



An Economist Group business

**115TH CONGRESS**

A stylized illustration of the U.S. Capitol dome in blue, set against a background of radiating orange and white stripes, with several yellow stars scattered around. The dome is shown from a low angle, emphasizing its height.

# **2016 GUIDE TO THE NEW CONGRESS**

**PROFILES OF NEW MEMBERS,  
PARTY AGENDAS AND  
COMMITTEE PREVIEWS**

# CONTENTS

GUIDE TO THE NEW CONGRESS

NOVEMBER 10, 2016

VOLUME 74 NUMBER 32



4

## THE WHITE HOUSE

After an unprecedented upset victory, Republicans finally have an ally at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

9

## THE NEW HOUSE

Republicans avoided significant losses and are left with the challenge of unifying around a contentious policy agenda.

25

Freshmen

49

Committee Roster Changes

58

Committee Outlooks

14

## THE NEW SENATE

Against all odds, Senate Republicans held on to their majority.

19

Freshmen

47

Committee Roster Changes

66

Committee Outlooks



### 3 Editor's Desk

President-elect Donald Trump won the presidency. Now he needs to win over Congress.

## 115TH CONGRESS

1st session

	HOUSE	SENATE
Democrats	193	46
Republicans	238	51
Independents	0	2
Not called*	4	1

As of 7 p.m. Nov. 9, these races were not called: California 7 and 49. Additionally a runoff is scheduled for Dec. 10 for Louisiana Senate and that state's 3rd and 4th districts.

## THE DATA MINE

### 53 Demographics

Congress by the numbers

### 55 Departing lawmakers

Who's moving on

### 57 Key Dates

Upcoming deadlines in 2016-17

Cover credit: Photo illustration by Marilyn Gates-Davis, photo by Sara B. Davis/Getty Images. This page, left, Mark Wilson/Getty Images; right, Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call.

**Publication Note:** This special issue of CQ Magazine — also known as the *Guide to the New Congress* — was produced Wednesday, Nov. 9. The profiles of potential new members whose races hadn't been called by press time are marked clearly. Those races are also listed at left. By 5 p.m. Nov. 9, Republican Sen. Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire had been defeated and the state's Democratic governor, Maggie Hassan, had won the seat. This issue serves as Volume 74, Issue 32 of CQ Magazine; the next magazine will be issue 33, dated Nov. 14.

# EDITOR'S DESK

CQ ROLL CALL

## Meet the New Power Structure

Donald Trump made a lot of promises on his unlikely road to the White House. Whether it was a pledge to build a wall along the border with Mexico, a Day One commitment to repeal Obamacare or a vow to tear up trade agreements, his big ideas helped capture a large share of the electorate.

And Trump needs to win over Congress, too.

Sure, “Mexico will pay for the wall” (at least in theory). But what of the related implied commitments to boost security, select contractors and oversee the construction work?

The old maxim that “the president proposes and Congress disposes” holds true today, and even though Republicans hold both the House and the Senate it doesn’t guarantee smooth sailing for Trump’s ideas.

In fact, experienced lawmakers and thinkers such as House Speaker Paul D. Ryan may think of themselves as the providers of the Trump legislative agenda — filling in the details on a range of issues the president-elect has promoted, from rewriting the tax code to shaping immigration laws.

The massive shock of Trump’s victory led some to overlook his impact on the makeup of Congress. He had real coattails in this election, helping keep the Senate in Republican hands and holding losses in the House to single digits. Trump has political chits to call in from his party.

The magazine you’re holding in your hand is our comprehensive look at the new power structure on Capitol Hill. You’ll find details about who runs the law-writing committees, and learn about the backgrounds of every new member in a declared district or statewide race as of Nov. 9.

This New Member Guide is distributed at our Election Impact Conference. This event, first held in 1980, is a biannual Washington tradition. This time around, we’re looking at the implications of the vote policy issues ranging from health care to energy to cybersecurity and defense. Our experts will also discuss how Trump will fund his policies and game out the prospects for bipartisan cooperation after a hard fought and bitter campaign. You’ll be able to review the conference online at [rollcall.com](http://rollcall.com).

The sharp analysis you’ll find in these pages is in keeping with the CQ tradition of nonpartisan coverage of the federal legislative process, which stretches back more than 70 years.

CQ, first known as Congressional Quarterly, was established by Nelson Poynter in 1945. He summed up the reasons for founding CQ: “The federal government will never set up an adequate agency to check on itself, and a foundation is too timid for that. So it had to be a private enterprise beholden to its clients.”

As the top editorial executive at CQ Roll Call, I’m charged with upholding the company’s reputation for independence. I hope you’ll find this guide a valuable resource as we embark on one of the most challenging periods in American political history. I’m convinced that our mission to focus on policy and its implication for the country’s citizens will remain a vital resource for all who care about how Washington really works.

---

*A group of student interns assisted with the production of this issue under the direction of Assistant Managing Editor for Production George LeVines and CQ Magazine Managing Editor Mike Magner. They included: Prachi Parmar, Amanda Carey, Chandler Gould, Austin Bruno, Lauren Gantenbein, Zach Schlein, John Berens, Chris Vest, Christina Flom.*

Chief Content Officer,  
CQ Roll Call  
[@dellisnyc](https://twitter.com/dellisnyc)



# America: A House Divided

After an upset victory for the ages, President-elect Trump must govern a bitterly divided country

Trump on his victory eve

Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images

By JOHN T. BENNETT

**D**onald Trump, perhaps the most unlikely president-elect in American history, seemed to know something the rest of us didn't in the days leading up to the election.

The media scoffed. Hillary Clinton's campaign doubted. President Barack Obama mocked. And political pundits were bewildered by his zig-zagging between states they were sure he would lose.

But Trump sensed more than anyone else that what he had detected among tens of millions of Americans would propel him to arguably the biggest upset in U.S. political history.

"Tomorrow's going to be a very historic day," he said Monday in Raleigh, N.C. "I really believe that. ... I think it's going to be a Brexit Plus-Plus-Plus."

Few took him seriously.

After all, the kind of down-market — some would say knee-jerk, emotion-based — populism that led Britons to vote to leave the European Union could never happen in the United States, they argued.

Only, it did. Trump's path to the White House, once difficult to see, got clearer as the returns rolled in Tuesday and early Wednesday. But just how the real estate tycoon and reality show star can govern a country composed of millions of voters who despise him is as unclear as his electoral prospects were just weeks ago. It looks like Clinton won the popular vote, even as she lost the Electoral College and the election.

Democrats view Trump as a dangerous demagogue who is hostile to immigrants, Muslims, minorities and women. They see a self-interested politician who's ignorant of policy matters and uninterested in learning their intricacies.

Candidate Trump described America like it was a failed state, one where opportunity had evaporated. Trump repeatedly asked voters to simply trust that he was the only person who could fix things. That makes it hard to imagine how he'll work with 535 members of Congress or even on what issues he will focus.

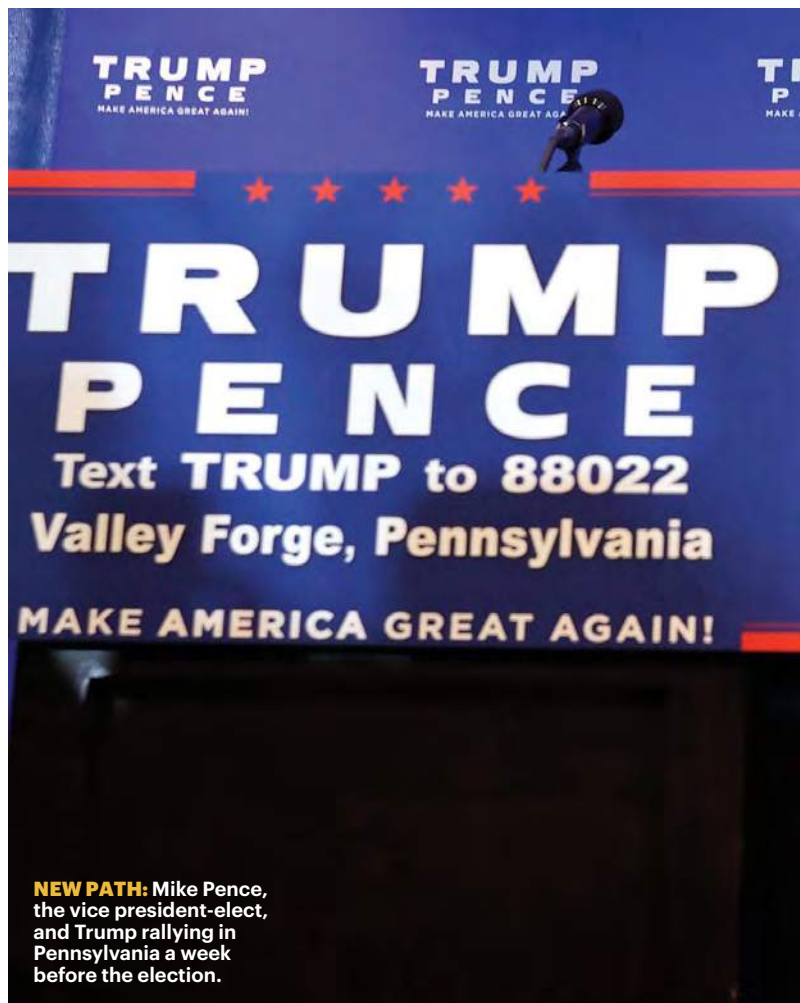
As Trump stepped on to a stage early Wednesday morning in New York, there was a new tone. He urged his supporters to express appreciation for Clinton's years of public service. The president-elect said it is time to "bind the wounds of division" and "get together." He spoke directly to "all" Republicans, Democrats and independents, saying, "It is time for us to come together as one united people."

Whether those sentiments hold up in the crucible of Washington give-and-take remains to be seen. For her part, Clinton on Wednesday morning delivered what she called a "painful" concession speech, offering to work with Trump and urging Americans to rally around their next leader. "I hope that he will be a successful president for all Americans," Clinton said. "Donald Trump is going to be our president. We owe him an open mind and a chance to lead."

Minutes later, Obama appeared in the White House Rose Garden to announce he is "rooting" for the former reality television star's success in the Oval Office. He promised to oversee a peaceful transition process while also urging all Americans to "remember we're all on one team."

"We all want what's best for this country," Obama said. "That's what I heard in Mr. Trump's [victory speech] remarks, [and] what I heard when I spoke to him," adding he felt heartened by the new tone.

Trump's victory hinged on his ability to convince millions of frustrated American voters, sick of economic malaise and Washington's



apparent indifference, that he is the antidote. His policy platform was thin, but voters didn't care. In voting for Trump, they opted to blow up the system.

Sen. David Perdue, a Georgia Republican and Trump supporter, says voters were willing to take a chance on the GOP candidate for the same reasons he was: disgust with the status quo. "I'm really troubled by a liberal, activist Supreme Court. I'm troubled by more taxes. I'm troubled by this regulatory environment," Perdue says. "That's all I hear when I go home, and have heard about over the last month moving around the country."

Self-described "patriots" at Trump rallies talked about a "revolution." The candidate himself suggested that his supporters might kill his Democratic foe, Hillary Clinton, and said repeatedly that she belonged in jail. Many of his supporters will want Trump to follow through with a special prosecutor after he's sworn in on Jan. 20.

Because Trump supporters from the Deep South to the Rust Belt and beyond spent the weeks before the election chanting, "Lock her up!" and cheering Trump's allegations of a "rigged system," it's fair to assume they never would have accepted Clinton as their president.

Trump discredited her, painting Clinton as a corrupt member of a global "political establishment [that] has brought about the destruction of our factories, and our jobs, as they flee to Mexico, China and



Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images

other countries all around the world.”

His supporters agreed, and in the end, Trump swayed enough Americans, even those who were skeptical of his bombast, that a businessman with no political experience was better suited to occupy the Oval Office than the former secretary of State, senator and first lady.

His prospects began to change on Friday, Oct. 28, when FBI Director James B. Comey informed lawmakers that the agency had found more emails related to a private server Clinton had used while she was secretary of State. Though Comey told Congress just over a week later that he would not recommend any criminal charges against Clinton, Comey’s decision to go public shifted the momentum. Polls indicated a suddenly tighter race. Clinton’s campaign never fully recovered, and it failed to turn out the vote in key swing states.

What President-elect Trump does next is still unclear. But the combative mood his campaign fostered could make it difficult to achieve much consensus.

The next president “is going to have a very tough time getting anything done,” House Deputy GOP Whip Tom Cole of Oklahoma said in a pre-election interview. “What everybody needs to remember is when President Obama came into office, he was popular and had supermajorities in both chambers. Neither of these candidates are popular, and neither are going to have supermajorities.”

The portrait of a downtrodden America that Trump painted didn’t match many of the positive economic indicators that were rolling in, but it still hit a nerve with frustrated and anxious Americans.

The unemployment rate declined steadily under Obama from 10 percent in October 2009 to 4.9 percent last month. Still, the recovery from the 2007-09 recession has been slow, and many Americans remain nervous about their prospects.

Disparities in wealth and income have grown. Median household income is about where it was in the late 1980s, just under \$54,000 a year, as adjusted for inflation.

One of the president-elect’s main themes on the trail was a plea to voters to trust him to bring back to America lost manufacturing jobs that he said were “taken” by China, Mexico and other countries offering cheap labor to U.S. companies.

Promises, not policy ideas, won. And while even Trump’s supporters can’t define how to turn his appeal into a coherent legislative agenda, they still vow that he will succeed where Clinton would have failed.

Trump’s advocates in Congress insist his policy proposals mattered. Perdue, for one, points out his pledge to repeal the 2010 health care law.

Self-interest is playing a role. Congressional Republicans hope Trump will now sign their bills, particularly a planned budget reconciliation measure that could repeal the health care law and make major changes to Medicaid and Medicare.

But that’s not what Trump ran on. Rather, Trump seized on a feeling among voters that America is in decline, that it’s harder to break into the middle class and harder to tell much of a difference once you do.

And Trump’s plans, those he did clearly explain, will divide Republicans in Congress, on issues from trade to immigration.

If he’s to implement his immigration pledge, to build a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border and crack down on unauthorized immigrants inside the country, business-minded Republicans will revolt, just as they will if Trump pulls out of past trade agreements.

Still, Trump has promised to plow ahead.

“If I win, day one, we are going to announce our plans to renegotiate NAFTA,” Trump said in North Carolina last month, disparaging the trade deal with Mexico. “If we don’t get the deal we want, we leave NAFTA and start over to get a much better, a much more fair deal.”

Addressing friction between minority communities and law enforcement and attacks on police officers, Trump frequently delivered a version of a GOP convention line casting himself as a one-man fixer: “When I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order in our country.”

And there were vigorous if unspecific calls for more corporate accountability and to eliminate government waste.

“I am going to bring our jobs back to Ohio and to America, and I am not going to let companies move to other countries, firing their employees along the way, without consequences,” Trump said on his coronation night as the GOP nominee in Cleveland in July. Where politicians have

long vowed to eliminate wasteful programs, he vowed to do it within “my first 100 days.”

“My message is that things have to change and they have to change right now. Every day I wake up determined to deliver for the people I have met all across this nation that have been neglected, ignored and abandoned,” Trump said, casting himself as a champion of both middle-class and lower-class Americans.

The Clinton campaign scoffed. Obama hit Trump hard, describing him as a businessman who stiffes his employees and contractors.

“C’mon. This guy?” Obama said one week before Election Day in perennial battleground Ohio. “Don’t be bamboozled.”

But voters ultimately sided with Trump’s argument that it has been the Republican and Democratic establishments that have been bamboozling voters for decades.

When asked about Trump, GOP lawmakers on Capitol Hill demurred and dodged, uttering some version of the following: “We just don’t know what to expect.” Several pundits opined just before Election Day that it was pointless to game out how a President Trump would work with Congress and run the country because he is such a wild card.

But Cole, a veteran GOP lawmaker who is close to the very party leadership Trump sometimes clashed with before and after becoming the Republican nominee, says the former reality television star likely will get more done than Clinton would have.

“Paradoxically, I do think Trump would have a better chance to get things done.” With GOP control of both the House and Senate, Cole imagined “moving a true repeal of Obamacare to his desk, the Keystone pipeline to his desk ... And I do think Trump would sign what we were able to get to him and declare victory.”

Included would be big chunks of Speaker Paul D. Ryan’s “Better Way” policy agenda, Cole says.

To that end, some GOP operatives have said Ryan’s tepid support for Trump, in spite of his clear discomfort with him, was based on a calculation that the party’s unexpected standard-bearer would sign Ryan’s long-sought policies into law.

The 60-vote threshold in the Senate could be a major hindrance to a productive Trump presidency, but not necessarily.

Republicans plan to craft a massive policy and budget measure in the early days of a Trump administration, a budget reconciliation bill, and use a special rule to push it through both chambers on a simple majority vote. Both parties have used the tactic in recent years, often to the other’s frustration and disgust.

“I think we’d see the mother of all reconciliation bills,” says Jim Manley, a Democratic strategist who once was a senior adviser to Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid of Nevada. “It would be the biggest, baddest reconciliation bill anyone has ever seen.”

Asked what things the Republicans, sensing a moment to turn many

#### POLICY GURU:

Speaker Paul D. Ryan hopes Trump will now sign into law his conservative plans.



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

favorite policy prescriptions into law, might pack into such a measure, Manley took a long, deep breath before responding.

“It would have everything in Speaker Ryan’s wish list from big tax cuts for the wealthy to a repeal of Obamacare to welfare reform,” he said.

The president-elect and congressional Republicans might not stop there, eager to pile up legislative victories ahead of a 2018 midterm election that looks good for the party. A reconciliation bill could, conceivably, turn Medicaid into a block grant to the states and shift Medicare to a premium-support model in which seniors would get a set amount of money to buy health insurance on the private market. It would be Democrats’ worst nightmare.

Whether or not Trump can succeed in remaking Washington will depend, in large part, on whether Trump can tame the wild temperament that carried him to victory while alienating so many.

That’s the elephant in the room: the rhetoric and actions — past, present and perhaps future — of Trump. If Ryan or another GOP leader shuns one of his plans or fails to deliver enough votes, what will he do? If Russian President Vladimir Putin or another U.S. adversary challenges him on the global stage, how will he respond?

More likely than not, it won’t be pretty. “He could conduct himself in a manner that underscores divisiveness and leads to God-knows-what,” says William Galston, a former White House aide under Bill Clinton who is now at the Brookings Institution.

No matter what kind of relationship Trump pursues with Congress and no matter what kind of policy agenda he pushes, Democrats are hoping their time in the wilderness will be brief.

