be handed. (For the record, the birth years for baby boomers runs from 1946 to 1964; that of “Generation Xers” begins in 1965.)

Generally, the transition to a new generation of leadership is fueled by a strong feeling among voters that it is time for a change in the nation’s politics, with a need for fresh faces with fresh perspectives. In addition, a “change of generation” election often features a sharp contrast in age between an elderly outgoing president and a relatively young new one.

In 1960, the outgoing president, Republican Dwight D Eisenhower, was 70 years old at the time of the election, having cultivated an avuncular, grandfatherly persona that made him seem at least that old throughout his eight-year presidency. Having successfully led the Allied forces in Europe during World War II with a host of those in “the greatest generation” under his command, Ike was a respected elder statesman and war hero.

But he was also publicly dogged by health issues that included several heart attacks during his presidency. His successor, Democrat Kennedy, had some hidden health problems of his own. But at 43, JFK was able to project himself as the embodiment of physical vigor and the champion of an energetic new generation ready to assume national leadership.

In his inaugural address in January 1961, the young president articulated the meaning of the generational change that was taking place: “Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans – born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage...”

In 1992, the difference in age between the outgoing president and the incoming one was much the same as it was three decades earlier. Republican incumbent George H.W. Bush, age 68, was defeated by Democrat Bill Clinton, 46. Bush had served with distinction at the end of World War II before beginning a long career in business and then politics. For the much younger Clinton, the military conflict of his generation involved the murky war in Vietnam that divided the country. Clinton had to weather charges during the campaign that he was a draft dodger. But he was able to sell himself as a smart, well-spoken “people” person and policy wonk, whose generation (the baby boomers) represented the future, not the past.

The latter was underscored in his campaign song (appropriated from Fleetwood Mac): “Don’t Stop Thinking About Tomorrow,” which featured the refrain: “Yesterday’s gone, yesterday’s

gone.” Timely pictures from 1963 linked Clinton to JFK. They showed a teen-age Clinton shaking hands with Kennedy in a get together outside the White House with representatives of Boys Nation, of which Clinton was a part.

Another generational change in the presidency could be shaping up for 2020. The incumbent, the now 73-year-old Donald Trump, was the nation’s oldest president at the time of his inauguration almost three years ago. Yet to be sure, he hardly fits the part of an elder statesman. More like a boundless whirling dervish sowing chaos throughout the government, say his critics. As such, he appears to some to be more like a wayward adolescent than an aging codger. Even the threat of House impeachment has left Trump appearing more combative than emotionally or medically spent.

There are plenty of younger Democrats from “Generation X” that are bidding to take on Trump. Among them are Sen. Cory Booker of New Jersey, who turned 50 in April; former Rep. Beto O’Rourke of Texas, age 47; former Housing and Urban Development Secretary Julian Castro, 45, and tech savvy Andrew Yang, 44. Ironically, Sen. Kamala Harris of California, who is currently 55, was born in 1964 and is from the tail end of the baby boom era, as is Sen. Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota, who is 59.

The youngest candidate in the Democratic field, South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg, may be the most apt representative of generational change. A boyish-looking 37, Buttigieg is a Rhodes Scholar and veteran of the war in Afghanistan, as well as being knowledgeable, articulate, and gay. His sexual orientation may be the proverbial “bridge too far” for many “traditional” voters, but it has helped make Buttigieg a prodigious fund raiser and a presence in the polls in early-voting states.

Recent Generational Cycles in the White House: From 'The Greatest Generation' to 'Baby Boomers'

Might it be time for not just a change in the presidency next year, but a change in the generation leading the country? Since the election of Bill Clinton in 1992, or almost 28 years ago, “baby boomers” have occupied the White House. In a 32-year span before that, beginning with the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960, presidents were members of “the greatest generation,” linked by service in the military during World War II. Meanwhile, “baby boomers” were the immediate post-World War II generation, with birth years from 1946 to 1964. President Donald Trump is part of this generation. However, if he is not reelected, and the victorious presidential candidate next year is born after 1964 (age 55 or less in 2020), there would be a shift to a new generation of national leadership in the White House.

“The Greatest Generation”				“The Baby Boomers”		
President	Birth year	First elected (or assumed office)	Branch of service in WWII	President	Birth year	First elected (or assumed office)
John F. Kennedy (D)	1917	1960	Navy	Bill Clinton (D)	1946	1992
Lyndon B. Johnson (D)	1908	1963	Navy	George W. Bush (R)	1946	2000
Richard Nixon (R)	1913	1968	Navy	Barack Obama (D)	1961	2008
Gerald Ford (R)	1913	1974	Navy	Donald Trump (R)	1946	2016
Jimmy Carter (D)	1924	1976	Navy			
Ronald Reagan (R)	1911	1980	Army			
George Bush (R)	1924	1988	Navy			

He has embraced the theme that it is time for a new generation of leadership. “Pete belongs to the generation that came of age with school shootings,” his campaign web site says, “the generation that provided the majority of the troops in the conflicts after 9/11, the generation that is on the business end of climate change, and the generation that – unless we take action – stands to be the first to be worse off economically than their parents.

For the record, Buttigieg is actually part of the generation after Generation X, the “Millenials.” The span of various generations since the baby boomers can sometimes seem a bit murky. But those born from 1965 to 1980 are widely considered to be Generation Xers, while others born from 1981 to 1996 are generally seen to be Millenials. Born in 1981 and 1982, respectively, both Democratic Rep. Tulsi Gabbard and Buttigieg fall in the Millenial category.

Both of the younger generations that follow the baby boomers bear the imprint of 9/11 and the wars in the Middle East, yet also boast of an ability to thrive in the new high-tech economy and a culture that increasingly embraces diversity.

Yet to oppose Trump, Democrats might end up nominating someone roughly his age, as they did in 2016 when they fielded Hillary Rodham Clinton, who was 69 at the time of that year’s election.

This cycle, the leaders in the Democratic presidential field are a trio of septuagenarians. It is a number that includes Sen. Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, 70, former Vice President Joe Biden, who turns 77 in November, and Sen. Bernie Sanders of Vermont, who at 78 is the oldest candidate in the race, Democrat or Republican. For what it is worth, both Sanders and Biden are more than twice as old as Buttigieg.

Current Ages of 2020 Presidential Candidates

The ages of the 2020 Democratic presidential field extend across the spectrum from Pete Buttigieg, who is just two years older than the constitutional minimum of 35 required to be president, to Bernie Sanders and Joe Biden, who are more than twice as old as Buttigieg. Meanwhile, five candidates - three Democrats and two Republicans - are septuagenarians. It is a number that includes Donald Trump, who as the incumbent is indicated by an asterisk (*). The age divide between generations is 55. Candidates that age or older are “baby boomers.” Those in the presidential race that are younger than 55 are widely considered to be a part of “Generation X,” while those currently under 39 are often tagged as “Millenials.” Candidate ages are as of Oct. 31, 2019

30s	Age	40s	Age	50s	Age	60s	Age	70s	Age
Pete Buttigieg	37	Andrew Yang	44	Cory Booker	50	Tom Steyer	62	Elizabeth Warren	70
Tulsi Gabbard	38	Julian Castro	45	Steve Bullock	53	Marianne Williamson	67	Donald Trump*	73
		Beto O'Rourke	47	Michael Bennet	54			William Weld	74
				Kamala Harris	55			Joe Biden	76
				John Delaney	56			Bernie Sanders	78
				Joe Walsh	57				
				Amy Klobuchar	59				
				Mark Sanford	59				

