Inside Elections

with

Nathan L. Gonzales

Nonpartisan Analysis

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2024 Senate Ratings

BATTLEGROUND

Democratic-Held (8)

MI Open (Stabenow, D)

Baldwin (D-Wis.)

Brown (D-Ohio)
Casey (D-Penn.)

Kaine (D-Va.)

Manchin (D-W.V.)

Rosen (D-Nev.)

Tester (D-Mont.)

Solid Democratic (14)

Cantwell (D-Wa.)
Cardin (D-Md.)
Carper (D-Del.)
Feinstein (D-Calif.)
Gillibrand (D-N.Y.)
Heinrich (D-N.M.)
Hirono (D-Hawaii)
King (I-Maine)

Murphy (D-Ct.) Sanders (I-Vt.)

Menendez (D-N.J.)

Klobuchar (DFL-Minn.)

Warren (D-Mass.) Whitehouse (D-R.I.) Republican-Held (0)

Independent-Held (1)

Sinema (I-Ariz.)

Solid Republican (11)

IN Open (Braun, R)
NE Vacant (Sasse, R)
Barrasso (R-Wy.)
Blackburn (R-Tenn.)
Cramer (R-N.D.)
Cruz (R-Texas)
Fischer (R-Neb.)
Hawley (R-Mo.)

Romney (R-Utah)
Scott (R-Fla.)

Wicker (R-Miss.)

CALENDAR

Jan. 6 Kentucky Governor filing deadline

Feb. 1 Mississippi Governor filing deadline

Feb. 21 Virginia's 4th District Special General Election

May 16 Kentucky Governor Primary

Aug. 8 | Mississippi Governor Primary

Aug. 10 Louisiana Governor filing deadline

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2024 Senate Overview: Majority on the Line, Again

By Nathan L. Gonzales, Erin Covey, and Jacob Rubashkin

Republicans failed to take control of the Senate in 2022, but they'll have another good shot at it in 2024.

The GOP fumbled a tremendous opportunity last cycle running in a midterm election with an unpopular Democratic president. Republicans needed a net gain of just a single Senate seat for a majority, and yet Democrats gained a seat.

At the outset, the field of 2024 Senate seats is tilted in Republicans' favor with a disproportionate number of vulnerable Democratic seats. Overall, 20 Democrats (and two independents who caucus with Democrats) are up for re-election in 2024, compared with just 11 Republicans, and newly-independent Sen. Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona. It's Class I, for any congressional nerds keeping track at home, plus Republican Sen. Ben Sasse's soon-to-be-vacant Nebraska seat,

The disparity in party control of the seats in this class goes back to 2000, when Democrats gained four seats. They gained six more seats (and the majority) in President George W. Bush's second midterm election. Democrats gained another two seats in this class in 2012. Republicans gained back two seats in this class in 2018 during President Donald Trump's midterm election, but the disparity remains.

The partisanship of the states within the class are particularly challenging for Democrats. Three Democratic senators will have to run for re-election in states Trump won in 2020: Joe Manchin of West Virginia, Sherrod Brown of Ohio, and Jon Tester of Montana. Democrats are defending four more states Joe Biden won narrowly: Wisconsin (Tammy Baldwin), Nevada (Jacky Rosen) Pennsylvania (Bob Casey), and Michigan (Debbie Stabenow's open seat). Sinema's race is competitive, and complicated, as well.

There are no Republican senators up for re-election in 2024 in states that Biden won. That's significant considering just one state (Wisconsin) voted the opposite way for the Senate in 2022 compared with 2020.

Looking at the initial 2024 Senate map, the most vulnerable Republican incumbent appears to be Rick Scott of Florida. But Florida is no longer a battleground state after GOP Gov. Ron DeSantis and GOP Sen. Marco Rubio were just re-elected by close to 20 points.

For the first time in recent memory, the initial Senate battlefield consists entirely of seats currently held by one party. West Virginia, Montana, Ohio, Arizona, Wisconsin, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Virginia are all vulnerable to some degree, while Florida is on the outside looking in.

Even without knowing the political environment and presidential nominees, Republicans start the 2024 cycle with a great opportunity to take back the Senate majority. But the GOP has shown that opportunity doesn't automatically translate to success.

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Virginia 4 Special: McClellan Poised for History

By Jacob Rubashkin

The first House race of the 2024 cycle is well underway — and for all intents and purposes may already be over.

Democrats in Virginia's 4th District chose state Sen. Jennifer McClellan as their nominee for the Feb. 21 special election to replace the late Rep. Donald McEachin. She defeated state Sen. Joe Morrisey, 85-14 percent, in a party-run "firehouse primary."

The Democrats' firehouse primary on Dec. 20 capped off a frenzied week-long campaign that began when GOP Gov. Glenn Youngkin set an early special election date that required both parties to select their nominees no later than Dec. 23. Ultimately, 27,900 voters cast ballots in what the state party says is the largest firehouse primary in their

Next month, McClellan will face Republican Leon Benjamin in the general election, which she is heavily favored to win given the district's decidedly Democratic lean. If elected, she will be the first Black woman to represent Virginia.

The Lay of the Land

The 4th District is anchored by the state capital of Richmond and extends due south to the North Carolina border.

By population, the district is dominated by Richmond proper and the surrounding suburbs in Henrico and Chesterfield counties, which together account for three quarters of district residents. To the south, Petersburg is the other major metro area in the district, accounting along with its neighboring towns and cities for another 12 percent of the district's population.

The district is plurality Black at 44 percent, with 42 percent white population, 10 percent Hispanic, and 3 percent Asian according to the 2020 Census.

In the 2020 presidential election, Joe Biden would have carried the seat by 36 points, 67-31 percent, a mild improvement over Hillary Clinton's 63-32 percent margin in 2016. And in the 2021 Virginia gubernatorial race, Democrat Terry McAuliffe would have carried the seat, 61-37 percent over Youngkin — indicating that the district moved in line with the state overall as it swung from a 10-point Biden victory to a 2-point Youngkin win.

McEachin most recently won re-election in 2022 by 30 points, 65-35 percent.

The Democratic Nominee

McClellan, 49, currently represents the 9th District in the state Senate, a heavily-Democratic, majority-Black seat based primarily in northeast Richmond and the Henrico County suburbs north and east of the city. She won the seat in a 2017 special election after McEachin, who previously represented the area in the state Senate, was elected to Congress.