“I think women will be up in arms,” says Stephanie Schriock, the president of EMILY’s List, a group that helps women Democrats get elected. Her prediction: Trump’s presidency will prove a huge motivator for liberals. “I really think this campaign,” she says, “is going to inspire many, many, many more women to run for office at all levels.” ■



**DAVID ELLIS**  
CHIEF CONTENT OFFICER

## ||||||| CQ MAGAZINE

**MARCIA MYERS**  
EDITOR

**Managing Editor:** Mike Magner  
**Design Director:** Marilyn Gates-Davis  
**Deputy Editors:** Jason Dick, Shawn Zeller

### PRODUCT INNOVATION

**MATT MANSFIELD, VICE PRESIDENT**

**Chief Creative Officer:** Kris Viesselman  
**Visual Reporting Editor:** Gillian Roberts  
**Data Reporters:** Ryan Kelly, Randy Leonard, Sean McMinn  
**Photo Editor:** Bill Clark  
**Staff Photographer:** Tom Williams  
**Senior Multimedia Producer:** Cody Long  
**Multimedia Producer:** Thomas McKinless  
**Web Manager:** Robert Huttering  
**Multimedia & Online Developer:** Chris Williams  
**Intern:** Brian Elkhatab  
**Senior Editor, Content Mgmt:** George Codrea  
**Senior Director, User Experience & Strategy:** Patrick Thornton  
**Product Mgmt. Dir.:** Meredith Dake-O'Connor  
**Senior Product Manager:** Lisa McAvoey  
**Project Manager:** Justin Siemaszko  
**Senior User Experience Designer:** Rachel James  
**User Experience Designers:** Evan Chapman, Torie Daly  
**Director, Quality Assurance:** Brendan Walsh  
**Quality Assurance Engineer:** Carey Bwana  
**Quality Assurance Analyst:** Sarah Lawrence

### REGULATORY AND LEGAL PRODUCTS

**Director:** Keith P. White  
**Editors:** Michael Shaw, Stephen Walsh  
**Senior Analysts:** Peter Feltman, Steven Harras  
**Analysts:** Jad Chamseddine, Dean DeChiaro, Clyde McGrady, Craig Mehall, Paul Merrion, Amy Rosen, Jacob Rund, Mark Stricherz, Jacqueline Toth  
**Contributing Writer:** Ethan Howland

## ||||||| CQ NEWS

**STEVE KOMAROW**

**VICE PRESIDENT & NEWS DIRECTOR**

**Managing Editor, Leadership & Enterprise:**

Adriel Bettelheim

**Editors:** Rebecca Adams, Catalina Camia, Mike Christensen, Tony Gnofo, Jennifer Koons, Jane Norman, Toulou Vlahou

**Associate Editor:** Kerry Young

**Senior Writers:** John M. Donnelly,

Paul M. Krawzak, Alan K. Ota

**Staff Writers:** Kate Ackley, John T. Bennett, Tom Curry, Jeremy Dillon, Elyn Ferguson, Jacob Fischler, Alisha Green, David Lerman, Ryan Lucas, Ryan McCrimmon, Kellie Mejdich, Erin Mershon, Jonathan Miller, Elvina Nawaguna, Rachel Oswald, Gopal Ratnam, Todd Ruger, Megan Scully, Jennifer Shutt, Andrew Siddons, Doug Sword, Emily Wilkins, Joseph Williams

**Members Data Researcher:** Alex Clearfield

**Contributing Writer:** Finlay Lewis

**Intern:** Aryn Braun

### CQ NOW

**Director:** Ed Felker

**Deputy Director:** Chris Wright

**Deputy Editors:** Charlene Carter, Paul Jenks, Sara Smith

**Assistant Editors:** Katherine Tully-McManus, Brittany Zeman

### LEGISLATIVE ANALYSIS GROUP

**Managing Editor:** Randy Walerius

**Editor, House Action Reports:** Chuck Conlon

**Deputy Editor, House Action Reports:**

Robert Tomkin

**Senior Legislative Analyst:** Edward Pesce

**Copy and Production Editor:** Khari Williams

**Staff Writers:** Karin Fuog, Daniel Peake, Annie Shuppy

## ||||||| ROLL CALL

**KRIS VIESELMAN**

**EDITOR-IN-CHIEF & VICE PRESIDENT**

**Deputy Editor:** Ed Timms

**Managing Editor for Audience:** John Helton

**Managing Editor for Enterprise:** Adriel Bettelheim

**Assistant Managing Editor for Production:**

George Levines

**Senior Congressional Editor:** David Hawkings

**Elections Editor:** Nathan L. Gonzales

**Web Manager:** Robert Huttering

**Design Editor:** Chris Hale

**Copy Editor:** Andrew Menezes

**Audience Development Editor:** Andrew Breiner

**Senior Writer:** Niels Lesniewski

**Senior Political Writers:** Simone Pathé, Alex Roarty

**Staff Writers:** Stephanie Akin, Bridget

Bowman, Alex Gangitano, Eric Garcia,

Lindsey McPherson, Rema Rahman

**Columnists:** Jonathan Allen, Mary C. Curtis,

Matt Lewis, Patricia Murphy, Walter Shapiro

**Staff Cartoonist:** R.J. Matson

**Intern:** Christina Flom

**Director of Data Operations:** Jamisha Ford  
**Senior Researchers:** Anne Grady, Yee Ling Woo  
**Editors:** Brandon Haas, Noella Kertes, Will Weiss  
**Deputy Editors:** Amelia Frappolli, Anne L. Kim, Michael Teitelbaum  
**Researchers:** Morgan Cahn, Hugh T. Ferguson, Terence Huie, Christina Pamphilis, Hira Qureshi, Katherine Scott, Sam Sipkin, Greg Tourial, Cameron Vea, Andy Van Wye

## ||||||| BUSINESS

**PAUL McHALE**  
PRESIDENT

### ADVERTISING

**Frank Musso**

Senior Vice President, Advertising and Advocacy

**David Meyers**

Vice President of Business Operations, Roll Call

**Dave Deker**

National Sales Director & Associate Publisher, CQ Magazine

**Lisa Danielczyk**

National Sales Director, Northeast

**Michelle Rideout**

Director, Advertising & Events Marketing

**Emily Levy**

Events Director

**Lauren Mikoy**

Director, Advertising Operations & New Media

**Chhayrithy Chhuan**

Programmatic Manager, Advertising Operations

**Marguerite Stephan**

Account Manager, Advertising Operations

### EXECUTIVES

**Asif Jalil**

Senior Vice President &

Chief Financial Officer

**Meg Hargreaves**

Chief Operating Officer

**Dan Germain**

Senior Vice President &

Chief Product Officer

**Glen Justice**

Senior Vice President,

Product Execution

### CIRCULATION SALES

**Dev Jodhun**

Senior Vice President, Sales &

Marketing

**David Stevens**

Vice President, Government

Sales & Retention

### EMAIL THE STAFF

CQ Roll Call staff can be reached via e-mail at [firstname.lastname@cqrollcall.com](mailto:firstname.lastname@cqrollcall.com)

## ||||||| PUBLICATIONS

### CQ

CQ's award-winning publication covers the people and institutions that influence public policy and legislation. From Capitol Hill to K Street to the White House, CQ helps you track and understand how legislation is shaped, who is shaping it and how the process could affect your interests.

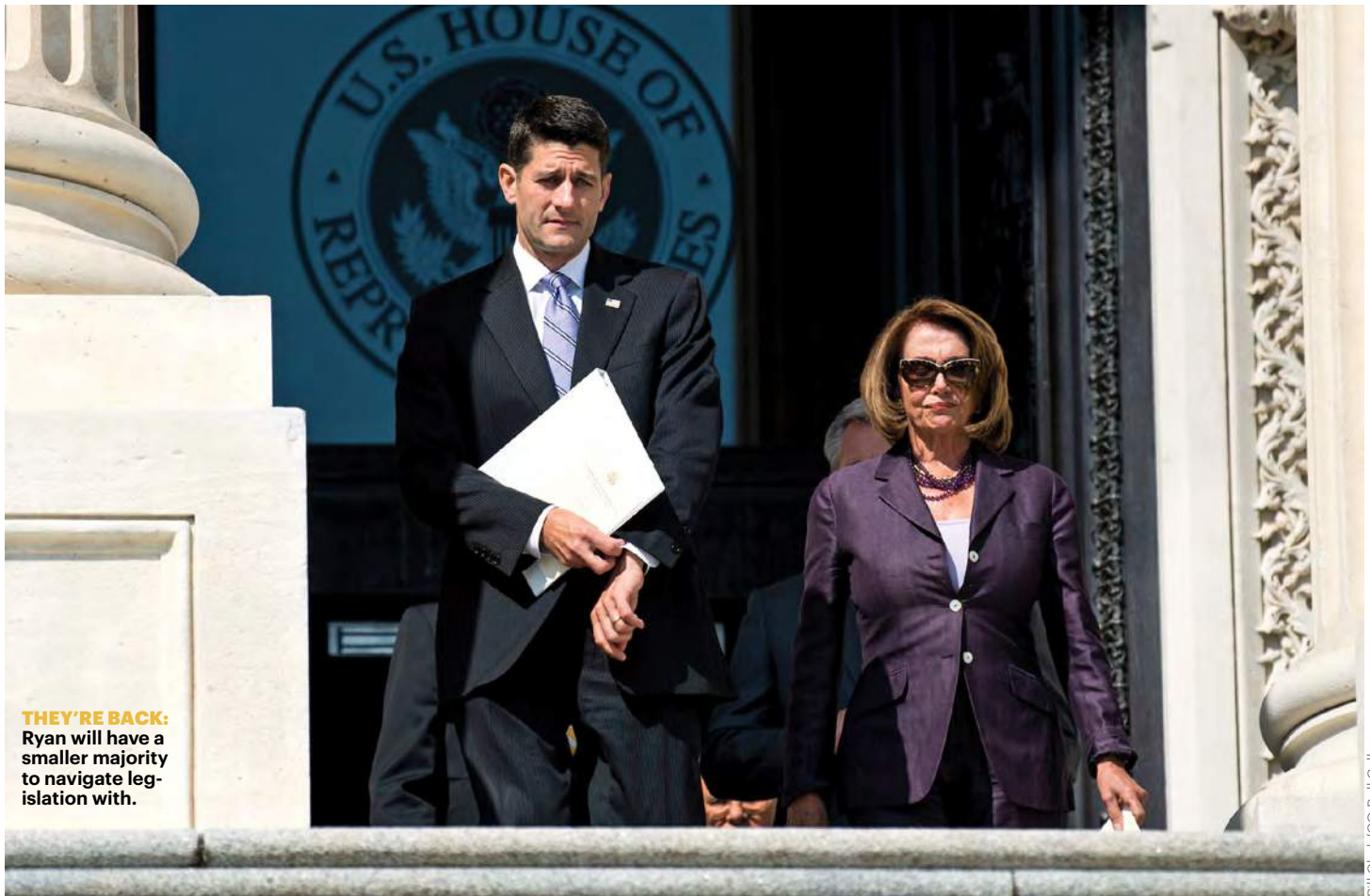
### Roll Call

First published in 1955 from the halls of Congress, Roll Call's storied history carries a legacy of objective and non-partisan news on the people, politics and personalities of Capitol Hill. Today's Roll Call features legislative and policy news and detailed congressional schedules. Delivered in print, online, on mobile platforms and on CQ.com.

### CQ.com

CQ.com is the only service that covers key legislative action in Congress. Providing breaking news, bill coverage and custom email alerts, CQ.com ensures that you will always be among the first to know.

CQ is part of CQ Roll Call, Inc. Copyright 2016, CQ-Roll Call, Inc., which reserves all copyright and other rights herein, except as previously specified in writing. No part of this publication may be reproduced, electronically or otherwise, without prior written consent from CQ Roll Call, Inc. To obtain additional copies, please call 800-432-2250, ext. 599. CQ (Congressional Quarterly) (ISSN 1521-5997) is published 37 times a year on a weekly basis, except when Congress is in recess. Our publication office is located at 77 K St. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002-4681. Subscription rates are furnished on request. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and additional mailing offices. (USPS 081-620) POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CQ Roll Call, Inc., 77 K St. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002-4681.



**THEY'RE BACK:** Ryan will have a smaller majority to navigate legislation with.

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

# The Right Holds

The new Republican majority isn't likely to play nice, and payback is the name of the game

By **LINDSEY MCPHERSON AND REMA RAHMAN**

Speaker Paul D. Ryan expected to hold onto his House majority, but the Republican trifecta he said he needed to enact his six-point policy agenda in the 115th Congress seemed like a long shot leading up to Election Day. Now, with the unexpected GOP sweep of the House, Senate and White House, Ryan will have to put his money where his mouth is.

House Republicans campaigned on a policy agenda called “A Better Way,” with hopes of winning a full GOP governing majority that would give them a mandate for their ideas on taxes, health

care, poverty, national security, regulations and constitutional powers.

Ryan is bound to interpret the election results as giving the GOP that mandate, despite more narrow Republican majorities in both chambers of Congress.

“You can see the fact that our Better Way agenda, it is showing how we can take this country in a different direction,” Ryan said Monday, Nov. 7, in an interview with WTMJ’s Charlie Sykes. “People are hungry for that. They’re hungry for solutions.

They're hungry for ideas."

But before House Republicans start drafting their ideas into legislation, one big question has to be answered: Is incoming President Donald Trump on board?

Trump's campaign was short on policy details. He said he supported some of the House Republicans' ideas on poverty and taxes, but he never formally endorsed the A Better Way agenda or said whether he would make it a priority in his administration.

Ryan, however, seems to believe House Republicans can work with Trump. "We are eager to work hand-in-hand with the new administration to advance an agenda to improve the lives of the American people," the speaker said in a statement after Trump was declared the winner.

### Trouble With the Right

House Republicans emerged from the Nov. 8 election with their majority intact but lost seats. The smaller GOP majority tilts further to the right, so Ryan might have an even tougher time in the 115th Congress than he has over the past year getting his conference to agree on legislative strategies.

Democrats, armed with more members, hope to take advantage of the Republicans' internal divide and convince Ryan and the more moderate members of the conference to cooperate with them. But Ryan has shown reluctance to do anything without the support of the majority of his conference — if he were to buck the conference's wishes, it could trigger votes of no confidence in his leadership. And Republicans have a partner in the White House for the first time in eight years, making it easier for them to ignore Democrats' requests.

Minority Whip Steny H. Hoyer of Maryland says that, even with Republicans in the majority, divisions within the conference make it difficult for the GOP to advance policy. Hoyer blamed congressional gridlock on members of the Freedom Caucus, a group of conservatives who put pressure on leadership to swing further right on some fiscal and social issues.

"The tail is wagging the dog," Hoyer says.

Republicans, however, are optimistic about what they can do with control of Congress and the White House.

"We'll pass the A Better Way agenda; there's no doubt about it," says Andy Harris, a Maryland Republican. And a more conservative conference has its advantages, he adds.



**WHAT, ME WORRY?**  
Harris is confident House Republicans can overcome differences and unify around a policy agenda.

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

"If we can unify the conservatives, then they should be in a strong position to exert influence over policy," says Harris, who is running to chair the Republican Study Committee and promises to do just that.

North Carolina Republican Mark Walker, who is running against Harris to run the conservative caucus, is also seeking to get conservatives more in sync so they could work better with leadership. Still, there may be times when the far right needs to push back against leadership, he says.

"However, I don't know that it's wise to start every day from an adversarial position," he says.

For Ryan, a more conservative conference could be trouble if he can't muster enough votes to pass legislation. It will also prove problematic to conservatives if, as a result, he has to go to Democrats to find support.

The speaker has been and will be "very hesitant to move forward with issues that only get a small fraction of the conference," says Dan Holler, vice president of communications and government relations for Heritage Action for America, a conservative advocacy group.

### The Trump-Ryan Relationship

One looming question that will have a direct impact on the House's relationship with the White House is whether Ryan and Trump can get along after a rocky relationship throughout the campaign.

Ryan withheld his endorsement of Trump for a month after the mogul clinched the nomination. In the months following, the

speaker continued to denounce some of Trump's comments, such as when Trump said a judge presiding over a lawsuit against Trump University could not be impartial because of his Mexican heritage. Ryan called those remarks "the textbook definition of a racist comment."

The barely existent relationship reached a low after the release of a 2005 video showing Trump joking about sexually assaulting women. Days later, Ryan announced he would no longer defend Trump and that he would not campaign with the nominee. The two never appeared publicly together, and a scheduled appearance was canceled after the video release.

After Ryan decided to distance himself, Trump went into attack mode and criticized the speaker during campaign rallies and on Twitter. In one tweet, Trump called Ryan "a weak and ineffective leader."

In the final month of the campaign, Ryan ignored Trump and did not speak about the nominee in public. Instead, the speaker made pitches across the country for voters to elect Republicans to the House to serve as a check and balance on Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton — all but admitting he thought Trump would lose. But in the final week of the campaign, the speaker started pushing for Trump's election — something the nominee's supporters had said Ryan should have done all along.

Given Ryan and Trump's history, it would not be surprising if the relationship remained rocky. But House Republicans say

# HOUSE LEADERSHIP OUTLOOK

## REPUBLICANS

### Speaker

Between managing the fractious House Republican Conference and deciding how closely to align himself with a contentious Republican presidential nominee, Paul D. Ryan had a rough first year as speaker. It's been so rough that there was early speculation the 2012 Republican vice presidential nominee might not run for a second term as speaker to retire early and explore other aspirations, like running for president. Even before Trump's win, Ryan affirmed he plans to run for speaker and that he's confident his colleagues will support him. The Wisconsinite will likely face some opposition from the right — in the form of a long-shot candidate challenging him and/or conservatives voting against him during the speaker vote on the floor in January. His relationship with Trump could be key to how that shakes out. Ryan, 46, was reluctant to pursue the speakership, but his colleagues deemed him the only member who could unify the Republican Conference after Speaker John A. Boehner was effectively forced to retire in 2015.



Ryan

Members respected McCarthy's decision to drop his bid for the speakership and he has maintained goodwill among much of the conference that is allowing him to run again for majority leader unopposed. However, under any scenario in which Ryan makes an early exit from Congress, McCarthy could give the speaker's race another shot, which would likely result in a contested race for majority leader.

### Majority Whip

Like Ryan, Steve Scalise of Louisiana joined the Republican leadership team after another leader's abrupt departure. In mid-2014, Eric Cantor, the majority leader at the time, lost his primary and stepped down from his leadership post, prompting an election in which McCarthy ascended from whip to majority leader and Scalise beat out two of his colleagues for the No. 3 post. This time around, Scalise, 51, is not expected to be challenged for whip. The position as the official vote-counter was never an easy job, given the fractious Republican Conference, and the job is likely only to get harder now that Republicans have a smaller majority.



Scalise

### Conference Chairwoman

No one is expected to challenge Republican Conference Chairwoman Cathy McMorris Rodgers of Washington for her post. McMorris Rodgers, 47, has worked to get Republican women elected to Congress to diversify a largely male GOP contingent. And while she's content on remaining conference chairwoman, McMorris Rodgers likely has eyes on moving up the leadership ladder the next time there's an opening.

