**BACK TO
NORMALCY**

The Rhodes Cook Letter

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To reach Rhodes Cook:
Office Phone: 703-658-8818
E-mail: rhodescook@aol.com
Web: www.rhodescook.com

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Back to Normalcy

There are various ways to view the 2010 election. One is as a great Republican victory, which it was. Another is as the latest pendulum swing in American politics, which it also was. A third way is to see it as a return to “normalcy” – a Democratic president, a Republican House, a closely divided Senate that could fall to the GOP in 2012, and a majority of governorships in Republican hands.

The current alignment resembles the norm of the last two decades. Beginning with the election of Bill Clinton in 1992, Democrats have won three of five presidential elections, taking the popular vote in four of them. Republicans, meanwhile, have dominated at the congressional level and in the gubernatorial ranks. In seven of the last nine elections, starting with 1994, they have won the House of Representatives and a majority of governorships. In six of these elections, they have also won control of the Senate.

Congress and the Governors: GOP Not Far Off 1994 Levels

After all the pendulum swings of recent congressional and gubernatorial elections, Republican totals are close to where they were when the GOP won control of Congress and a majority of the nation's governorships in 1994. Republicans came out of the 2010 election with 12 more House seats than they held after the 1994 balloting, six less Senate seats, and one less governorship.

	Total Number of Republicans Holding Office								
	1994	'96	'98	2000	'02	'04	'06	'08	'10
House	230	227	223	221	229	232	202	178	242
Senate	53*	55	55	50#	51	55	49	41	47
Governors	30	31	31	29	26	28	22	21	29

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates that the Republican Senate total for 1994 includes the switch by Richard Shelby (Ala.) from Democrat to Republican a day after the election. A pound sign (#) indicates that in the spring of 2001, Republican Sen. James Jeffords of Vermont became an independent, reducing the number of GOP senators to 49 and shifting control of the Senate to the Democrats.

Source: *America Votes* (CQ Press).

In short, divided government is the norm these days. But it is unlike the previous version of split government, present in the generation after World War II. Then, Americans regularly elected Republican presidents and Democratic Congresses. From Dwight D. Eisenhower in the 1950s to George Bush in the early 1990s, that was the prevalent pattern in national politics.

What has changed? Two factors spring immediately to mind. At the congressional level, Republicans in the early 1990s turned the solid Democratic South into a region that is now overwhelmingly Republican. That turnaround - accompanied by the ability of the GOP to win the bulk of House seats from the battleground states of the Midwest - has transformed the party from a minority to a majority in the House, and on the cusp of control in the Senate.

At the presidential level, though, the recent trend has favored the Democrats. When the Republicans were winning seven of 10 presidential elections from 1952 through 1988, there was talk of a Republican "lock" on the Electoral College. But Clinton "picked" the lock in 1992 and Democrats have broken it open since then.

Basically, the idea of the lock was based on Republican hegemony in presidential voting in the South, the Plains and the Mountain West, coupled with widespread support from suburban voters in the industrial Frost Belt and California. Added inroads among ethnic, blue-collar voters enabled Republicans to win the White House in the latter half of the 20th century with gaudy electoral vote totals that frequently exceeded 400.

But those days are long gone. Changing demographics have been a factor, as California has become one of the most Democratic states in the country. And as the GOP has moved rightward, once loyal Republican suburbs are now leaning Democratic, especially in the northern half of the country. As a result, it is now the Democrats who sport a reliable electoral vote base in the Northeast and the Pacific West that has helped provide the party's nominee with at least 251 electoral votes in each of the last five elections.

Key to the New GOP House Majority: The Solid (Republican) South

Republicans have their largest House majority in more than 60 years due in large part to the consolidation of their base in the South. Since 1994, the GOP has gained 29 House seats in the region and has raised their total number of Southern seats to 102. Yet there is considerable regional variation in the Republican strength in the House. While the GOP now holds nearly three-fourths of the House seats from the South and close to two-thirds from the Midwest, Republicans have less than a majority of House seats from the West and barely one-third from the Northeast. In the latter two regions, they have lost considerable ground since 1994.

National Regions

	GOP House Seats by Region			GOP Share of Seats	
	1994	2010	Change, '94-'10	1994	2010
South	73	102	+ 29	53%	72%
Midwest	59	65	+ 6	56%	65%
West	53	43	- 10	57%	44%
Northeast	45	32	- 13	45%	34%
TOTAL	230	242	+ 12	53%	56%

Source: America Votes (CQ Press).

At this point, the early betting would favor both a Democratic president and Republican Congress prevailing in 2012.

In the Senate, Republicans are just four seats shy of a Senate majority.

The GOP has plenty of targets, as Democrats must defend 23 of the 33 seats that are up (including two held by Democratic-leaning independents). Three Democratic senators have already announced their retirements – Jeff Bingaman of New Mexico, Kent Conrad of North Dakota and Jim Webb of Virginia. New Mexico and Virginia are swing states; North Dakota has a definitely reddish hue. In addition, independent Joe Lieberman of Connecticut, who caucuses with the Democrats, is also retiring.

