A NEW CYCLE BEGINS

The Rhodes Cook Letter

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Layout and Graphics by Sue Hoye
Sue@hoyes.org

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2009-10: A New Cycle Begins

Big national elections come only in even-numbered years. But the campaigns that produce them are often defined as two-year cycles: 2005-06, 2007-08, and now 2009-10. The even-numbered years hold 99% of the action. But it's the handful of elections in the odd-numbered years that precede them which can set the tone, or at least provide clues, as to what is likely to follow.

This year, the Nov. 3 lineup features gubernatorial elections in New Jersey and Virginia, as well as a pair of special House elections in Northern California and upstate New York, and an array of local contests led by the New York City mayor's race.

Whether they deserve it or not, this small array of elections is sure to be analyzed in detail as politicians of all stripes seek to divine voter sentiment in this early stage of the Obama administration. But it could also produce analysis that ultimately proves misleading.

Should the Democratic-held governorships in New Jersey and Virginia both fall to the Republicans, it would almost certainly be hailed as the start of a significant GOP comeback.

Maybe. Maybe not. Certainly a Republican victory next month in either state would be noteworthy. New Jersey has acquired a dark shade of "blue" in recent years. It has consistently voted Democratic for president since 1992 and last elected a Republican senator in 1972. Often considered one of the prime examples of American suburbia, the Garden State favored Barack Obama last fall by 16 percentage points.

Nov. 3 Lineup: Races to Watch

Gubernatorial elections in New Jersey and Virginia headline the balloting Nov. 3. But there will also be a number of other races across the country that day, including a pair of special congressional elections in California and New York as well as the New York City mayoralty election, which features the third-term bid of incumbent Michael Bloomberg.

CANDIDATES					
Elections	Incumbent/ Former House Member	Democrat	Republican	Significant Other	'08 Pres. Winner
GOVERNOR					
New Jersey	Jon Corzine (D)	Jon Corzine (Incumbent)	Chris Christie (Ex-U.S. Attorney)	Chris Daggett (Ind.) (Environmental expert)	Obama by 16%
Virginia	Tim Kaine (D)	Creigh Deeds (State Senator)	Bob McDonnell (ex-VA Attorney General)	-	Obama by 6%
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES					
California 10	Ellen Tauscher (D)	John Garamendi (Lt. Governor)	David Harmer (Lawyer)	-	Obama by 32%
New York 23	John McHugh (R)	Bill Owens (Lawyer)	DeDe Scozzafava (State Assemblywoman)	Doug Hoffman (Cons.) (Entrepreneur)	Obama by 5%
MAYOR					
New York City	Michael Bloomberg (R)	William Thompson (NYC Comptroller)	Michael Bloomberg (Incumbent)	-	Obama by 59%

Note: "Ind." is an abbreviation for Independent; "Cons." for Conservative Party.

Source: *America Votes 28* (CQ Press) for 2008 presidential vote by state and city; the web site of Swing State Project for results by congressional district.

Virginia, meanwhile, appears to be politically in transit from “red” to “purple.” Obama was the first Democrat to carry the state’s electoral votes since 1964, a victory which capped a quick succession of triumphs for his party in the Old Dominion. Since 2004, the Democrats have won both Senate seats and a majority of the state’s U.S. House delegation. And in 2008, Obama’s Virginia victory was no nail-biter. He won by a margin of 6 percentage points, nearly matching his nationwide advantage of 7 points.

Yet it would be no surprise if Republicans captured the governorship in Virginia next month. The state’s reasonably popular Democratic governor, Tim Kaine, is prevented by the state’s one-term-and-out law from seeking reelection. The Democratic nominee to replace him, rural state Sen. Creigh Deeds, has failed thus far to mount a compelling campaign. Recent polls show him trailing the Republican candidate, former state Attorney General Bob McDonnell, by roughly 10 percentage points.

McDonnell has replicated George W. Bush’s presidential campaign style from 2000, running as a “compassionate conservative” and muting a long history of social conservatism. In addition, McDonnell can boast ties to opposite ends of Virginia’s populous “urban crescent, since he was raised in the suburbs of Northern Virginia and fashioned his political career in the Tidewater. If the Democrat

is to win, it would be on the strength of an anti-Republican, not a pro-Deeds, vote

The situation is a bit brighter for the Democrats in New Jersey, where for better or worse, governors can run for reelection. The current incumbent, Jon Corzine, carries considerable baggage with tax unrest created by state bud-

New Jersey, Virginia Governorships: Recent Winners from ‘Out’ Party

When it comes to predicting next month’s gubernatorial elections in New Jersey and Virginia, Republicans have recent history on their side. Since 1989, the winner in both states has been from the opposition party nationally, regardless of the president’s job approval rating at the time. In Virginia, the ‘out’ party string of victories goes back even further than that - to 1977. Not since 1969 has the party holding the White House won the governorships in both New Jersey and Virginia. Incumbent governors are permitted to seek reelection in New Jersey. In Virginia, they are not. Below are gubernatorial results from both states over the last 50 years.