Candidates who have withdrawn from the race

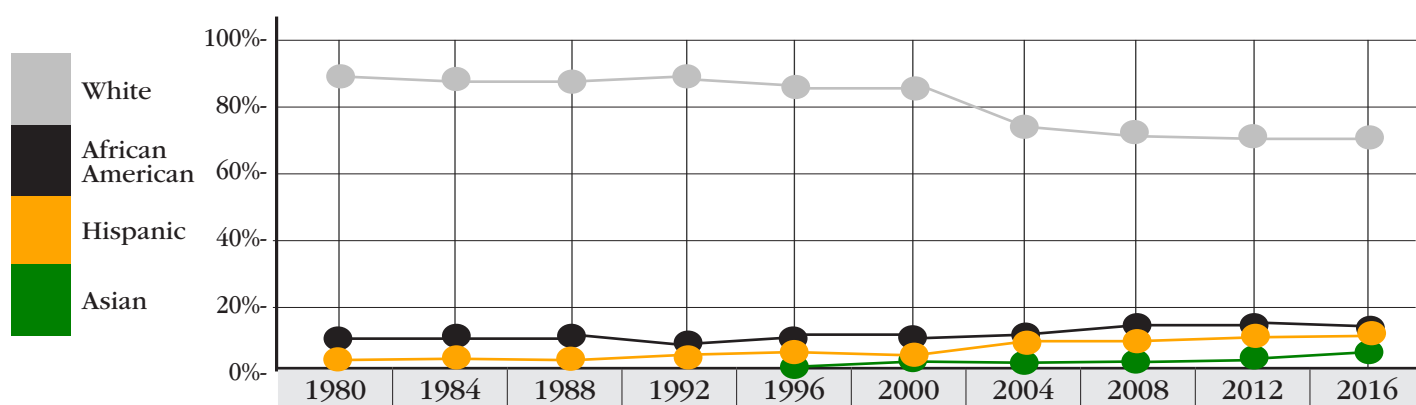
30s	Age	40s	Age	50s	Age	60s	Age
Eric Swalwell	38	Seth Moulton	41	Kirsten Gillibrand	52	John Hickenlooper	67
		Tim Ryan	46	Bill de Blasio	58	Jay Inslee	68

Sanders' Heart Attack

The age issue emerged front and center after Sanders suffered a heart attack Oct. 1 in Las Vegas, which required surgery to insert two stents to relief arterial blockage. After initially indicating that he would scale back his campaign and do fewer rallies, Sanders recanted and declared that he would mount as vigorous a campaign as ever.

A mid-October rally in Queens drew an estimated 25,000 people, and across the month Sanders unveiled endorsements from members of the "Squad," the quartet of progressive freshman female Democratic representatives who have drawn national attention as well as the ire of Trump. They embrace racial and religious diversity, and three of the group – Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, Ilhan Omar of Minnesota, and Rashida Tlaib of Michigan – have declared

The Nation's Changing Electorate Since 1980: White Dominance Slowly Ebbing



The composition of the American electorate is constantly evolving. The white share is steadily declining - at a rate of about 2 percentage points per presidential election, while the votes cast by minorities is steadily increasing. That is particularly the case among Hispanics, which comprised just 2% of those casting ballots in 1980 but 11% in 2016, according to nationwide exit polls. African Americans delivered 12% of the vote in 2016, 1 percentage point below their share of the electorate when Barack Obama was on the ballot in 2008 and 2012. Overall, though, whites still cast more than 70% of the ballots in the last presidential election, while the minority share approached 30%. At the current rate, it would take about 10 more presidential elections before the electorate is majority minority.

Racial Composition of Presidential Electorate

	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
White	88%	86%	85%	87%	83%	82%	77%	74%	72%	71%
African American	10%	10%	10%	8%	10%	10%	11%	13%	13%	12%
Hispanic	2%	3%	3%	3%	5%	4%	8%	9%	10%	11%
Asian	-	-	-	-	1%	2%	2%	2%	3%	4%

Note: The Asian share of the presidential vote is not readily available before 1996. The total of all races does not add to 100% because the vote of other races is not included.

Sources: *Vital Statistics on American Politics*, the 1994 and 2015 editions. The 2016 data is from the presidential election exit poll posted on the CNN web site.

their support for Sanders. Only Ayanna Pressley of Massachusetts has stayed neutral thus far in the Democratic race, and she represents a Boston-area district in Warren's home state.

Even before Sanders' heart attack, many voters considered him and to a degree, Biden, too old to be president. A late August-early September survey for CBS News by YouGov showed that 37% of respondents (a mix of Democrats and non-Democrats) believed that Sanders was too old, compared to 31% who felt the same way about Biden. Meanwhile, only 5% of respondents thought that Warren, a newly minted septuagenarian, was too advanced in years to occupy the Oval Office.

A similar CBS News/YouGov survey taken in early October after Sanders' heart attack revealed that the number of respondents who felt that the Vermont senator was too elderly to hold the job of president had risen to 43%, while the Biden and Warren percentages on the same question had fallen slightly – Biden to 28%, Warren to 4%.

Regarding their age, both Sanders and Biden of late have tried to make lemonade out of lemons. Sanders has talked of his long experience on the front lines of progressive activism: "Having a long record gives people the understanding that these ideas that I am talking about – they are in my guts. They are in my heart. This is who I am as a human being, and it ain't gonna change."

Biden has said similar things but also emphasized the positives of growing older. "... with age comes experience, with experience comes wisdom, and with wisdom comes judgment," Biden said recently.

Yet fellow Democrat Jimmy Carter, the nation's oldest living former president at 95, declared recently that 80 would have been too old for him to have been president. "If I was 15 years younger," said Carter. "I don't believe I could undertake the duties I experienced when I was president. You have to be able to go from one subject to another and concentrate on each one

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The Racial Divide in the 2016 Presidential Election

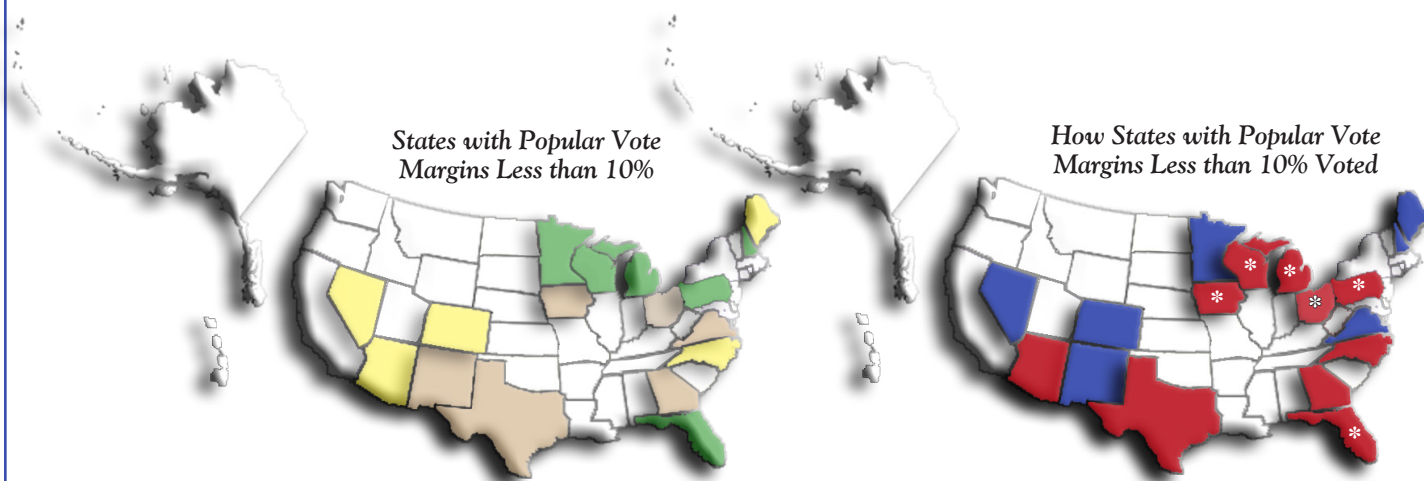
For a while now, the Democrats have been the party of racial diversity while the Republicans have been almost homogenously white. That was evident in the 2016 presidential voting, when Republican Donald Trump easily won the large white vote (fully 70% of the entire electorate) by a margin of 20 percentage points, while Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton took the smaller minority component by 53 points (74% to Trump's 21%). Clinton won the popular vote in 2016, but according to nationwide exit polling, she was unable to match Barack Obama's showing four years earlier among African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians.