### Majority Leader

Kevin McCarthy of California went through a trying patch last year when he ran to replace Boehner as speaker, only to re-evaluate when he encountered resistance to his candidacy. Amid lower-than-anticipated support, McCarthy, 51, dropped out of the race. He bounced back and has worked well as Ryan's No. 2.



McCarthy

She briefly flirted with running for majority leader when McCarthy started running for speaker, so if Ryan steps aside, she may make a play for a higher post.

## DEMOCRATS

### Minority Leader

Nancy Pelosi of California had hoped to enter the 115th Congress as speaker, but now faces the prospect of staying on as leader of the Democratic minority, albeit a slightly larger one. Pelosi, 76, has been the top Democrat since 2003 and could face questions about the efficacy of her continuing to serve in that capacity after four straight elections of falling short of the majority. Pelosi has been lauded for her ability to keep her conference in lockstep, especially on big votes, and her fundraising prowess. She has blamed FBI Director James B. Comey for costing Democrats a shot at the majority with his late announcements on the bureau's probes of Hillary Clinton's email server. That showed a willingness to go on offense, even from what is becoming a familiar minority position.



Pelosi

### Minority Whip

Like Pelosi, the 77-year-old Steny H. Hoyer shows no signs of slowing down. The Maryland Democrat has aspirations to be minority leader or speaker, but seems to be content with waiting for Pelosi to retire before making a play for the top leadership spot; Pelosi beat him in the whip's race in 2001. Hoyer has strong ties across the Democratic Caucus, and serves as a bridge



Hoyer

to moderates. He's tried to quell frustrations about the lack of leadership opportunities for younger members by inviting newer members to join his whip team. One of Hoyer's focuses as whip has been to modernize the technology Democrats use to conduct internal operations and communicate their messages.

### Assistant Minority Leader

James E. Clyburn of South Carolina is the lowest-key member of the Democratic leadership team. He doesn't court attention from the press but still works hard behind the scenes to advance Democratic priorities. Pelosi created the position of assistant leader to keep him on the leadership team after Democrats lost the majority in 2010. Clyburn, 76, is a trusted Pelosi ally and she often taps him for bipartisan committees and initiatives. Clyburn is a member of the Congressional Black Caucus and is a leading advocate of that group's priorities.



Clyburn

### Caucus Chairman

Joseph Crowley of New York, currently caucus vice chairman, is eyeing a move up and expected to easily ascend to the top conference position, replacing term-limited Xavier Becerra. Caucus rules allow the chairman and vice chairman to serve for two Congresses. Crowley, 54, is an affable guy who cracks jokes with or about his colleagues, so expect Democrats' weekly caucus meetings to produce plenty of lighthearted laughter amid the serious policy discussions.

— L.M. and R.R.

**FAMILIAR SPOT:** From left, Democratic leaders Crowley, Clyburn, Hoyer and Pelosi face another term in the minority.



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call

they're confident the speaker and the president-elect will put politics aside.

"I think you'd be surprised how quickly any tension disappears," Oklahoma Republican Tom Cole says.

Walker says he expects Ryan and Trump will face "minimal problems of working together." He cited as an example President Barack Obama working with Clinton after his election in 2008 despite a contentious primary.

### Debt Limit Showdown

One of the first legislative battles that will likely define whether Republicans and Democrats can work together in the next Congress is the debt limit. The legal authorization that allows the government to pay off its debt to creditors is set to expire in March, and Congress will need to raise or suspend the debt ceiling to keep the government from defaulting on its obligations.

But the actual debt-limit deadline could extend out as far as June or July if the Treasury Department uses extraordinary measures to continue paying its obligations.

Obama declined to negotiate on the debt ceiling, and Democrats backed that position.

With Trump in the White House, Republicans will likely have more ground on which to force concessions, which they have tried unsuccessfully to do in the past.

Early in his speakership, John A. Boehner said Republicans would demand a dollar in spending cuts for each dollar the debt limit was raised.

Republicans were eager to support Boehner's position at the time but that insistence on the dollar-per-dollar rule has died down, Holler says.

"The only group of people that are making a concerted effort on the debt limit now are people who want to spend more money," he says.

If Republicans want to use the debt limit debate to get a win, they'll need to stake out a negotiating position quickly, like Boehner did, Holler says.

"That will be the sign — is there an early signal from Speaker Ryan and Republican leaders that they have no intention of raising the debt limit [without] spending cuts or entitlement cuts," he says.

Walker suggests the debt ceiling could be an opportunity to set up a functioning appropriations process.

### Reconciliation

Even if Republicans succeed in advancing their agenda through the House, they will continue to face obstacles in the Senate, where Democrats will have even more members to filibuster legislation. One way the GOP plans to get around the filibuster issue is by using the budget reconciliation process to advance economic priorities.

"Reconciliation becomes exceedingly important," Harris said.

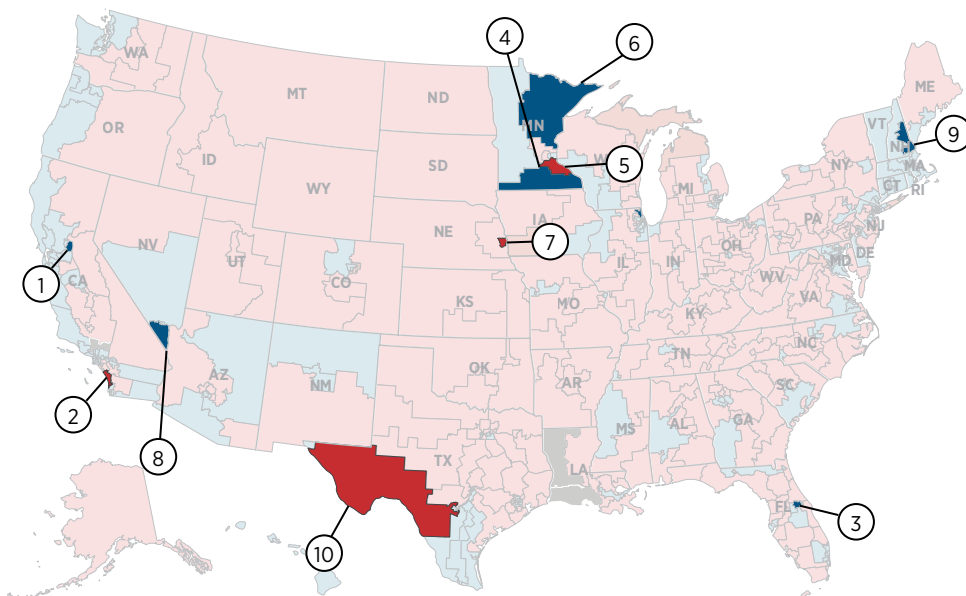
Ryan has said that many pieces of the A Better Way agenda can be advanced through budget reconciliation, which only requires a simple majority vote in the Senate.

The speaker has indicated a preference for using the process to overhaul the tax code, but said it could also be used to repeal and replace the 2010 health care law and enact changes to welfare programs.

"Much of this you can do through budget reconciliation," Ryan said in September, touting the A Better Way agenda to reporters. "And I think the rest of it is something that the vast majority of the American people want to see get done." ■

# House 2018 Battlegrounds

The 10 seats with the smallest margin of victory this cycle could be vulnerable in two years. Take a look at the unique circumstances that could have these members or members-elect already worried about 2018.



KEY: RISK FACTORS FOR 2018 TARGETS	
	Won a squeaker (margin of less than 3%)
	Big spending in 2016
	District recently won by presidential candidate of other party
	District flipped party control from 114th Congress
	Incoming member

**1 California 7**

**1.2%**  
lead at press time  
(2,100 votes)

**\$3.3 million**  
Spent 3 times as  
much as opponent

Rep. Ami Bera

**2 California 49**

**2.2%**  
lead at press time  
(4,000 votes)

**2008**  
Obama: 51%

Rep. Darrell Issa

**3 Florida 7**

**2.9%**  
Margin of victory

Defeated  
12-term  
Rep. John L. Mica

**2008** McCain: 50% **2012** Romney: 52%

Stephanie Murphy

**4 Minnesota 1**

**0.8%**  
Margin of victory

**\$1.3 million**  
Spent 4 times as  
much as opponent

Rep. Tim Walz

**5 Minnesota 2**

**2.1%**  
Margin of victory

**2008** Obama: 51% **2012** Obama: 49%

Jason Lewis

**6 Minnesota 8**

**0.6%**  
Margin of victory

**\$20.6 million**  
spent in race

Rep. Rick Nolan

**7 Nebraska 2**

**2.0%**  
Margin of victory

**2008** Obama: 52%

Don Bacon

**8 Nevada 3**

**1.3%**  
Margin of victory

**\$18.3 million**  
spent in race

Jacky Rosen

**9 New Hampshire 1**

**1.3%**  
Margin of victory

**Reclaimed seat**  
(defeated Rep. Frank C.  
Guinta for the second time)

Carol Shea-Porter

**10 Texas 23**

**1.7%**  
Margin of victory

**2012** Obama: 52%

**\$3.1 million**  
Spent twice as  
much as opponent

Will Hurd

Source: Center for Responsive Politics; Associated Press; CQ district data  
Photos by Bill Clark, Tom Williams and Thomas McKinless/CQ Roll Call  
Ryan Kelly/CQ Roll Call



McConnell toasts Trump's victory on Nov. 9

# Odds Overcome

Despite a difficult playing field, Republicans saved their Senate majority and unified Washington under GOP control

By NIELS LESNIEWSKI AND BRIDGET BOWMAN

Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell's new majority comes with some incumbents who ran with President-elect Donald Trump, some who ran against him and some who hedged their bets.

With a smaller majority, the Kentucky Republican will have to keep them in line to get anything done.

McConnell's decision to hold open the ninth seat on the Supreme Court, vacant since

Antonin Scalia's death in February, in the face of what seemed like a certain Trump defeat appears a brilliant calculation now, but it also sets up McConnell's first challenge.

Democrats could filibuster Trump's choice, and the right could pressure McConnell to deploy the so-called nuclear option to change the Senate rules, permitting Republicans to confirm a nominee with a simple majority vote, rather than the 60-vote threshold needed to overcome filibuster threats.

A longtime defender of Senate rules, that would not be McConnell's preference, and Senate Republican aides think he would withstand any push by allies of Trump to make the Senate more of a majoritarian body.

McConnell said on Nov. 9 that he had already discussed how to keep things moving in the chamber with the presumptive incoming Democratic leader, Sen. Charles E. Schumer of New York.

"Sen. Schumer called yesterday and offered his cooperation, and I said that was certainly what I intended to do," the exuberant Kentuckian said at a Capitol press briefing. "And we talked again today and that's still the view of both of us, that we want to work together and see what we can accomplish for the American people, not only in the lame duck but beginning next year."

He elaborated that in the lame duck, his priorities include funding the government and passage of the 21st Century Cures legislation.

McConnell aides and confidantes are fond of citing the leader's floor speech from January 2014 in which he talked at length about his commitment to restoring regular order should he become majority leader in 2015.

The speech was largely a response to then-Majority Leader Harry Reid's decision in 2013 to change precedent to allow a simple majority of senators to advance executive branch nominations and those to the federal bench (except for the Supreme Court) without 60 votes. Democrats approved the change on a party-line vote.

"America's strength and resilience has always depended on our ability to adapt to the various challenges of the day. Sometimes, that's meant changing the rules when both parties think it's warranted. And when the majority leader decided a few weeks back to defy bipartisan opposition by changing the rules that govern this place with a simple majority vote, he broke something. But our response can't be to just sit back and accept the demise of the Senate," McConnell said on the floor. The Senate, he noted, has survived big mis-



**DOING HIS PART:** Texas Sen. Ted Cruz, who opposed Donald Trump in the GOP presidential primaries, campaigns for Louisiana Senate candidate John Fleming.

takes before to continue achieving consensus and mutual respect.

"Indeed, it's during periods of the greatest polarization that the value of the Senate is most clearly seen."

For Democrats, though, McConnell's decision to stall President Barack Obama's nomination of federal appeals court judge Merrick Garland to the Supreme Court was a further step toward ripping apart the fabric of the Senate.

Their failure to win the presidency or a Senate majority means that choice is now Trump's. Republicans hope the president-elect is true to his word and that he will appoint a judge in Scalia's conservative mold.

"I look forward to working with the new administration to confirm conservative justices from the strong list of 21 jurists that was promised," Sen. Ted Cruz said in a statement issued early Wednesday. "I look forward to working with the new administration to repeal Obamacare, to once and for all secure the border and enforce our immigration laws, and to take action that will rebuild our military and stop radical Islamic terrorists from infiltrating our homeland."

The Texas senator and former GOP presidential primary rival of Trump — who delayed

for months to offer his endorsement of the real estate developer and reality television star — was referring to a list of prospective justices the Trump campaign released that quelled fears of the conservative base that Trump, an ideological enigma, is not one of them.

Under current rules, it is entirely within Schumer's power, and that of his fellow Democrats, to block anyone Trump may nominate. That could set up an epic battle.

"If you want Justice [Antonin] Scalia's replacement to be someone that is a compromise between Chuck Schumer and Donald Trump, you will know for a fact that your rights are going to be taken away," Cruz said this year.

With a favorable GOP electoral map in 2018, it's easy to envision Cruz or another Senate conservative making the case that expanding Reid's 2013 rules change to the nation's highest court is a logical next step.

For McConnell, filling out the Trump Cabinet is less of a lift. Democrats have delay tactics at their disposal, but the changes Reid made in 2013 allow simple majorities to overcome filibuster threats for those appointments.

As for a legislative agenda: Significant numbers of Senate Republicans have disagreed with key elements of Trump's platform, particularly on trade and immigration — enough that

Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call

# SENATE LEADERSHIP OUTLOOK

## REPUBLICANS

### GOP Leader

The Republican leadership structure is not likely to change in the new Congress. Mitch McConnell, 74, will remain his caucus' leader, a position he has held since 2007. The Senate Republican Conference is usually loyal to McConnell, who has a reputation as an astute leader with a sharp political mind. As majority leader in the 114th Congress, the Kentucky Republican promised to get the Senate functioning again, and he points to major legislation enacted in 2015, including new highway and education laws, as evidence he succeeded. But 2016 was less fruitful and he frequently clashed with the Democratic leader, Harry Reid. With Reid retiring at year's end McConnell will have a new adversary in Charles E. Schumer. McConnell says he expects he and Schumer will "get along just fine," and they'll need to in order to get anything done in a closely divided Senate.



McConnell

### GOP Whip

John Cornyn of Texas is set to remain at his post as the second-highest-ranking GOP senator. The 64-year-old serves as the caucus' chief vote-counter. He was first elected whip in 2013, after two terms as chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Cornyn does not hold back criticism of Senate Democrats, but in the last Congress he worked across the aisle on a bill to overhaul



Cornyn

the criminal justice system. It would have reduced some mandatory minimum sentences. He was also a co-sponsor of a bipartisan bill that would have changed the way patent litigation works. Both stalled after conservative senators balked.

He's a former Texas Supreme Court judge and state attorney general and, like McConnell, he's an institutionalist who resists the tactics of conservative hardliners when they hold up appropriations bills.

### GOP Conference Chairman

John Thune of South Dakota will continue as the conference chairman, reprising his role as the Republicans' chief public relations strategist. Thune's operation also assists senators with their communications back home, providing advice and technical assistance. Thune rose to the No. 3 slot in 2012, after Lamar Alexander of Tennessee stepped down from the conference post. Thune first came to the Senate in 2005 after unseating then-Democratic Leader Tom Daschle. He won re-election in 2016 after distancing himself from the GOP presidential nominee, Donald Trump. After a tape of Trump boasting about sexually assaulting women came to light, Thune called on Trump to step aside as the nominee and allow his running mate, Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, to run instead, arguing that Pence would have a better chance of beating Hillary Clinton. But Thune later said he would still likely vote for Trump.



Thune

## DEMOCRATS

### Democratic Leader

Charles E. Schumer is set to become the Democratic leader after locking up the job roughly a year and a half ago, when Reid announced his retirement. The New York Democrat takes the helm after a decade as caucus vice chairman, the No. 3 spot Reid created for him in 2006. Schumer has also run the Democratic Policy and Communications Center for the past five years, serving as the caucus' messaging guru. Schumer, who turns 66 this month, is known as a fierce advocate for Democratic priorities, a prolific fundraiser, and a loyal partisan who has also worked across the aisle on issues such as immigration. Working with Republicans will be the key to policy success in a closely divided Senate, though Schumer has tough decisions ahead about how to respond to Trump's pick to fill the vacancy left on the Supreme Court by Antonin Scalia's death in February. On the policy front, Schumer will have to walk a fine line between giving liberal senators firepower to combat Republicans in 2018, and protecting several in his caucus who will have to seek re-election in states that Trump won.



Schumer

### Other Leaders

Richard J. Durbin of Illinois could maintain his position as the top Democratic vote-counter, which he has held since 2005. The No. 2 Democrat opted not to run for leader of his party after Reid backed Schumer for the position. Schumer and Durbin know each other well,

having lived in the same Capitol Hill row house together for several years. (They both moved out in 2014.) If Durbin is back as whip, he will once again be in charge of corralling members of his caucus on votes. Durbin, who turns 72 this month, has also been known to work with Republicans. During the last Congress he teamed with some of the chamber's Republican members to craft the criminal justice system and patent litigation overhaul bills that later stalled because of conservative opposition.

One Democrat who is poised to move up in leadership is Patty Murray of Washington. It's not clear yet if she will challenge Durbin for the whip position. But she will likely move up from the No. 4 position of conference secretary, which she has held since 2007. Murray, known as a quiet and effective deal-maker, has garnered the respect of Democrats and Republicans. She helped to craft an agreement this year to combat the Zika virus and also worked with Republicans on a major elementary and secondary education law in 2015. Most famously, the 2014 budget law that she spearheaded is still known, colloquially, by her name, and that of her partner in the negotiations, Wisconsin GOP Rep. Paul D. Ryan, who is now the speaker of the House. Despite her propensity for deal-making, she is also a liberal stalwart on issues relating to education and women's health care.



Durbin



Murray

McConnell might not be able to make a rules change even if other Republicans want one.

With Republican senators such as Jeff Flake of Arizona and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina dissenting from Trump on immigration, for instance, it's unlikely they would want to tear up the rule book to allow his policies to be jammed through.

But Senate Republicans are sure to welcome a pivot away from the pro-regulatory direction of Obama's administration.

"A Republican president, and a Republican Senate and a Republican House, can do things to change this country and focus again on opportunity. We've had eight years of hearing what the world ought to look like 25 years from now," GOP Sen. Roy Blunt said in his victory speech in Missouri. "We need to be thinking about how people can get better jobs next month and next year."

A place for common ground could be infrastructure spending.

Schumer has pointed to a rewrite of international tax laws to help pay for a robust infrastructure bill as a measure that could win bipartisan backing.

