

**MIDTERM  
PUZZLE**

# The Rhodes Cook Letter

August 2006

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# Midterm Puzzle: Old Trends Vs. New Trends

It was not that long ago that Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld famously talked of an “old” Europe and a “new” Europe. In assessing each party’s chances in this year’s congressional elections, one might similarly think in terms of old midterm trends and new midterm trends.

Old trends favor the Democrats. Through the early 1980s, significant midterm election losses for the president’s party in Congress were routine, and were particularly severe at an administration’s six-year mark. Add in low presidential popularity and the losses were sure to be heavy.

New trends favor the Republicans, as recent congressional elections have featured well-heeled incumbents, safely drawn districts and a dearth of competitive races. In this environment, the president’s party has gained House seats in the last two midterm elections, and at the least, held its own in the Senate.

## Past Midterms:

### Low Presidential Job Approval, Big Losses for President’s Party

Normally a low presidential approval rating is accompanied by big midterm election losses for the president’s party in Congress. At least that has been the case since World War II, as every president since then with a midterm election-eve approval rating below 58% in the Gallup Poll has seen his party lose at least 15 House seats and with one exception at least three Senate seats. An asterisk (\*) indicates that Richard Nixon resigned in August 1974 with a final approval rating of 24%.

President	Midterm Election	Election-eve Approval Rating	Change in Seats for President’s Party		Comment
			House	Senate	
Bill Clinton (D)	1998	66%	+ 5	0	<i>Clinton on hot seat but president’s party scores midterm House gains for 1st time since ‘34</i>
Ronald Reagan (R)	1986	63%	- 5	- 8	<i>GOP loses Senate but suffers minimal losses in House</i>
George W. Bush (R)	2002	63%	+ 6	+ 2	<i>1st post-9/11 election produces environment for GOP gains</i>
Dwight Eisenhower (R)	1954	61%	- 18	- 1	<i>GOP loses both chambers after holding just 2 years</i>
John Kennedy (D)	1962	61%	- 4	+ 3	<i>Vote taken in wake of Cuban missile crisis</i>
Richard Nixon (R)	1970	58%	- 12	+ 2	<i>GOP losses modest, as Democrats retain control of both houses</i>
George Bush (R)	1990	58%	- 8	- 1	<i>Election-eve budget deal colors rests of Bush I presidency</i>
Dwight Eisenhower (R)	1958	57%	- 48	- 13	<i>Ike’s personal popularity doesn’t extend to party in recession-year election</i>
Gerald Ford (R)	1974	54%*	- 48	- 5	<i>Watergate and recession double whammy for GOP</i>
Jimmy Carter (D)	1978	49%	- 15	- 3	<i>In afterglow of Camp David accords, GOP begins to stress tax cuts</i>
Bill Clinton (D)	1994	46%	- 52	- 8	<i>Democrats lose both houses of Congress or first time in 40 years</i>
Lyndon Johnson (D)	1966	44%	- 47	- 4	<i>Vietnam, urban rioting help GOP begin post-‘64 comeback</i>
Ronald Reagan (R)	1982	42%	- 26	+ 1	<i>Recession costs GOP House seats in Reagan’s first midterm</i>
<b>George W. Bush (R)</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>42%</b>			
Harry Truman (D)	1950	39%	- 29	- 6	<i>Korea, communism, corruption effective GOP campaign themes</i>
Harry Truman (D)	1946	33%	- 55	- 12	<i>One year after Brits vote to oust Churchill, Americans vote out Democratic Congress</i>

Source: The Gallup Poll for presidential approval ratings.

Which way the scales tip this time, toward the continuation of the new trend or a revival of the old, will decide which party ends up as the victor in November.

### Old Trends: It's Time for the Democrats

**T**he Democrats need a gain of 15 seats to win control of the House of Representatives this fall. For a generation after World War II, that amount of volatility happened regularly. In the first 10 postwar midterms, from 1946 through 1982, the president's party lost an average of 30 House seats per election, with the losses at or above this year's "magic" number of 15 in eight of the 10 midterms.

Yet since 1982, the House has been in something of a "dead ball" era, with the president's party losing more than eight seats in a midterm election only once. But that exception was a whopper – 1994 – when the Republican tidal wave wiped out the Democratic majorities on both sides of Capitol Hill, as the GOP took a net of 52 House seats from the Democrats and eight Senate seats.

To the Democrats' advantage, they do not need anything like that level of carnage this year to win control of the House or the Senate (where they are six seats down). Compared to the hefty Democratic majorities of the mid-to-late 20<sup>th</sup> century, which often went beyond 250 seats in the House and 60 seats in the Senate, the Republican advantage in Congress over the last dozen years has been rather tenuous. The GOP has not started any Congress since 1994 with more than 232 House seats and 55 Senate seats.

But maybe the most compelling argument in the Democrats' favor is simply that history says it is time for a shake up. Since the Civil War, there has been at least one midterm election every 12 years where the president's party has lost at least 15 House seats. The last time it happened was in 1994, a dozen years ago. And polls throughout 2006 have tended to indicate that voters are ready for a change.

Throughout the year, the approval rating of the Republican Congress has been abysmal. Polls have given the Democrats a clear-cut advantage as the party of choice this fall, often by double digit margins percentage-wise. And the Democrats have consistently run ahead of the Republicans on virtually every major issue except terrorism.

For good measure, President George W. Bush's presidential approval rating has been running 20 to 30 percentage points below where it was on the eve of his first midterm in 2002. And every election of the new millennium has seen the controversial incumbent as its catalyst.

#### President's Party Has Held Its Own In Recent Midterm Congressional Elections

It wasn't too long ago that midterm elections were a regular source of bad news for the president's party in Congress, especially at an administration's sixth year mark. But in the last two midterms, the president's party has actually gained seats in the House and stayed no worse than even in the Senate. Midterm losses that produced a change in party control in the House or Senate are indicated in **bold**.

Midterm Election	President	President's Party Gain/Loss of Seats	
		House	Senate
1946	Harry Truman (D)	- 55	- 12
1950	Harry Truman (D)	- 29	- 6
1954	Dwight Eisenhower (R)	- 18	- 1
1958	Dwight Eisenhower (R)	- 48	- 13
1962	John Kennedy (D)	- 4	+ 3
1966	Lyndon Johnson (D)	- 47	- 4
1970	Richard Nixon (R)	- 12	+ 2
1974	Gerald Ford (R)	- 48	- 5
1978	Jimmy Carter (D)	- 15	- 3
1982	Ronald Reagan (R)	- 26	+ 1
1986	Ronald Reagan (R)	- 5	- 8
1990	George Bush (R)	- 8	- 1
1994	Bill Clinton (D)	- 52	- 8
1998	Bill Clinton (D)	+ 5	0
2002	George W. Bush (R)	+ 6	+ 2

Source: *Vital Statistics on Congress* (Congressional Quarterly) and *America Votes* (CQ Press) since 1998 for midterm congressional election gains or losses by the president's party.

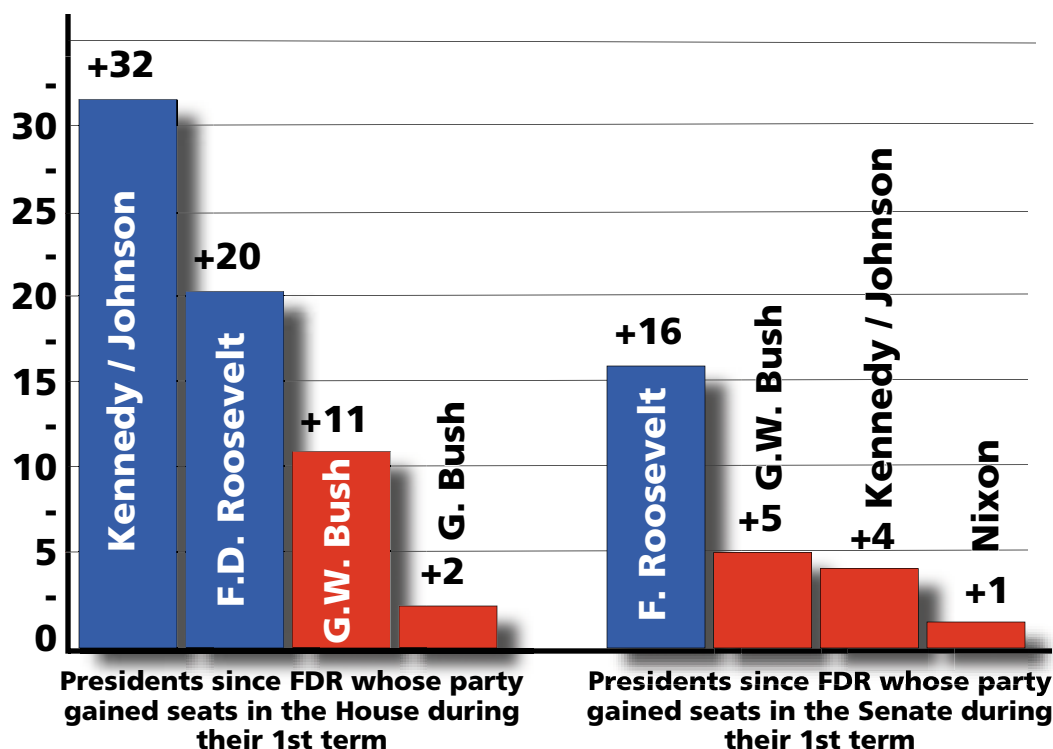
When the president's party gained House seats in 1998 and 2002, the approval ratings of Bill Clinton and Bush were well above 60% on election eve. This year, Bush's approval rating in the Gallup Poll has ranged from the low 30s to the low 40s, a level in the past associated with huge House losses.

## New Trends: Not So Fast, My Friend

Still, for the last six years, Republicans have shown that they know how to win – an effort that has largely succeeded because of the hands-on involvement of the Bush White House. While many administrations have taken a rather detached approach to the electoral success of their party's congressional wing, the Bush team has taken the opposite approach – recruiting candidates in key races, issuing pre-primary endorsements, raising money for GOP candidates, campaigning on their behalf, and finally, helping put together a voter targeting and turnout effort that the Democrats have yet to match.

The result: President Bush has helped to build his party's numbers in Congress more effectively than any Republican president since the Depression. At the beginning of Bush's presidency, the Republicans had 221 seats in the House and 50 seats in the Senate. At the start of his second term, those totals had increased to 232 House seats and 55 Senate seats – a gain of 11 seats in the House, five seats in the Senate.

## Bush and The Republican Congress: A Winning Combination Thus Far



President George W. Bush has helped build his party's numbers in Congress more effectively than any Republican president since the Depression. While it is not unusual for the president's party to lose ground over the first term of an administration, the GOP approaches President Bush's 6th-year midterm holding more House and Senate seats than when he was first elected in 2000. It is the first time that has happened since the Democratic JFK-LBJ administration in the early 1960s. Below are the number of House and Senate seats held by the president's party since FDR as measured after the president's initial election and again after his reelection bid four years later. Gains are indicated in **bold**.