Prior to that, she represented Richmond's 71st state House district from 2006-2017.

A 1994 graduate of the University of Richmond and 1997 graduate of the University of Virginia law school, McClellan also works as a



Jennifer McClellan

corporate lawyer for Verizon (the Virginia state legislature is part-

In 2021, McClellan ran for the Democratic nomination for governor, placing third with 12 percent, behind McAuliffe (62 percent) and former state Del. Jennifer

Carroll Foy (20 percent) but ahead of Lt. Gov. Justin Fairfax (4 percent) and state Del. Lee Carter (3 percent).

Neither McClellan nor Carroll Foy were able to establish themselves as the primary opposition to McAuliffe, who outraised the combined field and was never in serious danger of losing the primary, ultimately winning every single county and city in the commonwealth. With two pro-choice women running, EMILY's List and other women-focused groups stayed out of the race, and the presence of three Black candidates — plus McAuliffe's own appeal to Black voters — meant there was little consolidation racially.

Despite the disappointing result, McClellan's regional strength was evident in the returns; she placed second in the Richmond metro area, including in Richmond City, Henrico County, and Chesterfield County, which make up the bulk of the 4th District.

In the state legislature, McClellan developed a reputation as a hard

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worker with a focus on womens' rights and voting rights. She was the chief Senate sponsor of a sweeping abortion rights bill that became law in 2020 and a voting rights bill signed into law in 2021.

McClellan has scored a 100 percent rating from the Virginia chapters of, NARAL (in 2021), the League of Conservation Voters (in 2022), and the AFL-CIO (in 2019), and a 92 percent rating from the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (in 2022). Her top donors throughout her political career include New Virginia Majority (a progressive advocacy group that backed her in 2021), the National Domestic Workers Alliance, the Virginia Clean Energy Fund, and Planned Parenthood Advocates of Virginia.

Conversely, McClellan received a 12 percent rating from the American Conservative Union (2021), a 0 percent from the NRA (2019), and an 11 percent from the Family Foundation of Virginia (2021).

The Campaign So Far

The frenzied pace of the calendar means McClellan is still building up her campaign even as she comes out of the primary. The Democrat raised and spent about \$300,000 in the week before the nominating contest, but only had time to do one round of direct mail before the primary.

The race largely played out over the radio waves, with McClellan and Morrissey both airing ads, and in person, with McClellan storming all corners of the district alongside an army of high-profile endorsements.

Given the condensed nature of the race, McClellan's team moved quickly to wrap up support from as many prominent Democrats as possible. All six Democrats in the U.S. House delegation backed McClellan, as did Democratic Sens. Tim Kaine and Mark Warner. One Democrat familiar with the race noted the particular importance of Rep. Bobby Scott, who represented much of Richmond and Henrico County for part of the 2010s, and who cut a radio ad for McClellan.

She was supported by all of the Democratic state legislators whose districts overlap with the 4th, including state Del. Lamont Bagby, who briefly ran in the special election, and Richmond Mayor Levar Stoney. While McClellan benefitted from a long career in Virginia politics and a reputation as a solid legislator, she was also boosted by a strong desire among Democratic leaders to avoid a Morrissey victory (there was concern Bagby and McClellan, as two high-profile Black candidates from

Richmond, would split votes and allow Morrisey, who is white and has a base in Petersburg, to win). The pro-life state senator, who once won a term in the state House while serving a jail sentence, has twice been disbarred and has a lengthy criminal history that most seriously includes a conviction for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor."

Morrissey's most notable endorsement was Petersburg Mayor Samuel Parham. Morrissey's strength in Petersburg was evident in the results — one Democratic source estimated that he won about 40 percent of the city's votes — but was not nearly enough to make him competitive with McClellan district wide.

McClellan's campaign team includes media consultant David Eichenbaum of Eichenbaum Skinner Strategies, Terrance Green of 4c partners for radio ads, direct mail consultant Alan Moore of Moore campaigns and pollster Pete Brodnitz of Expedition Strategies.

The Republican

Leon Benjamin is a Navy veteran and former chairman of the Richmond City Republican Committee. He is also the head pastor and founder of New Life Harvest Church in Richmond. He was selected by Republicans as the party's nominee at a Dec. 17 party canvas, beating out former U.S. Department of Transportation official Derrick Hollie and Rep. Bob Good staffer Dale Sturdifen.

Benjamin was the GOP nominee against McEachin in 2020, when he lost 61-38 percent, and in 2022, when he lost 65-35 percent. Benjamin claimed without evidence that the 2020 results in his race were fraudulent.

The Bottom Line

McClellan is well-positioned to win the February special general election. The partisan lean of the district and her likely financial advantage — campaigns will not have to file FEC reports until Feb. 9 but McClellan raised in one week roughly what Benjamin raised over the entire 2022 cycle — make her the unquestionable favorite. There was little in the broader 2022 results to suggest that the political environment is so terrible for Democrats that seats such as this one are at risk, and nothing in the data since then suggests that has changed.

Barring some unforeseen event, McClellan is on track to be the next congresswoman from Virginia. Solid Democratic.

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2024 Senate Overview: State-by-State

Arizona. Kyrsten Sinema (I) elected 2018 as a Democrat (50%). Filing deadline April 2024. Sinema's decision to change parties throws a wrench into the battle for Arizona's competitive Senate seat. The independent senator has not said if she will run for re-election. But if she does run, the Democratic Party's apparatus will have to decide whether to back Sinema or a Democratic nominee — potentially Rep.

Ruben Gallego, who was considering challenging Sinema in the primary before she left the party, or Rep. Greg Stanton, a more moderate Democrat who's also signaled interest.

Unlike independent Sens. Bernie Sanders



Kyrsten Sinema

and Angus King, Sinema has lost significant support from Arizona Democrats as she's blocked the party's agenda on issues such as spending and the filibuster. And she can't necessarily count on independent voters to close the gap — the senator has an equally low approval rating among Democratic, Republican, and independent voters. Her ability to win enough independent and Republican voters in a general election would also depend on the GOP nominee.

If Republicans' nominate a more polarizing candidate, Sinema could peel off some Republican votes. The Arizona GOP is dominated by the Trump wing of the party, including state party chair Kelli Ward, Reps. Andy Biggs and Paul Gosar, and 2022 nominees Kari Lake and Blake Masters.