	2012			2016			Change in Margin 2012-16
	Obama (D)	Romney (R)	Margin	Clinton (D)	Trump (R)	Margin	
White	39%	59%	R + 20%	37%	57%	R + 20%	-
African American	93%	6%	D + 87%	89%	8%	D + 81%	D (- 6%)
Hispanic	71%	27%	D + 44%	66%	28%	D + 38%	D (- 6%)
Asian	73%	26%	D + 47%	65%	27%	D + 38%	D (- 9%)
Nationwide Popular Vote	51%	47%	D + 4%	48%	46%	D + 2%	D (-2%)

Sources: The 2015 edition of *Vital Statistics on American Politics 2015-2016* for 2012 exit poll data. The CNN web site for 2016 data on that year's presidential election exit poll.

Closest States in 2016 Presidential Voting

States Where Outcome Decided by Less than 10 Percentage Points



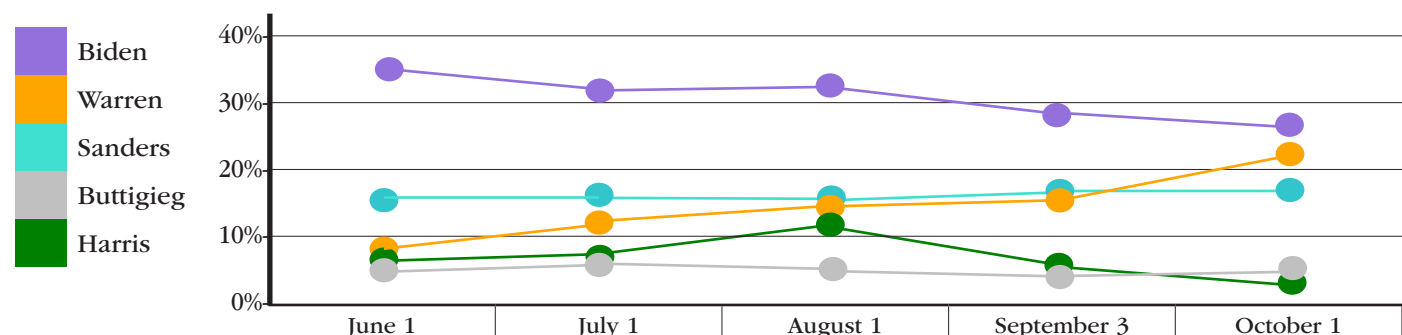
2016 State Margins (Popular Vote)	Number of States	'16 Electoral Vote		
		Trump	Clinton	Total
Less than 2%	6	75	14	89
2% to 4.9%	5	27	18	45
5% to 9.9%	6	78	18	96
Total	17	180	50	230

	Republican (Trump)
	Democratic (Clinton)
*	States that flipped parties from 2012

The likeliest states to switch from one party to the other in the 2020 presidential election would almost certainly come from this list. It features the 17 states where the winning margin in 2016 was less than 10 percentage points. Republican Donald Trump's ability to dominate these closely contested states - winning 10 of the 17 and 180 of the 230 electoral votes within them - brought Trump his unexpected victory. An asterisk (*) indicates the six states that switched from Democrat Barack Obama in 2012 to Republican Trump in 2016. A pound sign (#) denotes that while Hillary Rodham Clinton won the statewide vote in Maine, Trump carried one of the state's two congressional districts and with it an electoral vote under Maine's unique system of allocating them.

Margins in '16	State	'16 Margin	Winner	Electoral Votes	Number of Times that Dems. Carried State since 1992 (7 elections)
Less than 2%	Michigan*	0.2%	Trump	16	6
	New Hampshire	0.3%	Clinton	4	6
	Pennsylvania*	0.7%	Trump	20	6
	Wisconsin*	0.7%	Trump	10	6
	Florida*	1.2%	Trump	29	3
	Minnesota	1.5%	Clinton	10	7
2% to 4.9%	Nevada	2.4%	Clinton	6	5
	Maine	2.9%	Clinton#	4	7
	Arizona	3.6%	Trump	11	1
	North Carolina	3.6%	Trump	15	1
	Colorado	4.9%	Clinton	9	4
5% to 9.9%	Georgia	5.2%	Trump	16	1
	Virginia	5.4%	Clinton	13	3
	Ohio*	8.1%	Trump	18	4
	New Mexico	8.3%	Clinton	5	6
	Texas	9.0%	Trump	38	0
	Iowa*	9.4%	Trump	6	5

Democratic Presidential Polls for 2020: Biden Stays Ahead



The basic shape of the 2020 Democratic presidential contest has tightened since former Vice President Joe Biden entered the race this spring. His big early lead has shrunk, as he has lost ground while Elizabeth Warren has surged. This, according to the ongoing RealClearPolitics rolling average of polls, using the survey numbers posted at or near the beginning of each month since June. What was a Biden lead of nearly 20 percentage points in late spring over then runner-up Bernie Sanders had morphed by early fall into a Biden advantage of less than 5 points over Warren. Kamala Harris used a strong showing in the opening Democratic presidential debate in late June to reach double digits percentagewise in mid-summer. But her gains were not lasting, as Harris fell back to single digits by late summer. The gains and losses by other candidates through the middle of 2019 were much more incremental. Candidates are rank-ordered in the chart below according to their standing in the RealClearPolitics polling posted Oct. 1. All candidates are listed below who received at least 1% in the Democratic presidential polling at one or more of the following data points: June 1, July 1, Aug. 1, Sept. 3, and Oct. 1. Those candidates that reached at least 5% at one of the data points are included in the line graph.

	June 1	July 1	August 1	September 3	October 1	Change June 1 - October 1
Joe Biden	35.0%	31.4%	32.0%	28.9%	27.2%	- 7.8%
Elizabeth Warren	9.0%	12.6%	14.8%	16.5%	23.0%	+ 14.0%
Bernie Sanders	16.5%	16.9%	16.4%	17.1%	17.8%	+ 1.3%
Pete Buttigieg	5.8%	6.5%	5.6%	4.6%	5.4%	- 0.4%
Kamala Harris	7.5%	7.8%	11.0%	7.0%	4.6%	- 2.9%
Andrew Yang	1.0%	1.3%	1.6%	2.5%	3.6%	+ 2.6%
Beto O'Rourke	3.8%	3.0%	3.0%	2.4%	2.2%	- 1.6%
Cory Booker	2.3%	2.3%	1.6%	2.4%	1.4%	- 0.9%
Julian Castro	1.2%	0.8%	1.0%	1.1%	1.4%	+ 0.2%
Tulsi Gabbard	0.7%	0.8%	1.0%	1.4%	1.0%	+ 0.3%
Amy Klobuchar	1.5%	0.9%	0.6%	0.9%	1.0%	- 0.5%

Source: Polling data was compiled by RealClearPolitics as a rolling average of multiple polls on the 2020 Democratic presidential race. The monthly data points starting on June 1, 2019, represent polling done through the following time periods:

- June 1: May 11-30
- July 1: June 6-28
- August 1: July 22-30
- September 3: August 15-17
- October 1: September 19-29

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adequately and then put them together in a comprehensive way.” No previous Oval Office occupant has been an octogenarian at any point in their presidency, although if either Sanders or Biden were elected they would reach 80 in the first half of their first term. (For the record, Carter was 52 when he was initially elected president in 1976.)