In the House, the 2010 election largely corrected the map, by wiping out a number of Democratic representatives who held Republican districts. Next year, it is hard to see many easy targets on either side. And the upcoming redistricting process, which by its nature can cause volatility by changing district lines, is in Republican hands in much of the country.

A Democratic Presidential Edge, A Republican Congressional Advantage

Since Democrat Bill Clinton's election as president in 1992, Republicans have controlled both houses of Congress most of the time. But Democrats have had the upper hand in presidential contests, winning three of the last five (and the popular vote in a fourth). In the process, they have won an average of 326 electoral votes per election, well above the 270 needed to win the White House. Since 1992, the Democrats have also won an aggregate of 21 million more presidential ballots than the Republicans, which translates into an average Democratic edge in the popular vote of 4 percentage points per election.

Election	Major Party Presidential Candidates	Democratic Electoral Vote	Dem. Popular Vote Margin		Party Control	
			Votes (in millions)	% Points	Senate	House
1992	CLINTON (D) - Bush (R)*	370	+ 5.8	+ 5.6%	D	D
'94					R	R
1996	CLINTON (D)* - Dole (R)	379	+ 8.2	+ 8.5%	R	R
'98					R	R
2000	G.W. BUSH (R) - Gore (D)#	266	+ 0.5	+ 0.5%	R/D@	R
'02					R	R
2004	G.W. BUSH (R)* - Kerry (D)	251	- 3.0	- 2.4%	R	R
'06					D	D
2008	OBAMA (D) - McCain (R)	365	+ 9.6	+ 7.2%	D	D
'10					D	R

Note: Winning presidential candidates are listed first and their names are capitalized. An asterisk (*) indicates an incumbent president. A pound sign (#) denotes that Democrat Al Gore carried the popular vote for president in 2000 but Republican George W. Bush won the all-important electoral vote. "@" indicates that in the spring of 2001, Republican Sen. James Jeffords of Vermont became an independent, reducing the number of GOP senators to 49 and shifting control of the Senate to the Democrats.

Source: *America Votes* (CQ Press).

At the presidential level, though, the GOP does not appear as well positioned for 2012. Barack Obama's job approval rating currently stands around 50%, a solid mark that represents a perceptible upswing from his scores throughout much of 2010.

Importantly, there is no sign of a significant Democratic primary challenge developing that might divert his time and attention, as well as amplify dissatisfaction with the president from the liberal wing of the party. The Obama forces should be able to focus on raising hundreds of millions of dollars in campaign money in the months ahead, as well as reactivating the political organization that proved such a juggernaut in 2008.

Republicans, it appear, will not have it so easy. No major candidate has yet to announce his candidacy in a potential field that currently appears muddled. Unlike most elections since World War II, the GOP does not have an heir apparent who is an obvious front-runner for the nomination. Former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney and former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee come closest to fitting the bill, as they finished second and third in the 2008 Republican presidential primary balloting. But in recent trial heats of GOP presidential preferences by the Gallup Poll, neither has been able to reach 20% support. Nor for that matter has anyone else, including former Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin.

In addition, any Republican hopes of coalescing quickly next year around a front-runner are complicated by new party nominating rules. The

Obama and Reelection: How He Compares to Recent Presidents

A lot can change between now and next November. Presidents with an *election-eve* job approval rating at least within a point or two of 50% often go on to win reelection. That is where Barack Obama stood at the beginning of this year. His approval rating in the Gallup Poll is compared below with other recent presidents at the start of the pre-election year.

Since Gerald Ford assumed the presidency in 1974, three presidents have won reelection while three have been defeated. Two of those who won, Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton, began the pre-election year with approval ratings in the Gallup Poll below Obama's in early January. But two others who lost their bid for another term had approval ratings above Obama's at a similar point in time. In short, a lot can happen in the months ahead that could affect the outcome of the 2012 election. However, probably nothing could be more beneficial to Obama than a dramatic improvement in the economy similar to that which boosted Reagan in his 1984 reelection bid.

President	Election Cycle	First Poll of Preelection Year	Unemployment Rates		Election Outcome
			Jan. of Preelection Year	Nov. of Election Year	
Barack Obama (D)	2011	48%	9.0%		
PRESIDENTS DEFEATED					
Gerald Ford (R)	1975-76	37%	8.1%	7.8%	Lost
Jimmy Carter (D)	1979-80	50%	5.9%	7.5%	Lost
George Bush (R)	1991-92	58%	6.4%	7.4%	Lost
PRESIDENTS REELECTED					
Ronald Reagan (R)	1983-84	37%	10.4%	7.2%	Won
Bill Clinton (D)	1995-96	47%	5.6%	5.4%	Won
George W. Bush (R)	2003-04	63%	5.8%	5.4%	Won
Note: Nationwide unemployment rates are based on seasonally adjusted figures.					
Sources: Gallup Poll, Bureau of Labor Statistics.					

start of the primary season will be delayed a month from January (in 2008) to February (in 2012). States voting in March will not be allowed to award all their delegates to the winning candidate, as many of the early-voting states did in 2008. As a result, the Republicans could have an unusually lengthy primary season next year, one that lasts well beyond the usual early March conclusion of recent GOP nominating cycles.