President	Years	President's Party Strength in Congress After One Term					
		HOUSE			SENATE		
		Start	4-Year Mark	Change	Start	4-Year Mark	Change
F.D. Roosevelt (D)	1932-36	313	333	<b>+ 20</b>	59	75	<b>+ 16</b>
Eisenhower (R)	1952-56	221	201	- 20	48	47	- 1
Kennedy/Johnson (D)	1960-64	263	295	<b>+ 32</b>	64	68	<b>+ 4</b>
Nixon (R)	1968-72	192	192	0	42	43	<b>+ 1</b>
Carter (D)	1976-80	292	243	- 49	62	47	- 15
Reagan (R)	1980-84	192	182	- 10	53	53	0
Bush (R)	1988-92	174	176	<b>+ 2</b>	45	43	- 2
Clinton (D)	1992-96	258	207	- 51	57	45	- 12
G.W. Bush (R)	2000-04	221	232	<b>+ 11</b>	50	55	<b>+ 5</b>

Source: *Vital Statistics on American Politics 2005-2006* (CQ Press).

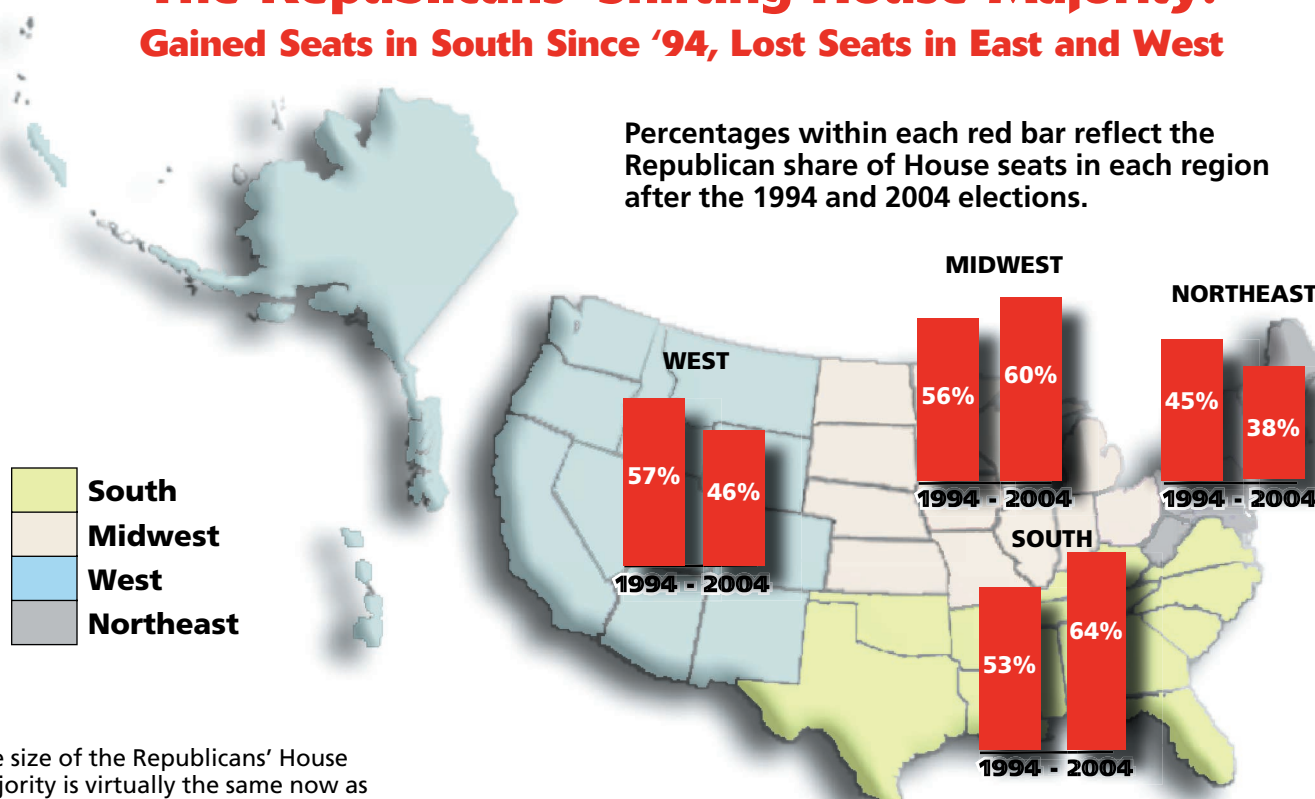


None of the other modern Republican presidents – Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and the elder George Bush – saw their party's numbers grow in both houses of Congress over their first term in the White House. Nor for that matter have any Democratic presidents since Franklin D. Roosevelt, with the exception of the joint Kennedy-Johnson presidency in the early 1960s. Throw out that example, and one can speak of FDR and George W. Bush as the greatest congressional party builders of the last 75 years, at least through their first terms in office.

To the Republicans' advantage, congressional elections of late have been conducted on a much smaller playing field than in the past, when there was often a regular ebb and flow of seats from one party to the other. That degree of movement has largely vanished since 1994. Nowadays, Republicans tend to represent Republican districts, Democrats tend to represent Democratic districts, and the lines are drawn to protect incumbents of both parties.

That has left fewer and fewer members exposed in hostile terrain, easy prey for one party or the other to pick off. As recently as 1988, when George W. Bush's father was elected president, there were 148 House members representing districts carried by the other party's presidential candidate – 135 of them Bush-district Democrats. Republicans won many of these seats in 1994 on their way to assembling a House majority.

## The Republicans' Shifting House Majority: Gained Seats in South Since '94, Lost Seats in East and West



The size of the Republicans' House majority is virtually the same now as when the party won control in 1994, with the GOP holding 53% of all House seats. But the geographical underpinnings of the majority have undergone a shift over the last decade, as Republicans have continued to gain seats in the South but have lost ground to the Democrats in the West and Northeast. The party with the most House seats nationally and in each region is indicated in **bold**. An asterisk (\*) indicates an independent was also elected from the Northeast in both 1994 and 2004.

Region	Post-1994		Post-2004		GOP Gain or Loss, '94-'04
	Reps.	Dems.	Reps.	Dems.	
South	<b>73</b>	64	<b>91</b>	51	+ 18
Midwest	<b>59</b>	46	<b>60</b>	40	+ 1
West	<b>53</b>	40	<b>45</b>	<b>53</b>	- 8
Northeast*	45	<b>54</b>	36	<b>58</b>	- 9
NATIONAL	<b>230</b>	204	<b>232</b>	202	+ 2

Source: *America Votes 26* (CQ Press).

But coming out of the 2004 election, there were just 59 House “misfits” (representing districts won by the other party’s presidential candidate) - 41 of them Bush-district Democrats, just 18 of them Republicans representing districts carried by Democrat John Kerry.

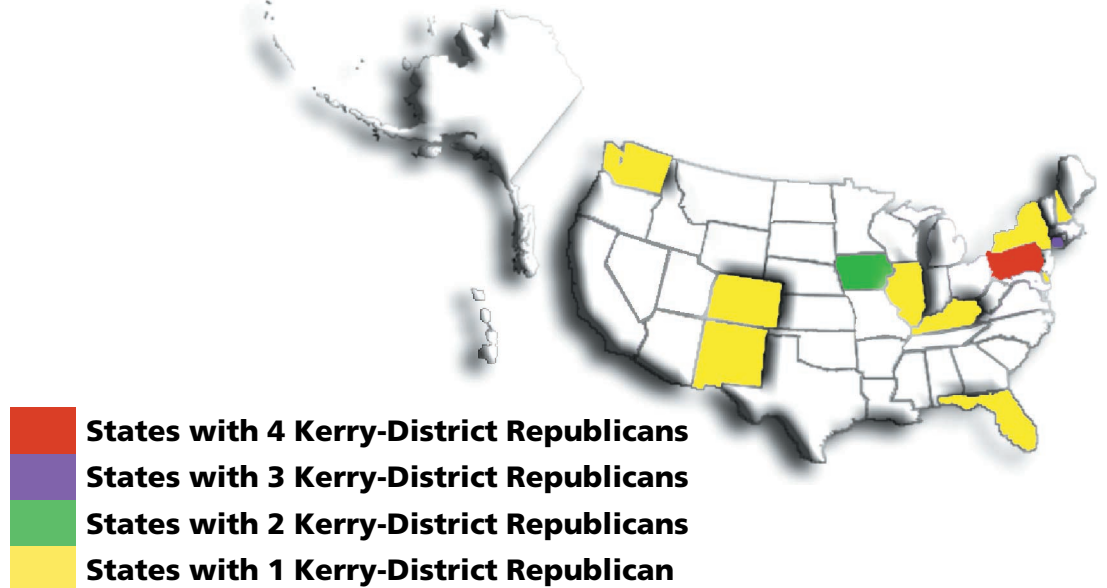
### The Importance of Terrain

Democrats have succeeded in broadening the congressional playing field this year by mounting serious challenges to a number of normally safe Republicans, many of them weakened by ethics gaffes. Yet ultimate success for the Democrats will depend on their ability to unseat a large number of the Kerry-district Republicans, the closest the Democrats are going to get to “low-hanging fruit” in 2006.

Most of these Republican “misfits” are in the Northeast, which is steadily becoming a Democratic counterweight to the Republican South. Trios of Kerry-district Republicans are clustered in Connecticut and the suburbs of Philadelphia.

## Prime Targets for House Democrats: The 18 Kerry-District Republicans

If Democrats are to win control of the House of Representatives this fall, they almost certainly will have to capture a large share of the 18 seats that Republicans currently hold in districts won by Democrat John Kerry in 2004. Ten of the seats are in the Northeast, where Democrats of late have been building a counterweight to the Republican South.