The Money 'Primary': Democratic Second Quarter 2019 Campaign Fundraising

While South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg has been stalled around 5% in Democratic presidential polls, he has emerged as a campaign fund raiser par excellence. In the second quarter of 2019 (April through June), he led all of his Democratic rivals in individual contributions, which totalled nearly \$25 million. Buttigieg has become a fund-raising juggernaut by tapping fellow gays on both coasts, then steadily broadening his financial base to include military veterans like himself and well educated liberals. In its breadth, the Buttigieg donor world has been likened to that of Barack Obama's in his successful 2008 Democratic primary campaign, with a variety of high-end fund raisers and grass-roots events. Democratic candidates following closely behind Buttigieg in second quarter 2019 contribution totals were Joe Biden (\$22 million), Elizabeth Warren (\$19.2 million), and Bernie Sanders (\$18 million). Warren and Sanders have both emphasized small dollar donations; Biden has depended more on major donors. Meanwhile, Sanders led the Democratic field in total receipts from January through June 2019 (\$46.3 million), and in cash on hand at the end of June (\$27.3 million).

Candidate	Rank	Individual Contributions (2nd Qtr '19)	Rank	Total Receipts (Jan.-June '19)	Rank	Cash on hand (end of June '19)
Pete Buttigieg	1	\$24,913,524	3	\$32,337,554	2	\$22,668,872
Joe Biden	2	\$21,966,174	6	\$22,043,829	5	\$10,897,067
Elizabeth Warren	3	\$19,161,453	2	\$35,654,984	3	\$19,781,162
Bernie Sanders	4	\$18,023,079	1	\$46,348,282	1	\$27,269,050
Kamala Harris	5	\$11,795,233	5	\$25,090,948	4	\$13,272,360
Cory Booker	6	\$4,466,497	10	\$12,470,615	9	\$5,360,506
Amy Klobuchar	7	\$3,871,142	9	\$12,710,254	8	\$6,710,120
Beto O'Rourke	8	\$3,644,729	8	\$13,020,991	10	\$5,196,569
Jay Inslee	9	\$3,046,553	12	\$5,308,246	14	\$1,185,630
Andrew Yang	10	\$2,825,632	13	\$5,274,808	16	\$847,659
Michael Bennet	11	\$2,801,086	15	\$3,506,968	12	\$2,193,245
Julian Castro	12	\$2,798,683	14	\$4,126,778	15	\$1,136,053
Kirsten Gillibrand	13	\$2,272,416	7	\$14,899,167	6	\$8,240,657
Steve Bullock	14	\$2,065,944	19	\$2,071,211	13	\$1,490,222
Tulsi Gabbard	15	\$1,564,653	11	\$6,062,974	11	\$2,438,555
Marianne Williamson	16	\$1,521,053	17	\$3,070,683	20	\$547,892
Seth Moulton	17	\$1,248,344	20	\$1,940,003	19	\$724,378
John Hickenlooper	18	\$1,149,485	16	\$3,171,629	17	\$836,276
Michael de Blasio	19	\$1,087,564	21	\$1,087,564	18	\$728,520
Eric Swalwell	20	\$877,745	18	\$2,586,128	21	\$528,741
Tim Ryan	21	\$864,759	22	\$889,399	22	\$335,058
John Delaney	22	\$284,475	4	\$26,341,550	7	\$7,442,613

Source: Candidate second quarter 2019 campaign fund-raising reports representing financial activity through June 30, 2019, as filed with the Federal Election Commission (FEC).

Most Presidents Assume Office in their 50s

From George Washington to George W. Bush, a clear majority of presidents over the course of American history have been in their 50s when they assumed office (24 of 44 to be exact, not including Grover Cleveland's separate second stint in the Oval Office in the 1890s). On the other hand, 11 presidents have been 60 or older when they were inaugurated, with Trump the oldest at 70, while just nine have been under age 50, with Theodore Roosevelt the youngest at 42.

To be sure, being a particular age does not define how a presidential candidate will perform mentally, physically, or emotionally if elected. But those in their 50s can usually convince voters that they have enough experience and energy for the job. Older presidential candidates often offer experience, wisdom, even gravitas, but are closely watched by their opposition and the media for signs of flagging health or energy. Younger presidential candidates (under age 50) are rarely dogged by medical issues,

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Democratic Presidential Debate Lineups (through October 2019)

Four debates approved by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) were held by the end of October. Twenty candidates qualified for each of the first two in late June and late July, forcing two nights of debates with 10 candidates each. For the third debate in mid-September, a total of 10 candidates qualified and the action was limited to one night. In mid-October, 12 candidates participated and again the debate was held on one night. The generally shrinking number of participants was largely due to stricter qualification requirements. To make the first two debates, candidates had to receive contributions from at least 65,000 donors (including at least 200 in 20 states) or garner at least 1% in three DNC-approved polls. To qualify for the September and October debates, candidates had to collect donations from at least 130,000 individuals (including at least 400 from 20 states) and reach 2% in four party-approved polls. The first set of debates was held in Miami and televised on NBC News, MSNBC, and Telemundo. The second set took place in Detroit and was hosted by CNN. The third debate was held in Houston and was carried by ABC News and Univision. Debate number four took place in Westerville, Ohio (outside Columbus), and was televised on CNN. A "(w)" indicates candidates who have withdrawn from the race, as of Nov. 1, 2019. Candidates who participated in all four debates are indicated with an orange background.

	First Debate (June 2019)		Second Debate (July 2019)		Third Debate (Sept. 2019)	Fourth Debate (Oct. 2019)
	6/26	6/27	7/30	7/31	9/12	10/12
Michael Bennet		X		X		
Joe Biden		X		X	X	X
Cory Booker	X			X	X	X
Steve Bullock			X			
Pete Buttigieg		X	X		X	X
Julian Castro	X			X	X	X
Bill de Blasio (w)	X			X		
John Delaney	X		X			
Tulsi Gabbard	X			X		X
Kirsten Gillibrand (w)		X		X		
Kamala Harris		X		X	X	X
John Hickenlooper (w)		X	X			
Jay Inslee (w)	X			X		
Amy Klobuchar	X		X		X	X
Seth Moulton (w)						
Beto O'Rourke (w)	X		X		X	X
Tim Ryan (w)	X		X			
Bernie Sanders		X	X		X	X
Tom Steyer						X
Eric Swalwell (w)		X				
Elizabeth Warren	X		X		X	X
Marianne Williamson		X	X			
Andrew Yang		X		X	X	X

Bernie Sanders in 2016: Where He Ran Strong, Where He Ran Weak

When he launched his first campaign for president in 2016, Sen. Bernie Sanders of Vermont was a virtual unknown and a long shot at best to defeat Hillary Rodham Clinton for the Democratic nomination. In his second bid for the Democratic nomination, he is universally known and an early front-runner. Sanders faces, though, a whole different dynamic than in 2016. Then, he was in a two-way race and was able to coalesce the progressive wing of the party behind him against Clinton, the establishment favorite. This time, with a large Democratic primary field, he will have to fight harder for the progressive vote. In 2016, the passion of his supporters enabled Sanders to dominate voting in the dozen or so low-turnout caucus states, as well as to win an eclectic array of primaries ranging from the old-line industrial states of Michigan and Wisconsin to largely rural, Republican-oriented Indiana, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. The latter three would hardly seem to be fertile ground for a self-described “democratic socialist.” Sanders lost to Clinton, though, in nearly all of the populous primary states with large minority populations and was beaten badly by her across the South, with its large African-American vote in Democratic primaries. His limitations in both areas, plus his inability to draw much support from unelected superdelegates, prevented him from defeating Clinton for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2016.