And then there is the matter of the “Tea Party” and the prospect of an intra-party bloodletting during the Republican primaries. Something like that happened on a massive scale a century ago, when President William Howard Taft was challenged by his one-time patron, former President Theodore Roosevelt, for the Republican nomination in 1912. Taft championed the party establishment; Roosevelt, the progressive wing. While Taft triumphed at the convention, the party split, with Roosevelt mounting a third party challenge that helped produce a landslide Democratic triumph that fall.

No one is predicting anything quite so spectacular in 2012. But any dissension during the presidential nominating process could diminish a Republican challenge in the fall that almost certainly would require a unified party to be successful.

The great “evener” for the GOP could be the economy. The issue propelled the Republicans to massive gains in 2010. And if the unemployment rate stays high and job creation low into 2012, the GOP presidential standard-bearer should be very much in contention all the way to Election Day.

An irony is that an improved economy would probably boost incumbents of both parties, including Obama and the Republican House of Representatives. But if it is still sluggish next year, then the prospects would arguably improve for challengers of both parties. In short, it might mean a return to the “old” normalcy of a Republican president and a Democratic Congress.

Note: The concept of back to “normalcy” was popularized by Republican Warren G. Harding in his successful presidential campaign in 1920. The phrase stood as an antidote to the turmoil of the World War I years and its immediate aftermath, and linked Harding to the yearning for peace and prosperity.

2012 Republican Presidential Race: It's a Muddle

Over the years, Republicans have usually gone into a presidential race with a clear front-runner for their party's nomination. But not this time. Early polling shows a muddle, with no potential candidate drawing even 20% support in recent Gallup polls among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents. While it can be a bit misleading to read a candidate's poll standing as an exact number, the leader in each survey is indicated in **bold** type. Candidates are included in the line graph who received at least 10% support in one of the three surveys listed below.

	Sept. 25-26, 2010	Nov. 13-14, 2010	Feb. 18-20, 2011
Michele Bachmann	-	-	4%
Haley Barbour	3%	4%	3%
Mitch Daniels	2%	1%	3%
Newt Gingrich	9%	13%	9%
Mike Huckabee	12%	16%	18%
Sarah Palin	16%	16%	16%
Ron Paul	7%	6%	5%
Tim Pawlenty	3%	4%	3%
Mitt Romney	19%	19%	16%

Note: Percentages do not add up to 100 because only candidates who drew at least 3% in the latest Gallup Poll of 2012 Republican presidential preferences are included. A dash (-) indicates that either the candidate was not included in the survey or did not register 1% support.

Source: Gallup Poll.

The Senate Elections of 2010: The GOP's Missed Opportunity

For Republicans, 2010 was a phenomenal year. The party easily won control of the House of Representatives, a majority of the nation's governorships, and, for good measure, picked up a plethora of state legislatures on the eve of the decennial round of congressional redistricting.

But tempering this considerable success was the fact that the GOP did not win the Senate, the one major prize up for grabs in November 2010 that eluded their grasp.

From the start, it was a tall order for the Republicans. They needed to pick up 10 seats to win a Senate majority—a feat that would require them to capture virtually all of the Democratic seats that were considered to be competitive. Ultimately, the GOP ended up with a gain of six, leaving the Democrats with an important beach-head on Capitol Hill.

Republican Senate candidates had many of the same assets that propelled their ticket-mates for other offices. At the top of the list was a struggling economy, which many voters blamed on President Barack Obama and his Democratic congressional allies. In turn, it fueled an environment of voter unease that strongly favored the GOP.

But the Democrats had an asset of their own in their defensive playbook—and that was the element of

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Best Independent / Third Party Showings in 2010

Following is a list of those independent or third party candidates for Senate, House and governor in 2010 who received at least 10% of the total vote in a contest where both major parties fielded candidates. Those independent or third party candidates who fared best tended to be known commodities. In Alaska, Lisa Murkowski was an incumbent senator who was reelected as a write-in candidate after losing the Republican primary. In Rhode Island, former GOP Sen. Lincoln Chafee was elected governor as an independent. In Florida, Gov. Charlie Crist (also a former Republican) ran for the Senate as an independent but finished second, while in Colorado, former GOP Rep. Tom Tancredo used the ballot line of the American Constitution Party to emerge as the runner-up in the race for governor. The small third party had barely 3,000 registered voters in Colorado in the fall of 2010, but Tancredo drew more than 650,000 votes. Less successful was the comeback bid of former Rep. James Traficant of Ohio, who was expelled from the House in 2002 and ran third last November as an independent in the Youngstown-based district that included some of the same territory that he used to represent.

Candidate	Ballot Designation	Office Sought	% of Vote	Election Outcome
Lisa Murkowski*	Write-in	Senator (Alaska)	39%	WON
Lincoln Chafee	Independent	Governor (R.I.)	36%	WON
Tom Tancredo	American Constitution	Governor (Colo.)	36%	Second
Eliot Cutler	Independent	Governor (Maine)	36%	Second
Charlie Crist	Independent	Senator (Fla.)	30%	Second
James Traficant	Independent	House (Ohio 17)	16%	Third
Tom Horner	Independence Party	Governor (Minn.)	12%	Third
Dan Hill	By Petition	House (Neb. 3)	12%	Third
Randy Wilkinson	Tea Party	House (Fla. 12)	11%	Third
Savas Kyriakidis	Independent	House (Tenn. 3)	11%	Third

Note: An asterisk (*) indicates an incumbent.