"I believe we have to get things done. I don't want to just put things on the floor of the Senate that fail [then] say, 'See? We tried,' and go home and use it as an election issue," he said in a pre-election interview with CNBC, when still upbeat about getting the majority.

"If you can get overseas money to come back here, even if it's at a lower rate than the 35 percent it now comes back at, you can use that money for a major constructive purpose such as infrastructure," Schumer said.

Schumer's GOP counterpart on a Finance Committee task force on international tax policy is Sen. Rob Portman. The Ohio Republican was among those who easily won his own race for re-election, despite being viewed as vulnerable early in the cycle.

McConnell will certainly want to put more victories up on the board, continuing his strategy of giving his members things to run on back home — and looking ahead to possibly running up the electoral scoreboard in the midterms.

Even before Election Day, Republicans were talking up the importance of the 2016 election for what could come in 2018.

Nevada Rep. Joe Heck, a Republican who lost his own bid to succeed Reid in the Senate, had made the case to voters that a good day for Republicans on Nov. 8 could set them up to pursue a 60-vote supermajority in 2018.

The map for the campaigns that will begin almost immediately is a virtual mirror image



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call



AJ Mast/AP Images

**DISAPPOINTED:** GOP Rep. Joe Heck (top) failed to win retiring Democrat Harry Reid's Senate seat in Nevada. Indiana Democrat Joe Donnelly was hoping Evan Bayh would join him in the Senate, but was disappointed when Bayh lost to Republican Rep. Todd Young.

of 2016, with Democrats fighting to hold on to seats in states more favorable to Republicans, and places where President-elect Trump ran the table this cycle.

Schumer cannot count on unity within his own caucus, either.

Republicans will carefully scrutinize the votes of Democratic incumbents in states that went for Trump on Election Day, such as Joe Donnelly of Indiana, Heidi Heitkamp of North Dakota and Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, as well as the outgoing chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Jon

Tester of Montana.

And the Trump victories in Rust Belt states could make Schumer's challenge all the more difficult if the incoming president can keep his awakened base energized in 2018.

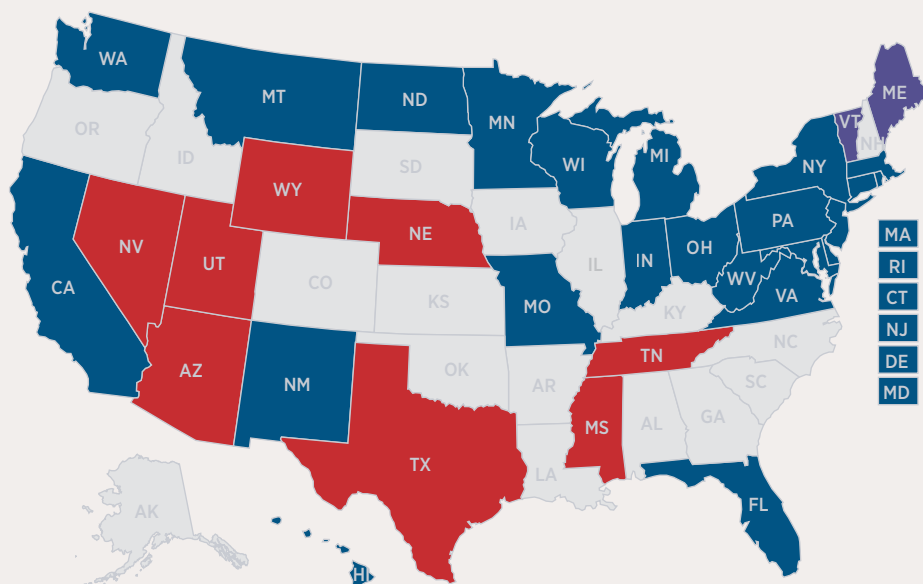
Schumer alluded to the bruising campaign and the challenges ahead in a statement congratulating Trump on Wednesday.

"Senate Democrats will spend the coming days and weeks reflecting on these results, hearing from the American people, and charting a path forward to achieve our shared goals and to defend our values," Schumer said. ■

By SEAN MCMINN

# Democrats on Defense in 2018

Twenty-three seats currently held by Democrats, as well as two held by independents who caucus with them, will be up for re-election. Eight seats now held by Republicans will be filled.



**Tammy Baldwin**  
Wisconsin



**John Barrasso**  
Wyoming



**Sherrod Brown**  
Ohio



**Maria Cantwell**  
Washington



**Benjamin L. Cardin**  
Maryland



**Thomas R. Carper**  
Delaware



**Bob Casey**  
Pennsylvania



**Bob Corker**  
Tennessee



**Ted Cruz**  
Texas



**Joe Donnelly**  
Indiana



**Dianne Feinstein**  
California



**Deb Fischer**  
Nebraska



**Jeff Flake**  
Arizona



**Kirsten Gillibrand**  
New York



**Orrin G. Hatch**  
Utah



**Martin Heinrich**  
New Mexico



**Heidi Heitkamp**  
North Dakota



**Dean Heller**  
Nevada



**Mazie K. Hirono**  
Hawaii



**Tim Kaine**  
Virginia



**Angus King**  
Maine



**Amy Klobuchar**  
Minnesota



**Joe Manchin III**  
West Virginia



**Claire McCaskill**  
Missouri



**Robert Menendez**  
New Jersey



**Christopher S. Murphy**  
Connecticut



**Bill Nelson**  
Florida



**Bernie Sanders**  
Vermont



**Debbie Stabenow**  
Michigan



**Jon Tester**  
Montana



**Elizabeth Warren**  
Massachusetts



**Sheldon Whitehouse**  
Rhode Island



**Roger Wicker**  
Mississippi

Source: U.S. Senate

# FRESH FACES

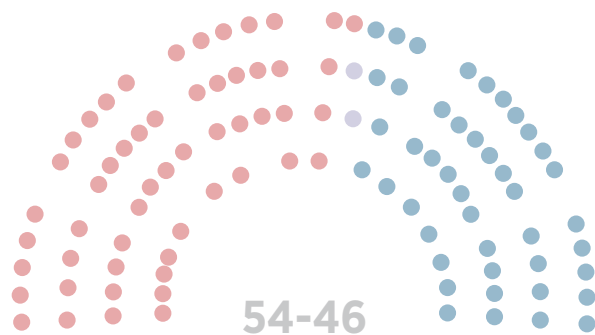
OF THE 115TH CONGRESS



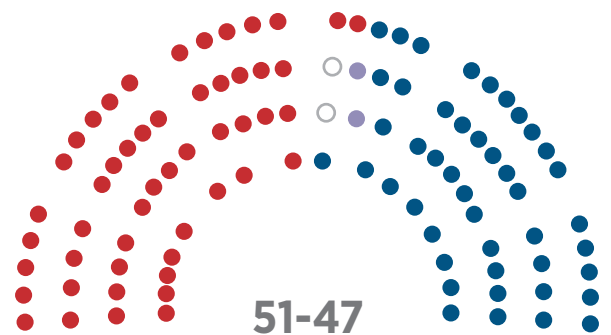
**HISTORIC WINNER:**  
Catherine Cortez Masto is the first Latina elected to the Senate.

## GOP Holds On to Senate Control

Current Senate



115th Senate



Notes: Two independents caucus with Democrats; two races — New Hampshire and Louisiana — were uncalled as of press time.  
Sean McMinn/CQ Roll Call



CALIFORNIA

**KAMALA HARRIS**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Loretta Sanchez, D, to succeed Sen. Barbara Boxer, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** San Francisco • **BORN:** Oct. 20, 1964; Oakland • **RELIGION:** Baptist • **FAMILY:** Husband, Douglas Emhoff • **EDUCATION:** Howard U., B.A. 1986 (economics); U. of Calif.-Hastings, J.D. 1989 • **CAREER:** County deputy district attorney • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** San Francisco city attorney, 1998-2003 and district attorney, 2004-11; Calif. attorney general, 2011-present

California's attorney general since 2011, Harris won the seat being vacated by Barbara Boxer after 24 years on a platform that emphasized modernizing the criminal justice system, reducing violence and restoring civil rights to those who have paid their debt to society.

The daughter of college professors born in India and Jamaica, she will be the first Indian-American woman to join the Senate and the second African-American woman, following Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois.

Harris says she would seek to reinstate the federal assault weapons ban, stop transnational criminal organizations and strengthen cybersecurity. She thinks criminal justice should change to reduce recidivism, add accountability to the judicial system, and update policing.

"Avoid treating all offenders the same way," she says, adding that federal change should be data-driven.

From a state that has been plagued by drought and wildfires, Harris says she supports a comprehensive, long-term approach to a more sustainable supply of water and will work to pass climate change legislation. She wants to make sure the Endangered Species Act is not weakened, and would lead an effort to improve water recycling and desalination technologies.

Harris backs the Obama administration's Clean Power Plan to reduce carbon emissions from power plants and create more clean energy jobs. She supports a 40 percent national renewable energy standard for electricity providers, and wants to increase and make permanent tax credits for wind and solar power investment.

She backs President Barack Obama's executive orders that would defer action against some undocumented immigrants and says Congress should also act. "The need for comprehensive immigration reform is the front and center civil rights issue of our day," she says.

Harris supports the California Dream Act, which allows undocumented students access to financial aid, and she backs a federal version, along with a path to citizenship for Dreamers who serve in the Armed Forces or pursue higher education.

As attorney general, Harris obtained judgments against for-profit school operators who defrauded their students, and her website says she'll work in Congress to get "justice and relief for students who fall victim to predatory, profiteering by corporate colleges."

Harris wants Congress to create incentives for state governments to adopt free tuition at community colleges, allow refinancing of student loans at lower rates, and allow those with private loans to consolidate them into the federal loan system.

Harris also worked with the state legislature to improve truancy laws. She says she'll aim to pass federal laws making sure children succeed in school. School disparity will be a focus of this approach as well as supporting early literacy, creating national universal pre-kindergarten and focusing on teachers and educational innovation.



ILLINOIS

**TAMMY DUCKWORTH**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Sen. Mark S. Kirk, R • **RESIDENCE:** Hoffman Estates • **BORN:** Mar. 12, 1968; Bangkok, Thailand • **RELIGION:** Unspecified • **FAMILY:** Husband, Bryan Bowlsbey; one child • **EDUCATION:** U. of Hawaii, B.A. 1989; George Washington U., M.A. 1992; Capella U., Ph.D. 2015 • **MILITARY:** Army Reserve 1991-96; Ill. National Guard 1996-2014 • **CAREER:** State veterans affairs dir. • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Democratic nominee for U.S. House, 2006; Veterans Affairs Dept. asst. sec., 2009-11; U.S. House, 2013-present

After two terms in the House, Duckworth becomes the second female combat veteran in the Senate, joining Joni Ernst.

She focuses her efforts on veterans and military issues, in particular aiding veterans in their transition to the private sector. This year she introduced a bill to improve workforce flexibility for the TSA, an agency that employs many veterans, as well a bill to guarantee minimum parental leave for service members.

Her personal background is unlike any other senator. Her father was a Marine Corps veteran who fought in the Pacific in World War II, and her mother, who is ethnically Chinese, is from Thailand — making her and California's Kamala Harris the first Asian-American senators. Duckworth was born in Bangkok, where her father was working for a United Nations refugee program. She went to high school in Hawaii, where she also did her undergraduate studies.

She served in the Army Reserve and Illinois National Guard before being deployed to Iraq. Her helicopter was shot down in November 2004, and she lost both legs and partial use of her right arm.

Her advocacy for veterans began soon after she recovered from her injuries, and includes an unsuccessful run for the House in 2006. She ran the Illinois Department of Veterans Affairs and was an assistant secretary at the federal Veterans Affairs Department from 2009 to 2011. She speaks out for change at the VA and criticized the department's inspector general for "focusing on discrediting whistleblowers" instead of addressing issues. In an October 2015 hearing, she pointed to VA inefficiencies she experienced as one of the reasons she ran for Congress in 2012.

On most issues she is a reliable Democratic vote, with a lifetime CQ Party Unity score of 91.6 percent. She opposes cuts to Social Security and Medicare.

In November 2015, she criticized resistance to Syrian refugees in an MSNBC interview. "When we react from fear and terror, the way these governors are reacting, we have achieved the terrorists' goals," she said.

She also served on the Select Committee on Benghazi and was a critic of the investigation.

Gun control has been a major concern for Chicago, and Duckworth is a proponent of background checks. She participated in the Democrats' sit-in this summer and documented the proceedings by hiding her phone inside her prosthetic leg.

"You can do target practice with rifles without needing an M16 to do it, so let's have a sensible conversation," she has said. "I think those military veterans that are here can talk in greater detail about weapons and their functions and what is or what isn't an assault weapon."



INDIANA  
**TODD YOUNG**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Evan Bayh, D, to succeed Sen. Dan Coats, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Bloomington • **BORN:** Aug. 24, 1972; Lancaster, Pa. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Jennifer; four children • **EDUCATION:** U.S. Naval Academy, 1995 B.S. (political science); U. of London, 2001 M.A.; U. of Chicago, 2002 M.B.A.; Ind. U.-Indianapolis, 2006 J.D. • **MILITARY:** Marine Corps, 1995-2000 • **CAREER:** Lawyer; congressional aide; conservative think tank aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** U.S. House, 2011-present

**Y**oung is a soft-spoken mainstream Republican with no sharp edges. He isn't one to deliver defiant speeches or to champion lost causes.

Young portrayed himself during the campaign as a Marine whose sense of duty had prompted him to run for the House in 2010. He cited his military experience as one of his main qualifications to be a senator.

"We have to stay engaged in the world. That's something I learned at the Naval Academy; it's something I learned in the U.S. Marine Corps," he said during a debate. "Only strong nations can consistently form alliances, deter aggression, and when necessary, win wars, though we have to be very careful about where and when we engage."

The normally risk-averse Young was willing to venture into politically perilous territory on one issue during the 2016 campaign, saying he was open to the idea of increasing the eligibility age for Social Security retirement benefits for today's younger workers.

"What I have proposed is absolutely no changes whatsoever for current seniors and those approaching retirement, say 55 or older," he said. "But the program, according to President Obama's own actuaries, is unsustainable after 18 years. That means there's not enough money coming in and payroll taxes to pay out all the benefits. You know, I'm in my early 40s. I'm prepared to work another couple months to make this program sustainable."

In three terms in the House, Young was not a member of the most conservative Republican faction. He defeated a House Freedom Caucus member backed by tea party groups, Marlin Stutzman, to win the May 3, 2016, Senate GOP primary.

He tended to accommodate the Republican leadership team. On roll call votes in 2016, through Sept. 28, Young had a 96 percent party unity score, slightly above the House GOP average.

When fiscal conservatives insisted in 2013 on spending cuts to offset \$50.5 billion in disaster relief money for parts of the Northeast to rebuild after Superstorm Sandy, Young was one of 49 Republicans to align with the leadership and vote to spend the money without offsets.

In 2015, he voted for trade promotion authority that opened the way for the Obama administration to negotiate the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade accord with 11 other countries. But he was noncommittal on whether he'd vote to approve the agreement itself.

Young could point to a few legislative successes in his six-year House career.

The House passed his 2014 bill that would've changed the 2010 health care law's definition of a full-time employee who must be offered affordable health care coverage by large companies. The law set the full-time threshold at 30 hours a week. Young's bill would've raised it to 40 hours.

The measure was not taken up in the Senate.

# The states are 17 times more productive than Congress.

What important legislation and regulations are you missing?

## Let StateTrack Be Your Early Warning System

- Alerts Within 24 Hours
- Unlimited Support From Veteran Tracking Professionals
- Easy Publishing And Sharing Capabilities



**CQ ROLL CALL** STATETRACK

**All legislation. All regulations.  
All 50 states + D.C. and Puerto Rico**

**cqrollcall.com/statetrack  
202.650.6500**



\*\* ADVANCED TO RUNOFF \*\*

LOUISIANA

## FOSTER CAMPBELL

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Advanced to Dec. 10 runoff to succeed Sen. David Vitter, R, who is retiring. • **RESIDENCE:** Elm Grove • **BORN:** Jan. 6, 1947; Shreveport • **RELIGION:** Southern Baptist • **FAMILY:** Wife, Gwen Wilhite Campbell; six children (one deceased) • **EDUCATION:** Northwestern State Coll. (La.), B.S. 1969 • **CAREER:** Insurance agency owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** La. Senate, 1976-2002; Democratic candidate for U.S. House, 1980, 1988 and 1990; La. Public Service Commission, 2003-present; Democratic candidate for governor, 2007

Campbell's stump speech includes a familiar tagline: he is a "pro-gun" and "pro-life" Democrat. He issues sharp rebukes to big business and Wall Street and touts what he calls his "frugality," saying fiscal conservatism can lift Louisiana from the ranks of the poorest states.

Campbell peppers his sentences with "y'all's" and uses anecdotes about hunting with his uncle — "He had no hands and one eye" — or buying his first calf to drive home the impression that he's a man of the people, not a Washington lifer.

He prides himself on his many roles: cattle rancher and farmer, teacher, state legislator, member of the state Public Service Commission and owner of two insurance companies.

Campbell hopes to join the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry. Among the issues most important to him are agriculture, coastal restoration and education funding.

Campbell has spent a large part of his career on the state's five-member Public Service Commission. He won his first term in 2002 and was overwhelmingly re-elected in 2008 and 2014.

His first foray into politics was a successful one. He was elected to the Louisiana State Senate in 1976 at the age of 29. In his 26 years in the state legislature, Campbell consistently went after the oil and gas industry, pushing for higher taxes to fund coastal restoration projects. The proposals would become the basis for his later campaigns.

On the commission, Campbell led a successful lobbying effort to secure \$39 million in federal funding for free cell phones and service for Hurricane Katrina evacuees in 2005. The telecommunications assistance was available to victims who qualified for FEMA housing assistance.

Campbell could get to Washington after three failed attempts more than 25 years ago. Louisianans sometimes call him the "perennial candidate." He promises to be a "powerful partner" to Democratic Gov. John Bel Edwards in the effort to secure federal funding to help with the aftermath of catastrophic flooding that hit Baton Rouge in August. He urged telecommunications companies and utilities to credit affected flooding victims for any fees accrued as a result of the disaster.

Campbell says he looked to Edwards' successful run for governor as an example for a socially conservative Democrat seeking election in a state that has recently preferred to elect Republicans. Edwards beat Sen. David Vitter, the lawmaker whose seat Campbell is now taking, in 2015. Edwards endorsed Campbell over Democrat Caroline Fayard in April.

Though Campbell often accuses what he calls "tap dancing politicians" of remaining beholden to special interest groups, he admits he didn't run as an outsider.

"I'm one of the few that will admit I'm a politician," Campbell says.