Election	President	Gubernatorial Winners (and victory margin)	
		New Jersey	Virginia
1961	John Kennedy (D)	Richard Hughes (D) by 2%	Albertis Harrison (D) by 28%
1965	Lyndon Johnson (D)	Richard Hughes (D)* by 16%	Mills Godwin (D) by 10%
1969	Richard Nixon (R)	William Cahill (R) by 21%	Linwood Holton (R) by 7%
1973	Richard Nixon (R)	Brendan Byrne (D) by 35%	Mills Godwin (R) by 1%
1977	Jimmy Carter (D)	Brendan Byrne (D)* by 14%	John Dalton (R) by 13%
1981	Ronald Reagan (R)	Thomas Kean (R) by 0.1%	Charles Robb (D) by 7%
1985	Ronald Reagan (R)	Thomas Kean (R)* by 40%	Gerald Baliles (D) by 10%
1989	George Bush (R)	James Florio (D) by 24%	Douglas Wilder (D) by 0.3%
1993	Bill Clinton (D)	Christine Todd Whitman (R) by 1%	George Allen (R) by 17%
1997	Bill Clinton (D)	Christine Todd Whitman (R)* by 1%	James Gilmore (R) by 13%
2001	George W. Bush (R)	Jim McGreevey (D) by 15%	Mark Warner (D) by 5%
2005	George W. Bush (R)	Jon Corzine (D) by 10%	Tim Kaine (D) by 6%

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates an incumbent. Gubernatorial winners listed in **bold** type were members of the party that did not control the White House at the time. Victory margins are measured in percentage points. Four years ago in New Jersey, for instance, Democrat Jon Corzine defeated his Republican opponent, 53% to 43% - a margin of 10 percentage points.

Source: *America Votes 28* (CQ Press) for gubernatorial results.

get problems and Jersey's usual quotient of political corruption on display. But thus far he has been reasonably successful in shifting the spotlight from his own record to that of his Republican opponent, former U.S. Attorney Chris Christie, who he has charged with loose financial practices in the handling of his office. Corzine has been trailing much of the year but has been gaining ground of late. As of mid-October, the New Jersey gubernatorial race was widely regarded as a dead heat.

Off Year, Midterm: A Big Difference

Yet whether the Republicans win both governorships, the Democrats hold both, or the two parties split, these off-year results are only occasionally a harbinger of the midterm election that follows a year later. Cases in point: The last midterm election cycle of the 20th century (1997-98) and the first of the 21st (2001-02).

In 1997, Bill Clinton began his second term on the rebound from the doldrums of his first, which had seen the Democrats lose

Presidential Popularity Affects Midterm Elections...

Over the last half century, there has been a close correlation between a president's job approval rating on the eve of a midterm election and the success of his party in the congressional contests that followed. The higher the midterm rating of the president, the better for the candidates of his party. That correlation is not so evident in terms of the off-year gubernatorial races in New Jersey and Virginia. Presidents with high ratings have seen their party lose both contests, while those with more modest approval numbers have seen their party win at least one of the states.

President	Election	President's Midterm Eve Approval Rating	Seats gained or lost by President's party in Midterm Election	
			House	Senate
Presidents with High Approval Ratings (60% and above)				
Bill Clinton (D)	1998	66%	+ 5	0
George W. Bush (R)	2002	63%	+ 8	+ 1
Ronald Reagan (R)	1986	63%	- 5	- 8
John Kennedy (D)	1962	61%	- 4	+ 2
Presidents with Moderate Approval Ratings (50-59%)				
George Bush (R)	1990	58%	- 8	- 1
Richard Nixon (R)	1970	58%	- 12	+ 1
Gerald Ford (R)	1974	54% *	- 48	- 4
Presidents with Low Approval Ratings (less than 50%)				
Jimmy Carter (D)	1978	49%	- 15	- 3
Bill Clinton (D)	1994	46%	- 54	- 8
Lyndon Johnson (D)	1966	44%	- 48	- 4
Ronald Reagan (R)	1982	42%	- 26	+ 1
George W. Bush (R)	2006	38%	- 30	- 6

... BUT HAS HAD LESS IMPACT ON NJ, VA GUBERNATORIAL OUTCOMES

President	Election	President's NJ, VA-eve Approval rating	Outcome for President's Party
Presidents with High Approval Ratings (60% and above)			
George W. Bush (R)	2001	88%	Lost both
John Kennedy (D)	1961	77%	Won both
George Bush (R)	1989	68%	Lost both
Lyndon Johnson (D)	1965	65%	Won both
Ronald Reagan (R)	1985	63%	Won NJ, lost VA
Presidents with Moderate Approval Ratings (50-59%)			
Bill Clinton (D)	1997	59%	Lost both
Richard Nixon (R)	1969	56%	Won both
Ronald Reagan (R)	1981	53%	Won NJ, lost VA
Jimmy Carter (D)	1977	51%	Won NJ, lost VA
Presidents with Low Approval Ratings (less than 50%)			
Bill Clinton (D)	1993	48%	Lost both
George W. Bush (R)	2005	41%	Lost both
Richard Nixon (R)	1973	27%	Won VA, lost NJ

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates that Richard Nixon resigned the presidency in August 1974 with a final job approval rating in the Gallup Poll of 24%. Midterm changes in congressional seats for the president's party are measured from the previous presidential election.