Source: Based on official returns, subject to amendment, from state election web sites.

Wrapping Up 2010: Gubernatorial and Senate Elections

One of the benefits of the slow-starting 2012 presidential campaign is that it provides the opportunity to take a longer look at other topics - in this case, the 2010 midterm election. This chart provides a summary of last November's gubernatorial and Senate contests. Comparable information on the 2010 gubernatorial and Senate primaries will appear in the next issue in April. Percentages in the chart below do not always add to 100 because only those candidates are included who received at least 5% of the total vote. An asterisk (*) denotes an incumbent. The results are based on official returns from state election web sites, although in a few cases they may be subject to amendment.

	GOVERNOR			SENATOR			Comment
	Turnout	Candidates	%	Turnout	Candidates	%	
ALABAMA	1,494,273	ROBERT BENTLEY (R) Ron Sparks (D)	58% 42%	1,485,499	RICHARD SHELBY (R)* William Barnes (D)	65% 35%	Republicans have won last 6 Senate races and 6 of last 7 gubernatorial contests in Alabama
ALASKA	256,192	SEAN PARNELL (R)* Ethan Berkowitz (D)	59% 38%	255,962	LISA MURKOWSKI (write-in)* Joe Miller (R) Scott McAdams (D)	39% 35% 23%	GOP incumbent Murkowski avenges primary loss with first successful write-in campaign for the Senate since Strom Thurmond in 1954
ARIZONA	1,728,081	JAN BREWER (R)* Terry Goddard (D)	54% 42%	1,708,484	JOHN MCCAIN (R)* Rodney Glassman (D)	59% 35%	GOP has won 7 straight Senate races in Arizona, but McCain's percentage his lowest since '92
ARKANSAS	781,333	MIKE BEEBE (D)* Jim Keet (R)	64% 34%	779,957	JOHN BOOZMAN (R) Blanche Lincoln (D)*	58% 37%	Gov. Beebe only Democratic gubernatorial or Senate candidate in South to win in 2010
CALIFORNIA	10,095,185	JERRY BROWN (D) Meg Whitman (R)	54% 41%	9,999,860	BARBARA BOXER (D)* Carly Fiorina (R)	52% 42%	Democratic proclivities of the Golden State too much for pair of well-heeled GOP businesswomen
COLORADO	1,787,730	JOHN HICKENLOOPER (D) Tom Tancredo (Amer. Const.) Dan Maes (R)	51% 36% 11%	1,772,286	MICHAEL BENNET (D)* Ken Buck (R)	48% 46%	Democrats retain governorship and Senate seat in one of nine states that voted for Bush in 2004 and Obama in '08
CONNECTICUT	1,145,799	DAN MALLOY (D) Tom Foley (R)	50% 49%	1,153,115	RICHARD BLUMENTHAL (D) Linda McMahon (R)	55% 43%	Democrats win open seat races for Senate and governor, though gubernatorial win is a cliffhanger
DELAWARE		-		307,367	CHRIS COONS (D) Christine O'Donnell (R)	57% 40%	Rep. Michael Castle's upset loss in GOP primary opens door for Democrats to hold VP Biden's seat
FLORIDA	5,359,735	RICK SCOTT (R) Alex Sink (D)	49% 48%	5,411,106	MARCO RUBIO (R) Charlie Crist (Ind.) Kendrick Meek (D)	49% 30% 20%	Three-way Senate contest in national limelight much of year, but in closing weeks attention shifts to the hotly contested gubernatorial race
GEORGIA	2,576,161	NATHAN DEAL (R) Roy Barnes (D)	53% 43%	2,555,258	JOHNNY ISAKSON (R)* Mike Thurmond (D)	58% 39%	Plight of Georgia Democrats shows in Barnes' declining vote for governor, which was 52% in '98
HAWAII	382,563	NEIL ABERCROMBIE (D) Duke Aiona (R)	58% 41%	370,583	DANIEL INOUE (D)* Cam Cavasso (R)	75% 22%	After two terms with a Republican governor, Hawaii returns to its Democratic roots in '10
IDAHO	452,535	C.L. "BUTCH" OTTER (R)* Keith Allred (D)	59% 33%	449,530	MIKE CRAPO (R)* Tom Sullivan (D)	71% 25%	Republican Idaho has not elected a Democratic senator since Frank Church in 1974
ILLINOIS	3,729,989	PAT QUINN (D)* Bill Brady (R)	47% 46%	3,704,473	MARK KIRK (R) Alexi Giannoulis (D)	48% 46%	Split decision, as Democrats hold governorship but lose Obama's former Senate seat