Someone like former Republican Gov. Doug Ducey would be a more formidable candidate against Sinema. Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell wasn't able to convince Ducey to run against Democratic Sen. Mark Kelly in 2022, but some Republicans are hoping he'll consider running next year. Ward, Biggs, Pinal County Sheriff Mark Lamb, Rep. David Schweikert, former Rep. Matt Salmon, State Treasurer Kimberely Yee, and freshman Rep. Juan Ciscomani have also been mentioned as potential candidates, along with Lake and Masters. Battleground.

California. Dianne Feinstein (D) elected 1992 Special (54%), 1994 (47%), 2000 (56%), 2006 (59%), 2012 (63%), 2018 (54%). Filing deadline TBD. Feinstein, 89, is the oldest currently serving member of Congress, and it's unclear whether she'll seek re-election. Questions about the senator's cognitive health have abounded for years; last year the *New York Times* reported that she "sometimes struggles to recall the names of colleagues, frequently has little recollection of meetings or telephone conversations, and at times walks around in a state of befuddlement." And Feinstein recently passed up the chance to be third in line to the presidency as president pro tempore of the Senate, deferring to her colleague Patty Murray. She has raised very little money recently and reported less than \$10,000 in her campaign account on Sept. 30, 2022.

If the senator forgoes re-election, a flood of Democrats could run to replace her. Given the size of the state — 22 million voters spread out over more than a dozen media markets — candidates with an early war

chest and name recognition would begin with an advantage. Rep. Adam Schiff, a national figure from his time leading the first impeachment of Trump and on the Jan. 6 committee, has amassed a mind-boggling \$20.6 million in his campaign account as of Nov. 28. That's more than any other candidate running in 2024 for the House (as of Nov. 28, 2022) or Senate (as of Sept. 30, 2022). But Schiff's greatest challenge may be that he is a white man running in a rapidly diversifying state and party.

Orange County Rep. Katie Porter is a progressive favorite who only took office in 2019 but has established a nationwide following with her sharp questioning of committee witnesses. Her 2022 contest tightened considerably toward the end of the year, and she had to spend much of the \$25 million she raised to eke out a 3-point victory, leaving her with a diminished but still considerable \$7.7 million in campaign funds. Rep. Ro Khanna has worked hard to build up his profile with media appearances and a nationwide tour. The Silicon Valley congressman is a close ally of both Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders, whose presidential campaign he cochaired, and fellow Californian Nancy Pelosi; he had a formidable \$5.4 million in the bank on Nov. 28.

Another potential candidate is Rep. Barbara Lee, a progressive icon who represents the Bay Area and was shortlisted for an appointment to the Senate following Kamala Harris's election as vice president.

In a state as large as this one, there's always potential for a wealthy self-funder to make a splash; Tom Steyer, who spent \$250 million of his own money running for president in 2020, is still engaged in politics, and there are lots of other uber-rich Californians.

The only declared Republican is radio host Denice Gary-Pandol, but others are sure to join. No matter what, the ballot will be crowded. The last three Senate races in the state attracted 23, 32, and 34 candidates respectively. Democrats in DC will be paying close attention so as to prevent the unthinkable: if so many Democrats run and none distinguish themselves, and two Republicans sneak into the general election via the top-two primary system. But that's highly unlikely. Solid Democratic.

Connecticut. Chris Murphy (D) elected 2012 (55%), 2018 (60%). Filing deadline June 11, 2024. Republicans fell flat in the Nutmeg State in 2022, despite NRSC chairman Rick Scott projecting confidence throughout the cycle. Democratic Sen. Richard Blumenthal defeated GOP challenger Leora Levy by 15 points, and a much-awaited rematch between Democratic Gov. Ned Lamont and GOP businessman Bob Stefanowksi ended in a 13-point victory by the incumbent — 10 points better than in 2018. In Connecticut's 5th District, Republicans failed to unseat Rep. Jahana Hayes despite targeting her with millions of dollars in attack ads. Murphy is running again, and Republicans have an exceedingly thin bench. It takes a moderate Republican to win statewide in Connecticut, but candidates in that mold — such as former state House Minority Leader Themis Klarides or New Britain Mayor Erin Stewart — don't seem to be able to win GOP primaries. Solid Democratic.

Delaware. Tom Carper (D) elected 2000 (56%), 2006 (70%), 2012 (66%), 2018 (60%). Filing deadline July 9, 2024. Carper is 75, and publicly undecided about whether to seek a fifth term in the Senate. The Democrat has held statewide office continuously since 1977. If he runs again he'll be favored to win another term, though he could face a

Continued on page 5



progressive primary challenger. In 2018, he defeated Air Force veteran Kerri Evelyn Harris, 65-35 percent. Harris, now a state representative, could run again regardless of whether Carper seeks re-election. If he does not, At-Large Rep. Lisa Blunt Rochester would start in a strong position. Solid Democratic.

Florida. Rick Scott (R) elected 2018 (50%). Filing deadline July

22, 2024. Scott spent the 2022 cycle elevating his political profile through his role as leader of the Senate Republicans' campaign committee — and aligning himself publicly against McConnell. But despite his apparent

presidential ambitions, Scott said last month that he plans to run for re-election.

Scott is technically Republicans' most vulnerable senator up for re-election. But he's in a much stronger position than many of his Democratic colleagues. Since Scott



Rick Scott

won the seat in 2018, when he defeated then-Sen. Bill Nelson by just 10,000 votes, Democrats have lost serious ground in the Sunshine State. In 2021, the number of registered Republicans in Florida superseded the number of registered Democrats, and last year, Ron DeSantis and Marco Rubio won their races by double digits.

One Democrat who's been mentioned as a potential challenger is former Rep. Stephanie Murphy, a moderate Democrat who represented an Orlando-based district for the past six years before declining to run for House or Senate in 2022. Murphy would likely be one of the best-positioned Florida Democrats to take on Scott. Solid Republican.

Hawaii. Mazie Hirono (D) elected 2012 (63%), 2018 (71%). Filing deadline June 4, 2024. Hirono, 75, has said that she plans to run for her third term in the Senate next year, and she should face minimal obstacles in her path to re-election. She ran unopposed in the 2018 Democratic primary and isn't likely to face serious opposition in the 2024 primary either. The longest-serving member of Hawaii's congressional delegation will be the heavy favorite in the general election. Solid Democratic.