\*\* ADVANCED TO RUNOFF \*\*

LOUISIANA

## JOHN KENNEDY

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Advanced to Dec. 10 runoff to succeed Sen. David Vitter, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Madisonville • **BORN:** Nov. 21, 1951; Centreville, Miss. • **RELIGION:** United Methodist • **FAMILY:** Wife, Becky; one child • **EDUCATION:** Vanderbilt U., B.A. 1973; U. of Va., J.D. 1977; Oxford U., B.C.L. 1979 • **CAREER:** Lawyer; gubernatorial and campaign aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** La. sec. of revenue and taxation, 1996-99; La. treasurer, 2000-present; Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate, 2004; Republican candidate for U.S. Senate, 2008

Kennedy would come to Congress after nearly 30 years in Bayou State politics as both an operative and an elected official — along with a reputation for going his own way. He once described himself as a "troublemaker, a misfit, a rebel, a square peg in a round hole." A former state Democratic chairman called him "something other than a team player."

He joined the Republican Party in 2007, when former George W. Bush adviser Karl Rove nudged him to switch parties in a failed effort to unseat incumbent Democratic Sen. Mary Landrieu. In an earlier Senate run, in 2004, Kennedy endorsed Democrat John F. Kerry for president while assailing the Bush-era tax cuts. He now says that the Kerry endorsement was a big mistake and that the Democratic Party has become too extreme for his liking.

If he wins the December runoff to fill a seat left open by the retirement of Republican David Vitter, Kennedy will have defeated two sitting Republican congressmen — Charles Boustany Jr. and John Fleming — and former Ku Klux Klan grand wizard David Duke.

As Louisiana's elected treasurer since 2000, Kennedy has been responsible for the state's investments, distributing funds and advising the state bond commission, the borrowing authority for the state. Many credit Kennedy for early warnings that the cash-strapped state was headed for a "fiscal waterboarding" in criticizing the governor at the time, fellow Republican Bobby Jindal, for budgets that relied on gimmicks and one-time revenue-raisers to balance big tax cuts.

Kennedy insisted during a televised statewide address in 2016 that "we don't have a revenue problem, we got a spending problem." He said the state's budget could be balanced through savings and budget cuts, and he regularly attacked Democratic Gov. John Bel Edwards, who nevertheless pushed ahead with a tax hike that the Republican-controlled legislature agreed to.

Kennedy, an adjunct law professor at Louisiana State University, got his start as an operative during the administration of Gov. Buddy Roemer, a former congressman and himself a Democrat-turned-Republican. Roemer was defeated in 1991, and Kennedy lost his run at attorney general. Kennedy eventually served in the administration of yet another Democrat-turned-Republican, Mike Foster, the man who beat Roemer, before winning his bid for state treasurer in 1999.

His stance on the issues is generally reflective of Southern conservatism: He rejects the 2010 health care law and is pro-gun rights.

As a Democrat, he opposed Bush's immigration proposals, calling them "amnesty." While he supported abortion rights earlier in his career, he now says that fatherhood changed his mind on the issue — he opposes all abortion except to save the life of the mother.

He notes that rising water levels are destroying wetlands and shoreline in Louisiana, but says he is unsure whether humans are the driving force behind global climate change.



MARYLAND

**CHRIS VAN HOLLEN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Kathy Szeliga, R, to succeed Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Kensington • **BORN:** Jan. 10, 1959; Karachi, Pakistan • **RELIGION:** Episcopalian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Katherine Wilkens Van Hollen; three children • **EDUCATION:** Swarthmore Coll., B.A. 1983 (philosophy); Harvard U., M.P.P. 1985; Georgetown U., J.D. 1990 • **CAREER:** Lawyer; gubernatorial and congressional aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Md. House, 1991-95; Md. Senate, 1995-2003; U.S. House, 2003-present

Van Hollen will bring to the Senate both a deep understanding of fiscal matters as the ranking member of the House Budget Committee and a battle-tested savvy about campaigns and elections as the former head of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

"I know when to fight. I also know when to find common ground because we can't let division in Washington prevent all progress for working families," he said in a debate with his Republican opponent, Kathy Szeliga, the minority whip of the Maryland House of Delegates.

Szeliga portrayed Van Hollen as a career politician. He has been in elective office since 1991, when he took a seat in the Maryland House of Delegates. Szeliga also attacked him for voting for the \$700 billion financial sector rescue legislation in 2008.

Van Hollen said that he would work in the tradition of his five-term Senate predecessor, Barbara A. Mikulski, the ranking Democrat on the Appropriations Committee, to ensure that Maryland receives federal funding and to protect the big federal employers in the state, such as the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, with about 18,000 employees.

Robust federal spending is a form of permanent economic stimulus for Maryland, and Van Hollen pledged to work to continue the flow of money. "Maryland benefits from the fact that the federal government spends a lot of money on procuring goods and services here in our area, and so we want to maintain those investments," he said in the debate with Szeliga.

He proposed several tax increases, including raising the Social Security payroll tax for workers whose earned income exceeds \$400,000 a year.

His economic plan also includes a proposed fee on trades in the financial markets, saying it would help deter "excessive financial speculation that doesn't help our economy."

He also supported a \$1,000 tax credit for workers making less than \$100,000 a year and a \$2,000 credit for two-earner couples making less than \$200,000 a year.

Van Hollen nearly ran for the Senate in 2006, when five-term Democrat Paul S. Sarbanes retired. But the party establishment favored veteran Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin, and Van Hollen bided his time for another 10 years.

Mikulski's retirement in 2016 gave him his chance. Winning the April 2016 primary was tantamount to winning the Senate seat since Maryland has so few Republican voters. The state hasn't elected a Republican to the Senate since 1980, when Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr., a Republican moderate, won his final term.

In the 2016 primary, Van Hollen won 53 percent of the primary vote against fellow Rep. Donna Edwards, beating her by nearly 4-1 in suburban Montgomery County.



NEVADA

**CATHERINE CORTEZ MASTO**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Joe Heck, R, to succeed Sen. Harry Reid, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Las Vegas • **BORN:** Mar. 29, 1964; Las Vegas • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Husband, Paul Masto • **EDUCATION:** U. of Nev., B.A. 1986 (finance); Gonzaga U., J.D. 1990 • **CAREER:** State college system vice chancellor; lawyer; federal prosecutor; county assistant manager; gubernatorial aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Nev. attorney general, 2007-15

Cortez Masto arrives in the Senate as Minority Leader Harry Reid's handpicked successor from the Silver State, and the political connections between the two run deep.

The first Latina elected to the Senate touched on her own background to push for an immigration overhaul. She supports the Obama administration's immigration executive actions on the Deferred Action for Parents of Americans program, known as DAPA.

That program allows undocumented immigrant parents of U.S. citizens and legal residents to stay in the country and get work authorization and other government benefits, and she criticizes Republicans for their opposition.

"This is not what America is about — and not the America that allowed my grandfather to immigrate from Mexico, start a new life, and raise a family here in Nevada," Cortez Masto said in a written statement. "I will fight to ensure that Nevada families are able [to] stay together and have the opportunity to succeed — just as my family did decades ago."

Nevada's population is 27 percent Latino, the fifth highest percentage in the nation. Cortez Masto said she hired undocumented immigrants who were brought to the United States as children — known as Dreamers — to work in her office as Nevada's attorney general.

A former federal prosecutor in Washington, Cortez Masto was the attorney general when the mortgage crisis hit Nevada, one of the hardest-hit states in the nation. Her lawsuit against banks helped bring \$1.9 billion in relief to the state's homeowners, and was part of the joint state-federal agreement announced in 2012.

She touts her work to help pass new state laws that would restrict the sale of materials used to make methamphetamines and that established the crime of sex trafficking of children and adults as a felony. The 2013 trafficking law also allowed victims to receive assistance and gave them the right to sue their captors.

Her campaign got support from the Fund to End Gun Violence run by Democratic Sen. Christopher S. Murphy of Connecticut. She backed Obama's executive actions to expand background checks and criticized congressional inaction on the issue.

Cortez Masto supports increasing the federal minimum wage, equalizing pay for women and encouraging renewable energy. She also backs one of Reid's major issues for the state, blocking the proposed Yucca Mountain nuclear waste repository.

Reid's support made Cortez Masto a target for Republicans, who said she abused the power of her attorney general's office, which filed felony charges against Republican Lt. Gov. Brian Krolicki in 2008, when his supporters say he was contemplating a 2010 run against Reid. Charges against Krolicki were dropped in 2009 when a district court judge ruled that prosecutors failed to show specific evidence a crime was committed.



NEW HAMPSHIRE

**MAGGIE HASSAN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Opposed Sen. Kelly Ayotte, R • **PRONOUNCED:** HASS-in • **RESIDENCE:** Newfields • **BORN:** Feb. 27, 1958; Boston, Mass. • **RELIGION:** United Church of Christ • **FAMILY:** Husband, Thomas; two children • **EDUCATION:** Brown U., A.B. 1980 (history); Northeastern U., J.D. 1985 • **CAREER:** Lawyer; state public information officer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Democratic nominee for N.H. Senate, 2002; N.H. Senate, 2005-10 (maj. leader, 2008-10); governor, 2013-present

If she gets to Washington, Hassan would be able to thank her colleague in the Senate, Jeanne Shaheen, for her ascendancy to the chamber. Shaheen, once New Hampshire's governor, appointed Hassan to a state education commission in 1999, setting the stage for her entry into public life.

Hassan made an unsuccessful run for the state Senate in 2002, and won two years later. She remained in the state Senate until 2010, the last term as majority leader. After being pushed out in a conservative wave in 2010 favoring tea-party Republicans, she staged another comeback in 2012, winning the first of two terms as governor.

As governor, Hassan built on a legal career with ties to hospitals and social services by pushing through changes to the state's health care system and pursuing protections for seniors.

She led the state through a period where hundreds of people annually died of overdoses from prescription opioid drugs and heroin. The state legislature held a special session to address the epidemic, and Hassan signed six related bills in 2016.

Hassan addressed the opioid problem with options limited by budget constraints and with Republicans controlling the legislature. Her campaign tried to spark voters' skepticism about incumbent Republican Sen. Kelly Ayotte's effort to make a campaign issue of the speed of Hassan's response to the drug issue.

Hassan reached agreement with Republicans on the budget, supported small business tax cuts, instituted a government hiring freeze and reduced out-of-state travel for state employees.

Some say proof of Hassan's ability to work with Republicans came when the state expanded Medicaid coverage in 2014 under the federal health care overhaul. Hassan adopted a model that several Republican governors use, by receiving federal permission to use Medicaid funds to pay private insurers that participate in a new marketplace created by the law to cover new enrollees. The state legislature voted in March 2016 to reauthorize the program.

Hassan signed a bill prohibiting employers from paying the disabled less than minimum wage. In the Senate, she wants to expand that to other states. Hassan's adult son has cerebral palsy, which fueled her interest and partially drove her entry into politics.

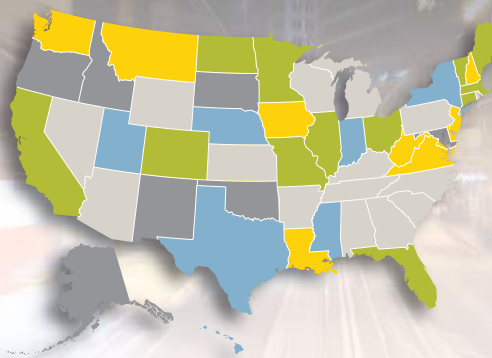
She spent most of her career practicing law, including as counsel for Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston. Her husband, Thomas Hassan, was until 2015 the principal of Phillips Exeter Academy.

As governor, she lowered tuition at state-run colleges and during her Senate campaign, she pledged to pursue expanding Pell Grants and lowering student loan interest rates.

Hassan could emerge as a foreign policy hawk. In November 2015, she was the first Democratic governor to call for ending the resettlement of Syrian refugees until tougher screening policies were in place.

# Not Tracking State Issues?

# You Are Missing All The Action.



## StateTrack Is Your Early Warning System

States passed more than 30,000 bills and resolutions last year. With dozens of legislatures convening soon, thousands more bills are coming. StateTrack ensures you never miss the action on your issues. Track bills and regs in all 50 states, with alerts within 24 hours. Contact us for a FREE sample bill report now.



## STATETRACK

All legislation. All regulations.  
All 50 states + D.C. and Puerto Rico

[cqrollcall.com/statetrack](http://cqrollcall.com/statetrack)  
202.650.6500



ARIZONA 1  
**TOM O'HALLERAN**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Paul Babeu, R, to succeed Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick, D, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Sedona • **BORN:** Jan. 24, 1946; Chicago • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Pat; three children • **EDUCATION:** DePaul U., attended 1991-93 • **CAREER:** Lobbyist; bond trader; police officer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Ariz. House, 2001-07; Ariz. Senate, 2007-09, independent candidate for Ariz. Senate, 2014

O'Halleran has an independent streak and a desire to work across party lines on issues such as education and environmental protection, which led the one-time Republican to switch parties.

The former Chicago homicide detective and ex-member of the Chicago Board of Trade's board of directors spent two years in the Arizona Senate and six years in the House as a Republican. But his work with Democratic lawmakers to change the state's child protective services put him at odds with Republican leaders, who stripped him of his Natural Resources and Agriculture Committee chairmanship.

O'Halleran, who has lived in Arizona for more than two decades, says he didn't see the state's Republicans as willing to work with Democrats to solve issues. He sees the same troubles in Congress on immigration, health care and taxes.

An ideological balance fits with the huge swath of largely rural territory he will represent in the 1st District, which now tends to favor Democrats but is a battleground between the parties.

O'Halleran won the support of the political action committee that backs the Blue Dog Coalition of fiscally conservative Democrats.

"All in all my main focus is on solving problems and making sure we listen to people and reform," O'Halleran told CQ Roll Call. "The model that is in Washington is not a model that's working right now."

He calls himself a natural to work on natural resources issues and has an interest in education policy. O'Halleran supports a higher minimum wage and a comprehensive approach to immigration policy changes such as the bipartisan deal the Senate passed in 2013.



ARIZONA 5  
**ANDY BIGGS**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Talia Fuentes, D, to succeed Rep. Matt Salmon, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Gilbert • **BORN:** Nov. 7, 1958; Tucson • **RELIGION:** Mormon • **FAMILY:** Wife, Cindy; six children • **EDUCATION:** Brigham Young U., B.A. 1982 (Asian studies); U. of Ariz., J.D. 1984; Ariz. State U., M.A. 1999 (political science) • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Ariz. House, 2003-11; Ariz. Senate, 2011-present (president, 2013-present)

With endorsements from notable members of the House Freedom Caucus, and a belief that the country isn't "on its most optimal course," Biggs is expected to join his Arizona colleague Trent Franks in the conservative faction of House Republicans.

Biggs is a retired lawyer and one-time Publisher's Clearing House lottery winner, netting the \$10 million jackpot in 1993. He was first elected to the state legislature in 2002, and began serving as Arizona Senate president in 2013.

Asked about his legislative priorities in Congress, Biggs mentions the federal budget. He says government is bloated and handicapped by its own largesse.

Biggs also lists immigration and health-care among his top concerns. He offered six legislative objectives during his campaign that he hopes to accomplish as a new member of the House.

Chief among them are development of a plan to limit executive rule-making, repeal of the Common Core education requirements, and legislation requiring undocumented immigrants convicted of certain crimes to serve the maximum sentence. Arizona passed a version of that immigration law in February.

Biggs says he wants to reform the federal government's regulatory power and supported initiatives in Arizona that would keep legislative control at the state level rather than give more autonomy to cities or counties.

In the state legislature, Biggs fought for stricter immigration laws and supported a package of bills in 2011 that aimed to rescind birthright citizenship for children whose parents are not United States citizens and require schools, hospitals and universities to check the legal status of students and patients. None of the five bills passed.



CALIFORNIA 7  
**SCOTT R. JONES**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Ami Bera, D • **RESIDENCE:** Antelope • **BORN:** Aug. 10, 1967; Los Angeles • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Christy; four children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Calif.-Davis, attended 1985-87; Calif. State U.-Sacramento, B.S. 1991 (criminal justice); Lincoln Law School, J.D. 1998 • **CAREER:** Deputy county sheriff • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sacramento County sheriff, 2011-present

Jones has spent his life in law enforcement, working his way up to Sacramento County sheriff, an elected but nonpartisan office. He says he'll take that same nonideological approach in Congress, where he wants to be a problem solver.

Matters of crime and punishment will be high on his agenda, starting with stronger border control. Though Jones says he appreciates the role that undocumented immigrants have in the American economy, President Barack Obama's policy of halting deportations was "simply giving up," he says, and did nothing to make America safer.

Worried about crime — one of his deputies was killed in 2014 by an undocumented immigrant with a criminal record — Jones wants to cut off federal money to "sanctuary cities" that don't cooperate with federal agencies in identifying undocumented immigrants who commit crimes.

He also wants to overhaul immigration policy to make the borders less porous, but would allow those in the country illegally a path to legal status, if they have no criminal record.

On another law enforcement issue, Jones acknowledges the United States imprisons more people than it should, but he is skeptical of "an across-the-board, non-analytical, broad-brush approach to reducing sentences. The fact remains that some people cannot or will choose not to be rehabilitated. Some folks will choose to commit crimes."

Jones is aligned with other Republicans in wanting to lighten federal regulation of business and to spur faster economic growth, such as more investment in infrastructure, though not the California High-Speed Rail project, whose cost he says has gone out of control.

Jones wants to serve on the Homeland Security and Judiciary committees.



CALIFORNIA 17

**RO  
KHANNA**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Michael M. Honda, D • **PRONOUNCED:** like "DONNA" • **RESIDENCE:** Fremont • **BORN:** Sept. 13, 1976; Philadelphia • **RELIGION:** Hindu • **FAMILY:** Wife, Ritu • **EDUCATION:** U. of Chicago, A.B. 1998 (economics); Yale U., J.D. 2001 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 2004; Commerce Dept. deputy asst. sec., 2009-11; Democratic candidate for U.S. House, 2014

**K**hanna, who is among the first Indian-Americans to be elected to Congress, could be in the vanguard for a generation of politicians who cut their teeth in the cause of Barack Obama.

His first brush with politics was volunteering for Obama's 1996 Illinois state Senate race; he later worked in Obama's Commerce Department and hired experts from Obama's re-election team to help him win his seat.

As a lawyer, Khanna specialized in intellectual property practice. As a civil servant, he focused on promoting exports. He traveled across the country for two years working to help manufacturers navigate foreign markets.

When he left the Obama administration in 2011, Khanna worked in part on Obama's re-election campaign and also wrote a book on the entrepreneurial culture of modern American manufacturers and the type of innovation that keeps the U.S. competitive.

Khanna credits his maternal grandfather, who was imprisoned during India's independence movement in the 1940s, for his interest in public service. He bills himself as a "new kind of leader" and says he'll bring to the Capitol economic ideas and vision for advanced manufacturing jobs for the middle class.

His top priority is to keep America competitive and lead the globe in job creation. He sees education as essential. He has outlined a slew of policy positions — many of them conventionally liberal — and he emphasizes the promotion of advanced manufacturing through federal programs and tax code incentives to support the demand for professionals in science, technology, engineering and math.