Sources: Gallup Poll for presidential job approval ratings; *Vital Statistics on Congress 2008* (Brookings Institution Press) for midterm congressional election results; *America Votes 28* (CQ Press) for the outcome of New Jersey and Virginia gubernatorial elections.

control of both houses of Congress in 1994. Even though Clinton's job approval rating was in the vicinity of 60% in the fall of 1997, Democrats lost the two gubernatorial races. Yet a year later, with Clinton's popularity continuing to inch upwards, Democrats enjoyed considerable success in the midterm elections. They gained five seats in the House and suffered no losses in the Senate.

In 2001, the story was similar. George W. Bush's approval rating reached 90% in the wake of 9/11, but Republicans still lost the gubernatorial contests in both New Jersey and Virginia that fall. But in 2002, with Bush still riding high in the polls, the Republicans gained eight House seats and one Senate seat from their totals in 2000. It marked only the third time since the Depression (1934 and 1998 being the others) that the president's party added House seats in a midterm election. The Republican Senate gain enabled the GOP to retake control of Congress' upper chamber.

The bottom line: While midterm elections often turn into a referendum on presidential performance, off-year voting in New Jersey and Virginia frequently follows a contrarian pattern largely independent of presidential approval ratings.

The opposition party nationally has won *both* the New Jersey and Virginia gubernatorial races in every election since 1989. In Virginia, the "out" party winning streak goes back even further than that – to 1977. And not since 1969, when Richard Nixon was president, has the party occupying the White House triumphed in the gubernatorial contests in both states.

Maybe this trend is due to the fact that each state holds a free-standing vote apart from the rest of the nation. Maybe it is because each state possesses a closet oppositional streak that would make New Hampshire (with its mantra of "Live Free or Die") quite proud. Maybe it is just a product of circumstances.

The result is that the off-year elections are not very predictive in a partisan sense, but they can begin to answer questions about the state of the electorate.

One involves the power of money to win elections – can controversial, but well-heeled, candidates carry the day? Both Corzine and New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg are reaching deep into their virtu-

New Governors, Senators and Representatives in 2009

So far this year, there have been changes in six Senate seats, five governorships and three House seats. The latter were decided by special elections. Senate vacancies were filled by gubernatorial appointments. In four of the five states with vacant governorships, lieutenant governors moved up to fill the vacancies. The exception was Arizona, which does not have a lieutenant governor. The vacancy there was filled by the secretary of state.

GOVERNORS	SENATORS	REPRESENTATIVES
Jan Brewer (R-Ariz.)	Michael Bennet (D-Colo.)	Judy Chu (D-Calif. 32)
Gary Herbert (R-Utah)	Roland Burris (D-Ill.)	Scott Murphy (D-N.Y. 20)
Mark Parkinson (D-Kan.)	Kirsten Gillibrand (D-N.Y.)	Mike Quigley (D-Ill. 5)
Sean Parnell (R-Alaska)	Ted Kaufman (D-Del.)	
Pat Quinn (D-Ill.)	Paul Kirk (D-Mass.)	
	George LeMieux (R-Fla.)	

Note: Changes as of Oct. 15, 2009. For information on the previous officeholder in each case, see "The Changing Composition of the 111th Congress," p. 12.

ally bottomless pockets to finance lavish reelection campaigns. Bloomberg has reportedly spent more than \$60 million of his own funds already this year; Corzine, more than \$15 million. The success of the latter will be evaluated simply in terms of whether he wins or loses. Bloomberg will be measured in large part against his previous mayoral showing in 2005, when he won a second term with roughly 60% of the vote. (Although Bloomberg has declared his political independence, he is running again in New York City on the Republican ballot line.)

A second question involves voter enthusiasm – which party has it now? In 2008, it was dramatically greater on the Democratic side, measured by the party's record presidential primary turnouts, fund-raising success and surge in voter registration. But this year, it looks as though the intensity has shifted to the Republicans – at least in terms of the volume of dissent heard at “tea parties,” town hall meetings, and presidential addresses to Congress.

Yet it is not clear whether this is largely an outcry from swing voters who were part of Obama's winning coalition or whether it represents a “loser's lament” – a loud cadre of non-Democrats who refuse to accept the 2008 election as a clear-cut Democratic victory. The results of the Nov. 3 balloting should begin to provide an answer.

A third question involves the role of third parties. Third party and independent entries were a significant factor in the 1990s, as candidates from Ross Perot to Jesse Ventura were either elected or played a prominent role in high-profile races. So far this decade, voters have largely viewed elections as high-stakes contests between the two parties that do not require any third party alternatives.

But as dissatisfaction with government performance continues to mount, might voters be ready for options to the two major parties? In the New Jersey governor's race, an independent candidate, Chris Daggett, is drawing about 15% of the vote in some polls .. and rising. Daggett has expertise in environmental policy and a background in state government, including stints in the administration of popular former Gov. Thomas Kean, a moderate Republican.

In the upstate New York congressional race, the Conservative Party candidate, Doug Hoffman, is emerging as the balance of power in the contest for the seat vacated by Secretary of the Army John McHugh (R). Hoffman bills himself as a “conservative Republican” in contrast to the party's more moderate nominee, state Assemblywoman DeDe Scozzafava. Hoffman has the backing of the Club for Growth and former GOP presidential aspirant Fred Thompson, yet his sharp-edged campaign could ultimately work to the advantage of the Democratic candidate, lawyer Bill Owens.