Indiana. Open; Mike Braun (R) not seeking re-election. Filing deadline February 2024. No Senate race has drawn as much early activity as the race to replace Braun. The Republican announced in December that he's running to replace Gov. Eric Holcomb, who is term-limited, making Indiana one of just two states with an open Senate seat in 2024.

The most prominent Republican considering running is former Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels, who has largely been out of the political spotlight for the past decade. Once a potential candidate to challenge President Obama, Daniels finished his final term as governor of Indiana in early 2013 and has served as president of Purdue University since then. But the 73-year-old is weighing a political comeback, and would be the initial frontrunner for the Republican nomination if he launched a campaign. His pollster released a survey that showed him leading other potential GOP candidates by double digits.

Meanwhile, Republican Rep. Jim Banks is seriously considering a run.

The 43-year-old congressman has been involved in Indiana Republican politics for the past 15 years, and his national profile has risen as he led the Republican Study Committee for the past two years. After failing to win the majority whip position in the new Congress, Banks appears to be gearing up for a Senate bid.

Rep. Victoria Spartz is also weighing running for the GOP nomination. Her campaign released an internal poll that showed Daniels leading the primary field and Spartz tied with Banks in second place. Notably, the poll does not include Republican Attorney General Todd Rokita, another potential candidate. Former Indiana Attorney General Curtis Hill, former Rep. Trey Hollingsworth, and Jennifer-Ruth Green, an Air Force veteran who ran against Democratic Rep. Frank Mrvan last year, have been mentioned as possible candidates as well.

Indiana Republicans are skeptical that Holcomb himself would launch a bid — his record on pandemic restrictions and his veto of a bill banning transgender high school athletes have alienated him from Republican base voters. Indiana has not elected a Democrat to statewide office since Joe Donnelly in 2012, so the GOP primary will be the contest to watch. Solid Republican.

Maine. Angus King (I) elected 2012 (53%), 2018 (54%). Filing deadline March 15, 2024. King, 78, hasn't made an official re-election announcement but has indicated he'll seek a third term. If anything, the independent's electoral history understates his strength in the state; he has won a majority both elections despite the presence of a Democratic nominee on the ballot capturing about 10 percent. This will be King's first contest under the ranked-choice system Maine implemented two years ago. Ranked choice only solidifies his position as he can count on the vast majority of second-choice votes from any Democrat on the ballot (King caucuses with the Democrats in the Senate). But given his past performance he could easily win an outright majority on the first ballot. Solid Independent.

Maryland. Ben Cardin (D) elected 2006 (54%), 2012 (56%), 2018 (65%). Filing deadline Jan. 19, 2024. Cardin will be 81 in 2024. If he runs, he should win easily. But if he bows out, expect a crowded Democratic primary to replace him, with the winner heavily favored in November. Prince George's County Executive Angela Alsobrooks would consider a bid; she would be only the third Black woman ever elected to the Senate. Rep. David Trone is rumored to be considering a run; the wealthy wine store magnate could self-fund a bid and has been currying favor with House members for years with hundreds of max-out campaign contributions.

At just 40, Baltimore County Executive John Olszewski would be a credible candidate — like Alsobrooks he passed up a bid for governor last year. Rep. John Sarbanes' father Paul held this seat for 30 years before Cardin. And Rep. Jamie Raskin has a national platform and deep respect among the delegation. But he recently secured the top Democratic spot on the Oversight Committee, with the potential to become chairman if Democrats retake the House in 2024, and some Maryland Democratic sources say that holds more interest for him than being a senator. Raskin also was recently diagnosed with a "serious but treatable" cancer. Solid Democratic.

Massachusetts. Elizabeth Warren (D) elected 2012 (54%), 2018 (60%). Filing deadline May 28, 2024. Massachusetts GOP primary voters

Continued on page 6

5



don't seem interested in nominating the kinds of candidates who can win general elections, most recently running strident conservative Geoff Diehl for governor in 2022 after moderate GOP Gov. Charlie Baker opted not to run in the primary; Diehl lost by 29 points. Warren's wins haven't been particularly impressive compared to other statewide Democratic candidates, but that hasn't been an issue in the solidly blue state.

The only danger Warren might face would be in a primary, but her progressive bona fides insulate her from a challenge on her left flank, and then-Rep. Joe Kennedy's ill-advised 2020 run against Sen. Ed Markey demonstrated how difficult it is to win against an incumbent on a generational, rather than ideological, platform. Solid Democratic.

Michigan. Open; Debbie Stabenow (D) not seeking re-election. Filing deadline April 23, 2024. After serving in the Senate for the past 22 years, Stabenow announced this week that she won't seek re-election in 2024. The race to succeed the Democratic senator is guaranteed to draw serious attention and resources from both parties.

The Democratic Party has a deep bench in the Great Lakes State. Michigan Democrats swept in competitive races last November, bolstered by a ballot amendment codifying abortion rights that spurred Democratic turnout. Democrats also credit Gov. Gretchen Whitmer, who won her reelection bid by double digits, with energizing voters in the battleground state.

Whitmer herself could run for this open seat, and would likely clear the Democratic primary field if she were to launch a campaign. However, her spokesperson has said she will not run for the seat. Lt. Gov. Garlin Gilchrist, Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson, Attorney General Dana Nessel, all re-elected to their statewide offices in 2022 and term-limited in 2026, would be credible contenders.

Michigan's congressional delegation also includes some younger, battle-tested Democrats such as Reps. Elissa Slotkin and Haley Stevens — though if Slotkin were to run, she'd risk leaving her swing seat more vulnerable to Republicans in a cycle when Democrats only need to net five seats to take control of the House. Both Slotkin and Stevens are reportedly considering running, along with Democratic Rep. Debbie Dingell, who is 69-years-old. And state Sen. Mallory McMorrow, a rising star whose floor speech reacting to a Republican attack drew national attention, is a possible contender as well.

Secretary of Transportation Pete Buttigieg recently changed his residency to Michigan, the home of his husband Chasten Buttigieg — and a state with plenty of opportunity for an ambitious politician like the former presidential candidate. But Buttigieg seems unlikely to run at this point and released a statement saying he was "not seeking any other job."

Republicans, who haven't won a Michigan Senate seat since 1994, have fewer obvious options. John James, the newly-elected Republican congressman who ran against Stabenow in 2018 and Sen. Gary Peters in 2020, didn't rule out a bid, per the *Washington Examiner*.