	Region	Terms	'04 Win %	Number of times reelected with less than 55% (last time)	'04 Pres. Outcome
Jim Leach, Iowa 2	Midwest	15	59%	2 ('02)	Kerry by 12%
Rob Simmons, Conn. 2	Northeast	3	54%	2 ('04)	Kerry by 10%
Michael Castle, Del. AL	Northeast	7	69%	0	Kerry by 8%
Jim Nussle, Iowa 1 (Open)	Midwest	8	55%	2 ('96)	Kerry by 7%
Christopher Shays, Conn. 4	Northeast	9	52%	1 ('04)	Kerry by 6%
Mark Kirk, Ill. 10	Midwest	3	64%	0	Kerry by 6%
Curt Weldon, Pa. 7	Northeast	10	59%	0	Kerry by 6%
Clay Shaw, Fla. 22	South	13	63%	2 ('00)	Kerry by 5%
Charles Bass, N.H. 2	Northeast	6	58%	2 ('98)	Kerry by 5%
Bob Beauprez, Colo. 7 (Open)	West	2	55%	1 ('04)	Kerry by 3%
Heather Wilson, N.M. 1	West	4	54%	3 ('04)	Kerry by 3%
James Walsh, N.Y. 25	Northeast	9	90%	0	Kerry by 3%
Jim Gerlach, Pa. 6	Northeast	2	51%	1 ('04)	Kerry by 3%
Michael Fitzpatrick, Pa. 8	Northeast	1	55%	-	Kerry by 3%
Dave Reichert, Wash. 8	West	1	52%	-	Kerry by 3%
Anne Northup, Ky. 3	South	5	60%	3 ('02)	Kerry by 2%
Nancy Johnson, Conn. 5	Northeast	12	60%	2 ('02)	Kerry by 0.4%
Charles Dent, Pa. 15	Northeast	1	59%	-	Kerry by 0.2%

Note: The number of times a House member has been reelected with less than 55.0% of the total vote does not include the member's initial election.

Source: The *Almanac of American Politics 2006* (National Journal) for terms served by House members; *America Votes* (CQ Press) for House election percentages; *Presidential Election, 2004 Congressional Districts Preliminary Summary* (Polidata) for 2004 presidential vote by district.

## Grounds for a GOP Counterattack? A Host of Bush-District Democrats

It is a similar story for Democratic chances on the Senate side. If they do not unseat at least two of the three North-eastern Republicans up this year their bid to take over the Senate will probably stall quickly. Rick Santorum in Pennsylvania and the GOP nominee in Rhode Island (the winner of the Sept. 12 primary that features incumbent Lincoln Chafee) are the likeliest targets. Republican Olympia Snowe of Maine is considered secure.

Complicating matters for the Democrats is that the Republicans have some targets of opportunity of their own. Not only are there dozens of Bush-district Democrats on the House side, there are also five “red state” Senate seats that the Democrats must defend.

In the “olden” days, when significant midterm losses for the president’s party were the norm, the odds this fall would be with the Democrats. But under the new dynamic of midterm elections, when the defeat of a single incumbent is almost a headline story in itself, the safe bet is on the Republicans. It all makes for a very interesting Election Night, one that might even be trend-setting.

Republicans are not without targets of their own as they seek to hold their majority this fall in the House of Representatives. A total of 41 House Democrats represent districts that President George W. Bush carried in the 2004 presidential election, with nearly half of them (19) holding districts that Bush won by a margin of at least a dozen percentage points. They are listed below. Eleven of these districts are in the South, a region that Republicans have not yet picked clean.



### States with 2 Bush-District Democrats

### States with 1 Bush-District Democrat

	Region	Terms	'04 Win %	Number of times reelected with less than 55% (last time)	'04 Pres. Outcome
Chet Edwards, Texas 17	South	8	51%	3 ('04)	Bush by 39%
Gene Taylor, Miss. 4	South	8	64%	0	Bush by 37%
Jim Matheson, Utah 2	West	3	55%	2 ('04)	Bush by 35%
Ike Skelton, Mo. 4	Midwest	15	66%	1 ('82)	Bush by 29%
Earl Pomeroy, N.D. AL	Midwest	7	60%	3 ('02)	Bush by 27%
Stephanie Herseth, S.D. AL	Midwest	1	53%	-	Bush by 22%
Bud Cramer, Ala. 5	South	8	73%	1 ('94)	Bush by 20%
Bart Gordon, Tenn. 6	South	11	64%	3 ('98)	Bush by 20%
Rick Boucher, Va. 9	South	12	59%	1 ('84)	Bush by 20%
Dan Boren, Okla. 2	South	1	66%	-	Bush by 19%
Ben Chandler, Ky. 6	South	1	59%	-	Bush by 17%
Charlie Melancon, La. 3	South	1	50%	-	Bush by 17%
Lincoln Davis, Tenn. 4	South	2	55%	1 ('04)	Bush by 17%
Tim Holden, Pa. 17	Northeast	7	59%	1 ('02)	Bush by 16%
Alan Mollohan, W.V. 1	Northeast	12	68%	1 ('84)	Bush by 16%
John Spratt, S.C. 5	South	12	63%	2 ('96)	Bush by 15%
Melissa Bean, Ill. 8	Midwest	1	52%	-	Bush by 12%
Collin Peterson, Minn. 7	Midwest	8	66%	2 ('94)	Bush by 12%
Mike McIntyre, N.C. 7	South	5	73%	0	Bush by 12%

Note: The number of times a House member has been reelected with less than 55.0% of the total vote does not include the member's initial election.

Source: The *Almanac of American Politics 2006* (National Journal) for terms served by House members; *America Votes* (CQ Press) for House election percentages; *Presidential Election, 2004 Congressional Districts Preliminary Summary* (Polidata) for 2004 presidential vote by district.



# More Governors than Senators Must Navigate Difficult Terrain

Barely half of the 36 governorships up this fall are currently held by the same party that won the state in the 2004 presidential election. The 16 gubernatorial exceptions - 9 Republicans and 7 Democrats - include GOP incumbents in rock-ribbed "blue" states such as Connecticut, Maryland and Rhode Island, as well as Democratic governors in the heart of "red" America, including Kansas, Oklahoma and Wyoming. Meanwhile, there are fewer "misfits" on the Senate side, where more than three-quarters of the 33 Senate seats up this year are held by the same party that won the state in the last presidential election. The eight exceptions feature a trio of blue-state Republicans: Lincoln Chafee of Rhode Island, Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, and Olympia Snowe of Maine. A pound sign (#) indicates incumbents who assumed their office since the last election. Republicans are indicated in **bold**. Incumbents not seeking reelection are indicated in *italics*.

## At Stake in 2006

### Governorships 36 Up (22 R, 14 D)



### Senate Seats 33 Up (15 R, 17 D, 1 Ind.)



State	'04 Presidential Vote	Governors	Senators
Utah	Bush by 46%		<b>Orrin Hatch (R)</b>
Wyoming	Bush by 40%	Dave Freudenthal (D)	<b>Craig Thomas (R)</b>
Idaho	Bush by 38%	<b>Jim Risch (R)#</b>	
Nebraska	Bush by 33%	<b>Dave Heineman (R)#</b>	Ben Nelson (D)
Oklahoma	Bush by 31%	Brad Henry (D)	
North Dakota	Bush by 27%		Kent Conrad (D)
Alabama	Bush by 26%	<b>Bob Riley (R)</b>	
Alaska	Bush by 26%	<b>Frank Murkowski (R)</b>	
Kansas	Bush by 25%	Kathleen Sebelius (D)	
Texas	Bush by 23%	<b>Rick Perry (R)</b>	<b>Kay Bailey Hutchison (R)</b>
Indiana	Bush by 21%		<b>Richard Lugar (R)</b>
Montana	Bush by 21%		<b>Conrad Burns (R)</b>
South Dakota	Bush by 21%	<b>Mike Rounds (R)</b>	
Kentucky	Bush by 20%		
Mississippi	Bush by 20%		<b>Trent Lott (R)</b>
Georgia	Bush by 17%	<b>Sonny Perdue (R)</b>	
South Carolina	Bush by 17%	<b>Mark Sanford (R)</b>	
Louisiana	Bush by 15%		
Tennessee	Bush by 14%	Phil Bredesen (D)	<b>Bill Frist (R)</b>
West Virginia	Bush by 13%		Robert Byrd (D)
North Carolina	Bush by 12%		
Arizona	Bush by 10%	Jane Napolitano (D)	<b>Jon Kyl (R)</b>
Arkansas	Bush by 10%	<b>Mike Huckabee (R)</b>	
Virginia	Bush by 8%		<b>George Allen (R)</b>
Missouri	Bush by 7%		<b>Jim Talent (R)</b>
Colorado	Bush by 5%	<b>Bill Owens (R)</b>	
Florida	Bush by 5%	<b>Jeb Bush (R)</b>	Bill Nelson (D)
Nevada	Bush by 3%	<b>Kenny Guinn (R)</b>	<b>John Ensign (R)</b>
Ohio	Bush by 2%	<b>Bob Taft (R)</b>	<b>Mike DeWine (R)</b>
New Mexico	Bush by 0.8%	Bill Richardson (D)	Jeff Bingaman (D)
Iowa	Bush by 0.7%	<i>Tom Vilsack (D)</i>	
Wisconsin	Kerry by 0.4%	James Doyle (D)	Herb Kohl (D)
New Hampshire	Kerry by 1%	John Lynch (D)	
Michigan	Kerry by 3%	Jennifer Granholm (D)	Debbie Stabenow (D)
Minnesota	Kerry by 3%	<b>Tim Pawlenty (R)</b>	<i>Mark Dayton (D)</i>
Pennsylvania	Kerry by 3%	Ed Rendell (D)	<b>Rick Santorum (R)</b>
Oregon	Kerry by 4%	Ted Kulongoski (D)	
New Jersey	Kerry by 7%		Robert Menendez (D)#
Washington	Kerry by 7%		Maria Cantwell (D)
Delaware	Kerry by 8%		Thomas Carper (D)
Hawaii	Kerry by 9%	<b>Linda Lingle (R)</b>	Daniel Akaka (D)
Maine	Kerry by 9%	John Baldacci (D)	<b>Olympia Snowe (R)</b>
California	Kerry by 10%	<b>Arnold Schwarzenegger (R)</b>	Dianne Feinstein (D)
Connecticut	Kerry by 10%	<b>M. Jodi Rell (R)#</b>	Joe Lieberman (D)
Illinois	Kerry by 10%	Rod Blagojevich (D)	
Maryland	Kerry by 13%	<b>Robert Ehrlich (R)</b>	<i>Paul Sarbanes (D)</i>
New York	Kerry by 18%	<b>George Pataki (R)</b>	Hillary Rodham Clinton (D)
Vermont	Kerry by 20%	<b>Jim Douglas (R)</b>	<i>James Jeffords (Ind.)</i>
Rhode Island	Kerry by 21%	<b>Donald Carcieri (R)</b>	<b>Lincoln Chafee (R)</b>
Massachusetts	Kerry by 25%	<b>Mitt Romney (R)</b>	Edward Kennedy (D)

## THE '06 PRIMARIES: The Quiet is Broken

**T**hrough the first half of this year's primary season, no governor, senator or House member tasted defeat. But in recent weeks, voter unrest has worked its way to the top of the ballot, with four congressional or gubernatorial incumbents losing party primaries in August alone. The casualty list includes one governor, one senator, and two House members, and features incumbents from coast to coast – with Democratic Sen. Joe Lieberman of Connecticut, Republican Rep. Joe Schwarz of Michigan, Democratic Rep. Cynthia McKinney of Georgia, and Republican Gov. Frank Murkowski of Alaska – all denied renomination by their party in a two-week period from August 8th through 22nd.