	GOVERNOR			SENATOR			Comment
	Turnout	Candidates	%	Turnout	Candidates	%	
INDIANA		-		1,744,481	DAN COATS (R) Brad Ellsworth (D)	55% 40%	Coats wins back the Senate seat he voluntarily gave up 12 years earlier
IOWA	1,122,013	TERRY BRANSTAD (R) Chet Culver (D)*	53% 43%	1,116,063	CHARLES GRASSLEY (R)* Roxanne Conlin (D)	64% 33%	Branstad wins a fifth term as Iowa's governor, 28 years after he was first elected
KANSAS	838,790	SAM BROWNBACK (R) Tom Holland (D)	63% 32%	837,692	JERRY MORAN (R) Lisa Johnston (D)	70% 26%	Kansas Democrats have held their own in governors' races but last Senate win was in 1932
KENTUCKY	-	-		1,356,468	RAND PAUL (R) Jack Conway (D)	56% 44%	Son of libertarian GOP favorite, Ron Paul, arguably scores "Tea Party's" biggest win in 2010
LOUISIANA	-	-		1,264,994	DAVID VITTER (R)* Charlie Melancon (D)	57% 38%	Even a well-publicized sex scandal could not keep Vitter from easy win in GOP-trending bayou
MAINE	572,766	PAUL LePAGE (R) Eliot Cutler (Ind.) Libby Mitchell (D) Shawn Moody (Ind.)	38% 36% 19% 5%	-	-		Maine comes close to electing its third independent governor in the last 40 years
MARYLAND	1,857,880	MARTIN O'MALLEY (D)* Robert Ehrlich (R)	56% 42%	1,833,858	BARBARA MIKULSKI (D)* Eric Wargotz (R)	62% 36%	Big Republican wave in 2010 fails to penetrate very far in Democratic Maryland
MASSACHUSETTS	2,297,039	DEVAL PATRICK (D)* Charles Baker (R) Tim Cahill (Ind.)	48% 42% 8%	-	-		Massachusetts Republicans fail to follow up on Scott Brown's big upset Senate win in January
MICHIGAN	3,226,088	RICK SNYDER (R) Virg Bernero (D)	58% 40%	-	-		Beginning with George Romney's '62 win, Michigan GOP has taken 10 of last 14 gubernatorial contests
MINNESOTA	2,107,021	MARK DAYTON (D) Tom Emmer (R) Tom Horner (Independence)	44% 43% 12%	-	-		Gubernatorial election requires a recount but does not take nearly as long to resolve as '08 Senate election ultimately won by Al Franken (D)
MISSISSIPPI	-	-		-	-		No election for Senate or governor in 2010
MISSOURI	-	-		1,943,899	ROY BLUNT (R) Robin Carnahan (D)	54% 41%	Father of a former governor defeats daughter of a former governor for open Senate seat
MONTANA	-	-		-	-		No election for Senate or governor in 2010
NEBRASKA	487,988	DAVE HEINEMAN (R)* Mike Meister (D)	74% 26%	-	-		Since '06 primary upset of U. of Nebraska coaching legend, Tom Osborne, Heineman has won easily
NEVADA	716,529	BRIAN SANDOVAL (R) Rory Reid (D)	53% 42%	721,404	HARRY REID (D)* Sharron Angle (R)	50% 45%	Nov. 2 a mixed day for the Reids - Harry holds Senate seat, but son Rory loses bid for governor
NEW HAMPSHIRE	456,588	JOHN LYNCH (D)* John Stephen (R)	53% 45%	455,149	KELLY AYOTTE (R) Paul Hodes (D)	60% 37%	After Democratic advances, New Hampshire turns back toward its Republican moorings in 2010

	GOVERNOR			SENATOR			Comment
	Turnout	Candidates	%	Turnout	Candidates	%	
NEW JERSEY	-	-		-	-		No election for Senate or governor in 2010
NEW MEXICO	601,752	SUSANNA MARTINEZ (R) Diane Denish (D)	53% 47%	-	-		Governor's race reportedly only third ever where both major party nominees were women
NEW YORK	4,658,825	ANDREW CUOMO (D) Carl Paladino (D)	62% 33%	4,596,796 (Full term) 4,508,771 (Short term)	CHARLES SCHUMER (D)* Jay Townsend (R) KIRSTEN GILLIBRAND (D)* Joe DioGuardi (R)	66% 32% 63% 35%	Empire State Republicans improve their paltry numbers in House delegation to 8 from 2, but remain unable to surpass 40% of the vote in any presidential, gubernatorial or Senate election in New York since 2002
NORTH CAROLINA	-	-		2,660,079	RICHARD BURR (R)* Elaine Marshall (D)	55% 43%	At one point in the cycle, Democrats had hopes of upsetting Burr
NORTH DAKOTA	-	-		238,812	JOHN HOEVEN (R) Tracy Potter (D)	76% 22%	Only unopposed John Thune draws a larger share of Senate vote than Gov. Hoeven in 2010
OHIO	3,852,453	JOHN KASICH (R) Ted Strickland (D)*	49% 47%	3,815,080	ROB PORTMAN (R) Lee Fisher (D)	57% 39%	Quintessential bellwether state experiences strong Republican tide in 2010
OKLAHOMA	1,034,767	MARY FALLIN (R) Jari Askins (D)	60% 40%	1,017,151	TOM COBURN (R)* Jim Rogers (D)	71% 26%	Oklahoma Democrats have lost every Senate race since 1990 and every presidential contest since '64
OREGON	1,453,548	JOHN KITZHABER (D) Chris Dudley (R)	49% 48%	1,442,588	RON WYDEN (D)* Jim Huffman (R)	57% 39%	Kitzhaber barely wins a third non-consecutive term as governor, an office GOP has not won since 1982
PENNSYLVANIA	3,987,551	TOM CORBETT (R) Dan Onorato (D)	54% 46%	3,977,661	PAT TOOMEY (R) Joe Sestak (D)	51% 49%	Since 1946, parties have held governorship 8 years at a time, but GOP has dominated Senate races
RHODE ISLAND	342,290	LINCOLN CHAFEE (Ind.) John Robitaille (R) Frank Caprio (D)	36% 34% 23%	-	-		Four years after losing Senate reelection bid as a Republican, Chafee wins governorship as an independent
SOUTH CAROLINA	1,344,198	NIKKI HALEY (R) Vincent Sheheen (D)	51% 47%	1,318,794	JIM DeMINT (R)* Alvin Greene (D) Tom Clements (Green)	61% 28% 9%	Both the gubernatorial and Senate contests stirred controversy, but Republicans emerge the winners in both by clear-cut margins
SOUTH DAKOTA	317,083	DENNIS DAUGAARD (R) Scott Heidepriem (D)	62% 38%	227,947	JOHN THUNE (R)*	100%	After narrow win over Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle in 2004, Thune runs unopposed in '10
TENNESSEE	1,601,660	BILL HASLAM (R) Mike McWherter (D)	65% 33%	-	-		McWherter's 33% share 2nd-lowest for Tennessee Democratic gubernatorial candidate since late 1800s
TEXAS	4,979,870	RICK PERRY (R)* Bill White (D)	55% 42%	-	-		Although Perry appeared vulnerable after his sub-40% win in 2006, he easily takes a 3rd term in '10