Former Rep. Peter Meijer might get early attention, but it's not clear whether he can win a GOP primary, considering he lost his own in 2022 after voting to impeach Trump. Current 2nd District Rep. Bill Huizenga is a possibility, along with former Rep. Fred Upton — if he's not elected Speaker of the House. RNC Chairwoman Ronna McDaniel, 2022 gubernatorial nominee Tudor Dixon, 2022 gubernatorial candidates Kevin Rinke and Perry Johnson, and former Reps. Mike Bishop and Justin Amash have been mentioned as well.

This was a battleground race before and after Stabenow's decision.

After the 2022 elections, Democrats have a 5-point advantage in the state (51.1-46.1 percent), according to *Inside Elections'* Baseline. It's likely to be one of the top races in the country for the entire cycle, with the presidential race at the top of the ballot having an impact on the Senate winner. Battleground.

Minnesota. Amy Klobuchar (DFL) elected 2006 (58%), 2012 (65%), 2018 (60%). Filing deadline June 4, 2024. The 62-year-old senator has taken herself off the list of 2024 presidential hopefuls and confirmed that she is running for re-election. Although Minnesota has trended slightly more Republican in the past decade, Klobuchar remains in a



Amy Klobuchar

strong position to win her fourth term in the U.S. Senate. Republicans had hoped the state could be a sleeper opportunity in 2022, but Democrats took control of the state Senate, giving the party a trifecta, and they maintained

control of all statewide offices.

Klobuchar defeated her Republican opponents by 24 points in 2018, 35 points in 2012, and 20 points in 2006. Republicans haven't won a statewide race in Minnesota since 2006, and there's no indication that 2024 will look much better for them. Solid Democratic.

Mississippi. Roger Wicker (R) appointed 2007, elected 2008 special (55%), 2012 (57%), 2018 (59%). Filing deadline March 1, 2024. The last Democrat to win a Senate election in Mississippi was staunch segregationist John Stennis in 1982. Former Agriculture Secretary/Rep. Mike Espy ran two credible campaigns in 2018 and 2020 but came up short both times. Democrats have a long way to go before they can be competitive statewide in the Magnolia State. Solid Republican.

Missouri. Josh Hawley (R) elected 2018 (51%). Filing deadline

TBD. One of the youngest members of the U.S. Senate, Hawley's tenure has been defined by his populist positions and his attempts to contest Biden's presidential victory in 2020. The 42-year-old senator's name is a fixture on lists of potential presidential candidates in 2024, but he's said multiple times he is not looking at a presidential bid and appears to be running for re-election.

Once a bellwether state, Missouri has become solidly Republican over the past several years. Lucas Kunce, who ran in the 2022 Senate race to replace former Sen. Roy Blunt, just announced that he was running again, and Kansas City Mayor Quinton Lucas has been mentioned as a potential Democratic candidate as well. Solid Republican.

Montana. Jon Tester (D) elected 2006 (49%), 2012 (49%), 2018 (50%). Filing deadline March 11, 2024. Montana is one of three states Trump won in 2020 with a Democratic senator up for re-election in 2024, making it a top-tier pickup opportunity for Republicans. Tester hasn't officially committed to running again but says he feels "very positively about my chances."

Continued on page 7



Both GOP members of the state's congressional delegation, 1st District Rep. Ryan Zinke and 2nd District Rep. Matt Rosendale, are considering running against Tester. Rosendale was the GOP nominee against Tester in 2018, losing by 3 points, and Zinke had planned on running in 2018 before he was tapped as Trump's first Interior Secretary. Democrats see Tester as a battle-hardened campaigner and view the Republican field as uniquely weak: Rosendale because of his performance in 2018, and Zinke because of his myriad of federal investigations and lingering questions about his residency. Those concerns led Zinke to an underwhelming performance in both the GOP primary and the general election for the 1st District in 2022. Tester reported \$2.5 million in the bank on Sept. 30, compared to \$211,000 for Zinke and \$1.3 million for Rosendale. Battleground.

Nebraska. Deb Fischer (R) elected 2012 (58%), 2018 (58%). Filing deadline Feb. 15, 2024. Both Senate seats in the Cornhusker State are up for re-election next year, thanks to Sen. Ben Sasse's resignation sparking a special election. Fischer has confirmed that she's running for a third term in the Senate, and it's unlikely that she would face serious Democratic opposition in 2024. In 2018, the senator defeated her Democratic challenger by nearly 20 points. Solid Republican.

Nebraska Special. Incumbent to be appointed by incoming Gov. Jim Pillen (R). Filing deadline Feb. 15, 2024. Sasse, who's ending his term early to become president of the University of Florida, will be officially resigning Jan. 8, leaving newly-elected Gov. Jim Pillen to appoint a successor. Pillen's predecessor and longtime ally, now-former Gov. Pete Ricketts, is the clear frontrunner for the spot. Pillen won a contentious GOP primary last year with Ricketts' support, and it's expected that the new governor will return the favor.

If Ricketts is appointed and runs in the 2024 special election, there's a good chance that he'll face opposition from the more conservative, Trump-aligned wing of the Nebraska GOP. But the wealthy former governor, a part owner of the Chicago Cubs, would have the financial ability to fend off primary opponents. And Pillen's primary victory in last year's governor's race over the Trump-endorsed Charles Herbster bodes well for Ricketts. Solid Republican.

Nevada. Jacky Rosen (D) elected 2018 (50%). Filing deadline March 15, 2024. Republicans fell just short of unseating Democratic Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto last cycle, but they'll have another shot at a Senate seat in the Silver State in 2024.

Rosen says she's "all in" on running for re-election. The 65-year-old Democrat defeated then-Republican Sen. Dean Heller by five points in 2018 — one of just two Democratic pick-ups in the Senate that cycle — and will face another competitive race in the battleground state.

Republicans' nominee in 2022, former Nevada Attorney General Adam Laxalt, could attempt a second comeback, and his friendship with DeSantis would put him in a strong position if the latter becomes the Republican presidential nominee. But he now has multiple, high-profile losses on his resume. Army veteran Sam Brown, who lost to Laxalt in the Republican primary, clearly has political ambitions — he just became the chairman of the Nevada Faith and Freedom Coalition, affiliated with evangelical political consultant Ralph Reed. Brown, a Purple Heart recipient, ran as an outsider against Laxalt, who quickly consolidated the support of Republican leaders including Trump, DeSantis, and McConnell.