Then, there is Mayor Bloomberg himself, who could use a strong reelection victory next month to position himself for an independent presidential run in 2012. It is a campaign that in spite of ample media speculation, the Gotham billionaire decided not to make in 2008. But it is one that he may not have put off for good.

2008: By the Numbers ... A Final Look

With all the votes from last November's election by now (hopefully) accounted for, here are the final, official nationwide numbers. Democrats won 54% of the overall U.S. House vote, 53% of the popular vote for president, 52% of the aggregate U.S. Senate vote, and 50% of the limited gubernatorial vote.

	08 Electoral Vote/Seats Won		Total Turnout	Dems.	Reps.	Other	Plurality (in votes)
	Dems.	Reps.					
President	365	173	131,313,725	52.9%	45.7%	1.4%	D 9,550,193
House	257	178	120,724,312	54.0%	43.2%	2.7%	D 13,060,097
Senate	20	15	66,118,605	51.8%	45.0%	3.2%	D 4,546,814
Governor	7	4	16,704,529	50.3%	47.3%	2.4%	D 495,399

Source: *America Votes 28* (CQ Press).

President Obama's Short Coattails

It really should be no surprise that President Obama is encountering some significant opposition within his own party to health care reform. Few Democrats in Congress owe their seat to his "coattail" pull in the 2008 election.

While Obama won the White House last November by a comfortable margin in excess of 9.5 million votes, Democratic House candidates did even better. In the aggregate, they outpolled their Republican counterparts in 2008 by a margin of more than 13 million.

Given these numbers, it makes sense that Obama's coattails were pretty short. Of the 257 Democratic House winners last fall, a compilation by this author earlier this year for "Larry J. Sabato's Crystal Ball" (a product of the University of Virginia Center for Politics) found that Obama drew a larger percentage of the vote than just 36. And of this group, just a dozen were "marginal" winners, taking their seat with 55% or less of the total vote.

Among the broader group of 36 Democratic representatives that Obama outpaced in their districts were House Speaker Nancy Pelosi of California, House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Charles Ran-

Presidential Coattails: Subject to Shrinkage in Recent Years

Presidential coattails are not as long as they used to be. Landslide victories, which produce the longest coattails, do not occur much anymore. And in recent years, many House incumbents have been able to mount lavishly financed campaigns that have enabled them to run with considerable independence from their party's national ticket as well as to insulate themselves in large part from negative conditions. Presidential coattails are traditionally quantified by comparing the percentage of the vote won by each successful House candidate of the president's party with the percentage of the vote won by the presidential nominee in that same district. Those districts where the presidential candidate's percentage is higher than the successful House candidate are considered examples of presidential coattails.

Election	Winner	% of Popular Vote	Number of districts where presidential winner ran ahead of his party's victorious House candidates
1956	Dwight Eisenhower (R)*	57%	155
1960	John Kennedy (D)	50%	22
1964	Lyndon Johnson (D)*	61%	134
1968	Richard Nixon (R)	43%	-
1972	Richard Nixon (R)*	61%	104
1976	Jimmy Carter (D)	50%	22
1980	Ronald Reagan (R)	51%	38
1984	Ronald Reagan (R)*	59%	59
1988	George H.W. Bush (R)	53%	26
1992	Bill Clinton (D)	43%	4
1996	Bill Clinton (D)*	49%	27
2000	George W. Bush (R)	48%	26
2004	George W. Bush (R)*	51%	39
2008	Barack Obama (D)	53%	36

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates an incumbent president. Percentages for presidential and House candidates are based on the total vote cast for each office in each district.

Source: *Vital Statistics on Congress 2008* (Brookings Institution Press) for presidential coattails from 1956 through 2004. No data was presented, though, for the 1968 election. The 2008 total was aggregated by the author using data on the district-by-district presidential vote posted on the web site of the Swing State Project, along with official House results published in *America Votes 28* (CQ Press).

gel of New York, and Bobby Rush of Illinois, who had trounced Obama in a 2000 congressional primary in Rush's Chicago-based district.

The dozen marginal Democratic House winners that presumably benefited from Obama's superior performance were almost exclusively new members, such as Jim Himes (who ousted Republican Christopher Shays in Connecticut), Gerry Connolly (who won Republican Tom Davis' open seat in suburban Northern Virginia), Dina Titus (who retired Republican Jon Porter in Nevada), and Alan Grayson (who defeated Republican Ric Keller in Florida). The latter has become particularly prominent in recent weeks for declaring that the Republican response to health care reform is for the ailing to die quickly.

One of the few veteran Democrats that Obama arguably helped to victory was Democratic Rep. Paul Kanjorski of Pennsylvania. Obama took 57% of the vote in Kanjorski's district, 5 points better than the incumbent.

But on the whole, examples of Obama coattail pull were few and far between. Back in 1964, Lyndon Johnson ran ahead of 134 Democratic House winners. The legislative victories of the Great Society followed. In 1992, Bill Clinton outpaced only 4 Democratic House winners. The health care fiasco of 1993-94 ensued.