They lost for different reasons. Lieberman drew fire for his close embrace of President Bush in his support of the Iraq war. McKinney, whose controversial personality had cost her the suburban Atlanta seat once before, was in a well-publicized scuffle earlier this year with a Capitol Hill police officer. Murkowski had gotten into trouble with Alaska voters for an imperial style of governing, which included the appointment of his daughter to the Senate seat he had vacated. Schwarz was beaten by a more conservative foe on social and spending issues in a primary that had overtones of Republican presidential politics.

Schwarz, an early John McCain ally, headed the Arizona senator's successful Michigan presidential primary campaign in 2000. And basically, the vote in the congressional primary this month tracked the vote in the presidential primary six years ago. In the four counties in Schwarz's south-central Michigan district that McCain carried, Schwarz won by more than 2,500 votes. In the three counties that George W. Bush had carried in the 2000 primary, Schwarz lost by nearly 6,500 votes.

Whether the August carnage is a portent of widespread incumbent defeats in November will be answered soon enough. But this month's primary results are an indicator that voters in all parts of the country are no longer willing to give their incumbents the benefit of the doubt.

### Lieberman in Context

**T**he defeat of any congressional or gubernatorial incumbent in a party primary is a big deal. Only two House members lost primaries in all of 2004, and both of them were Democratic victims of Tom DeLay's mid-decade Texas redistricting. Murkowski is only the second governor to lose a primary in the last decade (Democrat Bob Holden of Missouri in 2004 was the other). And Lieberman is just the fourth senator in the last quarter century to be beaten in a Senate primary.

Senatorial primary defeats were a more regular occurrence before that. From 1946 through 1980, 38 sitting senators were beaten in primaries, an average of better than two per election. In some years, the number was much higher than that, reaching six in the post-World War II election of 1946 and four in both 1968 and 1980. Many of the intra-party skirmishes were in

*(Continued on Page 12)*

## Gubernatorial and Congressional Incumbents: Breaking a Sweat in the '06 Primaries

Through the month of August, one governor, one senator and two House members had suffered primary defeat, marking the first time in more than a quarter century that both a sitting governor and a sitting senator had lost their party's primary in the same year. Meanwhile, a number of other incumbents continue to receive warning shots from their party's primary voters. Altogether through August, 26 members of Congress - three senators and 23 House members - as well as six governors, have drawn less than 75% of their party's primary vote. To be sure, many were easy winners. Yet for an incumbent to lose 25% or more of their party's primary vote is not a good sign in an age of base voting. The primary vote percentages below are based on a combination of official and nearly complete, but unofficial returns. The "@" symbol indicates the incumbent took office after the last election. A pound sign (#) indicates a runoff result. This year's gubernatorial and congressional primary losers are indicated in **bold**.

<i>Gubernatorial and congressional incumbents who have received less than 75% of their party's primary vote:</i>				
<b>GOVERNORS (4 Republicans, 2 Democrats)</b>				
	<b>Terms</b>	<b>'06 Primary %</b>	<b>'06 Primary Outcome</b>	<b>'04 Pres. Winner in State</b>
<b>Frank Murkowski, R-Alaska</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18.8%</b>	<b>LOST</b>	<b>Bush by 26%</b>
Dave Heineman, R-Neb.	@	50.3%	Won	Bush by 33%
Ted Kulongoski, D-Ore.	1	53.6%	Won	Kerry by 4%
Mark Sanford, R-S.C.	1	64.8%	Won	Bush by 17%
Bob Riley, R-Ala.	1	66.6%	Won	Bush by 26%
Rod Blagojevich, D-Ill.	1	70.1%	Won	Kerry by 10%
<b>SENATORS (2 Republicans, 1 Democrat)</b>				
	<b>Terms</b>	<b>'06 Primary %</b>	<b>'06 Primary Outcome</b>	<b>'04 Pres. Winner in District</b>
<b>Joe Lieberman, D-Conn.</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>48.2%</b>	<b>LOST</b>	<b>Kerry by 10%</b>
Mike DeWine, R-Ohio	2	71.8%	Won	Bush by 2%
Conrad Burns, R-Mont.	3	72.2%	Won	Bush by 21%
<b>HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (15 Republicans, 8 Democrats)</b>				
	<b>Terms</b>	<b>'06 Primary %</b>	<b>'06 Primary Outcome</b>	<b>'04 Pres. Winner in District</b>
<b>Joe Schwarz, R-Mich. 7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>46.9%</b>	<b>LOST</b>	<b>Bush by 9%</b>
<b>Cynthia McKinney, D-Ga. 4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>47.1%/ 41.2%#</b>	<b>LOST</b>	<b>Kerry by 44%</b>
Jean Schmidt, R-Ohio 2	@	47.8%	Won	Bush by 28%
Bob Filner, D-Calif. 51	7	51.4%	Won	Kerry by 8%
Henry Cuellar, D-Texas 28	1	53.0%	Won	Bush by 5%
Daniel Lipinski, D-Ill. 3	1	54.6%	Won	Kerry by 18%
Chris Cannon, R-Utah 3	5	56.2%	Won	Bush by 57%
Don Sherwood, R-Pa. 10	4	56.5%	Won	Bush by 20%
Ralph Regula, R-Ohio 16	17	58.3%	Won	Bush by 8%
Barbara Cubin, R-Wyo. AL	6	60.0%	Won	Bush by 40%
Richard Pombo, R-Calif. 11	7	61.7%	Won	Bush by 9%
Tom DeLay, R-Texas 22	11	62.0%	Won	Bush by 29%
Jane Harman, D-Calif. 36	6	62.5%	Won	Kerry by 19%
Bennie Thompson, D-Miss. 2	6	64.6%	Won	Kerry by 19%
David Dreier, R-Calif. 26	13	65.0%	Won	Bush by 12%
Lynn Woolsey, D-Calif. 6	7	66.0%	Won	Kerry by 43%
John Doolittle, R-Calif. 4	8	67.0%	Won	Bush by 24%
David Scott, D-Ga. 13	2	67.3%	Won	Kerry by 28%
Bob Ney, R-Ohio 18	6	68.4%	Won	Bush by 15%
Joe Knollenberg, R-Mich. 9	7	69.8%	Won	Bush by 2%
Chris Chocola, R-Ind. 2	2	70.1%	Won	Bush by 13%
Mark Souder, R-Ind. 3	6	71.3%	Won	Bush by 37%
Steve Buyer, R-Ind. 4	7	72.9%	Won	Bush by 39%
Source: <i>The Almanac of American Politics 2006</i> (National Journal) for congressional terms served. <i>Presidential Election, 2004 Congressional Districts Preliminary Summary</i> (Polidata) for 2004 presidential vote by district."				

*(Continued from Page 10)*

the South, a region still so Democratic during this period that victory in the Democratic primary was often tantamount to election.

The senators who have lost primaries since World War II have tended to be a mix of non-descript back benchers with shallow roots in their party and prominent Senate veterans whose roots back home have tended to wither over the years.

In 1974, J.W. Fulbright of Arkansas, a five-term Senate veteran and longtime chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was beaten by Gov. Dale Bumpers in the Democratic primary by a margin of nearly 2-to-1.

In 1978, Clifford Case of New Jersey, a moderate four-term Senate veteran, lost the Republican primary to conservative Jeff Bell by less than 3,500 votes. (Bell lost to Democrat Bill Bradley that fall.)

In 1980, Jacob Javits, an equally moderate four-term Senate veteran, was defeated by Nassau County Supervisor Alfonse D'Amato in the Republican primary by more than 10 percentage points. D'Amato had already grabbed the Conservative and Right-to-Life party ballot lines before challenging the 76-year-old Javits.

Lieberman is in the tradition of these earlier, big-name Senate casualties. A three-term veteran of the nation's "most exclusive club," he was Al Gore's vice presidential running mate in 2000 and a Democratic presidential aspirant in his own right in 2004. But after the start of the Iraq war, Lieberman's hawkish centrism put him at odds with the large antiwar, anti-Bush element within his party.

That was apparent during his 2004 presidential bid. In the make-or-break New Hampshire primary, Lieberman finished a distant fifth with 9% of the vote. He topped out at 11% in Delaware a week later. And in voting in Connecticut in early March, long after he and most of the other Democratic contenders had withdrawn from the race, he drew just 5% of the Democratic primary vote on the same day that Vermont Democrats were giving Howard Dean a farewell salute with a primary victory.

The outlines of Lieberman's problems this year were evident in that 2004 vote. He rolled up more than 15% in the urban centers of Bridgeport and Hartford, but no more than 3% in the affluent suburbs of Darien and Greenwich that nurtured his 2006 primary challenger, Ned Lamont.

The Lieberman-Lamont contest attracted more national headlines than any other congressional primary in years. Lieberman drew support from many of his Democratic Senate colleagues, and former President Bill Clinton came to Waterbury to deliver an endorsement. Lamont, a wealthy Greenwich entrepreneur, countered with backing from liberal blogs and grass-roots activists across Connecticut, which combined to give his antiwar candidacy the air of a passionate cause. To fuel the fire, Lamont pumped an estimated \$4 million from his own pocket into his primary campaign.

And then there was publicity the challenger attracted that money could not buy. As the primary approached, the national political press corps descended on Connecticut, many defining the

*(Continued on Page 14)*



# Senators and Primaries: Incumbents Defeated Over the Last 40 Years

**Democratic  
Incumbents Defeated**

**Republican  
Incumbents Defeated**



Party primaries have tripped up only four Senate incumbents over the last quarter century. But before that, senatorial primary defeats were a regular occurrence. In the period from 1966 through 1980, 19 senators lost primaries.

Ten of them were Southern Democrats who were beaten in intraparty skirmishes in the waning years of the 'solid' Democratic South, when victory in the party's primary was frequently tantamount to election. The "@" symbol indicates the incumbent was appointed to fill a vacancy and was not elected. An asterisk (\*) indicates the incumbent was serving a short term to which he had been elected. A pound sign (#) indicates that the incumbent was beaten in a runoff. In those cases, the primary vote is listed first. In the 1972 Senate primary in Georgia, the results are for a special primary held to fill the remaining months of the term.