Among the other Republican candidates from last cycle, Rep. Susie Lee's Republican opponent, April Becker, could throw her hat in the ring. Heidi Gansert, the new state senate minority leader, has been mentioned as a possible candidate as well. One of Republicans' strongest candidates last cycle, Gov. Joe Lombardo, isn't likely to give up his governor's seat for a Senate campaign, but Lieutenant Governor Stavros Anthony and state Controller Andy Matthews would be credible candidates.

Republicans couldn't win last cycle even with Laxalt, who was seen as one of their stronger recruits, and Rosen will be a formidable opponent against whoever wins the nomination. Battleground.

New Jersey. Bob Menendez (D) appointed 2006, elected 2006 (53%), 2012 (58%), 2018 (54%). Filing deadline March 25, 2024. There's a tremendous amount of uncertainty surrounding this race given the ongoing federal investigation into the senator, who intends to run for re-election. Menendez beat federal corruption charges in 2017, but that



Bob Menendez

trial complicated what should have been an easy re-election; he defeated an unknown, underfunded challenger in the primary just 62-38 percent, and defeated his GOP opponent by 12 points in a competitive general election.

A lot depends on if Menendez is charged with a crime. If he is, he will have to run under indictment — last time it took two years for his case to go to trial, and another year for the charges to be dropped. If he is indicted and still runs, that could result in a competitive race, though the partisan lean of the state would likely keep him the favorite.

If he does not run, there are a bevy of well-funded Democratic members of Congress who might toss their hat in the ring, chief among them Reps. Josh Gottheimer, Mikie Sherrill, and Andy Kim. On the GOP side, an old Menendez bete noire is already coming back to D.C. Tom Kean Jr., who lost to Menendez 53-44 percent in the 2006 Senate race, is the new member from the 7th District, and could decide to seek a promotion. This race could get hotter, but for now it is Solid Democratic.

New Mexico. Martin Heinrich (D) elected 2012 (51%), 2018 (54%). Filing deadline Feb. 6, 2024. Heinrich is running for a third term. Republicans had a disappointing midterm cycle in New Mexico, narrowly losing their one House district in the state, as well as the statewide House vote by 11 points. The GOP had high hopes for gubernatorial nominee Mark Ronchetti, but he fell short of Gov. Michelle Lujan Grisham by 6 points — the best result of any statewide GOP candidate. The path is no easier for Republicans in 2024 as the Land of Enchantment continues to drift toward Democratic.

New York. Kirsten Gillibrand (D) appointed 2009, elected 2010 (63%), 2012 (72%), 2018 (67%). Filing deadline TBD. New York was a bright spot for Republicans in 2022, but that doesn't mean they have a shot at unseating Gillibrand in 2024. A perfect storm helped some

Continued on page 8



Republicans overperform Trump's 2020 performance by about 17 points — enough to pick up a handful of House seats but not enough to win any statewide races. Majority Leader Chuck Schumer won by 14 points, a significantly narrower margin than his 43-point victory in 2016, but still enough to make him one of the top performing Democrats in the state.

Up until the filing deadline, there will be speculation that Gillibrand will face a primary challenge from one or more of the state's many high-profile Democrats, Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and former Gov. Andrew Cuomo chief among them. But it's not clear why Ocasio-Cortez would embark on a costly, intra-party contest in which she'd be the underdog, especially when Democrats are within striking distance of retaking the House in 2024 but may lose the Senate. And while politicians often seek a promotion to the Senate to boost their profile, Ocasio-Cortez already has a national presence that rivals any senator's. Cuomo has less to lose but also a weaker starting position, given the multitude of scandals that drove him from office and left him deeply unpopular statewide and among Democrats. He passed up runs for governor and comptroller last year and currently hosts a podcast. Solid Democratic.

North Dakota. Kevin Cramer (R) election 2018 (55%). Filing deadline April 8, 2024. Kristin Hedger, a vice president at Bismarck-based electronics manufacturer Killdeer Mountain Manufacturing, has filed paperwork to run for this seat as an independent. Hedger was the Democratic-NPL nominee for secretary of state in 2006, losing 54-46 percent. Cramer previously defeated well-funded incumbent Democrat Heidi Heitkamp in a good year for Democrats, and won't have much trouble winning re-election. Solid Republican.

Ohio. Sherrod Brown (D) elected 2006 (56%), 2012 (51%), 2018 (53%). Filing deadline Dec. 20, 2023. Brown is in a precarious position as one of the three Democratic senators representing a red state up in 2024. While Joe Manchin of West Virginia and Jon Tester of Montana have yet to say whether they plan to run for re-election, Brown has confirmed that he is running.

The 70-year-old senator has represented the Buckeye State since 2007, but over the past six years, the once reliable swing state has become much more Republican. Brown, the lone Ohio Democrat who holds statewide office, defeated his Republican opponent Jim Renacci by 6 points in 2018.

Several Republican names have emerged as potential challengers. Republican state Sen. Matt Dolan, who came in third-place in the 2022 GOP Senate primary, has said that he's considering running again. Dolan, whose family owns the Cleveland Guardians, was the only candidate who distanced himself from Trump as the rest of the primary field jockeyed for the former president's blessing. Another 2022 Republican candidate, Bernie Moreno, is reportedly considering a comeback bid as well. Moreno, a luxury car dealership owner from Cleveland, suspended his Senate campaign after meeting with Trump before the GOP primary.

Other Republicans who could run include Ohio Secretary of State Frank LaRose, Ohio Attorney General Dave Yost, and Rep. Warren Davidson, who represents the 8th District based in the Cincinnati suburbs. The congressman has confirmed to *Politico* that he is considering a bid.

The race to replace Sen. Rob Portman last cycle did not bode well for

Ohio Democrats. Despite running a strong campaign, Rep. Tim Ryan still lost to Republican Sen. J.D. Vance by 6 points. There are few other Democratic politicians better positioned than Brown to win the support of white, working class voters that have left the party since the Trump era. Still, his populist message might not be enough to overcome Ohio's Republican bent. Battleground.

Pennsylvania. Bob Casey, Jr. (D) elected 2006 (59%), 2012 (54%), 2018 (56%). Filing deadline TBD. After a disappointing midterm election for Pennsylvania Republicans, they're hoping to unseat Keystone State's senior senator in 2024. Casey is the longest serving



Bob Casey

Democratic senator in Pennsylvania's history and has deep ties to the state — he was first elected to statewide office in Pennsylvania in 1996, and his father, Bob Casey Sr., served as governor in the '80s and '90s.