	GOVERNOR			SENATOR			Comment
	Turnout	Candidates	%	Turnout	Candidates	%	
UTAH	643,306	GARY HERBERT (R)* Peter Corroon (D)	64% 32%	633,801	MIKE LEE (R) Sam Granato (D)	62% 33%	Democrats have not won a gubernatorial race in Utah since 1980 or a Senate contest since 1970
VERMONT	241,605	PETER SHUMLIN (D) Brian Dubie (R)	49% 48%	235,178	PATRICK LEAHY (D)* Len Britton (R)	64% 31%	Once rock-ribbed Republican, Vermont is now one of Democrats most reliable states
VIRGINIA	-	-		-	-		No election for Senate or governor in 2010
WASHINGTON	-	-		2,511,094	PATTY MURRAY (D)* Dino Rossi (R)	52% 48%	Democrats' Western firewall, which includes Murray, keeps Senate in Democratic hands
WEST VIRGINIA	-	-		529,948	JOE MANCHIN (D) John Raese (R)	53% 43%	Gov. Manchin wins special election for late Sen. Robert Byrd's seat, but victory does not come easily
WISCONSIN	2,160,832	SCOTT WALKER (R) Tom Barrett (D)	52% 46%	2,171,331	RON JOHNSON (R) Russell Feingold (D)*	52% 47%	From Scranton to Oshkosh, it was a big year for Republicans
WYOMING	188,463	MATT MEAD (R) Leslie Petersen (D)	66% 23%	-	-		Over the last generation, the governorship has been the last major foothold for Democrats in Wyoming

(Continued from Page 8)

time. Democrats had been largely blindsided in 1994, when the Republican landslide swept the GOP into control on both sides of Capitol Hill. In the 2010 election cycle, Democratic candidates had months and months to prepare. And enough of them prepared sufficiently that Republicans were kept from winning a Senate majority.

Arguably, the portion of the electorate most engaged by the volatile conditions was the burgeoning "Tea Party" movement. In their anger and frustration with what they saw as an overpriced, oversized, liberty-depriving federal government, they generated energy on the Republican side that the Democrats were unable to match.

By providing the primary votes needed to nominate candidates of their own ilk, the Tea Party may have helped to plant the seeds of the Republican Senate failure. At least, that is what critics of the movement have claimed. In Colorado, Delaware, and Nevada, Tea Party favorites captured the GOP nomination but were defeated in the fall—all losing races that other Republican candidates might very well have won.

As it was, Republicans emerged from the election with 47 Senate seats and a consolation prize of sorts. They appear well positioned to win control of the Senate in 2012, when fully two-thirds of the seats at stake are currently held by Democrats. That is, unless the political winds shift again.

Daunting History

Throughout the election cycle it would remain a formidable task for Republicans to win the 10 seats needed to gain a Senate majority. Not since Republican Ronald Reagan swept into

the White House in 1980 had there been an election with a double-digit swing in Senate seats from one party to the other. And not since 1958 had it occurred in a midterm election.

Even in 1994, when a huge Republican surge gave the party control of both sides of Capitol Hill, the GOP gains in the Senate fell short of 10. The total stood at eight that Election Night, and rose to nine the next day when Sen. Richard Shelby of Alabama decided it was a favorable time to make his move to the GOP.

Nor was the partisan breakdown of the Senate seats up in 2010 particularly encouraging to a major Republican advance. Of the 37 seats at stake in the general election, 19 were held by Democrats, 18 by Republicans.