Primaries and caucuses won by Sanders

Received at least 49.7% of the vote

Primaries and caucuses lost by Sanders

Received 45-49.6%

Received 35- 44.9%

Received less than 35%

C Caucuses (the other states and D.C. were primaries)

State	Type of Contest	Region	Sanders % of vote	Sanders Margin of Victory
Vermont	Primary	Northeast	86.0%	Won by 72%
Alaska	Caucus	West	79.6%	Won by 59%
Utah	Caucus	West	79.2%	Won by 59%
Idaho	Caucus	West	78.0%	Won by 57%
Washington*	Caucus	West	72.7%	Won by 46%
Hawaii	Caucus	West	69.8%	Won by 40%
Kansas	Caucus	Midwest	67.9%	Won by 36%
Maine*	Caucus	Northeast	64.4%	Won by 29%
North Dakota*	Caucus	Midwest	64.2%	Won by 39%
Minnesota	Caucus	Midwest	61.7%	Won by 23%
New Hampshire	Primary	Northeast	60.1%	Won by 22%
Colorado	Caucus	West	59.0%	Won by 19%
Nebraska	Caucus	Midwest	57.1%	Won by 14%
Wisconsin	Primary	Midwest	56.6%	Won by 14%
Oregon	Primary	West	56.2%	Won by 14%
Wyoming*	Caucus	West	55.7%	Won by 11%
Rhode Island	Primary	Northeast	54.7%	Won by 12%
Indiana	Primary	Midwest	52.5%	Won by 5%
Oklahoma	Primary	South	51.9%	Won by 10%
Montana	Primary	West	51.6%	Won by 7%
West Virginia	Primary	Northeast	51.4%	Won by 16%
Michigan	Primary	Midwest	49.7%	Won by 1%

State	Type of Contest	Region	Sanders % of vote	Sanders Margin of Defeat
Iowa*	Caucus	Midwest	49.6%	Lost by 0.25%
Missouri	Primary	Midwest	49.4%	Lost by 0.2%
South Dakota	Primary	Midwest	49.0%	Lost by 2%
Illinois	Primary	Midwest	48.6%	Lost by 2%
Massachusetts	Primary	Northeast	48.5%	Lost by 1%
New Mexico	Primary	West	48.5%	Lost by 3%
Washington#	Primary	West	47.6%	Lost by 5%
Nevada*	Caucus	West	47.3%	Lost by 5%
Nebraska#	Primary	Midwest	46.9%	Lost by 6%
Connecticut	Primary	Northeast	46.4%	Lost by 5%
Kentucky	Primary	South	46.3%	Lost by 0.5%
California	Primary	West	46.0%	Lost by 7%
Pennsylvania	Primary	Northeast	43.5%	Lost by 12%
Ohio	Primary	Midwest	43.1%	Lost by 13%
New York	Primary	Northeast	42.0%	Lost by 16%
Arizona	Primary	West	41.4%	Lost by 15%
North Carolina	Primary	South	40.9%	Lost by 14%
Delaware	Primary	Northeast	39.2%	Lost by 21%
New Jersey	Primary	Northeast	36.7%	Lost by 27%
Virginia	Primary	South	35.2%	Lost by 29%
Maryland	Primary	Northeast	33.8%	Lost by 29%
Florida	Primary	South	33.3%	Lost by 31%
Texas	Primary	South	33.2%	Lost by 32%
Tennessee	Primary	South	32.5%	Lost by 34%
Arkansas	Primary	South	30.0%	Lost by 36%
Georgia	Primary	South	28.2%	Lost by 43%
South Carolina	Primary	South	26.0%	Lost by 47%
Louisiana	Primary	South	23.2%	Lost by 48%
District of Columbia	Primary	Northeast	20.8%	Lost by 58%
Alabama	Primary	South	19.2%	Lost by 59%
Mississippi	Primary	South	16.6%	Lost by 66%

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates results were measured in terms of state or local delegates won, not the popular vote. A pound sign (#) indicates that in Nebraska and Washington, the primary was a non-binding “beauty contest” won by Hillary Rodham Clinton. However, delegates were selected in these states to reflect the results of a separate caucus process, which in each case was won by Bernie Sanders. The map is shaded to depict the “split decision” in each state.

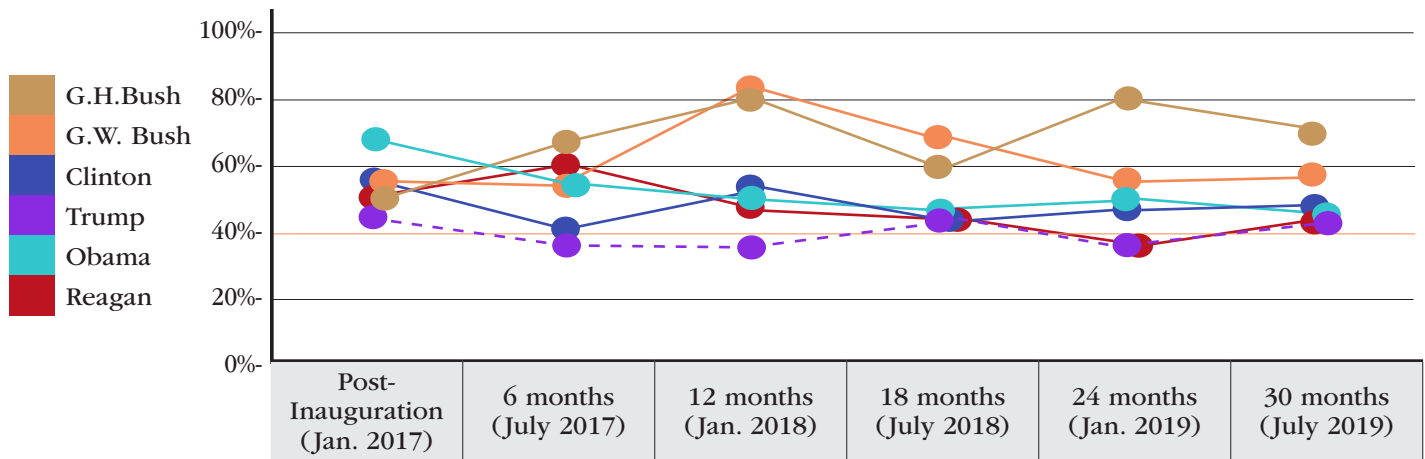
Source: Results are from CNN's *Republican and Democratic National Conventions: Research and Editorial Guide 2016*, edited by Robert Yoon.

(Continued from Page 11)

but often must assure voters that they have enough experience and toughness to be trusted with the job.

Yet beginning with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, only one of six presidents has been in their 50s when they took office, George W. Bush. The remaining five have been either at the “young” or “old” end of the presidential spectrum. Three were above age 60 when inaugurated – Republicans Reagan, George H.W. Bush, and Trump. Two others were in their 40s – Democrats Bill Clinton and Barack Obama.