The GOP will need to avoid the kind of

expensive, bitter primary battle that hindered their ability to win the 2022 Senate race. At least one candidate from last cycle, David McCormick, appears to be laying the groundwork for a potential campaign, and has a nonfiction book titled "Superpower in Peril" set to release in March. The former hedge fund executive lost to Dr. Mehmet Oz in the GOP primary by less than 1,000 votes after Trump endorsed the talk show host.

McCormick would be in a stronger position in the GOP primary this time around, having built up his name ID across the state, and his ability to bankroll his campaign makes him a formidable contender. Another Pennsylvania Republican who could run is Stacy Garrity, an Army veteran who was elected state Treasurer in 2020.

Casey, 62, says his goal is to run for re-election in 2024, though he hasn't made a firm decision yet. He announced this week that he had been diagnosed with prostate cancer in December and said he is expected to make a full recovery.

Based on the partisanship of the state, this seat should be heavily contested by both parties in 2024. But Casey is in a stronger initial position than John Fetterman was, making Republicans' task even harder than it was in 2022. Battleground.

Rhode Island. Sheldon Whitehouse (D) elected 2006 (54%), 2012 (65%), 2018 (61%). Filing deadline June 26, 2024. Republicans had high hopes of regaining a foothold in the Ocean State in 2022, but the party's best candidate, former Cranston Mayor Allan Fung, fell 4 points short in the 2nd District, and no statewide candidates came close to winning. Solid Democratic.

Tennessee. Marsha Blackburn (R) elected 2018 (55%). Filing deadline April 4, 2024. The 70-year-old senator has yet to announce her 2024 plans, but she's filed for re-election with the FEC and given no indication that she plans to end her 30-year career in Tennessee GOP politics. In 2018, she defeated former Democratic Gov. Phil Bredesen by a comfortable 11-point margin, replacing Republican Sen. Bob Corker. As

Continued on page 9



one of the Senate's most staunchly conservative members and a strong supporter of Trump, it's unlikely that Blackburn would face serious Republican opposition in the primary. And even if Taylor Swift mobilizes an army of fans against Blackburn like she did six years ago, the Republican senator would be strongly favored against any Democratic opponent. Solid Republican.

Texas. Ted Cruz (R) elected 2012 (56%), 2018 (51%). Filing deadline Dec. 11, 2023. In 2018, Beto O'Rourke's challenge to Cruz rocked the Texas political ecosystem as the Democratic congressman came 2.6 points away from unseating the Republican senator. But Texas Democrats' dreams of turning the Lone Star State purple continue to look out of reach. In 2020, Republican Sen. John Cornyn defeated his Democratic challenger by nearly 10 points, and O'Rourke lost by double digits to Republican Gov. Greg Abbott this past November.

The 52-year-old senator confirmed last year that he planned to run in 2024 — though he didn't rule out another presidential run. The conservative firebrand would have a clear advantage over whoever Democrats nominate, and he's proven the ability to weather various controversies over the last 10 years.

Texas Democrats have few prospective challengers on their bench. O'Rourke remains the party's most high-profile and successful candidate in the past decade. But after losing two statewide races and mounting an unsuccessful presidential campaign in 2020, his star power has significantly dimmed, and after campaigning for the past six years, it's

unlikely that he'd challenge Cruz again. Democratic Rep. Colin Allred, who represents a suburban Dallas district, is considered a top candidate. Other potential contenders would be Houstonbased Rep. Lizzie Fletcher, El Pasobased Rep. Veronica



Colin Allred

Escobar, and the Castro twins — Rep. Joaquin Castro and former HUD Secretary Julián Castro. One lesser-known Democrat, former Midland City Councilman and 2020 Senate candidate John Love, has announced a campaign.

If Cruz decides to run for president, the GOP has a deep bench of candidates, and Democrats' ability to compete here would depend on the nominee. Solid Republican.

Utah. Mitt Romney (R) elected 2018 (63%). Filing deadline March 21, 2024. Romney is only in his first term but has already occupied multiple roles in the Senate, ranging from elder statesman to Trump-critic-in-chief. The former Massachusetts governor hasn't decided whether or not to run again, but if he does, he'll likely face a challenge on his right flank from a candidate more aligned with the former president, such as former Rep. Jason Chaffetz or state Attorney General Sean Reyes. If that's the case, Romney will be able to count on support from McConnell and the Senate Leadership Fund, which boosted another Trump critic, Sen. Lisa Murkowski, over her GOP challenger in Alaska in 2022.

One big question for Romney, especially if he faces more than one

credible challenger, is how he seeks ballot access: at a convention or via petitioning. If he only goes the convention route, he runs the risk of being shut out entirely if he places lower than second, in a potential replay of what happened to venerable Sen. Bob Bennett in 2010. To qualify via petition Romney would need 28,000 valid GOP signatures — a threshold former Gov. Jon Huntsman struggled to reach in 2020.

Democrats, meanwhile, have largely thrown in the towel in the Beehive State, declining to nominate a candidate for Senate last year in favor of supporting independent conservative candidate Evan McMullin, who lost by 10 points to GOP Sen. Mike Lee. Solid Republican.

Vermont. Bernie Sanders (I) elected 2006 (65%), 2012 (71%), 2018 (67%). Filing deadline May 30, 2024. Sanders' method of avoiding playing spoiler is to run for (and win) the Democratic nomination, only to decline it and run as an independent in the general election. Provided the democratic socialist icon runs for re-election — he will be 83 on Election Day — he will win. If he forgoes a run (or even runs for president again), the real contest will be the Democratic primary. Rep. Becca Balint could run, as could former Lt. Gov. Molly Gray, who lost the Democratic primary for the at-large House seat last year. State Sens. Kesha Ram Hinsdale and Tanya Vyhovsky could run as more progressive options. Solid Democratic.

Virginia. Tim Kaine (D) elected 2012 (53%), 2018 (57%). Filing deadline April 11, 2024. Just two years ago, the Virginia GOP looked moribund, having failed to win a single statewide office in over a decade and dropping to their lowest strength in the Congressional delegation since the early 1990s. Since then, there's been a reversal of fortune — the GOP won back all three state constitutional offices, recaptured the state House, and flipped a U.S. House seat. That's enough to make Kaine take his race seriously despite colleague Democratic Sen. Mark Warner's 12-point win and Biden's 10-point win in 2020.