Unfortunately for Obama, 36 is closer to 4 than 134. This is not a good situation for the new president as he struggles to win passage of controversial parts of his ambitious agenda. But it should give many Democratic congressional members a degree of confidence that they can win without Obama on the ballot in 2010. The vast majority of them have won before without much help from the top of their ticket.

(Based on a column posted Aug. 21, 2009, in the online edition of The Wall Street Journal.)

The "Obama Dozen": '08 House Races Where He Made a Difference

Barack Obama ran ahead of 36 Democratic House winners in 2008, but only in a dozen of their districts did he arguably make the difference between victory and defeat. These were the ones where the Democratic congressional winner was elected with 55% or less of the total vote. Most of the 12 House Democrats were newly elected last fall, although the list also includes two incumbents. The winners, along with the districts they represent, are listed below in the alphabetical order of their state

District	Democratic Winner	Status	'08 Democrats		Obama Lead
			Obama %	House %	
Conn. 4	Jim Himes	Challenger	60%	51%	9%
Fla. 8	Alan Grayson	Challenger	53%	52%	1%
Maine 1	Chellie Pingree	Open Seat	61%	55%	6%
Mich. 7	Mark Schauer	Challenger	52%	49%	3%
Mich. 9	Gary Peters	Challenger	56%	52%	4%
Nev. 3	Dana Titus	Challenger	55%	47%	8%
N.H. 1	Carol Shea-Porter	Incumbent	53%	52%	1%
N.Y. 25	Dan Maffei	Open Seat	56%	55%	1%
Ohio 1	Steve Driehaus	Challenger	55%	52%	3%
Ohio 15	Mary Jo Kilroy	Open Seat	54%	46%	8%
Pa. 11	Paul Kanjorski	Incumbent	57%	52%	5%
Va. 11	Gerald Connolly	Open Seat	57%	55%	2%

Source: *America Votes 28* (CQ Press) for 2008 House results; Swing State Project for the '08 presidential vote by district.

Democratic High Water Mark?

'08 Margins for Presidential, Congressional and Gubernatorial Winners by State and Region

'08 Voting by State for President, U.S. House: Which Party Drew the Most Votes at Each Level

	Democratic president/House
	Democratic president/Republican House
	Republican president/Democratic House
	Republican president/Republican House

As the years roll by, Democrats may remember 2008 as their high water mark, at least for the opening decade of the 21st century. Democratic House candidates amassed a higher share of the aggregate congressional vote than their Republican counterparts in 35 states. The party's presidential candidate, Barack Obama, defeated his GOP rival, John McCain, in 28 states. Democratic candidates prevailed in 20 of 35 Senate races and won seven of the year's 11 gubernatorial contests.

	President	House	Senate	Governor
NATIONAL	Obama by 7%	Dems by 11%	Dems by 7%	Dems by 1%
Margin of victory in individual states:				
NORTHEAST	President	House	Senate	Governor
Connecticut	Obama by 22%	Dems by 32%	-	-
Delaware	Obama by 25%	Reps by 23%	Biden (D)* by 29%	Markell (D) by 35%
Maine	Obama by 17%	Dems by 22%	Collins (R)* by 23%	-
Maryland	Obama by 25%	Dems by 37%	-	-
Massachusetts	Obama by 26%	Dems by 74%	Kerry (D)* by 35%	-
New Hampshire	Obama by 10%	Dems by 10%	Shaheen (D) by 6%	Lynch (D)* by 43%
New Jersey	Obama by 16%	Dems by 13%	Lautenberg (D)* by 14%	-
New York	Obama by 27%	Dems by 35%	-	-
Pennsylvania	Obama by 10%	Dems by 12%	-	-
Rhode Island	Obama by 28%	Dems by 42%	Reed (D)* by 47%	-
Vermont	Obama by 37%	Dems - no GOP foe	-	Douglas (R)* by 32%
West Virginia	McCain by 13%	Dems by 34%	Rockefeller (D)* by 27%	Manchin (D)* by 44%
Dist. of Columbia	Obama by 86%	-	-	-