Khanna shares many of the values of the Congressional Progressive Caucus and could easily align himself with the largest of the House Democratic caucuses.



CALIFORNIA 20

**JIMMY  
PANETTA**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Casey Lucius, R, to succeed Rep. Sam Farr, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Carmel Valley • **BORN:** Oct. 1, 1969; Washington, D.C. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Carrie McIntyre Panetta; two children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Calif.-Davis, B.A. 1992 (international relations); Santa Clara U., J.D. 1996 • **MILITARY:** Naval Reserve, 2003-11 • **CAREER:** Deputy district attorney • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Monterey County Central Democratic Committee vice chair, 2012-16

**M**any college graduates come to Washington to make a difference, and some, like Panetta, are lucky enough to intern at the State Department. Few of them room with four members of Congress, as he did in the famous Capitol Hill house owned by former Rep. George Miller. Charles E. Schumer, Martin Russo and his father, Leon E. Panetta, were among the lawmakers living in the house.

A career county prosecutor, Panetta says his experience in the courtroom will help him forge bipartisanship. "You've got to know when to go to the mat and when to compromise," he says. One of those issues is comprehensive immigration overhaul, which he hopes to work with California Republicans to advance.

He took a break from his career to serve in Afghanistan as a Navy Reserve intelligence officer with the Joint Special Operations Command, saying it was a lifelong aspiration to serve. He joined the reserve after Sept. 11 and deployed for a six-month tour in 2007. He was awarded a Bronze Star in 2008.

He says he hopes to serve on the Agriculture or Armed Services committees, given both the multibillion-dollar produce industry and the military installations in the district.

Panetta says he also would enjoy serving on the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, where the 20th District's current member, Sam Farr, is the ranking Democrat.

He does not favor increasing the age of Social Security eligibility in order to improve the system's financial state, but he would consider raising the earnings cap or increasing the rate of taxation.

On trade, Panetta criticized the Trans-Pacific Partnership, saying there should have been more transparency in the negotiations.



CALIFORNIA 24

**SALUD  
CARBAJAL**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Justin Fareed, R, to succeed Rep. Lois Capps, D, who retired • **PRONOUNCED:** sa-LOOD car-ba-HALL • **RESIDENCE:** Santa Barbara • **BORN:** Nov. 18, 1964; Morelón, Mexico • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Gina; two children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Calif.-Santa Barbara, B.A. 1990; Fielding U., M.A. 1994 • **MILITARY:** Marine Corps Reserve, 1984-92 • **CAREER:** County leg. aide; drug prevention nonprofit executive • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Santa Barbara County Board, 2004-present

**C**arbajal immigrated to the United States from Mexico with his family when he was 5 years old, and he's been in public service since his university days, serving in the Marine Corps Reserve and becoming the first in his family to earn a college degree.

He went on to become a member of the Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors, and in Congress he wants to focus on an agenda encompassing immigration, transportation and energy infrastructure, the environment, and job creation.

"I want to make sure that in going to Congress, I'm able to continue to create opportunities, like I've had myself, for working, middle-class families," he says.

He has pushed for a comprehensive overhaul of the immigration system.

Carbajal's father came to the U.S. in the 1950s under the Bracero farm guest worker program, enacted in World War II and extended until 1964. The program guaranteed some work protections and a minimum wage for Mexican guest workers, in what Carbajal describes as "a time when the system worked."

Carbajal completed military service in 1992 — six years in the active reserves, three inactive — and was not deployed overseas. He said his service has given him "insight as to the military approach to conflict."

He wants to emphasize the importance of diplomacy, cooperation with allies and careful deliberation.

One other national issue he wants to tackle in Congress is to ensure sustainable funding for Social Security.

On his move to national office and a deeply partisan Congress, Carbajal said, "All I can do is what I've done in local government ... work hard, build relationships, build trust, and do everything possible to find common ground."

# Introducing the *Redesigned*

Easier to **navigate**  
Easier to **report**  
Easier to **share**  
Easier to **create alerts**

The new CQ is redesigned with you at its core – empowering you with the latest in collaboration and efficiency tools, while continuing to deliver the one-of-a-kind legislative tracking and news and analysis that only a newsroom of 150+ reporters can achieve.



[cqrollcall.com/cq](http://cqrollcall.com/cq)



CALIFORNIA 44

**NANETTE  
BARRAGÁN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Isadore Hall III, D, to succeed Rep. Janice Hahn, D, who ran for L.A. County Board • **RESIDENCE:** San Pedro • **BORN:** Sept. 15, 1976; San Pedro • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** U. of Calif.-Los Angeles, B.A. 2000 (political science); U. of Southern Calif., J.D. 2005 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Hermosa Beach City Council, 2013-15 (mayor, 2015)

**B**arragán demonstrated her political mettle as a member of the Hermosa Beach City Council and later as the city's mayor.

She channeled anger at Bakersfield oil company E & B Natural Resources over its oil drilling ambitions into a public campaign that successfully prevented the company from drilling in the Santa Monica Bay. She argued that lifting the ban on drilling would have hurt residents' health and property values. As mayor, she also joined councilmembers to vote for a ban on plastic bags.

She was the first Latina on both the council and in the mayor's seat.

Barragán credits her parents — immigrants from Mexico; a mother who only completed third grade — for inspiring her to become a lawyer. She wants to work on legislation that would create a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants, make higher education more affordable, and provide more access to childcare, and on measures on environmental issues.

"My parents were immigrants and blue-collar workers and instilled in me a strong work ethic," she says. "Immigration is more than just a policy. It is personal for me because of my community and my family."

"Growing up my parents always told me you either become a doctor or a lawyer," she says. "I'm afraid of blood, so I decided law school was the best path for me."

She wants to focus on education in Congress, noting her own experience and also that 60 percent of students in her district graduate from high school and only 10 percent get a college degree. Barragán says Congress should recognize that community colleges, trade schools and universities give students opportunities that would otherwise remain closed.



CALIFORNIA 46

**LOU  
CORREA**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Bao Nguyen, D, to succeed Rep. Loretta Sanchez, D, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Santa Ana • **BORN:** Jan. 24, 1958; East L.A. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Esther; four children • **EDUCATION:** Calif. State U.-Fullerton, B.A. 1980 (economics); U. of Calif.-Los Angeles, J.D. and M.B.A. 1985 • **CAREER:** Investment banker; real estate broker • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Calif. Assembly, 1998-2004; Orange County Board, 2005-06; Calif. Senate, 2006-14

**C**orrea will bring two decades of experience in state and local government to his new job and portrays himself as a pragmatic problem solver.

"I don't wake up in the morning and say, 'What's ideologically correct on the left? What's ideologically correct on the right?,' " he says. "Rather, what is it that my constituents need?"

Correa emphasizes his ability to work with other members from California. His service in the state legislature overlapped for a couple of years with current House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy. "I get along with Mr. McCarthy very well," he says.

He says he's also on good terms with Republican neighbors Mimi Walters of the 45th District and Dana Rohrabacher of the 48th.

Correa envisions working with Rohrabacher on federal policy regulating medicinal use of marijuana. Rohrabacher has tried for years to bar the federal government from getting in the way of states that implement their own laws to legalize medical marijuana.

Correa says the federal government shouldn't enforce federal laws against marijuana use in states that have legalized its use. "It's an issue of states' rights," he says, adding that he would like to change federal law so that marijuana-selling businesses could use banking services, such as checking accounts, in states where marijuana use is legal.

But he also says he has seen the damage that drug abuse can do. "I come from a community that's very blue-collar, hard-working, primarily immigrant, where drug abuse, substance abuse, alcoholism is a major challenge for us," Correa says.

Correa is on the board of the California High-Speed Rail Authority and says he'd continue his advocacy of high-speed rail.

\*\* TO CLOSE TO CALL \*\*



CALIFORNIA 49

**DOUG  
APPLEGATE**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Opposed Rep. Darrell Issa, R • **RESIDENCE:** San Clemente • **BORN:** Aug. 29, 1953; Dayton, Ohio • **RELIGION:** Methodist • **FAMILY:** Divorced; three children • **EDUCATION:** Ariz. State U., B.S. 1976 (economics) and J.D. 1979 • **MILITARY:** Marine Corps, 1974-2006 • **CAREER:** Lawyer; Marine Corps officer; military prosecutor • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**A** former Marine colonel, an Iraq veteran, an attorney and a blunt-talking political novice, Applegate remained competitive against eight-term Rep. Darrell Issa despite being vastly outspent by the richest member of Congress, while also weathering a controversy over harassment and stalking claims from his ex-wife.

Applegate, a divorced father of three, campaigned on national security issues, improving the treatment of veterans, and jobs. He says he was inspired to run after what he saw as insufficient representation among former military members.

"Every idiot thinks he knows what war is, especially politicians who never fought in one," he once said. In his view, Congress needs to take a vote on the use of military force against Syria and the Islamic State — though he said at this point he'd likely vote against such a measure.

He has tough words for the defense contracting industry, calling it "a racket [that] wastes trillions of American taxpayer dollars" and adding that the congressional process is "corrupt" and moreover the "defense industry has hijacked our military and tied the hands of our generals."

Applegate's campaign positions put him in line with liberal orthodoxy. He is pro-abortion rights, an advocate for equal LGBT rights, a \$15 minimum wage, equal pay for women and a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. He calls mandatory sentencing laws "racist."

Applegate says he does not support the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal in its current form and says some current trade deals need to be renegotiated to protect American workers.

REPUBLICAN

DEMOCRAT


DELAWARE AL  
**LISA BLUNT  
ROCHESTER**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Hans Reigle, R, to succeed Rep. John Carney, D, who ran for governor • **RESIDENCE:** Wilmington • **BORN:** Feb. 10, 1962; Philadelphia • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Widowed; two children • **EDUCATION:** Fairleigh Dickinson U., B.A. 1985; U. of Del., M.A. 2002 • **CAREER:** Civil rights nonprofit CEO; congressional district aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Del. dep. sec. of health and social services, 1993-98, sec. of labor, 1998-2001, and dir. of personnel, 2001-04

**S**lated to be the first woman and first African-American to represent Delaware in Congress, Blunt Rochester will come to Washington with a wide variety of state government experience on health and labor issues and a desire to “bring people to the table.” She says she looks forward to translating her administrative experience to a legislative role.

As Delaware’s deputy secretary of health and social services, she was legislative liaison to the statehouse and worked on a bill that brought together the Diocese of Wilmington, Planned Parenthood and a bipartisan group of legislators to support collection of abortion data, which made Delaware eligible for teen pregnancy-prevention funding.

She would like to serve on the Financial Services or Energy and Commerce committees, the former being particularly relevant for a state that is home to many banks and corporations.

Infrastructure is also an interest, she says. “One of the biggest areas of conversation is the Port of Wilmington. Our state is in a perfect location: We have the port, rail, and proximity to major cities.”

Supportive of a \$15 per hour minimum wage, she says businesses should help lawmakers figure out how to make it work. “We know we need to [raise the minimum wage], but the question is how?”

As state personnel director, she issued a report on unfair disciplinary and promotion practices in the state police, focusing on racial and gender discrimination. “I had relationships with the state police and also the civil rights organizations,” she says. “It was a difficult time but we came out with a report that made 60 recommendations on hiring, firing and culture, and how to build relationships with the broader community.”


FLORIDA 1  
**MATT  
GAETZ**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Steven Specht, D, to succeed Rep. Jeff Miller, R, who retired • **PRONOUNCED:** GATES • **RESIDENCE:** Fort Walton Beach • **BORN:** May 7, 1982; Hollywood • **RELIGION:** Baptist • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** Fla. State U., B.A. 2003 (interdisciplinary social sciences); Coll. of William & Mary, J.D. 2007 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Fla. House, 2010-present

**G**aetz is not just an unapologetic conservative, he’s almost gleefully unapologetic.

After his legislation streamlining Florida’s death row appeals process was signed into law, Gaetz tweeted, “Several on death row need to start picking out their last meals.” He proudly cites his backing for legislation including 50-year mandatory sentences for those convicted of raping children, seniors or the disabled, which was enacted, and a bill allowing open carrying of firearms, which didn’t pass.

Like the presidential candidate he supported, Republican Donald Trump, Gaetz has a way of involving himself in the controversy of the day via his social media account.

As a Florida House member since 2010, Gaetz represented southern Okaloosa County, an area that is part of his congressional district.

He said in July that he agreed with Okaloosa County Sheriff Larry Ashley, who had called the Black Lives Matter group a “terrorist organization” following the shootings of police officers in Dallas and Baton Rouge, La. “I stand with Sheriff Ashley,” he posted on Facebook. “Whether it’s politically correct or not, any group that calls for the killing of law enforcement officers is considered a terrorist organization.”

Gaetz, a lawyer, was chairman of the Florida House Finance and Tax Committee, a post that suggests where he wants to go in the U.S. House. “I would love the opportunity over time to be able to serve on the Ways and Means Committee in the Congress and take some of these lessons that we’ve learned in Florida and apply them to the country,” he says. Among his aims would be to avoid “tax policies that would inhibit growth” and to advocate for a flat tax.


FLORIDA 2  
**NEAL  
DUNN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Walt Dartland, D, to succeed Rep. Gwen Graham, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Panama City • **BORN:** Feb. 16, 1953; New Haven, Conn. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Leah; three children • **EDUCATION:** Washington & Lee U., B.S. 1975 (science & mathematics); George Washington U., M.D. 1979 • **MILITARY:** Army Reserve 1975-79; Army, 1979-90 • **CAREER:** Physician • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Enterprise Fla., 2014-present; Space Fla., 2014-present

**D**unn says that his family has been associated with the armed forces since the Battle of Yorktown in the Revolutionary War. He served in the Army as a surgeon and he’ll represent a northern Florida district that is home to Tyndall Air Force Base and many veterans.

He says the military has been “hollowed out” and wants it to be well-equipped and have sufficient numbers. Dunn also says veterans deserve the proper health care and housing that they’ve earned for their service.

When it comes to nation-building, he doesn’t want to be the world’s policeman but wants to help our allies who are fighting the terrorists. “The world is not better when we have our head in a shell and hide,” he says.

Dunn has decades of health care experience and hopes to parlay that into a Ways and Means or Energy and Commerce committee assignment. But with both assignments unlikely for a freshman, he may be more likely to land at Armed Services.

A urologist by training and a former medical practice owner, Dunn wants to replace the 2010 health care law with a market-based approach, including price transparency provisions that allow people to shop for services. He also would support higher contribution limits for health savings accounts than are currently permitted by IRS rules.

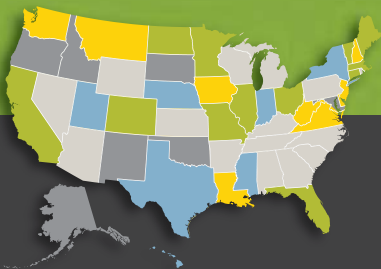
Dunn says his focus on national security starts with securing the border and getting rid of sanctuary cities for undocumented immigrants.

He says he’d expand the economy by reducing the number of tax brackets and lowering personal and corporate taxes. He also wants to focus on cutting government spending, starting with eliminating the Education Department, a department he says is unconstitutional.

# What important legislation and regulations are you missing?

*Let StateTrack Be Your Early Warning System*

- Alerts Within 24 Hours
- Unlimited Support From Veteran Tracking Professionals
- Easy Publishing And Sharing Capabilities



STATETRACK

**All legislation.  
All regulations.  
All 50 states + D.C.  
and Puerto Rico**

[cqrollcall.com/statetrack](http://cqrollcall.com/statetrack)  
202.650.6500



FLORIDA 4

**JOHN  
RUTHERFORD**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated David Bruderly, D, to succeed Rep. Ander Crenshaw, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Jacksonville • **BORN:** Sept. 2, 1952; Omaha, Neb. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Patricia; two children • **EDUCATION:** Fla. Junior Coll., A.A. 1972; Fla. State U., B.S. 1974 (criminology) • **CAREER:** County sheriff's dept. corrections director; police officer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Jacksonville sheriff, 2003-15

Rutherford will come to the House after a 41-year career in law enforcement. He began as a patrolman in the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office in 1974 and was elected sheriff in 2003, 2007 and 2011.

Rutherford's experience has led to his interest in mental health treatment. "I ran a jail that, sadly, was the largest residential mental health care facility in the county," he recalls.

Rutherford is deeply skeptical of legalizing marijuana and shortening prison sentences for people with nonviolent drug offenses. He opposed a 2014 ballot measure in Florida that would have legalized medicinal use of marijuana.

"I'm opposed to decriminalizing marijuana. I think it would lead to more crime," he says, adding that the medical marijuana proposal would have opened the door to recreational use.

Rutherford is a staunch supporter of the voluntary "287(g)" partnership program under which the Department of Homeland Security works with state and local police to investigate and arrest noncitizens illegally in the United States. "I think it's a program that should even be mandated. It's a great program," he says.

With an eye on a position on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, Rutherford is a booster for the Port of Jacksonville, which is adjacent to two interstate highways and a railroad line.

Once the port is deep enough to accommodate larger ships, he says, Jacksonville can be "the logistics hub for the Eastern Seaboard."

Rutherford also is interested in serving on the Armed Services Committee so that he could take care of his district's military assets, the Jacksonville Naval Air Station and the Mayport Naval Station, the Atlantic Fleet's second-largest home port.



FLORIDA 5

**AL  
LAWSON**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Glo Smith, R, to succeed Rep. Corrine Brown, D, who was defeated in primary • **RESIDENCE:** Tallahassee • **BORN:** Sept. 23, 1948; Midway • **RELIGION:** Episcopalian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Delores; two children • **EDUCATION:** Fla. A&M U., B.S. 1970 (political science); Fla. State U., M.P.A. 1973 • **CAREER:** Insurance agency owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Fla. House, 1982-2000; Fla. Senate, 2000-10; sought Dem. nomination for U.S. House, 2010; Dem. nominee for U.S. House, 2012

Lawson will work to snag a seat on the House Financial Services Committee to maximize the value of his background in insurance sales. He says he intends to pursue an agenda that is heavy on financial and housing matters.

Lawson plans to push for more oversight of federal public housing, new rules for companies that promise to repair people's credit scores and an overhaul of student lending practices.

"The federal government, as well as Wall Street, has been making money off the backs of students," says Lawson, whose district stretches from his home in Tallahassee to Jacksonville. "And that needs to change."

Another priority for the longtime state lawmaker is economic development and job creation — which he says are a vehicle to reduce crime. He had his first job at age 8, working in a tobacco field.

Lawson would like a spot on the tax-writing Ways and Means panel, an assignment that could be a stretch for a freshman. He's no novice to climbing the political ladder, having risen to minority leader of the Florida Senate from 2008 to 2010.

Lawson also plans to keep environmental and military matters at the top of his list. He chaired the Florida House committee overseeing natural resources. The newly redrawn 5th District is home to the Jacksonville Naval Air Station, the third-largest naval base in the country.