Trump Presidential Approval Rating Compared to Other Recent Presidents



Since February 2019, Donald Trump’s presidential job approval rating in the Gallup Poll has ranged percentagewise from the high 30s to the mid 40s. While it is not a rating that promises reelection, it is in line with other recent presidents who had similar ratings in the summer of their pre-election year and went on to win another term. Bill Clinton’s presidential approval rating stood at 46% in July 1995, 30 months into office. Barack Obama was at 43% in July 2011, while Ronald Reagan drew 42% presidential approval in July 1983, the same as Trump in July 2019. However, Clinton, Obama, and Reagan all surpassed 50% approval ratings in the Gallup Poll by the following November. It is a level that Trump has yet to reach in his presidency and very well may not given the polarized nature of his appeal. The Gallup Poll is used here because of its long track record in measuring presidential approval back to the 1930s.

Comparison of Donald Trump’s job approval rating in the Gallup Poll with other recent presidents from the start of their administrations to the 6th, 12th, 18th, 24th, and 30th month in office. In the column headings, the month and year in parentheses refers to the Trump presidency.

	Post-Inauguration (Jan. 2017)	6 months (July 2017)	12 months (Jan. 2018)	18 months (July 2018)	24 months (Jan. 2019)	30 months (July 2019)	Presidential Reelection
George H.W. Bush (1989-91)	51%	66%	80%	60%	80%	70%	Lost
George W. Bush (2001-03)	57%	56%	84%	69%	58%	59%	Won
Bill Clinton (1993-95)	58%	41%	54%	42%	47%	46%	Won
Barack Obama (2009-11)	67%	56%	49%	45%	50%	43%	Won
Ronald Reagan (1981-83)	51%	60%	47%	42%	37%	42%	Won
Donald Trump (2017-19)	45%	37%	36%	42%	37%	42%	-

Note: Donald Trump’s presidential job approval ratings featured in the chart above are from Gallup Polls covering the following dates: Jan. 20-29, 2017; July 17-23, 2017; Jan. 15-21, 2018; July 16-22, 2018; Jan. 21-27, 2019; and July 15-31, 2019. Job approval ratings for his recent predecessors were taken at similar points in their presidencies.

Source: The Gallup Poll.

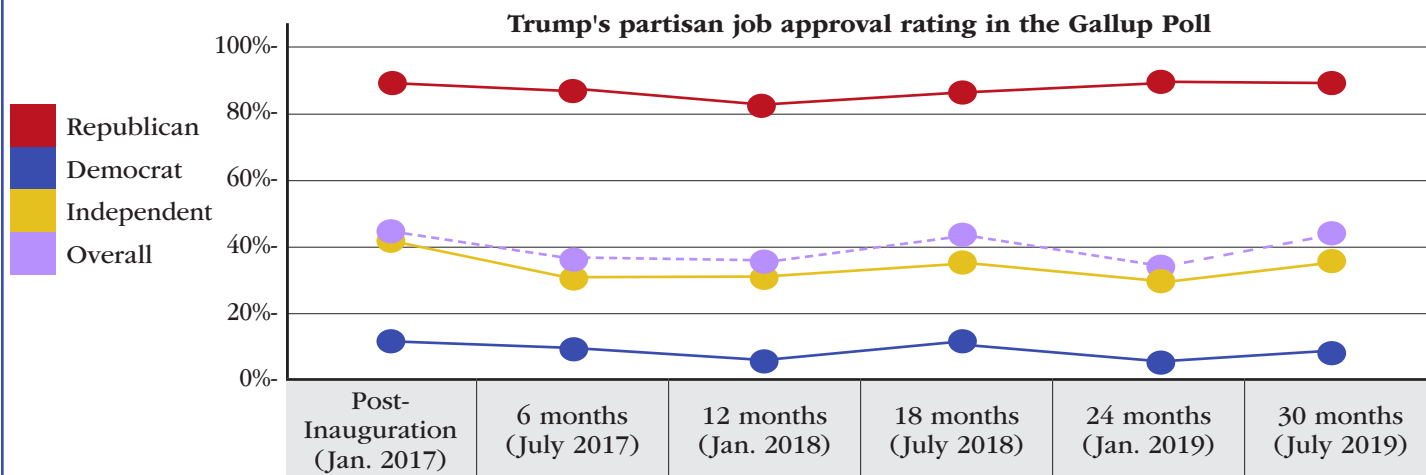
The popular Reagan, who turned 70 less than one month after taking office, helped make it acceptable for other senior citizens to seek the White House, which has been particularly noticeable on the Republican side. Among older candidates in recent years who won the GOP nomination were former Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas, who was 73 at the time of the 1996 election; Sen. John McCain of Arizona, who was 72 when the nation balloted in 2008; former Massachusetts governor (and current senator from Utah) Mitt Romney, who was 65 when facing off against Obama in 2012; and Trump, who as mentioned before, was 70 in the fall of 2016. Dole, McCain, and Romney all lost to younger Democratic candidates; Trump was elected.

There is little doubt at this point that a generational change in the White House in 2020 would almost definitely come from the Democrats. It is among the factors that the party's primary voters will need to consider in choosing their nominee next year. Do they want an older "tried and true" candidate? Or do they take a chance on a much younger contender, who might turn the page to a new generation of presidential leadership?

Portions of this article have appeared on the web site of the CQ Press Voting and Elections Collection.

Trump Presidential Approval Rating by Party: No Break in Republicans Ranks

With a presidential approval rating among Republicans in the vicinity of 90%, Donald Trump is unlikely to experience a serious challenge next year in the GOP primaries. Yet that has not stopped a trio of former Republican elected officials from launching bids for the party's nomination in 2020. Former Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, former Rep. Joe Walsh of Illinois, and former South Carolina Gov. Mark Sanford had all entered the race by mid-September.



Trump's partisan job approval rating in the Gallup Poll from the start of his administration to the 6th, 12th, 18th, 24th, and 30th months in office.

	Post-Inauguration (Jan. 2017)	6 months (July 2017)	12 months (Jan. 2018)	18 months (July 2018)	24 months (Jan. 2019)	30 months (July 2019)
Overall	45%	37%	36%	42%	37%	42%
Republicans	89%	86%	81%	85%	88%	88%
Independents	42%	31%	31%	37%	32%	38%
Democrats	13%	8%	5%	11%	5%	7%

Note: Donald Trump's partisan presidential job approval ratings featured in the chart above are from Gallup Polls covering the following dates: Jan. 20-29, 2017; July 17-23, 2017; Jan. 15-21, 2018; July 16-22, 2018; Jan. 21-27, 2019; and July 15-31, 2019.

Source: The Gallup Poll.

The Off-Year Elections of 2019

GOP Sweeps House Specials, Governorships Up for Grabs

Republicans could take some solace in this year's special House elections. All three were previously GOP-held seats, and all three were won by Republicans. Just one (the North Carolina 9th) was seriously contested. And that the GOP won last month by nearly 4,000 votes in a district where the Republican lead was less than 1,000 votes in the 2018 general election.

Up next this fall are a trio of governorships across the Republican-oriented South that may better define the electoral nature of the year. One state has a Republican incumbent facing reelection (Matt Bevin of Kentucky). One has a Democratic incumbent seeking another term (John Bel Edwards of Louisiana). And one is an open governorship in Mississippi, where GOP incumbent Phil Bryant is term-limited after eight years in office.

Donald Trump easily carried all three states in 2016, making a Republican sweep next month of all three governorships quite plausible. Should Democrats win all three, or even two of the three on such difficult terrain, it would be a banner showing that would surely boost the party heading into 2020.