MIDWEST	President	House	Senate	Governor
Illinois	Obama by 25%	Dems by 23%	Durbin (D)* by 39%	-
Indiana	Obama by 1%	Dems by 6%	-	Daniels (R)* by 18%
Iowa	Obama by 10%	Dems by 4%	Harkin (D)* by 25%	-
Kansas	McCain by 15%	Reps by 18%	Roberts (R)* by 24%	-
Michigan	Obama by 16%	Dems by 8%	Levin (D)* by 29%	-
Minnesota	Obama by 10%	Dems by 19%	Franken (D) by 0.01%	-
Missouri	McCain by 0.1%	Dems by 4%	-	Nixon (D) by 19%
Nebraska	McCain by 15%	Reps by 32%	Johanns (R) by 17%	-
North Dakota	McCain by 9%	Dems by 24%	-	Hoeven (R)* by 51%
Ohio	Obama by 5%	Dems by 5%	-	-
South Dakota	McCain by 8%	Dems by 35%	Johnson (D)* by 25%	-
Wisconsin	Obama by 14%	Dems by 4%	-	-
SOUTH	President	House	Senate	Governor
Alabama	McCain by 22%	Reps by 22%	Sessions (R)* by 27%	-
Arkansas	McCain by 20%	Dems by 25%	Pryor (D)* - no GOP foe	-
Florida	Obama by 3%	Reps by 5%	-	-
Georgia	McCain by 5%	Dems by 2%	Chambliss (R)* by 15% (RO)	-
Kentucky	McCain by 16%	Reps by 11%	McConnell (R)* by 6%	-
Louisiana	McCain by 19%	Reps by 19%	Landrieu (D)* by 6%	-
Mississippi	McCain by 13%	Dems by 16%	Cochran (R)* by 23% Wicker (R)* by 10% (S)	-
North Carolina	Obama by 0.3%	Dems by 9%	Hagan (D) by 8%	Perdue (D) by 3%
Oklahoma	McCain by 31%	Reps by 22%	Inhofe (R)* by 17%	-
South Carolina	McCain by 9%	Reps by 1%	Graham (R)* by 15%	-
Tennessee	McCain by 15%	Dems by 9%	Alexander (R)* by 34%	-
Texas	McCain by 12%	Reps by 16%	Cornyn (R)* by 12%	-
Virginia	Obama by 6%	Dems by 7%	M. Warner (D) by 31%	-
WEST	President	House	Senate	Governor
Alaska	McCain by 22%	Reps by 5%	Begich (D) by 1%	-
Arizona	McCain by 9%	Dems by 2%	-	-
California	Obama by 24%	Dems by 23%	-	-
Colorado	Obama by 9%	Dems by 12%	M. Udall (D) by 10%	-
Hawaii	Obama by 45%	Dems by 57%	-	-
Idaho	McCain by 25%	Reps by 18%	Risch (R) by 24%	-
Montana	McCain by 2%	Reps by 32%	Baucus (D)* by 46%	Schweitzer (D)* by 33%
Nevada	Obama by 12%	Dems by 8%	-	-
New Mexico	Obama by 15%	Dems by 17%	T. Udall (D) by 23%	-
Oregon	Obama by 16%	Dems by 36%	Merkley (D) by 3%	-
Utah	McCain by 28%	Reps by 12%	-	Huntsman (R)* by 58%
Washington	Obama by 17%	Dems by 18%	-	Gregoire (D)* by 6%
Wyoming	McCain by 32%	Reps by 10%	Enzi (R)* by 51% Barrasso (R)* by 47% (S)	-

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates an incumbent. (S) denotes the winner of a special election to fill the remaining years of an unexpired term. (RO) indicates the result of a runoff. Republican Saxby Chambliss led the first round of Senate voting by 3 percentage points in Georgia but fell short of the majority needed to avoid a December runoff.

Source: *America Votes 28* (CQ Press).

The Changing Composition of the 111th Congress

Three years ago, Democrat John Garamendi drew more than 4 million votes in winning the lieutenant governorship of California. On Nov. 3, he could find himself elected to Congress with barely 40,000 votes. Garamendi is the front-runner to take the Northern California 10th District seat left vacant in late June by the resignation of Democratic Rep. Ellen O. Tauscher. Garamendi led the first round of voting Sept. 1 with 26% of the 107,303 votes cast, followed by Republican lawyer David Harmer (himself the son of a former California lieutenant governor) with 21%, and Democratic state Sen. Mark DeSaulnier (who had Tauscher's endorsement) with 18%. Since no candidate received a majority of the vote, Garamendi and Harmer (plus a slew of third party candidates) will face off in a second round of balloting Nov. 3. It will be one of two special congressional elections that day. The other will be held in upstate New York's 23rd District for the seat vacated by Republican John McHugh. Meanwhile, Rep. Robert Wexler (D-Fla.) formally announced Oct. 14 that he would resign from Congress in January 2010 to become president of the Center for Middle East Peace.