The state GOP will have to decide whether to select their nominee via convention or statewide primary. The convention process can yield more ideological nominees that struggle in the general election, but in 2021 the convention resulted in a diverse slate of candidates led by a top-tier contender in Glenn Youngkin.

Youngkin's term doesn't end until 2025, but since he cannot run for re-election there's less downside to running for Senate — though the wealthy former Carlyle executive may have his sights set on a loftier target in 2024. Lt. Gov. Winsome Sears, the first Black woman elected statewide, could run, as could state Attorney General Jason Miyares. And Rep. Jen Kiggans, who flipped the 2nd District last year, could look for a promotion given that she's bound to face a competitive race either way. Senate races are different from gubernatorial contests, but Virginia Republicans have shown they're not quite out of juice yet. Battleground.

Washington. Maria Cantwell (D) elected 2000 (49%), 2006 (57%), 2012 (60%), 2018 (58%). Filing deadline May 17, 2024. Cantwell has said she plans to run for re-election and is well-positioned to win a fifth term. Republicans attempted to compete in last year's Senate race, but Democratic Sen. Patty Murray ultimately defeated GOP nominee Tiffany Smiley by a comfortable 15-point margin.

Washington's top-two primary process, where all candidates regardless of party run on the same primary ballot, should protect Cantwell from any serious opposition in her own party — a Republican

Continued on page 10



is likely to come in second-place in the primary. And even if she faces a strong candidate like Smiley, Cantwell would be the clear favorite to win in November. Solid Democratic.

West Virginia. Joe Manchin (D) elected 2010 special (53%), 2012 (61%), 2018 (49.6%). Filing deadline Jan. 26, 2024. The Mountain State is already the consensus best pickup opportunity for Republicans this cycle. And if Manchin decides not to seek re-election — either to run for his old job of governor or to return to private life — this state will likely come off the map entirely, as it did in 2014 when Democrat Jay Rockefeller left office and Republican Shelly Moore Capito easily won his seat.

The GOP primary is expected to be crowded. Alex Mooney, who currently represents the 2nd District, has already announced his bid. He most recently won a member-vs-member primary against his colleague David McKinley after West Virginia lost a congressional district, and hails from the more Trump-aligned wing of the party. State Attorney General Patrick Morrissey, who Manchin narrowly defeated in 2018, could also run again.

Both Mooney and Morrissey are from the state's Eastern Panhandle. If both run, they could fracture each others' bases and create an opportunity for another candidate from the southern half of the state, such as Evan Jenkins, the former 3rd District congressman who placed second in the 2018 GOP primary. He recently served as a state supreme court justice, and is now an executive at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Looming over the whole field is GOP Gov. Jim Justice, the onetime Democrat and richest man in the state, who is term-limited in 2024 and is a longtime critic of Manchin. Battleground.

Wisconsin. Tammy Baldwin (D) elected 2012 (51%), 2018 (55%). Filing deadline June 1, 2024. The Badger State was the site of one of Democrats' biggest disappointments in 2022, when the party failed to unseat GOP Sen. Ron Johnson. Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes fell just 1 point short after months of brutal attacks on his record on crime.

Baldwin has been one of the more electorally successful Democrats in the state despite her progressive leanings, and just scored her biggest victory on the national stage when she shepherded the Respect for Marriage Act into law, effectively codifying legal gay marriage nationwide. Republicans have gone through fractious nominating

contests for governor and Senate recently, and there's no clear frontrunner to take on Baldwin.

Rep. Mike Gallagher's profile — Princeton, Georgetown Ph.D., captain in the Marine Corps — makes him an attractive option for the GOP. But some Republican strategists are skeptical of the Green Bay congressman's ability to win a primary given his comments about Trump's role in the Jan. 6 insurrection and less conservative voting record



Tammy Baldwin

— his 80 percent rating from the American Conservative Union is middle of the pack for Republicans. Gallagher says that a run is "not on my mind," but that's not a denial; he had \$3 million in his campaign account at the end of November.

Rep. Bryan Steil is another potential candidate — the 1st District congressman is a Paul Ryan protege. Former Rep. Sean Duffy is a Trumpworld favorite who passed up a bid for governor last year despite the former president urging him to run. The one-time "Real World" star still has \$2 million in his campaign account. And Kevin Nicholson, who lost the GOP primary for Senate in 2018 and briefly ran for governor in 2022, has a well-heeled ally in mega donor Dick Uihlein, who has spent millions backing Nicholson's previous runs.

According to Baseline, Wisconsin is the most evenly divided state in the country, which means Baldwin is likely to face another serious race. Battleground.

Wyoming. John Barrasso (R) appointed 2007, elected 2008 special (73%), 2012 (76%), 2018 (67%). Filing deadline May 31, 2024. The Cowboy State's senior senator hasn't yet announced his 2024 plans. But the 70-year-old senator, who has served as Senate Republicans' conference chair since 2018, appears to have higher leadership ambitions. If he runs, his path to re-election in the bright red state should have few obstacles — he's mostly avoided provoking the ire of Wyoming Republicans and distanced himself from former Rep. Liz Cheney during her primary against incoming Rep. Harriet Hageman. Solid Republican.

Report Short

New York's 3rd District. GOP Rep. George Santos hasn't settled into office yet, and he's already been met with significant questions about fabricating his personal background and professional resume. The end result could be a short tenure and future open seat.

Even some of Santos' future colleagues are already openly critical of him. "There are a lot of people that serve in Congress that have lied," said Rep. James Comer of Kentucky. "Now Santos is special. He gets the award for 'Most Valuable Liar' that's ever probably attempted to serve in Congress."

His lies don't prohibit him from serving in Congress. But his potentially false financial filings with the Federal Election Commission could end up being his demise. The representative-elect is reportedly

under federal and local investigation.

Whether it's in a special election or 2024 race, the 3rd District race should be competitive. Joe Biden would have won the district with 54 percent in 2020, though the area shifted hard toward Republicans two years later. With a very narrow GOP House majority, a swing of just one seat could have a significant impact.

Santos won by a relatively comfortable margin in 2022, outpacing Democrat Robert Zimmerman by 8 points, but that was before the most damaging stories broke. If he runs for re-election his path will be much more challenging.

Once the dust settles on the vote for Speaker, the media will turn back to the Santos story and it will test his colleagues' appetite for him.

10