The governorships in Kentucky and Mississippi will be decided on Tuesday, Nov. 5. In the former, Bevin will face state Attorney General Andy Beshear, a son of Bevin's Democratic predecessor, two-term Gov. Steven Beshear. Both nominees had tough primaries in 2019. Bevin – who unsuccessfully challenged Mitch McConnell in the Republican Senate primary in 2014 – won just 52% of the vote in this year's GOP gubernatorial primary, a modest showing

(Continued on Page 17)

2019 Special House Elections

Three special House elections have taken place in 2019, all Republican victories for seats formerly held by the GOP. Four more special congressional elections are likely to be held in the next few months – in the Los Angeles-area California 25th, where Democrat Katie Hill recently resigned abruptly; in the Baltimore-based Maryland 7th, which was vacated by the death Oct. 17 of Democratic Rep. Elijah Cummings; and in the New York 27th and Wisconsin 7th districts. The former, which extends from the Buffalo area eastward towards the Finger Lakes region, has been opened by the resignation of Republican Chris Collins, who pleaded guilty to insider trading. The latter district, which lies in woodsy northwest Wisconsin, was vacated by Republican Sean Duffy, who cited health issues within his family. Both resigned their seats in late September.

District	Outgoing Incumbent	'19 Election Dates	Candidates		Turnout	Dem.	Rep.	Other
			Democrat	Republican				
Pennsylvania 12th	Tom Marino (R)	May 21	Marc Friedenberg	Fred Keller (W)	132,195	32%	68%	-
North Carolina 3rd	Walter Jones (R)	Sept. 10	Allen Thomas	Greg Murphy (W)	114,046	37%	62%	1%
North Carolina 9th	Robert Pittenger (R)	Sept. 10	Dan McCready	Dan Bishop (W)	190,506	49%	51%	1%

Note: Percentages do not always add to 100 due to rounding. Results from all three special elections are official.

The Changing Composition of the 116th Congress

Republicans have won a trio of special elections in Pennsylvania and North Carolina thus far in 2019, recouping House seats which they formerly held that were vacant. Yet the GOP has still shown a net loss of one House seat this year, with Rep. Justin Amash changing his party affiliation on July 4 (Independence Day) from Republican to independent. Amash, 39, a fifth term "tea party" Republican and ardent libertarian, had long staked a course in Congress frequently at odds with his party leadership. He recently joined with Democrats in approving the process for the House impeachment inquiry into President Donald Trump's controversial dealings with the government of Ukraine. Trump responded to Amash's departure from the GOP with a "good riddance" tweet that described Amash as "a total loser" and "one of the dumbest & most disloyal men in Congress." Amash represents Grand Rapids, Gerald Ford's home town, and must now decide whether to seek reelection as an independent in 2020 or possibly pursue the Libertarian Party presidential nomination. The chart below reflects the status of changes in the 116th Congress as of Oct. 31, 2019.

Date and Event	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES				SENATE			
	Dems.	Reps.	Inds.	Vac.	Dems.	Reps.	Inds.	Vac.
2018 ELECTION (Nov. 6)	235	199		1	45	53	2	
<i>Jan. 23, 2019 - Rep. Tom Marino (R-Pa. 12) resigns to pursue career in private sector.</i>	235	198		2				
<i>Feb. 10, 2019 - Rep. Walter Jones (R-N.C. 3) dies on his 76th birthday.</i>	235	197		3				
<i>Feb. 21, 2019 - North Carolina state board of elections orders new election in North Carolina 9th.</i>	235	197		3				
May 21, 2019 - Special election in Pennsylvania 12th won by Fred Keller.	235	198		2				
July 4, 2019 - Rep. Justin Amash (Mich. 3) changes partisan affiliation from Republican to independent.	235	197	1	2				
Sept. 10, 2019 - Special elections in N.C. 3rd and N.C. 9th won by Greg Murphy (R) and Dan Bishop (R), respectively.	235	199	1					
<i>Sept. 23, 2019 - Rep. Sean Duffy (R-Wis. 7) resigns his seat to focus on health issues in his family.</i>	235	198	1	1				
<i>Sept. 30, 2019 - Rep. Chris Collins (R-N.Y. 27) resigns on eve of pleading guilty to insider trading.</i>	235	197	1	2				
<i>Oct. 17, 2019 - Rep. Elijah Cummings (D-Md. 7) dies at age 68.</i>	234	197	1	3				
..... AND THE GOVERNORSHIPS					Dems.	Reps.	Inds.	
2018 GENERAL ELECTION (Nov. 6)					23	27	-	

Corrections

The following changes are for the May 2019 issue.

Page 6. Chart, "All-Time Leading Presidential Vote-Getters." The first column should read "Candidate (Party)" rather than "Winner (Party)." The chart lists the leading vote-getting performances by recent Democratic and Republican presidential nominees (in terms of raw vote), not all of whom were elected.

Page 17. Chart, "The Changing Composition of the 116th Congress." Following the May 21, 2019, special election in Pennsylvania, the partisan House breakdown became 235 Democrats to 198 Republicans, with 2 vacancies. The breakdown was erroneously listed as 235 Democrats, 197 Republicans, and 3 vacancies.

(Continued from Page 15)

for an incumbent. Beshear was held to less than 40% in a Democratic contest that drew three major candidates.

In Mississippi, Democratic state Attorney General Jim Hood faces Republican Lt. Gov. Tate Reeves for the state's open governorship. Democrats have not won the Mississippi governorship in 20 years, and in Hood, they are running the party's only remaining elected statewide officeholder. Meanwhile, Reeves was forced into a runoff with former state Supreme Court Justice Bill Waller Jr. after falling just short of winning a majority of the vote in the primary. In the runoff that followed, he defeated Waller, a son of former Democratic Gov. Bill Waller, by roughly 8 percentage points.

The final gubernatorial election of 2019 will be held in Louisiana on Saturday, Nov. 16, and pit Democratic incumbent John Bel Edwards against wealthy Republican businessman Eddie Rispone. In the first round balloting on Oct. 12, Edwards drew 47% to Rispone's 27%, who sought to portray himself as a successful businessman and political outsider in the Donald Trump mold. Another Republican, Rep. Ralph Abraham, collected 24% of the vote. His district covers the rural northeast part of Louisiana.

The major questions entering the October balloting were whether Edwards would attain a majority of the vote and win reelection outright (he didn't), and which Republican would finish second and qualify for a runoff if there was one (Rispone).

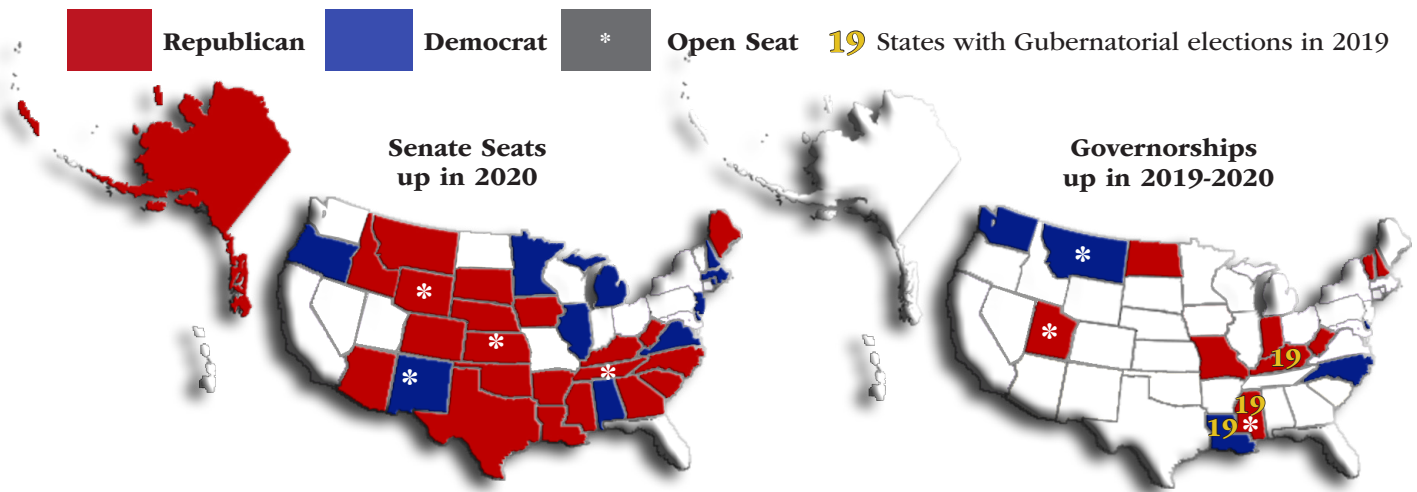
President Trump did not endorse in advance of the October vote, but came to the state on the eve of the election to urge Republicans to turn out and keep Edwards short of a majority. It was the latest example of the president's involvement on behalf of the GOP in 2019.