Date and Event	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES			SENATE				
	Dems.	Reps.	Vac.	Dems.	Reps.	Inds.	Und.	Vac.
2008 ELECTION (Nov. 4)	257	178		56	41	2	1	
Nov. 16, 2008 - Sen. Barack Obama (D-Ill.) resigns after election Nov. 4 as president of the United States.				55	41	2	1	1
Jan. 2, 2009 - Rep. Rahm Emanuel (D-Ill. 5) resigns to become White House chief of staff.	256	178	1					
Jan. 15, 2009 - Sen. Joe Biden (D-Del.) resigns on eve of his inauguration as vice president. Roland Burris (D-Ill) sworn in to fill the Senate vacancy created by Obama's resignation.				55	41	2	1	1
Jan. 16, 2009 - Ted Kaufman (D-Del.) sworn in to fill the Senate vacancy created by Biden's resignation.				56	41	2	1	
Jan. 20, 2009 - Sen. Ken Salazar (D-Colo.) resigns to become secretary of interior.				55	41	2	1	
Jan. 21, 2009 - Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.) resigns to become secretary of state.				54	41	2	1	2
Jan. 22, 2009 - Michael Bennet (D-Colo) sworn in to fill the Senate vacancy created by Salazar's resignation.				55	41	2	1	1
Jan. 26, 2009 - Rep. Kirsten Gillibrand (D-N.Y. 20) resigns after her appointment to the Senate.	255	178	2					
Jan. 27, 2009 - Kirsten Gillibrand (D-N.Y.) sworn in to fill the Senate vacancy created by Clinton's resignation.				56	41	2	1	
Feb. 24, 2009 - Rep. Hilda L. Solis (D-Calif. 32) resigns to become secretary of labor.	254	178	3					
March 31, 2009 - Special election in New York 20th won by Scott Murphy (D), although the vote was so close that he was not declared the winner until late April.	255	178	2					
April 7, 2009 - Special election in Illinois 5th won by Mike Quigley (D).	256	178	1					
April 28, 2009 - Sen. Arlen Specter (Pa.) announces that he is changing his party affiliation from Republican to Democrat.				57	40	2	1	
June 26, 2009 - Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-Calif. 10) resigns to become undersecretary of state for arms control and international security.	255	178	2					
June 30, 2009 - Minnesota Supreme Court rules that Al Franken (D) is entitled to be certified as the winner of state's 2008 Senate election. His opponent, ex- Republican Sen. Norm Coleman (R), concedes the race. Franken sworn in July 7, 2009.				58	40	2		
July 14, 2009 - Special election in California 32nd won by Judy Chu (D).	256	178	1					
Aug. 25, 2009 - Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) dies of brain cancer at age 77.				57	40	2		1
September 9, 2009 - Sen. Mel Martinez (R-Fla.) resigns.				57	39	2		2
September 10, 2009 - George LeMieux (R-Fla.) sworn in to fill the Senate vacancy created by Martinez's resignation.				57	40	2		1
September 21, 2009 - Rep. John McHugh (R-N.Y. 23) resigns to become secretary of the army.	256	177	2					
September 25, 2009 - Paul Kirk (D-Mass.) sworn in to fill the Senate vacancy created by Kennedy's death.				58	40	2		

... AND THE GOVERNORSHIPS

	Dems.	Reps.	Vac.
2008 GENERAL ELECTION (Nov. 4)	29	21	
Jan. 20, 2009 - Gov. Janet Napolitano (D-Ariz.) resigns to become secretary of homeland security.	28	21	1
Jan. 21, 2009 - Arizona Secretary of State Jan Brewer (R) sworn in to fill the vacancy created by Napolitano's resignation.	28	22	
Jan. 29, 2009 - Impeached Gov. Rod Blagojevich (D-Ill.) expelled from office by the Illinois Senate for trying to sell Barack Obama's vacant Senate seat (among other things). Lt. Gov. Pat Quinn (D) sworn in as Illinois governor.	28	22	
April 28, 2009 - Gov. Kathleen Sebelius (D-Kan.) resigns to become secretary of health and human services. Kansas Lt. Gov. Mark Parkinson (D) sworn in to fill the vacancy created by Sebelius' resignation.	28	22	
July 26, 2009 - Gov. Sarah Palin (R-Alaska) resigns. Lt. Gov. Sean Parnell (R) sworn in to fill the vacancy created by Palin's resignation.	28	22	
Aug. 11, 2009 - Gov. Jon Huntsman (R-Utah) resigns to become ambassador to China. Lt. Gov. Gary Herbert sworn in to fill the vacancy created by Huntsman's resignation.	28	22	

WHAT'S UP IN 2009-10

The 2009-10 election cycle opens in a big way Nov. 3, with gubernatorial contests in New Jersey and Virginia, followed by a special Senate election in Massachusetts January 19 for the seat of the late Edward M. Kennedy (D). Open seat races are identified below. "@" indicates that the current incumbent was not elected to their present position. Listed next to the senators whose seats are up in 2010 are their votes on key economic issues of the last year: the \$700 billion bailout bill that passed by a vote of 74-25 on Oct. 1, 2008; and the conference report on the \$787 billion economic stimulus package that passed 60-38 on Feb. 13, 2009.

	'08 Presidential Vote	House Seats		Seats Up		Senate Economic Votes	
		Dem.	Rep.	Governors	Senators	\$700 billion bailout ('08)	\$787 billion stimulus ('09)
At Stake in 2010	Obama by 7%	257	178	39 (21 D, 18 R)*	37 (19 D, 18 R)		
NORTHEAST							
Connecticut	Obama by 22%	5		M. Jodi Rell (R)	Christopher Dodd (D)	Yes	Yes
Delaware	Obama by 25%		1		Ted Kaufman (D)@ - OPEN	-	Yes
Maine	Obama by 17%	2		John Baldacci (D) - OPEN			
Maryland	Obama by 25%	7	1	Martin O'Malley (D)	Barbara Mikulski (D)	Yes	Yes
Massachusetts	Obama by 26%	10		Deval Patrick (D)	Paul Kirk (D)@ - OPEN (Jan. 2010 special election)	-	-
New Hampshire	Obama by 10%	2		John Lynch (D)	Judd Gregg (R) - OPEN	Yes	NO
New Jersey	Obama by 16%	8	5	Jon Corzine (D) - '09			
New York	Obama by 27%	26	3	David Paterson (D)@	Charles Schumer (D) Kirsten Gillibrand (D)@	Yes NO#	Yes Yes
Pennsylvania	Obama by 10%	12	7	Ed Rendell (D) - OPEN	Arlen Specter (D)	Yes	Yes
Rhode Island	Obama by 28%	2		Donald Carcieri (R) - OPEN			
Vermont	Obama by 37%	1		Jim Douglas (R) - OPEN	Patrick Leahy (D)	Yes	Yes
West Virginia	McCain by 13%		1				
		77	18				