Lawson himself was a major source of funds for his campaign. "There's no particular group that I owe anything to," he says, a message that resonated with voters during the primary when he defeated incumbent Rep. Corrine Brown, who had been indicted on corruption charges.



FLORIDA 7  
**STEPHANIE MURPHY**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. John L. Mica, R • **RESIDENCE:** Winter Park • **BORN:** Sept. 16, 1978; Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Sean; two children • **EDUCATION:** Coll. of William & Mary, B.A. 2000 (economics & international relations); Georgetown U., M.S.F.S. 2004 • **CAREER:** Investment firm managing director; Defense Dept. analyst; management consultant • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**M**urphy was 6 months old when her parents fled with her and her brother from communist Vietnam to a refugee camp in Malaysia and then moved on to settle in the United States.

But according to Murphy, being an immigrant isn't the most important part of her story. What affected her more, she said, was how her parents worked to ensure she would have a better life. Her father labored at a power plant and her mother manufactured tiles before becoming a tailor. They both held second jobs, and Murphy recalled being taken along when they cleaned office buildings.

"The interesting thing there is less about the immigrant piece and more about the working-class family," she says. "Through hard work and opportunity, my parents were able to create a different type of life for my brother and me."

Murphy's résumé includes an executive position at Sungate Capital, an investment firm. She teaches business and social entrepreneurship at Rollins College in Winter Park, Fla.

After the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, Murphy left the private sector to obtain a master's degree in foreign service before being hired by the Defense Department as a national security specialist, working on such issues as military relations and national security.

A fiscal conservative with plans to join the Blue Dog Coalition, Murphy supports proposals including withholding lawmakers' salaries if they don't pass a budget on time and adding a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

Murphy has her eye on the Foreign Affairs or the Armed Services committees, where she wants to change how the government is investing in cybersecurity and intelligence operations.



FLORIDA 9  
**DARREN SOTO**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Wayne Liebnitzky, R, to succeed Rep. Alan Grayson, D, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Orlando • **BORN:** Feb. 25, 1978; Ringwood, N.J. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Amanda • **EDUCATION:** Rutgers U., B.A. 2000 (economics); George Washington U., J.D. 2004 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Orlando Civil Service Commission, 2006; Fla. House, 2007-12; Fla. Senate, 2012-present

**A**s Florida's first member of Congress of Puerto Rican heritage, Soto says he will protect the economic and cultural ties between central Florida and the island. Also among his top priorities will be policies that would help bring new "high-tech, high paying jobs to the district," he says.

A self-described environmentalist, Soto is aiming for a spot on the Natural Resources Committee. He says he will offer legislation that would ban fracking on public lands, though such a measure would face an uphill battle in a GOP-run House.

A lawyer who specializes in commercial and civil rights law, Soto also has his eye on the Judiciary and Foreign Affairs committees. And he will be a reliable vote for a comprehensive immigration overhaul with a pathway to citizenship. In the Florida Legislature, he sponsored legislation admitting "dreamers," undocumented immigrants who arrive in the United States as children, to the Florida bar.

On Capitol Hill, he says he plans to work with Republicans, especially those from his state, on economic development and job creation. "I have a lot of personal relationships with the incoming delegation," he says.

He intends to join the Congressional Hispanic Caucus as well as the moderate, pro-business New Democrat Coalition, which often pushes for international trade expansion even as most Democrats have shifted away from such deals.

Despite his one-time "A" rating by the National Rifle Association, Soto said during his primary that he backed "common-sense gun control" measures, including banning sales to people on federal no-fly lists. His district was rocked by the June by the Orlando nightclub shootings that left the gunman and 49 others dead.



FLORIDA 10  
**VAL B. DEMINGS**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Thuy Lowe, R, to succeed Rep. Daniel Webster, R, who ran in another district • **RESIDENCE:** Orlando • **BORN:** Mar. 12, 1957; Jacksonville • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Jerry; three children • **EDUCATION:** Fla. State U., B.S. 1979 (criminology); Webster U., M.A. 1996 • **CAREER:** Police officer; state social worker • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Orlando police chief, 2007-11; Democratic nominee for U.S. House, 2012; candidate for Orange County mayor, 2014

**D**emings will come to Washington with a perspective on policing and criminal justice that reflects her being African-American and a former Orlando police chief.

"When people were in trouble they'd call the police department, believing that when we got there things would be better," she says. "I love that feeling."

A proponent of community-oriented policing, her contacts with local and county government run deep. One of her main planks is making sure police officers understand the communities they work in, saying the lack of such familiarity is a cause of recent community-police tension.

"New officers are sent to the most diverse, poverty-stricken communities and told to fix the problem," she says. "We give them the tools and technology to do the job, but why not arm them with sensitivity training so they will understand the unique cultures and diverse needs of the communities they serve?"

She supports increased gun control but isn't completely anti-gun. "The people with guns who live in rural areas were my neighbors growing up," she says. "Those are not the people who are in inner cities killing young men and women."

One of her main goals in Congress is to increase infrastructure spending, especially for Interstate 4 and to make further federal money available for Brightline, a privately run passenger rail line between Miami and Orlando scheduled to open in 2017.

Social Security is an issue that's particularly important to her district's aging population. She favors increasing the payroll cap on Social Security taxes from the current \$118,500 as a first step towards continued solvency. She didn't say what the new cap should be.

# You Said What?

A look back at some memorable quotes of the 2016 presidential election

**“What, like with a cloth or something?”**

— Aug. 18, 2015 – after being asked if she’d tried to wipe the private server she used for sending emails while secretary of State

**“I am not a natural politician, in case you haven’t noticed, unlike my husband or President Obama. I have to do the best that I can.”**

— March 9, 2016, Univision/CNN debate

**“Donald Trump’s ideas aren’t just different. They are dangerously incoherent. They’re not even really ideas, just a series of bizarre rants, personal feuds and outright lies.”**

— June 2, 2016 – Foreign policy speech

**“My mother believed that life is about serving others. And she taught me never to back down from a bully, which it turns out was pretty good advice.”**

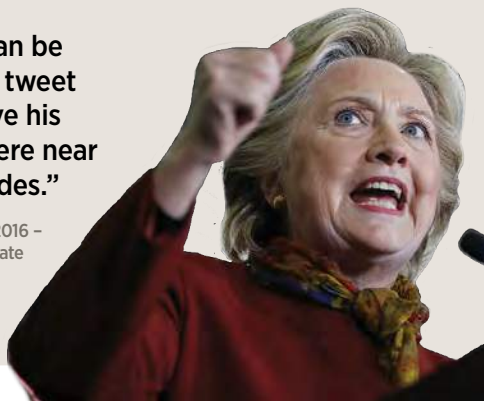
— June 7, 2016 – after securing enough delegates to win the Democratic nomination

**“You know, to just be grossly generalistic, you could put half of Trump’s supporters into what I call the basket of deplorables. Right? The racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic — you name it. And unfortunately there are people like that. And he has lifted them up.”**

— Sept. 9, 2016 – at an LGBT for Hillary gala

**“A man who can be provoked by a tweet should not have his fingers anywhere near the nuclear codes.”**

— Sept. 26, 2016 – presidential debate



**“I will build a great wall — and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me — and I’ll build them very inexpensively. I will build a great, great wall on our southern border, and I will make Mexico pay for that wall.”**

— June 16, 2015 – announcing his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination

**“He’s not a war hero. He was a war hero because he was captured. I like people who weren’t captured.”**

— July 18, 2015 – speaking of Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., at an event in Iowa

**“This was locker-room banter, a private conversation that took place many years ago. Bill Clinton has said far worse to me on the golf course — not even close. I apologize if anyone was offended.”**

— Oct. 7, 2016 – following release of a 2005 tape that recorded him making lewd comments about women

**“I have great respect for women. Nobody has more respect for women than I do.”**

— Oct. 9, 2016 – during second presidential debate

**“The election is absolutely being rigged by the dishonest and distorted media pushing Crooked Hillary — but also at many polling places — SAD.”**

— Oct. 16, 2016 – Twitter comment

**“Such a nasty woman.”**

— Oct. 19, 2016 – responding to Clinton during final debate



FLORIDA 13  
**CHARLIE CRIST**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. David Jolly, R • **RESIDENCE:** St. Petersburg • **BORN:** July 24, 1956; Altoona, Pa. • **RELIGION:** Methodist • **FAMILY:** Wife, Carole; two stepchildren • **EDUCATION:** Fla. State U., B.S. 1978 (government); Samford U., J.D. 1981 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Fla. Senate, 1992-99; Fla. education commissioner, 2001-03; Fla. attorney general, 2003-07; governor, 2007-11; independent candidate for U.S. Senate, 2010; Democratic nominee for governor, 2014

Crist has emerged as a centrist Democratic voice and an advocate for pragmatic deals like those he embraced in Florida as a Republican governor, attorney general and legislator over two decades.

He brushes aside GOP charges of opportunism, saying that he wants to avert gridlock and encourage “more civility to tackle issues like the rising cost of health care, gun violence, failing schools, and protecting our environment.”

As governor, Crist embraced President Barack Obama in February 2009 to celebrate economic stimulus funding. The gesture sparked a backlash, culminating in Crist’s exit from the GOP during an unsuccessful 2010 Senate campaign.

With a background in criminal justice, he eyes a seat on the Judiciary Committee and has shown interest in committees on environmental, transportation and veterans issues.

Crist supports a minimum wage hike, a pathway to citizenship for undocumented workers and an end to the Cuba trade embargo. A defender of entitlements such as Social Security, he endorsed the 2010 health care law but calls for adjustments and averting cuts to Medicare.

On the environment, Crist vows to defend the federal ban on oil drilling in the eastern Gulf of Mexico and promote tax breaks for renewable energy programs.

Crist was the favorite in the 2010 Senate race but fell behind Marco Rubio, a former state House speaker with tea party support, and withdrew from the GOP primary to run as an independent, but finished second.

In 2012, he became a Democrat and endorsed Obama for re-election. Crist was defeated in 2014 by GOP Gov. Rick Scott in a bid for his old job.



FLORIDA 18  
**BRIAN MAST**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Randy Perkins, D, to succeed Rep. Patrick Murphy, D, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Fort Pierce • **BORN:** July 10, 1980; Grand Rapids, Mich. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Brianna; three children • **EDUCATION:** Harvard U., A.L.B. 2016 (economics) • **MILITARY:** Army, 2000-12 • **CAREER:** Homeland Security Dept. explosives specialist; political commentator • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

A wounded combat veteran of Afghanistan, Mast says he wants to serve in Congress as he and his fellow soldiers did, without regard for personal gain or sacrifice.

He says his urgent task will be to try to stop what he calls “the destruction of our coastal waters because of the water being let out of Lake Okeechobee by the Corps of Engineers into our saltwater estuaries. It’s literally destroying our way of life.”

The Army Corps of Engineers has been releasing nutrient-laden water from Lake Okeechobee to relieve pressure on the dam that surrounds the lake. The releases have caused the growth of algae, which have killed fish and emitted noxious odors in the St. Lucie River.

Mast seeks to serve on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, which has jurisdiction over the Corps of Engineers’ water resources programs.

Mast served in Afghanistan as a bomb disposal expert. In 2010, the last improvised explosive device that he found exploded, causing the loss of both of his legs.

Mast’s experience has convinced him that many of those now collecting Social Security Disability Insurance benefits could — and should — work.

“I might be missing two legs and a finger, but I have proven that I can go back to work every day,” he adds. “And that is the way for many other people who have had more serious injuries or less serious injuries than my own. But because of the way the [SSDI] system is structured, we are incentivized to not work.”

After retiring from the Army, Mast worked for the Homeland Security Department and did a volunteer tour of duty with the Israeli Defense Forces.



FLORIDA 19  
**FRANCIS ROONEY**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Robert Neeld, D, to succeed Rep. Curt Clawson, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Naples • **BORN:** Dec. 4, 1953; Tulsa, Okla. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Kathleen; three children • **EDUCATION:** Georgetown U., A.B. 1975 (English) and J.D. 1978 • **CAREER:** Construction company owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Okla. Turnpike Authority, 1995-97; U.S. ambassador to the Holy See, 2005-08

Rooney is a construction industry magnate and a Republican mega-donor who was born in Oklahoma, spent much of his career in Texas, and moved to Naples, Fla., in 2002.

His company has done business in the Caribbean, Mexico and other Latin American countries, and he’s fluent in Spanish. He has a pro-global trade perspective that has more in common with his friend George W. Bush than with President-elect Donald Trump.

His shot at entering Congress came when Rep. Curt Clawson announced in May of 2016 that he wouldn’t seek re-election.

Underwriting the campaign with more than \$3 million of his own fortune, Rooney beat two rivals in the Aug. 30 primary, receiving 53 percent of the vote. He had no trouble winning the November election in this very Republican district.

Rooney was a prominent backer of Mitt Romney’s presidential campaign in 2012 and Jeb Bush’s 2016 presidential bid.

Rooney had known George W. Bush for years, and worked with him when his company won the contract to build the Texas Rangers Stadium in the early 1990s. Bush was the managing partner of the baseball team. In 2005, Bush chose Rooney to be the U.S. ambassador to the Vatican.

Rooney’s major focus will be trying to get federal funds to stop the contamination of the Caloosahatchee and St. Lucie rivers, which has been caused in part by the Army Corps of Engineers releasing water from Lake Okeechobee.

“We’ve got dark water coming out of the Caloosahatchee River around Sanibel and even coming all the way down into Collier County,” he says. “This is a serious threat to our tourism and our economy.”



GEORGIA 3

## DREW FERGUSON

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Angela Pendley, D, to succeed Rep. Lynn Westmoreland, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** West Point • **BORN:** Nov. 15, 1966; Langdale, Ala. • **RELIGION:** Non-denominational Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Elizabeth; four children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Ga., attended 1985-88; Medical Coll. of Ga., D.M.D. 1992 • **CAREER:** Dentist • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** West Point Board, 1997-99 and mayor, 2008-16

Ferguson is a small-government conservative who wants to see Washington promote free-market policies and leave state and local issues to those governments.

He is from West Point, a small town in western Georgia, where he has been a dentist for more than 20 years. After a short stint on the city's Board of Aldermen in the late 1990s, he became mayor starting in 2008. Ferguson credits the business-friendly climate he promoted in office for helping to bring new jobs and economic activity to the area.

As mayor, Ferguson says that he "got a firsthand look at the effect of D.C. policies" at the local level, and he believes that state-level policies are preferable to what he sees as opaque and inconsistent federal regulations. He wants to help reduce red tape and make it easier for small businesses to expand.

Banking is another priority for Ferguson. He hopes to sit on the Financial Services Committee, where he says he'll promote policies that make it easier for community banks to operate and provide loans in rural areas.

Ferguson is against the 2010 health care law, and he says government policies have allowed a small number of health insurance companies to dominate the industry, driving up health care costs and "causing a brain drain among health providers."

He wants to see a market-driven health care system that reduces costs for patients and employers through more free-market competition.

Ferguson won the GOP nomination after a crowded primary resulted in a runoff with anti-establishment state Sen. Mike Crane. Ferguson received endorsements from much of the Georgia Republican establishment, including Rep. Lynn Westmoreland, who is vacating the seat.



HAWAII 1

## COLLEEN HANABUSA

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Shirlene Ostrov, R, in a special election to succeed Rep. Mark Takai, D, who died • **RESIDENCE:** Honolulu • **BORN:** May 4, 1951; Honolulu • **RELIGION:** Buddhist • **FAMILY:** Husband, John Souza • **EDUCATION:** U. of Hawaii, B.A. 1973, M.A. 1975 and J.D. 1979 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Hawaii Senate, 1999-2010; Dem. candidate for U.S. House, 2003 (special), 2006, and 2010 (special); U.S. House, 2011-15; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate, 2014

Hanabusa returns to the House after an unsuccessful 2014 Senate run with new experience as a mass transit troubleshooter and a focus on the strategic mission of military forces in Hawaii.

Since losing the Senate primary to Brian Schatz, the labor lawyer has served on the board of the Honolulu Authority for Rapid Transportation. She was tapped to help expedite a troubled \$6.7 billion elevated train project for Oahu.

Hanabusa said her duties on the rapid transit board required her to use "every skill set I had," and gave her experience in dealing with complex transit issues and negotiating agreements with key players.

Hanabusa eyes a return to the Armed Services and Natural Resources committees, where she sat during her first House stint.

She vows to focus on the strategic role of Hawaii, headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Command, as the United States strengthens its ties to Asia. "Hawaii should be the center," she says about that relationship.

Although 60 percent of Hawaii's exports in 2014 went to countries that are part of the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership, Hanabusa pushed back on trade issues during her previous House stint and argued specifically for review and amendments on TPP.

When her mentor, Sen. Daniel K. Inouye, died in December 2012, she sought the appointment to replace him. Then-Gov. Neil Abercrombie chose Schatz, setting up the 2014 special election.

Rep. Mark Takai's decision to retire, just two months before he died, led to Hanabusa's comeback House bid. This week, she won the special election for the rest of Takai's term and the election for the new term that begins in January.



ILLINOIS 8

## RAJA KRISHNAMOORTHY

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Peter DiCianni, R, to succeed Rep. Tammy Duckworth, D, who ran for U.S. Senate • **PRONOUNCED:** RA-zhah krish-na-MUR-thee • **RESIDENCE:** Schaumburg • **BORN:** July 19, 1973; New Delhi, India • **RELIGION:** Hindu • **FAMILY:** Wife, Priya; three children • **EDUCATION:** Princeton U., B.S.E. 1995 (mechanical engineering); Harvard U., J.D. 2000 • **CAREER:** R&D lab exec. • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Ill. Housing Development Authority director, 2005-07; sought Dem. nomination for U.S. House, 2012

Krishnamoorthi's victory in a district in the Chicago suburbs makes him the only Asian-American between New York and California with a seat in the House. His Indian origins are also still a rarity in Congress.

"Congress increasingly represents the diversity of America," Krishnamoorthi says. "Indian Americans are now taking the next step to take part in the American dream."

Krishnamoorthi's family moved to Buffalo, N.Y., in the mid-1970s. Because of its economic struggles, the family lived for a time in public housing and on food stamps. Krishnamoorthi eventually grew up in Peoria, Ill., where his father became a professor at Bradley University.

"My father found the religion of the United States," he says, talking about the American dream. "My parents climbed their way to the middle class." Krishnamoorthi was the product of public schools and went on to earn degrees from Princeton University (in mechanical engineering) and Harvard Law School.

He clerked for a federal judge in Chicago before meeting a state senator named Barack Obama.

Krishnamoorthi worked as a low-level staffer on Obama's 2000 primary challenge to Rep. Bobby L. Rush and as issues director for Obama's 2004 campaign for U.S. Senate.