Election	Senate Incumbents Defeated in Primary	Terms	% of Primary Vote	Primary Result	Seat held by Incumbent's Party in General
2006	Joe Lieberman, D-Conn.	3	48%	Lost to Ned Lamont by 4%	-
2004	(None)				
2002	Bob Smith, R-N.H.	2	45%	Lost to John E. Sununu by 9%	Yes
2000	(None)				
1998	(None)				
1996	Sheila Frahm, R-Kan.	@	42%	Lost to Sam Brownback by 13%	Yes
1994	(None)				
1992	Alan Dixon, D-Ill.	2	35%	Lost to Carol Moseley-Braun by 4%	Yes
1990	(None)				
1988	(None)				
1986	(None)				
1984	(None)				
1982	(None)				
1980	Mike Gravel, D-Alaska	2	44%	Lost to Clark Gruening by 11%	No
	Jacob Javits, R-N.Y.	4	44%	Lost to Alfonse D'Amato by 11%	Yes
	Donald Stewart, D-Ala.	1*	49%/49%#	Lost runoff to Jim Folsom Jr. by 1%	No
	Richard Stone, D-Fla.	1	32%/48%#	Lost runoff to Bill Gunter by 4%	No
1978	Maryon Allen, D-Ala.	@	45%/43%#	Lost to Donald Stewart by 14%	Yes
	Clifford Case, R-N.J.	4	49%	Lost to Jeffrey Bell by 1%	No
	Paul Hatfield, D-Mont.	@	19%	Lost to Max Baucus by 46%	Yes
1976	(None)				
1974	J.W. Fulbright, D-Ark.	5	35%	Lost to Dale Bumpers by 30%	Yes
	Howard Metzenbaum, D-Ohio	@	46%	Lost to John Glenn by 9%	Yes
1972	David Gambrell, D-Ga.	@	34%/48%#	Lost runoff to Sam Nunn by 4%	Yes
	B. Everett Jordan, D-N.C.	2	44%/45%#	Lost runoff to Nick Galifianakis by 11%	No
1970	Ralph Yarborough, D-Texas	2	47%	Lost to Lloyd Bentsen by 6%	Yes
1968	Ernest Gruening, D-Alaska	2	47%	Lost to Mike Gravel by 6%	Yes
	Thomas Kuchel, R-Calif.	2	47%	Lost to Max Rafferty by 3%	No
	Frank Lausche, D-Ohio	2	45%	Lost to John Gilligan by 11%	No
	Edward Long, D-Mo.	1	33%	Lost to Tom Eagleton by 4%	Yes
1966	Ross Bass, D-Tenn.	1*	49%	Lost to Frank Clement by 2%	No
	Donald Russell, D-S.C.	@	39%	Lost to Ernest Hollings by 22%	Yes
	A. Willis Robertson, D-Va.	3	49.9%	Lost to William Spong by 0.2%	Yes

Source: *Guide to U.S. Elections, Fifth Edition, Volume II* (CQ Press).

race as a referendum within the Democratic Party on the Iraq war. Major out-of-state papers got into the act, with *The Washington Post* endorsing Lieberman; *The New York Times*, Lamont. And polls throughout most of the spring and summer depicted a race where all the momentum was with Lamont.

A political unknown at the beginning of the year, Lamont drew one-third of the vote at the Democratic state convention in May, vaulted into the lead in a Quinnipiac University poll in July, which expanded to a double-digit advantage percentage-wise shortly thereafter. But Quinnipiac's final primary-eve poll showed Lamont's lead down to 6 points, giving the sense that the momentum in the closing days of their primary campaign had shifted to the incumbent. It had. On primary day, Lamont won by less than 4 percentage points.

Turnout for the primary exceeded 280,000, very high by Connecticut standards. It was also more Democrats than participated in either the Iowa caucuses or New Hampshire primary in 2004, where twin victories launched John Kerry on the road to the Democratic presidential nomination. On the other hand, the number of votes cast in the Lamont-Lieberman primary was barely one-quarter the total cast in Connecticut's last midterm election.

## A Second Bite of the Apple

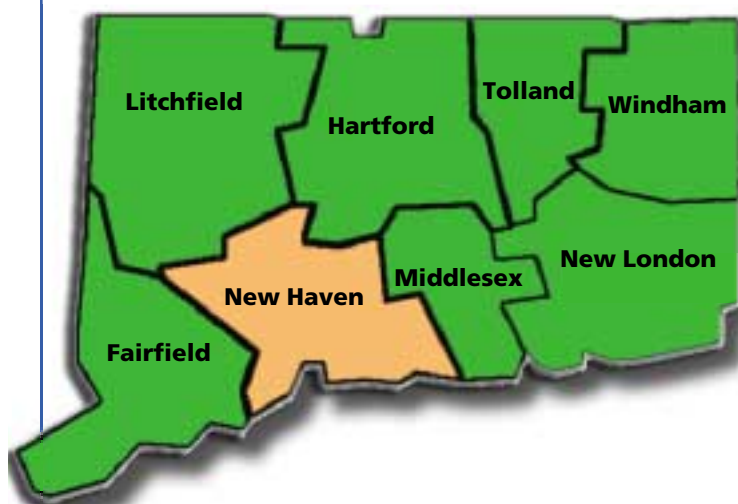
That gives Lieberman hope that he can win round two of his continuing battle with Lamont in November. Weeks before the primary, the senator irked many Democrats by indicating that he would run in the fall as an independent if he did not win the primary. The day after his primary defeat, Lieberman filed the petitions needed to get on the general election ballot, where he will officially be listed as the Senate candidate of the "Connecticut for Lieberman" party.

The dynamic of the general election campaign is already far different from the primary. Democratic officials at the state and national level moved virtually en masse from Lieberman to Lamont after the August 8th vote. But Lieberman took the lead in the polls for the general election, based on his appeal to independents and Republicans, who could not vote in the Democratic primary.

There are few models to help us guess what will happen next. Many states have "sore loser" laws to prevent candidates that lose a primary from running in the general election. The closest Connecticut example, two-term Sen. Thomas Dodd (the father of the state's other senator), skipped the Democratic primary in 1970 and ran as an independent, finishing third in November with 24% of the vote. Meanwhile, Jacob Javits of New York, after losing the Republican Senate primary to D'Amato in 1980, ran in the fall on the Liberal Party line and garnered barely 10% of the vote.

But both Dodd and Javits were sandwiched between competitive Democratic and Republican candidates. Lieberman is not, as the little known and lightly regarded GOP nominee, Alan Schlesinger, has been disowned by Republican leaders from Connecticut to the White House. That leaves Lieberman well positioned to avenge his loss in round one of the 2006 campaign with a victory in round two.

# CONNECTICUT DEMOCRATIC SENATE PRIMARY: Lieberman Loses, But Continues Race as Independent



## Counties Won



Ned Lamont defeated incumbent Joe Lieberman by less than 10,000 votes in their Democratic Senate primary in Connecticut. Yet while Lamont's margin of victory was narrow, it did have breadth. The challenger carried seven of Connecticut's eight counties, and nearly three-quarters of the cities and towns (125 of 169). Lamont ran best in the affluent suburbs and academic centers, where liberal Democrats are found in abundance. Lieberman fared well in old industrial towns such as Waterbury, where former President Bill Clinton came in late July to deliver a pre-primary endorsement of the incumbent. The two candidates split Connecticut's four largest cities (those with a population in 2000 in excess of 100,000). Lieberman carried Bridgeport and his birthplace of Stamford. Lamont won the state capital of Hartford and New Haven, the home of Yale University.

August 8, 2006

	Vote	%	Counties Won	Towns Won
Ned Lamont	146,384	51.8%	7	125
Joe Lieberman*	136,473	48.2%	1	44
Total Vote	282,857			
Lamont Plurality	9,911			

Note: The results are based on nearly complete but unofficial returns from the office of the Connecticut secretary of state. An asterisk (\*) indicates incumbent.

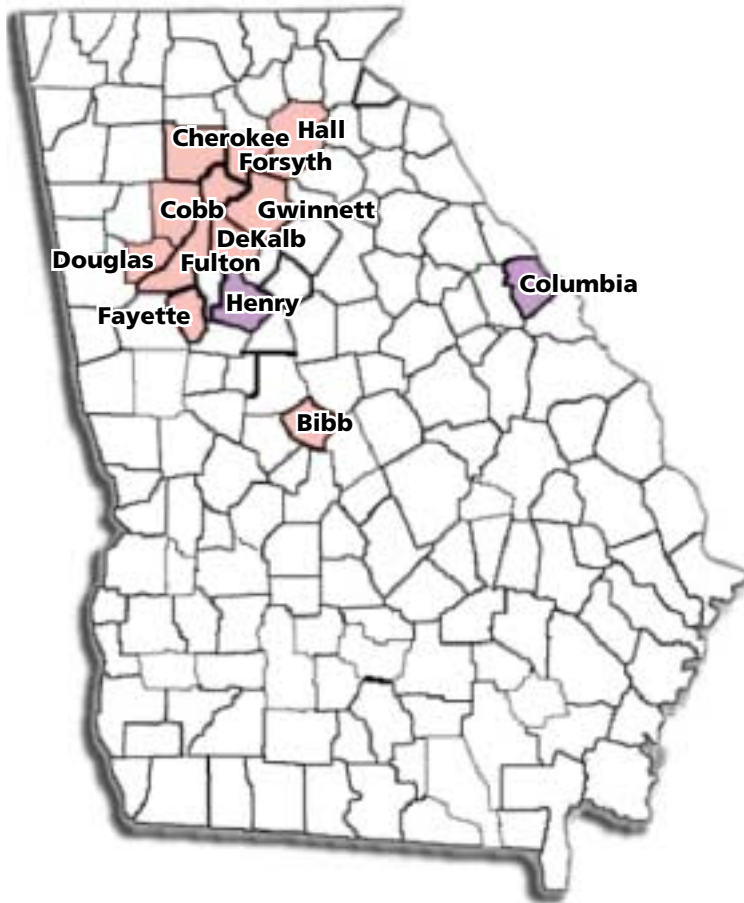
## Democratic Senate Vote by County

County	Turnout	Lamont	Lieberman	Winner	Nov. '04 Winner
Hartford	85,532	52%	48%	Lamont	Kerry (59%)
New Haven	70,732	48%	52%	Lieberman	Kerry (54%)
Fairfield	58,290	52%	48%	Lamont	Kerry (51%)
New London	19,672	52%	48%	Lamont	Kerry (56%)
Middlesex	15,642	58%	42%	Lamont	Kerry (56%)
Litchfield	13,225	56%	44%	Lamont	Bush (52%)
Tolland	11,634	61%	39%	Lamont	Kerry (55%)
Windham	8,130	53%	47%	Lamont	Kerry (52%)
TOTAL	282,857	52%	48%	Lamont	Kerry (54%)

## A Sampling of Connecticut Cities and Towns

County	Turnout	Lamont	Lieberman	Winner	Nov. '04 Winner
<b>MAJOR URBAN CENTERS</b>					
New Haven	14,401	52%	48%	Lamont	Kerry (79%)
Stamford	10,422	46%	55%	Lieberman	Kerry (59%)
Bridgeport	8,790	47%	53%	Lieberman	Kerry (71%)
Hartford	8,645	52%	48%	Lamont	Kerry (80%)
<b>AFFLUENT SUBURBS</b>					
Darien	953	57%	43%	Lamont	Bush (62%)
Greenwich	3,668	68%	32%	Lamont	Bush (52%)
<b>ACADEMIC CENTER</b>					
Mansfield (U. of Connecticut)	2,005	72%	28%	Lamont	Kerry (72%)
<b>INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE</b>					
New Britain	5,775	48%	52%	Lieberman	Kerry (67%)
Waterbury	7,024	40%	60%	Lieberman	Kerry (49%)
<b>MILITARY INFLUENCE</b>					
Groton	2,200	55%	45%	Lamont	Kerry (54%)

# GEORGIA GOP PRIMARY FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR: Ralph Reed Loses First Bid for Elective Office



July 18, 2006

	Vote	%	Counties Won
Casey Cagle	227,968	56.0	100
Ralph Reed	178,790	44.0	58
Total Vote	406,758		
Cagle Plurality	49,178		

Note: The results are based on official returns from the office of the Georgia secretary of state. The vote in one county was tied.