It was not a conspicuously exposed group of Democratic senators who were up for reelection in 2010. They had last run (and won) in 2004, a favorable Republican year. That stood in stark contrast to the large group of Democratic House members first elected in 2006 or 2008, when the wind was at their back.

End Game

Election Night, November 2, began well enough for Republicans. They picked off the Arkansas seat held by Democratic Sen. Blanche Lincoln, the only one of the nine Southern Senate seats on the ballot in 2010 that was held by a Democrat.

The Republicans followed with a quintet of Senate victories across the Frost Belt from Pennsylvania to North Dakota. Democratic Sen. Russell Feingold was ousted in Wisconsin. The other four GOP pickups came through the capture of open seats in Illinois, Indiana, North Dakota, and Pennsylvania. The Illinois seat was particularly prized, since it had been held by Obama before his election as president in 2008.

But west of the Great Plains, Republicans hit a firewall of sorts. Major GOP challenges to Democratic senators in California, Colorado, Nevada, and Washington all fell short, with the Nevada loss probably the most frustrating of all for Republicans. There, they had Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid on the ropes throughout the year but he escaped with a fairly comfortable victory of nearly 6 percentage points.

In a way, it was a fitting ending to a volatile political year—one in which Republicans won virtually everything, except control of the world's greatest deliberative body.

(This text is an abridged version of the chapter written by Rhodes Cook for "Pendulum Swing," a recently published book on the 2010 election edited by Larry J. Sabato.)

The Changing Composition of the 112th Congress

In the opening weeks of the 112th Congress, the composition of the House of Representatives has already begun to change. Two members have resigned, one abruptly (Republican Christopher Lee of New York), the other after a personal career change that has been a while in the planning (Democrat Jane Harman of California). But the most conspicuous absence is that of Democratic Rep. Gabrielle Giffords of Arizona, who was shot by an attacker Jan. 8 while meeting voters in Tucson as part of her "Congress on Your Corner" constituency outreach program. Giffords is currently undergoing rehabilitation and it is an open question when she will be able to return to Congress.

Date and Event	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES			SENATE				
	Dems.	Reps.	Vac.	Dems.	Reps.	Inds.	Und.	Vac.
2010 ELECTION (Nov. 2)	193	242		51	47	2	1	
Feb. 9, 2011 - Rep. Christopher Lee (R-N.Y. 26) resigns after a "beefcake" photo of the married congress man appears on the Internet.	193	241	1					
Feb. 28, 2011 - Rep. Jane Harman (D-Calif. 36) resigns to become president of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.	192	241	2					
... AND THE GOVERNORSHIPS								
						Dems.	Reps.	Vac.
2010 GENERAL ELECTION (Nov. 2)						20	29	1
Nov. 15, 2010 - State Senate President Earl Ray Tomblin (D) sworn in as acting governor of West Virginia to fill the vacancy created by the election of Joe Manchin (D) to the Senate.						20	29	1
Dec. 7, 2010 - Lt. Gov. Jack Dalrymple (R) sworn in as governor of North Dakota to fill the vacancy created by the election of John Hoeven (R) to the Senate.						20	29	1

Senate Retirements for 2012

A half dozen senators whose seats are up next year already have announced they will not stand for reelection. All six are in their 60s. Five have served three or more terms in the Senate. Four hold seats west of the Mississippi River. Three of the retirees are Democrats; two are Republicans; and one is an independent (Joe Lieberman) who caucuses with the Democrats.

Senator	Full Terms	Age	'06 Election %	State's '08 Pres. Vote
Jeff Bingaman (D-N.M.)	5	67	71%	Obama by 15%
Kent Conrad (D-N.D.)	4	62	69%	McCain by 9%
Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas)	3	67	62%	McCain by 12%
Jon Kyl (R-Ariz.)	3	68	53%	McCain by 9%
Joe Lieberman (Ind.-Conn.)	4	69	50%	Obama by 22%
Jim Webb (D-Va.)	1	65	50%	Obama by 6%

Note: Senator's age as of March 1, 2011.

Sources: *America Votes* (CQ Press) for election-related data; *The Almanac of American Politics* (National Journal) for the ages of retiring senators and the number of terms they have served.

CORRECTIONS (December 2010 Issue)

Page 11. Official 2010 House Vote. Since publication of the December issue, a small change in the House vote has come to our attention in California and a major change in Arizona. Following are the revised totals for the two states as well as the updated nationwide House vote total.

	Arizona		California		National	
Democrats	711,837	41.9%	5,148,511	53.4%	38,979,714	45.0%
Republicans	900,510	53.0%	4,195,528	43.5%	44,837,225	51.8%
Others	85,798	5.1%	303,774	3.1%	2,719,350	3.1%
TOTAL	1,698,145		9,647,813		86,536,289	
Plurality	R 188,673		D 952,983		R 5,857,511	

Page 13. Official 2010 Gubernatorial Vote. Republican winner Rick Snyder of Michigan received 58.1% of the vote, rather than 51.8% as listed.