Not every presidential appearance, though, was politically necessary. In May, for instance, Trump travelled to the Williamsport area, world famous as the home of Little League baseball, to rally support for the Republican candidate in the Pennsylvania 12th special election. The latter, state Rep. Fred Keller, won by a margin in excess of 2 to 1.

Trump's aid was more consequential in September's special congressional election in the North Carolina 9th, where both he and Vice President Mike Pence campaigned for the Republican candidate, state Sen. Dan Bishop. The election in the 9th was a "do over," necessitated by absentee vote fraud by Republican operatives in 2018 that left last fall's vote uncertified.

Election eve reporting showed total spending for the special election approaching \$20 million, close to evenly split between Bishop and Democrat Dan McCready. The latter, an ex-Marine Corps officer, had nearly won the seat in 2018. The latter carried the Mecklenburg County portion of the district (parts of Charlotte and its suburbs) by more than 8,000 votes; Bishop took neighboring Union County by more than 12,000 votes. In the rest of the district, which stretches east from Charlotte, the vote was largely a wash.

What's Up in 2019-20



It would be no surprise if Democratic efforts to capture a Senate majority were frustrated once again. In the 2017-18 election cycle, Democrats were blunted by the overwhelming number of Senate seats that the party had to defend, many on Republican turf. In the end, Republicans lost a special Senate election in Alabama in late 2017 but picked up a net of two seats in 2018. In the current cycle, Democrats will have the numbers on their side, as Republicans will be defending 22 of the 34 Senate seats currently at stake. But the terrain for Democrats will be challenging. Only two GOP Senate seats up in 2020 will be in states carried by Hillary Rodham Clinton in 2016 - that of Cory Gardner of Colorado and Susan Collins of Maine. Meanwhile, just 14 governorships will be at stake in the 2019-20 cycle - 9 held by Republicans, 5 by Democrats. Three of the states will hold gubernatorial elections in November 2019, all in the South (Kentucky, Louisiana, and Mississippi).

South (Kentucky, Louisiana, and Mississippi).					Seats Up in 2019-20	
	‘16 Presidential Vote	House Seats			Senators	Governors
		Dem.	Rep.	Ind.		
National	Clinton by 2%	234	197	1	34 (22 Reps., 12 Dems.)	14 (9 Reps., 5 Dems.)
NORTHEAST						
Connecticut	Clinton by 14%	5				
Delaware	Clinton by 11%	1			Chris Coons (D)	John Carney (D)
Maine	Clinton by 3%	2			Susan Collins (R)	
Maryland	Clinton by 26%	6	1			
Massachusetts	Clinton by 27%	9			Ed Markey (D)	
New Hampshire	Clinton by 0.3%	2			Jeanne Shaheen (D)	Chris Sununu (R)
New Jersey	Clinton by 14%	11	1		Cory Booker (D)	
New York	Clinton by 22%	21	5			
Pennsylvania	Trump by 0.7%	9	9			
Rhode Island	Clinton by 16%	2			Jack Reed (D)	
Vermont	Clinton by 26%	1				Phil Scott (R)
West Virginia	Trump by 42%		3		Shelley Moore Capito (R)	Jim Justice (R)
		69	19			
MIDWEST						
Illinois	Clinton by 17%	13	5		Dick Durbin (D)	
Indiana	Trump by 19%	2	7			Eric Holcomb (R)
Iowa	Trump by 9%	3	1		Joni Ernst (R)	
Kansas	Trump by 21%	1	3		Pat Roberts (R) - OPEN	

					Seats Up in 2019-20	
		'16 Presidential Vote	House Seats		Senators	Governors
		Dem.	Rep.	Ind.		
National	Clinton by 2%	234	197	1	34 (22 Reps., 12 Dems.)	14 (9 Reps., 5 Dems.)
Michigan	Trump by 0.2%	7	6	1	Gary Peters (D)	
Minnesota	Clinton by 2%	5	3		Tina Smith (D)	
Missouri	Trump by 19%	2	6			Michael Parson (R)@
Nebraska	Trump by 25%		3		Ben Sasse (R)	
North Dakota	Trump by 36%		1			Doug Burgum (R)
Ohio	Trump by 8%	4	12			
South Dakota	Trump by 30%		1		Mike Rounds (R)	
Wisconsin	Trump by 0.7%	3	4			
		40	52	1		
SOUTH						
Alabama	Trump by 28%	1	6		Doug Jones (D)	
Arkansas	Trump by 27%		4		Tom Cotton (R)	
Florida	Trump by 1%	13	14			
Georgia	Trump by 5%	5	9		David Perdue (R)	
Kentucky	Trump by 30%	1	5		Mitch McConnell (R)	Matt Bevin (R) - 2019
Louisiana	Trump by 20%	1	5		Bill Cassidy (R)	John Bel Edwards (D) - 2019
Mississippi	Trump by 18%	1	3		Cindy Hyde-Smith (R)	Phil Bryant (R) - 2019 - OPEN
North Carolina	Trump by 4%	3	10		Thom Tillis (R)	Roy Cooper (D)
Oklahoma	Trump by 36%	1	4		James Inhofe (R)	
South Carolina	Trump by 14%	2	5		Lindsey Graham (R)	
Tennessee	Trump by 26%	2	7		Lamar Alexander (R) - OPEN	
Texas	Trump by 9%	13	23		John Cornyn (R)	
Virginia	Clinton by 5%	7	4		Mark Warner (D)	
		50	99			
WEST						
Alaska	Trump by 15%		1		Dan Sullivan (R)	
Arizona	Trump by 4%	5	4		Martha McSally (R)@	
California	Clinton by 30%	46	7			
Colorado	Clinton by 5%	4	3		Cory Gardner (R)	
Hawaii	Clinton by 32%	2				
Idaho	Trump by 32%		2		Jim Risch (R)	
Montana	Trump by 20%		1		Steve Daines (R)	Steve Bullock (D) - OPEN
Nevada	Clinton by 2%	3	1			
New Mexico	Clinton by 8%	3			Tom Udall (D) – OPEN	
Oregon	Clinton by 11%	4	1		Jeff Merkley (D)	
Utah	Trump by 18%	1	3			Gary Herbert (R) - OPEN
Washington	Clinton by 16%	7	3			Jay Inslee (D)
Wyoming	Trump by 46%		1		Mike Enzi (R) - OPEN	
		75	27			

Note: As of Oct. 31, 2019, there were three Democratic vacancies in the House – one formerly held by Democrats in Maryland, and two previously held by Republicans in New York and Wisconsin. The icon “@” indicates that the current incumbents were not elected but assumed their present office since the last election upon the death or resignation of their predecessor. The Senate race in 2020 in Arizona is a special election for the last two years of the term of the late John McCain (R).

Source: *The Cook Political Report* for open Senate seats and governorships in the 2019-20 election cycle.

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