## Populous Counties Won



Burdened by ties to convicted lobbyist Jack Abramoff, Republican Ralph Reed stumbled in his first bid for elective office. Reed had established himself as a major player in GOP politics, first as director of the Christian Coalition, then as chairman of the Georgia GOP. And he was the odds-on favorite to win the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor this year when he launched his campaign. But once it became known that Reed had used his influence to help Abramoff and his Indian clients protect their casinos from competition, Reed lost any claim he had to the moral high ground. He maintained that he did not know the full scope of Abramoff's operation, but the damage was done. Reed's opponent, state Sen. Casey Cagle, began matching him dollar for dollar in fund raising. And on primary day, Reed lost to Cagle by 12 percentage points. The vote was fairly close in rural Georgia. But of the 12 counties where the most Republican primary ballots were cast, Cagle won 10. Nearly all were in the metro Atlanta area, where Cagle thumped Reed by roughly 20 percentage points.

## Georgia's Top Dozen Counties in Republican Primary Turnout

County	Turnout	Cagle	Reed	Winner	Nov. '04 Winner
Cobb (Marietta)	38,900	<b>56%</b>	44%	Cagle	Bush (62%)
Gwinnett	35,368	<b>54%</b>	46%	Cagle	Bush (66%)
Fulton (Atlanta)	33,207	<b>63%</b>	37%	Cagle	Kerry (59%)
Cherokee	15,416	<b>58%</b>	42%	Cagle	Bush (79%)
Hall (Gainesville)	15,215	<b>79%</b>	21%	Cagle	Bush (78%)
DeKalb	13,760	<b>64%</b>	36%	Cagle	Kerry (73%)
Forsyth	13,567	<b>61%</b>	39%	Cagle	Bush (83%)
Fayette	11,182	<b>54%</b>	46%	Cagle	Bush (71%)
Bibb (Macon)	9,058	<b>52%</b>	48%	Cagle	Kerry (51%)
Henry	8,602	49%	<b>51%</b>	Reed	Bush (67%)
Douglas	6,851	<b>51%</b>	49%	Cagle	Bush (61%)
Columbia	6,822	47%	<b>53%</b>	Reed	Bush (75%)



# Democrats Invite Two States to Join Iowa, New Hampshire in Early '08

A generation ago, the most important presidential primaries were those that voted last – in states such as Oregon, Ohio, and especially California. But in recent years, it has not been those that voted last, but those that voted first that have had the real power in the nominating process – expanding their original role as winnowers into that of deciders.

In 2004, Iowa and New Hampshire alone played the role of “kingmakers,” holding the first two spots on the delegate-selection calendar. But in 2008, they will be joined on the Democrats’ January calendar by Nevada and South Carolina. The new arrangement, approved on a voice vote by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) at its August meeting in Chicago, calls for the four states to vote in a 15-day period at the start of the nominating season, with caucuses in Iowa (Jan. 14) and Nevada (Jan. 19), followed by primaries in New Hampshire (Jan. 22) and South Carolina (Jan. 29).

Proponents of the change argue that the addition of Nevada and South Carolina to the early mix breaks up the Iowa-New Hampshire hegemony, creates early votes in all four regions of the country, adds states with racial diversity to the opening round (South Carolina was 30% black in the last census, Nevada was 20% Hispanic), and promises to send Democratic candidates en masse into three of the most closely contested battleground states of 2004 (Iowa, Nevada and New Hampshire).

Critics, though, warn of unintended consequences, the constant bane of Democratic rules makers over the years. They speculate that with more states voting early, a primary calendar already badly “front-loaded” will be even more so – with the Democratic nomination likely to be settled more quickly than ever. In short, the wave of momentum that John Kerry rode out of Iowa in 2004 could be even larger for the Iowa winner in 2008, shooting him (or her) through the lineup of key events that will follow in short order.

And where are the big states, critics ask? An obvious candidate, Michigan, was among 11 states plus the District of Columbia, bidding for the two new January slots. As it is, the four January contests

are to take place in states that together offer just 24 electoral votes, feature only one major city (Las Vegas), and have few concentrations of suburban voters – the largest source of voters in November.

Still, this time, the Democrats were simply trying to tweak the front of the nominating calendar for 2008, with the hope that a wholesale look at the entire process could be made in conjunction with the Republicans before 2012. One party, whether it is the Democrats or the Republicans, is limited in what it can do on its own.

## Democrats’ January 2008 Nominating Calendar

The Democratic National Committee this month approved an opening-round calendar for the party’s 2008 presidential nominating process that features four states voting in January. There are traditional kingmakers Iowa and New Hampshire, plus newcomers Nevada and South Carolina. An asterisk (\*) indicates that the 2004 turnout figure is an estimate.

State and Event	Tentative '08 Date	'04 Date	'04 Turnout	'04 Top Two Finishers	'04 Pres. Vote
Iowa Caucus	Jan. 14	Jan. 19	124,331	KERRY (38%), Edwards (32%)	Bush by 0.7%
Nevada Caucus	Jan. 19	Feb. 14	9,000*	KERRY (63%), Dean (17%)	Bush by 3%
New Hampshire Primary	Jan. 22	Jan. 27	219,787	KERRY (38%), Dean (26%)	Kerry by 1%
South Carolina Primary	Jan. 29	Feb. 3	298,843	EDWARDS (45%), Kerry (30%)	Bush by 17%

# FOR THE RECORD:

## July-August 2006 Gubernatorial, Senate Primary Results

Following are results from Democratic and Republican primaries held in July and August for governor and U.S. Senate. Results are included for all candidates who received at least 10% of their party's primary vote, and are based on a mix of official, and nearly complete but unofficial, returns as of Aug. 24. Incumbents are listed in bold. Percentages do not always add to 100 due to rounding.



### July Primaries

States with gubernatorial race

#### GEORGIA (Primary - July 18)

Gov. Sonny Perdue clobbered his opposition in the Republican primary; Lt. Gov. Mark Taylor narrowly defeated Secretary of State Cathy Cox for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination; and controversial Democratic Rep. Cynthia McKinney was forced into a runoff Aug. 8, which she lost to former DeKalb County Commissioner Hank Johnson by a margin approaching 3-to-2. But the focus of attention in the Georgia primary was on the Republican contest for lieutenant governor, where the first elective bid by Ralph Reed ended in defeat. The politically skilled Reed, former head of the Christian Coalition and ex-Georgia GOP chairman, was the odds-on favorite at the beginning of the campaign. But fallout from his ties to convicted lobbyist Jack Abramoff undermined Reed's candidacy and ultimately resulted in a 12-percentage point loss to state Sen. Casey Cagle, who was virtually unknown at the beginning of the campaign.

#### GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
Mark Taylor	Lt. Governor	249,188	52%	<b>SONNY PERDUE</b>	<b>INCUMBENT</b>	370,756	88%
Cathy Cox	GA Secretary of State	211,978	44%	Ray McBerry	Media advertising	<u>48,498</u>	12%
Others	-	<u>20,951</u>	4%				
Total Vote		482,117		Total Vote		419,254	

#### OKLAHOMA (Primary - July 25)

Seven-term U.S. Rep. Ernest Istook of suburban Oklahoma City handily won the Republican primary for governor and the right to take on Democratic incumbent Brad Henry this fall. Istook defeated Tulsa oilman Bob Sullivan by a margin of nearly 2-to-1. Meanwhile, Lt. Gov. Mary Fallin won a runoff Aug. 22 over Oklahoma City Mayor Mike Cornett to become the GOP nominee for Istook's seat in the heavily Republican 5th District.

#### GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
<b>BRAD HENRY</b>	<b>INCUMBENT</b>	226,957	86%	Ernest Istook	U.S. Representative	99,650	55%
Andrew Marr	Inventor	<u>37,510</u>	14%	Bob Sullivan	Ex-OK energy secretary	56,347	31%
				James Williamson	State Senator	17,769	10%
				Other	-	<u>8,370</u>	5%
Total Vote		264,467		Total Vote		182,136	

## First Week in August Primaries

- States with gubernatorial and Senate races
- States with gubernatorial race



### KANSAS (Primary - August 1)

State Sen. Jim Barnett won a closely contested Republican primary for governor and the right to oppose Democratic incumbent Kathleen Sebelius this fall. But the focus of national attention was on primary picks for the Kansas Board of Education. In recent years, the majority on the 10-member board has been bouncing back and forth between a moderate faction comfortable with the teaching of evolution and a conservative faction sympathetic to the case for "intelligent design." The Republican primary vote resulted in the defeat of two conservative members, and virtually ensured that the board will tip from its current 6-to-4 conservative majority to a moderate majority after the fall voting. It is doubtful, though, that this will be the final word on the subject. Primary turnout reached 25,000 in only one of the five districts where seats on the Board of Education were at stake, and in only one GOP primary did the winner draw more than 55% of the vote.

#### GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
KATHLEEN SEBELIUS	INCUMBENT	Unopposed		Jim Barnett	State Senator	69,017	36%
				Ken Canfield	Fatherhood expert	50,454	26%
				Robin Jennison	Ex-State House Speaker	42,101	22%
				Others	-	29,471	15%
				Total Vote		191,043	

### TENNESSEE (Primary - August 3)

It is not shaping up as an anti-incumbent year in Tennessee, at least not thus far. Gov. Phil Bredesen won nearly 90% of the Democratic primary vote. Five House incumbents – three Democrats and two Republicans – were renominated with at least 85% of the vote. And the Democrats' designated candidate in the open Senate race, Rep. Harold Ford Jr., coasted to victory with nearly 80% of the vote. If Ford is elected, he will become the first African-American senator from the South since Reconstruction. But he faces a difficult challenge against Republican primary winner Bob Corker, a wealthy real estate developer and former mayor of Chattanooga, who took nearly half his party's primary vote against a pair of former congressmen. State Sen. Jim Bryson also took about half the vote in winning the Republican gubernatorial primary. But interest in the contest was low, with barely two-thirds the number of votes recorded in the GOP primary for governor as were cast in the Republican contest on the same ballot for senator.

#### GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
PHIL BREDESEN	INCUMBENT	393,076	89%	Jim Bryson	State Senator	160,699	50%
Others	-	51,036	12%	David Farmer	Small business owner	50,809	16%
				Joe Kirkpatrick	-	34,464	11%
				Others	-	75,190	23%
Total Vote		444,112		Total Vote		321,162	

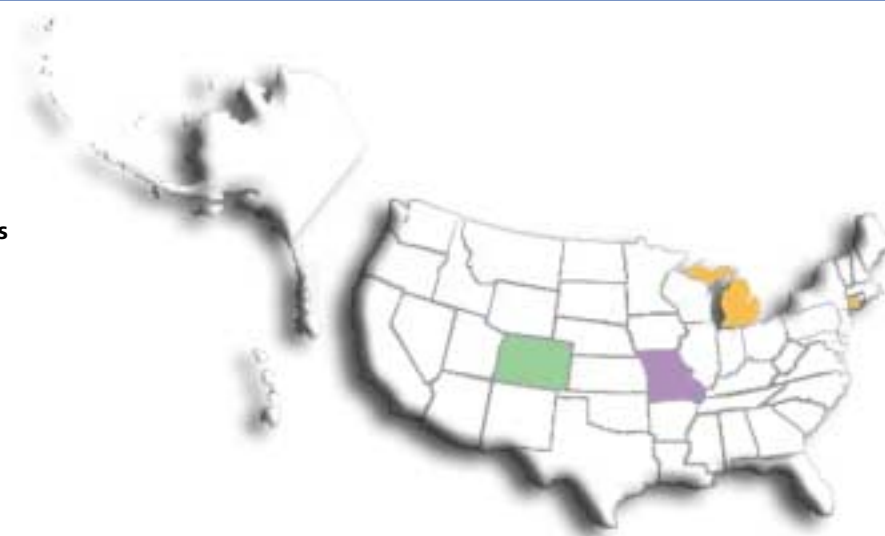
#### SENATE

OPEN SEAT --- Bill Frist (R)

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
Harold Ford Jr.	U.S. Representative	333,864	79%	Bob Corker	Ex-Chattanooga Mayor	231,320	48%
Others	-	88,158	21%	Ed Bryant	Ex-U.S. Representative	161,060	34%
				Van Hilleary	Ex-U.S. Representative	83,110	17%
				Other	-	5,301	1%
Total Vote		422,022		Total Vote		480,791	

## August 8th Primaries

- States with gubernatorial and Senate races
- States with gubernatorial race
- States with Senate race



### COLORADO (Primary - August 8)

Voters will have a little bit of everything to vote for in November – an open governorship, two open House seats, and a plethora of ballot measures that are expected to include votes on “hot button” issues such as immigration and gay marriage. Yet with the Democratic and Republican gubernatorial nominations settled in advance, the limited primary ballot action was focused on setting the table for the fall’s congressional races. State Sen. Doug Lamborn won the GOP primary in the open 5th District (being vacated by Republican Joel Hefley), and Democrats nominated former state Sen. Ed Perlmutter in the open 7th District (which GOP incumbent Bob Beauprez is giving up this year to run for governor).

#### GOVERNOR

OPEN SEAT --- Bill Owens (R)

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
Bill Ritter	Ex-Denver District Attorney	Unopposed		Bob Beauprez	U.S. Representative	Unopposed	

### CONNECTICUT (Primary - August 8)

The national spotlight was focused on the Senate primary between incumbent Joe Lieberman and anti-Iraq war challenger, Ned Lamont – a race that Lamont won by less than 10,000 votes out of more than 280,000 cast. But even closer was the Democratic primary for governor, a battle of the mayors that pitted New Haven’s John DeStefano against Stamford’s Dan Malloy. Their race was close from the beginning, with Malloy winning the party endorsement at the May state convention by a margin of just four votes out of nearly 1,600 delegate votes cast. DeStefano reversed that narrow result in the primary, winning by barely 4,000 votes. Each candidate carried their home base decisively, Malloy taking Fairfield County, DeStefano winning New Haven County. The latter’s narrow advantage in the other major population center, Hartford County, provided DeStefano with his margin of primary victory.

#### GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
John DeStefano	New Haven Mayor	135,431	51%	<b>M. JODI RELL</b> <b>INCUMBENT</b>		Unopposed	
Dan Malloy	Stamford Mayor	<u>131,258</u>	49%				
Total Vote		266,689					

#### SENATE

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
Ned Lamont	Cable TV entrepreneur	146,384	52%	Alan Schlesinger	Ex-Derby Mayor	Unopposed	
<b>JOE LIEBERMAN</b>	<b>INCUMBENT</b>	<u>136,473</u>	48%				
Total Vote		282,857					



## August 8th Primaries

	States with gubernatorial and Senate races
	States with gubernatorial race
	States with Senate race



### MICHIGAN (Primary - August 8)

The state's economic woes have made Michigan one of the few states in the country where the reigning Democrats are on the defensive. Fortunately for Gov. Jennifer Granholm and Sen. Debbie Stabenow, neither drew opposition in the Democratic primary. Nor for that matter did Republican gubernatorial nominee Dick DeVos, the son of a founder of Amway. The GOP Senate primary was won handily by Oakland County Sheriff Michael Bouchard, who defeated Keith Butler, an African-American minister and former Detroit city councilman. The major casualty Aug. 8 was at the congressional level, where freshman Rep. Joe Schwarz lost to former state Rep. Tim Walberg, 53%-to-47%, in the Republican primary in south-central Michigan's 7th District. Schwarz had defeated Walberg in the 2004 primary. But this time, Walberg had the backing of the conservative Club for Growth and Right to Life of Michigan against Schwarz, a John McCain ally who was considerably to the left of Walberg on social issues from abortion to gay marriage. Schwarz won his home base of Calhoun County (Battle Creek) as well as the environs of Ann Arbor and Lansing. But Walberg won decisively elsewhere.

#### GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
JENNIFER GRANHOLM	INCUMBENT	530,894	100%	Dick DeVos	Ex-Alticor/Amway president	580,576	100%

#### SENATE

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
DEBBIE STABENOW	INCUMBENT	512,989	100%	Michael Bouchard	Oakland Co. Sheriff	360,032	61%
				Keith Butler	Minister	234,864	39%
Total Vote						594,896	

### MISSOURI (Primary - August 8)

Two years ago, Missouri's Democratic governor, Bob Holden, was beaten in his party's primary. Nothing so dramatic happened this year, as Republican Sen. Jim Talent and his Democratic opponent, State Auditor Claire McCaskill (who defeated Holden in 2004), coasted to easy primary victories. The tranquil mood also extended to the congressional primaries, where the trio that was challenged also won handily. Roy Blunt, who briefly served as House majority leader after Tom DeLay stepped aside, drew 80% of the GOP primary vote in his southwest Missouri district.

#### SENATE

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
Claire McCaskill	MO State Auditor	282,767	81%	JIM TALENT	INCUMBENT	289,573	89%
Bill Clinton Young	Retired postal worker	67,173	19%	Others	-	36,209	11%
Total Vote						325,782	



## Mid to Late August Primaries

	States with gubernatorial and Senate races
	States with gubernatorial race

### NEVADA (Primary - August 15)

*Jack Carter, the oldest son of the former president, drew the national headlines in Nevada as he easily won the Democratic Senate primary. But the most closely contested statewide race this fall is expected to be for the open governorship, which produced spirited primary contests in both parties. Democratic State Senate Minority Leader Dina Titus and Republican Rep. Jim Gibbons emerged with solid victories thanks to strong showings in the state's two major population centers, Clark (Las Vegas) and Washoe (Reno) counties. But the Nevada primary also produced some political oddities. A deceased candidate was the runner-up in the Republican primary for state treasurer, taking nearly 20% of the vote. The lone candidate opposing Carter in the Democratic Senate primary actually finished third, as she trailed the ballot line titled "None of These Candidates." Meanwhile, the Gibbons family finished with one win and one loss on primary day – with Jim winning the Republican gubernatorial primary, while his wife, Dawn, finished third in the GOP primary for her husband's open House seat.*

#### GOVERNOR

OPEN SEAT --- Incumbent: Kenny Guinn (R)

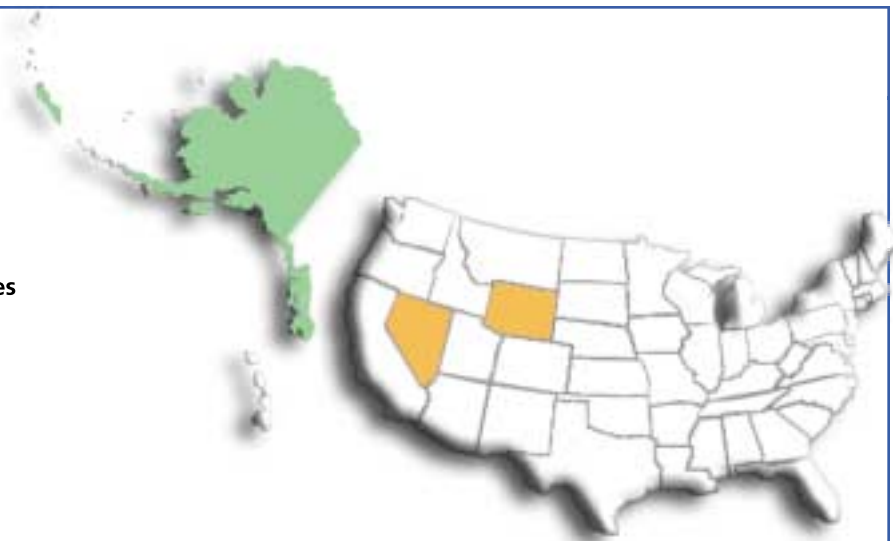
DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
Dina Titus	State Senate Minority Leader	64,006	54%	Jim Gibbons	U.S. Representative	67,748	48%
Jim Gibson	Henderson Mayor	42,973	36%	Bob Beers	State Senator	40,884	29%
Others	-	<u>12,098</u>	10%	Lorraine Hunt	Lt. Governor	25,165	18%
				Others	-	<u>6,759</u>	5%
Total Vote		119,077		Total Vote		140,556	

#### SENATE

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
Jack Carter	Lawyer, financial adviser	92,238	78%	<b>JOHN ENSIGN</b>	<b>INCUMBENT</b>	127,028	90%
"None of These Candidates"	-	14,429	12%	Others	-	<u>13,402</u>	10%
Other	-	<u>11,145</u>	10%				
Total Vote		117,812		Total Vote		140,430	

## Mid to Late August Primaries

- States with gubernatorial and Senate races
- States with gubernatorial race



### ALASKA (Primary - August 22)

Four years after leaving the Senate to successfully run for the governorship of Alaska, Frank Murkowski became the first sitting governor to lose a primary this year. Murkowski's governorship got off to a rocky start when he aroused charges of nepotism by appointing his daughter, Lisa, to his vacant Senate seat. His administration was followed by one controversy after another after that, from buying a state jet after state and federal agencies had turned thumbs down to negotiating with major oil companies a \$25 billion natural gas pipeline deal that drew considerable criticism. Highly unpopular in public opinion polls, Murkowski ended up running a weak third in the Republican gubernatorial primary. The primary winner, former Wasilla Mayor Sarah Palin, will face former Democratic Gov. Tony Knowles in the general election.

#### GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
Tony Knowles	Ex-Governor	32,490	74%	Sarah Palin	Ex-Wasilla Mayor	45,881	51%
Eric Croft	State Representative	10,671	24%	John Binkley	Ex-State Senator	27,052	30%
Others	-	<u>627</u>	1%	<b>FRANK MURKOWSKI</b>	<b>INCUMBENT</b>	17,008	19%
				Others	-	<u>424</u>	1%
Total Vote		43,788		Total Vote		90,365	

### WYOMING (Primary - August 22)

One of the reddest of the red states, Wyoming has a Democratic governor, Dave Freudenthal, who launched his bid for reelection with an easy primary win over token opposition. This fall he will face Ray Hunkins, who was runner-up in the GOP gubernatorial primary in 2002. Meanwhile, neither Republican Sen. Craig Thomas nor his Democratic challenger drew primary opposition. More spirited competition, per usual, was found in the Republican congressional primary, where Rep. Barbara Cubin was renominated for a seventh term with just 60% of the vote (on the heels of a 55% primary showing in 2004). A source of controversy for, among other things, rescinding her promise to serve only six terms in the House, Cubin was challenged this year by a retired Navy officer, Bill Winney. He succeeded in carrying two counties against the incumbent - Laramie (which includes the state capital of Cheyenne) and resort-oriented Teton, the current home of Vice President Richard Cheney.

#### GOVERNOR

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
<b>DAVE FREUDENTHAL</b>	<b>INCUMBENT</b>	26,588	90%	Ray Hunkins	Rancher, lawyer	51,959	75%
Al Hamburg	Retired house painter	<u>3,070</u>	10%	John Self	Retired mobile home worker	17,684	25%
Total Vote		29,658		Total Vote		69,643	

#### SENATE

DEMOCRATIC				REPUBLICAN			
Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%	Candidates	Occupation	Votes	%
Dale Groustage	Ex-Navy scientist	24,964	100%	<b>CRAIG THOMAS</b>	<b>INCUMBENT</b>	78,484	100%

## 2006 Gubernatorial Primaries: A Recap through August

Of the 36 governorships up this year, major party nominations had been determined by the end of August in 25 of the states involved. The results in this chart and the one that follows for Senate races are based on a mix of official, and nearly complete but unofficial, primary returns. A dash (-) indicates that no vote was recorded or is readily available. Incumbents are indicated in **bold** and with an asterisk (\*).

	DEMOCRATS			REPUBLICANS			'04 Pres. Winner
	Turnout	Winner	% of Primary Vote	Turnout	Winner	% of Primary Vote	
Alabama	465,023	Lucy Baxley	60%	459,759	<b>Bob Riley*</b>	<b>67%</b>	Bush by 26%
Alaska (Open)	43,788	Tony Knowles	74%	90,365	Sarah Palin	51%	Bush by 26%
Arkansas (Open)	-	Mike Beebe	Unopposed	-	Asa Hutchinson	Unopposed	Bush by 10%
California	2,432,375	Phil Angelides	48%	1,848,458	<b>Arnold Schwarzenegger*</b>	<b>90%</b>	Kerry by 10%
Colorado (Open)	-	Bill Ritter	Unopposed	-	Bob Beauprez	Unopposed	Bush by 5%
Connecticut	266,689	John DeStefano	51%	-	<b>M. Jodi Rell*</b>	<b>Unopposed</b>	Kerry by 10%
Georgia	482,117	Mark Taylor	52%	419,254	<b>Sonny Perdue*</b>	<b>88%</b>	Bush by 17%
Idaho (Open)	30,443	Jerry Brady	83%	137,175	C.L. "Butch" Otter	70%	Bush by 38%
Illinois	944,397	<b>Rod Blagojevich*</b>	<b>71%</b>	735,810	Judy Baar Topinka	38%	Kerry by 10%
Iowa (Open)	146,828	Chet Culver	39%	-	Jim Nussle	Unopposed	Bush by 0.7%
Kansas	-	<b>Kathleen Sebelius*</b>	Unopposed	191,043	Jim Barnett	36%	Bush by 25%
Maine	52,614	<b>John Baldacci*</b>	<b>76%</b>	69,478	Chandler Woodcock	39%	Kerry by 9%
Michigan	530,894	<b>Jennifer Granholm*</b>	<b>100%</b>	580,576	Dick DeVos	100%	Kerry by 3%
Nebraska	74,263	David Hahn	92%	274,975	<b>Dave Heineman*</b>	<b>50%</b>	Bush by 33%
Nevada (Open)	119,077	Dina Titus	54%	140,556	Jim Gibbons	<b>48%</b>	Bush by 3%
New Mexico	107,520	<b>Bill Richardson*</b>	<b>99%</b>	53,974	John Dendahl#	-	Bush by 0.8%
Ohio (Open)	783,044	Ted Strickland	79%	812,388	Ken Blackwell	56%	Bush by 2%
Oklahoma	264,467	<b>Brad Henry*</b>	<b>86%</b>	182,136	Ernest Istook	55%	Bush by 31%
Oregon	319,177	<b>Ted Kulongoski*</b>	<b>54%</b>	300,554	Ron Saxton	42%	Kerry by 4%
Pennsylvania	644,444	<b>Ed Rendell*</b>	<b>100%</b>	572,375	Lynn Swann	100%	Kerry by 3%
South Carolina	138,343	Tommy Moore	64%	247,281	<b>Mark Sanford*</b>	<b>65%</b>	Bush by 17%
South Dakota	36,389	Jack Billion	62%	-	<b>Michael Rounds*</b>	<b>Unopposed</b>	Bush by 21%
Tennessee	444,112	<b>Phil Bredesen*</b>	<b>89%</b>	321,162	Jim Bryson	50%	Bush by 14%
Texas	508,602	Chris Bell	64%	655,919	<b>Rick Perry*</b>	<b>84%</b>	Bush by 23%
Wyoming	29,658	<b>Dave Freudenthal*</b>	<b>90%</b>	69,643	Ray Hunkins	<b>75%</b>	Bush by 40%

Note: The pound sign (#) indicates that J.R. Damron won the New Mexico Republican gubernatorial primary with 99% of the vote. He withdrew from the race after the primary and was replaced by John Dendahl.



## 2006 Senate Primaries: A Recap through August

Of the 33 Senate seats up in 2006, major party nominations had been decided by the end of August in 21 of the states involved. "@" indicates that Ned Lamont defeated incumbent Joe Lieberman in the Democratic primary; Lieberman is running as an independent in the general election.

	DEMOCRATS			REPUBLICANS			'04 Pres. Winner
	Turnout	Winner	% of Vote	Turnout	Winner	% of Vote	
California	2,427,998	<b>Dianne Feinstein*</b>	<b>87%</b>	1,506,662	Dick Mountjoy	100%	Kerry by 10%
Connecticut	282,857	Ned Lamont @	52%	-	Alan Schlesinger	Unopposed	Kerry by 10%
Indiana	-	(No candidate)	-	393,960	<b>Richard Lugar*</b>	<b>100%</b>	Bush by 21%
Maine	44,120	Jean Hay Bright	51%	-	<b>Olympia Snowe*</b>	<b>Unopposed</b>	Kerry by 9%
Michigan	512,989	<b>Debbie Stabenow*</b>	<b>100%</b>	594,896	Michael Bouchard	61%	Kerry by 3%
Mississippi	100,802	Erik Fleming	44%/63%#	-	<b>Trent Lott*</b>	<b>Unopposed</b>	Bush by 20%
Missouri	349,940	Claire McCaskill	81%	325,782	<b>Jim Talent*</b>	<b>89%</b>	Bush by 7%
Montana	105,952	Jon Tester	61%	94,611	<b>Conrad Burns*</b>	<b>72%</b>	Bush by 21%
Nebraska	92,501	<b>Ben Nelson*</b>	<b>100%</b>	269,954	Pete Ricketts	48%	Bush by 33%
Nevada	117,812	Jack Carter	78%	140,430	<b>John Ensign*</b>	<b>90%</b>	Bush by 3%
New Jersey	184,154	<b>Robert Menendez*</b>	<b>84%</b>	170,102	Thomas Kean Jr.	75%	Kerry by 7%
New Mexico	113,848	<b>Jeff Bingaman*</b>	<b>100%</b>	57,618	Allen McCulloch	51%	Bush by 0.8%
North Dakota	58,231	<b>Kent Conrad*</b>	<b>100%</b>	40,645	Dwight Grotberg	100%	Bush by 27%
Ohio	733,259	Sherrod Brown	78%	774,123	<b>Mike DeWine*</b>	<b>72%</b>	Bush by 2%
Pennsylvania	732,617	Bob Casey Jr.	84%	550,595	<b>Rick Santorum*</b>	<b>100%</b>	Kerry by 3%
Tennessee (Open)	422,022	Harold Ford Jr.	79%	480,791	Bob Corker	48%	Bush by 14%
Texas	500,785	Barbara Radnofsky	44% / 63%#	627,163	<b>Kay Bailey Hutchison*</b>	<b>100%</b>	Bush by 23%
Utah	-	Pete Ashdown	Unopposed	-	<b>Orrin Hatch*</b>	-	Bush by 46%
Virginia	155,784	James Webb	53%	-	<b>George Allen*</b>	<b>Unopposed</b>	Bush by 8%
West Virginia	185,763	<b>Robert Byrd*</b>	<b>86%</b>	81,325	John Raese	58%	Bush by 13%
Wyoming	24,964	Dale Groustage	100%	78,484	<b>Craig Thomas*</b>	<b>100%</b>	Bush by 40%

Note: The pound sign (#) indicates the results of runoffs that were required in Mississippi and Texas to decide the Democratic Senate nominations. In each state, the Democratic turnout reflects the number of votes cast in the primary.