What's Up in 2011-12

Last year the Republicans won control of the House of Representatives. Next year they are well positioned to win the Senate. Of the 33 seats up in 2012, 23 must be defended by the Democrats (including two held by Democratic-leaning independents). They also hold nine of the 14 governorships to be decided in the 2011-12 election cycle. Four of the governorships are up this year, with regularly scheduled contests in Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi, and a special election in West Virginia.

Governorships

Senate Seats

■ Republican
 ■ Democrat
 ■ Independent
 ★ States with an open Senate or Gubernatorial race

At Stake in 2012	'08 Presidential Vote	House Seats		Seats Up	
		Dem.	Rep.	Governors	Senators
	Obama by 7%	192	241	14 (9 D, 5 R)	33 (21 D, 10 R, 2 Inds.)
NORTHEAST					
Connecticut	Obama by 22%	5			Joe Lieberman (Ind.) - OPEN
Delaware	Obama by 25%	1		Jack Markell (D)	Tom Carper (D)
Maine	Obama by 17%	2			Olympia Snowe (R)
Maryland	Obama by 25%	6	2		Ben Cardin (D)
Massachusetts	Obama by 26%	10			Scott Brown (R)
New Hampshire	Obama by 10%		2	John Lynch (D)	
New Jersey	Obama by 16%	7	6		Robert Menendez (D)
New York	Obama by 27%	21	7		Kirsten Gillibrand (D)
Pennsylvania	Obama by 10%	7	12		Bob Casey (D)
Rhode Island	Obama by 28%	2			Sheldon Whitehouse (D)
Vermont	Obama by 37%	1		Peter Shumlin (D)	Bernard Sanders (Ind.)
West Virginia	McCain by 13%	1	2	Earl Ray Tomblin (D)@ - 2011	Joe Manchin (D)
		63	31		
MIDWEST					
Illinois	Obama by 25%	8	11		
Indiana	Obama by 1%	3	6	Mitch Daniels (R) - OPEN	Richard Lugar (R)
Iowa	Obama by 10%	3	2		
Kansas	McCain by 15%		4		
Michigan	Obama by 16%	6	9		Debbie Stabenow (D)
Minnesota	Obama by 10%	4	4		Amy Klobuchar (D)
Missouri	McCain by 0.1%	3	6	Jay Nixon (D)	Claire McCaskill (D)
Nebraska	McCain by 15%		3		Ben Nelson (D)
North Dakota	McCain by 9%		1	Jack Dalrymple (R)@	Kent Conrad (D) - OPEN
Ohio	Obama by 5%	5	13		Sherrod Brown (D)
South Dakota	McCain by 8%		1		
Wisconsin	Obama by 14%	3	5		Herb Kohl (D)
		35	65		

At Stake in 2012	'08 Presidential Vote	House Seats		Seats Up	
		Dem.	Rep.	Governors	Senators
	Obama by 7%	192	241	14 (9 D, 5 R)	33 (21 D, 10 R, 2 Inds.)
SOUTH					
Alabama	McCain by 22%	1	6		
Arkansas	McCain by 20%	1	3		
Florida	Obama by 3%	6	19		Bill Nelson (D)
Georgia	McCain by 5%	5	8		
Kentucky	McCain by 16%	2	4	Steve Beshear (D) - 2011	
Louisiana	McCain by 19%	1	6	Bobby Jindal (R) - 2011	
Mississippi	McCain by 13%	1	3	Haley Barbour (R) - OPEN - 2011	Roger Wicker (R)
North Carolina	Obama by 0.3%	7	6	Bev Perdue (D)	
Oklahoma	McCain by 31%	1	4		
South Carolina	McCain by 9%	1	5		
Tennessee	McCain by 15%	2	7		Bob Corker (R)
Texas	McCain by 12%	9	23		Kay Bailey Hutchison (R) - OPEN
Virginia	Obama by 6%	3	8		Jim Webb (D) - OPEN
		40	102		
WEST					
Alaska	McCain by 22%		1		
Arizona	McCain by 9%	3	5		Jon Kyl (R) - OPEN
California	Obama by 24%	33	19		Dianne Feinstein (D)
Colorado	Obama by 9%	3	4		
Hawaii	Obama by 45%	2			Daniel Akaka (D)
Idaho	McCain by 25%		2		
Montana	McCain by 2%		1	Brian Schweitzer (D) - OPEN	Jon Tester (D)
Nevada	Obama by 12%	1	2		John Ensign (R)
New Mexico	Obama by 15%	2	1		Jeff Bingaman (D) - OPEN
Oregon	Obama by 16%	4	1		
Utah	McCain by 28%	1	2	Gary Herbert (R)	Orrin Hatch (R)
Washington	Obama by 17%	5	4	Christine Gregoire (D)	Maria Cantwell (D)
Wyoming	McCain by 32%		1		John Barrasso (R)
		54	43		

Note: The partisan House totals are as of Feb. 28, 2011. They reflect House vacancies in the California 36th and New York 26th districts, where Jane Harman (D) and Christopher Lee (R), respectively, have resigned their seats.

Source: *America Votes 27 and 28* (CQ Press) for the 2008 presidential election results and the list of governorships and Senate seats that are up in 2011-12. Gubernatorial incumbents who were not elected and assumed their position since the 2010 election are indicated by @.

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