	'08 Presidential Vote	House Seats		Seats Up		Senate Economic Votes	
		Dem.	Rep.	Governors	Senators	\$700 billion bailout ('08)	\$787 billion stimulus ('09)
At Stake in 2010	Obama by 7%	257	178	39 (21 D, 18 R)*	37 (19 D, 18 R)		
MIDWEST							
Illinois	Obama by 25%	12	7	Pat Quinn (D)@	Roland Burris (D)@ - OPEN	-	Yes
Indiana	Obama by 1%	5	4		Evan Bayh (D)	Yes	Yes
Iowa	Obama by 10%	3	2	Chet Culver (D)	Charles Grassley (R)	Yes	NO
Kansas	McCain by 15%	1	3	Mark Parkinson (D)@ - OPEN	Sam Brownback (R) - OPEN	NO	NO
Michigan	Obama by 16%	8	7	Jennifer Granholm (D) - OPEN			
Minnesota	Obama by 10%	5	3	Tim Pawlenty (R) - OPEN			
Missouri	McCain by 0.1%	4	5		Christopher Bond (R) - OPEN	Yes	NO
Nebraska	McCain by 15%		3	Dave Heineman (R)			
North Dakota	McCain by 9%	1			Byron Dorgan (D)	NO	Yes
Ohio	Obama by 5%	10	8	Ted Strickland (D)	George Voinovich (R) - OPEN	Yes	NO
South Dakota	McCain by 8%	1		Mike Rounds (R) - OPEN	John Thune (R)	Yes	NO
Wisconsin	Obama by 14%	5	3	James Doyle (D) - OPEN	Russell Feingold (D)	NO	Yes
		55	45				
SOUTH							
Alabama	McCain by 22%	3	4	Bob Riley (R) - OPEN	Richard Shelby (R)	NO	NO
Arkansas	McCain by 20%	3	1	Mike Beebe (D)	Blanche Lincoln (D)	Yes	Yes
Florida	Obama by 3%	10	15	Charlie Crist (R) - OPEN	George LeMieux (R)@	Yes	NO
Georgia	McCain by 5%	6	7	Sonny Perdue (R) - OPEN	Johnny Isakson (R)	Yes	NO
Kentucky	McCain by 16%	2	4		Jim Bunning (R) - OPEN	NO	NO
Louisiana	McCain by 19%	1	6		David Vitter (R)	NO	NO
Mississippi	McCain by 13%	3	1				
North Carolina	Obama by 0.3%	8	5		Richard Burr (R)	Yes	NO
Oklahoma	McCain by 31%	1	4	Brad Henry (D) - OPEN	Tom Coburn (R)	Yes	NO
South Carolina	McCain by 9%	2	4	Mark Sanford (R) - OPEN	Jim DeMint (R)	NO	NO
Tennessee	McCain by 15%	5	4	Phil Bredesen (D) - OPEN			
Texas	McCain by 12%	12	20	Rick Perry (R)			
Virginia	Obama by 6%	6	5	Tim Kaine (D) - '09 - OPEN			
		62	80				
WEST							
Alaska	McCain by 22%		1	Sean Parnell (R)@	Lisa Murkowski (R)	Yes	NO
Arizona	McCain by 9%	5	3	Jan Brewer (R)@	John McCain (R)	Yes	NO
California	Obama by 24%	34	19	Arnold Schwarzenegger (R) - OPEN	Barbara Boxer (D)	Yes	Yes
Colorado	Obama by 9%	5	2	Bill Ritter (D)	Mike Bennet (D)@	-	Yes
Hawaii	Obama by 45%	2		Linda Lingle (R) - OPEN	Daniel Inouye (D)	Yes	Yes
Idaho	McCain by 25%	1	1	C. L. "Butch" Otter (R)	Mike Crapo (R)	NO	NO
Montana	McCain by 2%		1				
Nevada	Obama by 12%	2	1	Jim Gibbons (R)	Harry Reid (D)	Yes	Yes
New Mexico	Obama by 15%	3		Bill Richardson (D) - OPEN			
Oregon	Obama by 16%	4	1	Ted Kulongoski (D) - OPEN	Ron Wyden (D)	NO	Yes
Utah	McCain by 28%	1	2	Gary Herbert (R)@	Robert Bennett (R)	Yes	NO
Washington	Obama by 17%	6	3		Patty Murray (D)	Yes	Yes
Wyoming	McCain by 32%		1	Dave Freudenthal (D) - OPEN			
		63	35				

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates that the total number of gubernatorial races include two to be decided in 2009. A pound sign (#) indicates that Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand (D-N.Y.) voted against the economic bailout bill on Oct. 3, 2008, while a member of the House. The partisan House totals reflect the membership elected in November 2008. As of Oct. 15, 2009, there were two House vacancies - a Democratic one in California and a Republican vacancy in New York.

Sources: *America Votes 28* (CQ Press); *The Almanac of American Politics 2008* (National Journal); www.thomas.gov for Senate economic votes.

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