Krishnamoorthi is likely to be a mainstream Democrat who may reach across the aisle. "As a small businessperson, I'll be able to talk to my colleagues in a real granular way about how hard it is to start and grow a small business," he says. He favors raising the minimum wage to \$10.10 an hour, or less than some liberals would like, and to allow variations between rural and urban areas, where the minimum would need to be higher.



ILLINOIS 10  
**BRAD SCHNEIDER**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Robert J. Dold, R • **RESIDENCE:** Deerfield • **BORN:** Aug. 20, 1961; Denver, Colo. • **RELIGION:** Jewish • **FAMILY:** Wife, Julie Dann; two children • **EDUCATION:** Northwestern U., B.S. 1983 and M.B.A. 1988 • **CAREER:** Business strategy consulting firm exec.; management consulting firm owner; insurance agency exec.; electric cable manufacturing company marketing dir. • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** U.S. House, 2013-15 (defeated 2014)

**S**chneider isn't exactly your new kid on the block.

A single-term House member who failed to win re-election in 2014, he will return for the 115th Congress much the same as when he left: a fiscal conservative, deeply pro-Israel and a supporter of gun safety legislation and immigration reform.

He joined the 113th Congress (2013-14) after a diverse business career. He spent many years in consulting, insurance and marketing — lucrative positions that helped him build a net worth in excess of \$10 million.

It's a good bet that Schneider, a past citizen lobbyist for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, will work to stay involved on Israel-related policy issues, possibly by seeking a seat again on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Schneider's hawkish positions on Israel led him to oppose the 2015 nuclear deal with Iran. With the deal in effect, however, Schneider is not urging a withdrawal. Rather, he argues the United States "must vigorously police and enforce" the accord.

His positions on economic policy have generally been business-friendly. As a past member of the Small Business Committee, Schneider, who has an MBA and previously belonged to the New Democrat Coalition, advocated for fewer regulations and more "targeted tax incentives" for small businesses.

On social issues, Schneider is fairly liberal and supports gay marriage rights. He also backs many Democratic proposals meant to curb gun violence.

Schneider was born in Denver and went to college at Northwestern University.

To return to Congress, Schneider for the second time ousted Robert J. Dold, a moderate Republican he unseated in 2012, only for Dold to seize back the seat in 2014.



INDIANA 3  
**JIM BANKS**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Tommy Schrader, D, to succeed Rep. Marlin Stutzman, R, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Columbia City • **BORN:** July 16, 1979; Columbia City • **RELIGION:** Evangelical Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Amanda; three children • **EDUCATION:** Ind. U., B.A. 2004 (political science); Grace Coll., M.B.A. 2013 • **MILITARY:** Navy Reserve, 2012-present • **CAREER:** Real estate broker • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Whitley County Council, 2009-10; Ind. Senate, 2010-14 and 2015-present

**B**anks is a laconic, no-nonsense conservative with a military bearing.

He hopes to become a member of the Armed Services and Veterans' Affairs committees.

Banks is a commercial real estate broker and a lieutenant in the Navy Reserve. He took a leave of absence from the state Senate in 2014 and 2015 after being ordered to deploy to Afghanistan. His wife was elected to temporarily take his seat in the legislature.

During a six-month tour of duty at the NATO International Security Assistance Force headquarters in Kabul, he worked as a foreign military sales officer, acquiring equipment and training for the Afghan army and police.

After Rep. Marlin Stutzman decided to give up his House seat to run for the Senate in 2016, Banks won the six-candidate Republican primary to replace him.

Banks got support during the primary campaign from the Washington-based Club for Growth and from the House Freedom Fund, the electoral and fundraising arm of the House Freedom Caucus, the staunchly conservative GOP faction to which Stutzman belonged.

He said he wants conservative leaders to offer a positive vision and calls House Speaker Paul D. Ryan "that type of articulate, visionary leader who has ideas of his own that he's advocating for. That's why I'm excited to be part of a new generation of conservative leaders who can advance a cause rather than just play defense."

Banks says his top priority will be to "work toward rebuilding our military which I believe has been crippled and decimated over the past seven and a half years."



INDIANA 9  
**TREY HOLLINGSWORTH**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Shelli Yoder, D, to succeed Rep. Todd Young, R, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Jeffersonville • **BORN:** Sept. 12, 1983; Clinton, Tenn. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Kelly • **EDUCATION:** U. of Penn., B.S. 2004 (real estate); Georgetown U., M.P.P. 2014 • **CAREER:** Industrial real estate company owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**D**erided by opponents as "Tennessee Trey" because he moved from his native Tennessee to Indiana only in 2015, Hollingsworth outmaneuvered several high-profile Republicans to win the party primary and then beat a Democrat in the most expensive congressional race in Indiana this year.

Hollingsworth financed the lion's share of his own campaign, thanks to wealth put at more than \$58 million by his financial disclosure statement. He also received support from his father, once seen as a potential Democratic candidate for Tennessee governor.

He received a bachelor's degree in real estate from the University of Pennsylvania and a master's in public policy from Georgetown University. Hollingsworth spent more than a decade buying, cleaning up and rehabbing industrial sites in Indiana and elsewhere.

Hollingsworth's business career may make him suited for business-minded committees such as Energy and Commerce or Financial Services. The importance of farming to the district and the presence of Indiana University may steer him toward the Agriculture or Education and the Workforce committees.

He said his pursuit of committee assignments will depend on three factors: "A) Where I have the right experience, b) whether the committee is important to the district and, c) where the opportunities are."

Portraying himself as someone who will combat Washington insiders, Hollingsworth said he supports term limits and pledges that he would serve no more than four terms in office.

"In my view, we have a fundamental misalignment between the representatives and the people," he says. "The reality is Washington is a big machine and over time can eat away at the best of intentions."



KANSAS 1  
**ROGER MARSHALL**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated third-party candidates to succeed Rep. Tim Huelskamp, R, who was defeated in a primary • **RESIDENCE:** Great Bend • **BORN:** Aug. 9, 1960; El Dorado • **RELIGION:** Non-denominational Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Laina Marshall; four children • **EDUCATION:** Kan. State U., B.S. 1982; U. of Kan., M.D. 1987 • **MILITARY:** Army Reserve, 1984-91 • **CAREER:** Physician • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Kan. Wildlife, Parks and Tourism Commission, 2012-16

Marshall has positioned himself as a Washington outsider, but an outsider willing to play nice with leadership to make sure his Kansas constituents' voices are heard. His owes his success to the perception that his predecessor, Rep. Tim Huelskamp, didn't play nice enough.

Hailing from the western side of Kansas, Marshall is an obstetrician and gynecologist in Great Bend and is staunchly anti-abortion. But he won't let his district's farming interests be forgotten. Agriculture is one of his two major legislative interests in Congress. Health care is the other.

Known as the "Big First," the 1st District is a massive rural area that contains more than 30 million acres of farmland and was once represented by Bob Dole.

"Agriculture is what ties Kansans together. The whole state beats to the rhythm of the agriculture industry," Marshall said in a statement after receiving the endorsement of the Kansas Farm Bureau.

Marshall made a campaign promise to put a Kansan back on the House Agriculture Committee. He challenged Huelskamp in the primary after Huelskamp was booted from both the Agriculture and Budget committees in 2012 in the wake of clashes with Republican leaders.

Marshall has his eye already on the next multiyear farm bill. "To me, the holy grail of the farm bill is crop insurance," Marshall says.

He also wants to repeal the 2010 health care law and replace it with incremental changes proposed by Speaker Paul D. Ryan, such as refundable health insurance tax credits. "If there is no other reason to send me to Washington, D.C., this would be the issue to send me to go fix," he told voters on the campaign trail.



KENTUCKY 1  
**JAMES R. COMER**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Samuel Gaskins, D, in a special election to succeed Rep. Edward Whitfield, R, who resigned • **RESIDENCE:** Tompkinsville • **BORN:** Aug. 19, 1972; Carthage, Tenn. • **RELIGION:** Baptist • **FAMILY:** Wife, T.J.; three children • **EDUCATION:** Western Ky. U., B.S. 1993 (agriculture) • **CAREER:** Farmer; restaurateur; insurance company owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Ky. House, 2001-12; Ky. agriculture commissioner, 2012-16; sought Republican nomination for governor, 2015

Comer campaigned against Washington, but says he wants to get things done once he gets here later this month to finish the term of Rep. Edward Whitfield.

A stalwart conservative, Comer has worked as a public servant for most of his adult life and says his record shows he reaches across the aisle.

"I think that's the problem with a lot of Republicans: they want to vote no on everything," he says. "I want to go up there and actually accomplish something."

Since college, Comer has run Comer Family Farms, a beef cattle, timber, grain and hay operation that is one of the biggest agricultural enterprises in the state. He has also dabbled in insurance and restaurant franchises and served as a bank director.

From 2001 to 2012, he was a GOP representative in a statehouse dominated by the other party.

From 2012 through 2015, he was the commissioner of the Kentucky Department of Agriculture. There, too, he points out, he had to work often with Democrats to accomplish objectives. He says he worked on a bipartisan basis to make Kentucky the first state to legalize industrial hemp.

His top goal will be to secure a seat on the Energy and Commerce Committee. His second choice is Agriculture and his third choice is Armed Services. Eventually, he says, he would like to sit on Ways and Means.

Comer's top policy goal is to lighten regulations on industry, especially on coal and agriculture companies, which are key players in his district.

The Environmental Protection Agency and the Army Corps of Engineers are "two bureaucracies that have really held our district back," he says.

**\*\* ADVANCED TO RUNOFF \*\***



LOUISIANA 3  
**SCOTT ANGELLE**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Advanced to Dec. 10 runoff to succeed Rep. Charles Boustany Jr., R, who ran for U.S. Senate • **PRONOUNCED:** AHN-zhel • **RESIDENCE:** Breaux Bridge • **BORN:** Nov. 20, 1961; Lafayette • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Dianne; five children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Southwestern La., B.S. 1983 • **CAREER:** Land manager • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** La. sec. of natural resources, 2004-10 and 2010-12; Lt. gov., 2010; La. Public Service Commission, 2013-present; GOP candidate for governor, 2015

Angelle, a Democrat turned Republican who faces Republican Clay Higgins in a Dec. 10 runoff, would bring nearly 30 years of experience in public life to Capitol Hill.

He's been around politics for much of his life. His father, J. Burton Angelle, held local elected office from 1952 to 1960 and a seat in the Louisiana House from 1964 to 1973. Gov. Edwin Edwards, a fellow Democrat, tapped the father to serve as wildlife and fisheries secretary from 1973 to 1980 and from 1984 to 1988.

The younger Angelle aims to succeed sixth-term Rep. Charles Boustany Jr., a Ways and Means Committee member. Angelle campaigned as a gun rights supporter, anti-abortion advocate and strong backer of the powerful Louisiana oil and gas industry. His ties to the oil industry go beyond Louisiana. He's been a board member for the Pennsylvania-based Sunoco Logistics Partners LP since 2012.

Angelle began his political career by winning a seat on the St. Martin Parish Police Jury, the equivalent of a county commission, at age 25. When voters reorganized parish government in 1999, they made him the parish's first president.

Gov. Kathleen Blanco, a Democrat, appointed Angelle, then a Democrat, as natural resources secretary and chairman of the State Mineral and Energy Board in 2004. Her successor, Republican Bobby Jindal, reappointed Angelle to the two positions in 2008.

In 2010, Jindal appointed Angelle as interim lieutenant governor until a special election later that year to fill the vacancy of the incumbent, Democrat Mitch Landrieu, who had left to become mayor of New Orleans. Angelle announced in October of that year that he was joining the Republican Party.

Angelle made an unsuccessful gubernatorial run in 2015, placing third in the primary.

## \*\* ADVANCED TO RUNOFF \*\*



LOUISIANA 3

**CLAY  
HIGGINS**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Advanced to Dec. 10 runoff to succeed Rep. Charles Boustany Jr., R, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Port Barre • **BORN:** Aug. 24, 1961 • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Becca; four children (one deceased) • **EDUCATION:** La. State U., attended 1979-83 and 1989-90 • **MILITARY:** La. National Guard and Army • **CAREER:** Sheriff's department public information officer; police officer; car dealership manager • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Higgins is a populist with a theatrical flair. Appointed spokesman for the St. Landry Parish sheriff's office in 2014, Higgins made his reputation as a charismatic tough guy with "Crime Stoppers" videos on a local television station. Millions of people also watched him on YouTube.

Higgins worked for several years as a car dealer before becoming a police officer. At the news conference announcing his candidacy, Higgins emphasized his working-class roots.

"The House of Representatives was envisioned to be a place where regular folk, Americans, served," he said. "Your merchants and farmers and your ranchers and your hunters and trappers, and regular Americans like me. The Senate — it's more erudite; I may have to get eight or 10 more brain cells to be a senator."

He disdains professional politicians.

"They breed these guys in laboratory experiments or something," he scoffed at his press conference. "They grow up in petri dishes. Gated communities and private schools. Nothing wrong with that, but don't tell me that career politicians are connected with America. These guys don't understand what it is to look in the refrigerator and wonder how you're going to feed your children."

He aims to replace the income tax with a 15 percent federal sales tax, with exemptions for food and medicine and for the elderly.

He says abortion is murder. He also wants to restore states' rights to define marriage.

Despite his tough approach to crime, he advocates reform of the nation's prison system. "We will never fix crime in America until we've addressed as a nation the disgraceful horror we have allowed our penitentiary system to become," he says.

## \*\* ADVANCED TO RUNOFF \*\*



LOUISIANA 4

**MARSHALL  
JONES**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Advanced to Dec. 10 runoff to succeed Rep. John Fleming, R, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Shreveport • **BORN:** June 27, 1955; Shreveport • **RELIGION:** Episcopalian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Cindy; three children • **EDUCATION:** Southern Methodist U., B.B.A. 1976 (accounting and finance); La. State U., J.D. 1979 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Democratic candidate for U.S. House, 1988 (special)

Jones' long-shot bid for the seat occupied by a Republican since 1997 heads for a Dec. 10 runoff in his second bid for Congress. He ran unsuccessfully in 1988.

A pro-Second Amendment and anti-abortion Democrat and practicing lawyer, Jones ran a centrist campaign that emphasized support for the oil and gas industry, the military, and constituent service.

"I have staked my flag in the common ground where I think most of the 4th Congressional District lives," Jones said in an interview with CQ. He says he ignored advice to become a Republican.

As a new House member, he wouldn't anticipate much of a choice in committee assignments, but he expresses an interest in energy, agriculture and even appropriations. He says he's ready to go to work wherever House leadership sees fit.

"I do not think of congressmen as having, particularly newbie congressmen, as having much power," Jones says. "It's going to be our job to prove our bona fides as [freshmen] congressmen."

Jones points to his background as an oil and gas lawyer who has practiced in the federal courts, and his understanding of accounting. He also has farming experience, and is familiar with commodity prices and other agricultural issues, he says.

He says his long history in Shreveport and his commitment to his constituents would allow him to deliver what they need most.

"Whatever the particular socioeconomic statistic that a person may have, I think a majority of the people in the district are tired of partisan politics from the right wing of the Republican Party and from the left wing of the Democratic Party," Jones says.



LOUISIANA 4

**MIKE  
JOHNSON**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Advanced to Dec. 10 runoff to succeed Rep. John Fleming, R, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Benton • **BORN:** Jan. 30, 1972; Shreveport • **RELIGION:** Southern Baptist • **FAMILY:** Wife, Kelly Lary Johnson; four children • **EDUCATION:** La. State U., B.S. 1995 (business administration) and J.D. 1998 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** La. House, 2015-present

Johnson plans to use his experience as a lawyer and a Louisiana state lawmaker to bolster the fiscally and socially conservative ranks within the House Republican Conference.

The father of four says his election to the state's safely Republican 4th District would allow him to promote his conservative principles and to weigh in on federal regulations he believes are hindering his state's economy.

"I think this regulatory environment we are in is over-burdensome. We need to scale that back," he says.

Johnson, who has practiced constitutional law for two decades, has argued in the state's courts to uphold Louisiana's law defining marriage as being between one man and one woman. He's also argued in support of the state's public prayer policies and its abortion regulations.

During less than two years in the statehouse, he introduced legislation to make it illegal for physicians to perform a second-trimester "dismemberment abortion" procedure, and his proposal was signed into law by Democratic Gov. John Bel Edwards. Johnson also pushed a bill that would have provided legal protections for individuals who didn't want to provide wedding services to LGBT couples, but that piece of legislation didn't move out of committee.

While the 44-year-old could have stayed in the strongly conservative statehouse, he wanted to represent northwestern Louisiana in the U.S. House because it provides a "larger platform."

Johnson is hoping for a seat on the Armed Services Committee, where his predecessor, Republican John Fleming served, or on Financial Services.

MARYLAND 4  
**ANTHONY G. BROWN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated George McDermott, R, to succeed Rep. Donna Edwards, D, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Mitchellville • **BORN:** Nov. 21, 1961; Huntington, N.Y. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Karmen Walker Brown; three children • **EDUCATION:** Harvard U., A.B. 1984 (government) and J.D. 1992 • **MILITARY:** Army, 1984-89; Army Reserve, 1989-2014 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Md. House, 1999-2007; Lt. gov., 2007-15; Democratic nominee for governor, 2014

With his victory in Maryland's 4th Congressional District, Brown bounced back from his surprising defeat in the 2014 gubernatorial election at the hands of Republican Larry Hogan.

In his district in the suburbs of the nation's capital, there are more than four times as many registered Democratic voters as registered Republicans, so winning the April primary was tantamount to winning the seat.

Brown was familiar to most voters after two terms as lieutenant governor under Democratic Gov. Martin O'Malley.

"We accomplished more than what previous lieutenant governors had, primarily because Gov. O'Malley entrusted us with a great deal of responsibility," he says. "I would point first and foremost to implementing health reform. I think we did a wonderful job with our health department in partnership with nonprofits and health providers in implementing those provisions from the Affordable Care Act that states had a responsibility to implement."

He says the Maryland Health Benefits Exchange, which got off to a rocky start, eventually became a well-run system that is expanding access to health care in the state.

In the 2014 gubernatorial race, the Washington Post endorsed Brown but also said, "His record in public office is hardly unblemished — the disastrous rollout of the state's health care exchange was mismanaged under his watch."

Now a retired Army Reserve colonel, Brown was deployed to Iraq for about 10 months in 2004 and 2005 with a civil affairs unit and ended up as an adviser to the Iraqi ministry working in tandem with the Red Crescent and United Nations agencies on refugee and resettlement problems.

MARYLAND 8  
**JAMIE RASKIN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Dan Cox, R, to succeed Rep. Chris Van Hollen, D, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Takoma Park • **BORN:** Dec. 13, 1962; Washington • **RELIGION:** Reform Jewish • **FAMILY:** Wife, Sarah Bloom Raskin; three children • **EDUCATION:** Harvard U., A.B. 1983 (government) and J.D. 1987 • **CAREER:** Law professor; advocacy group counsel • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Md. Higher Education Labor Relations Board chairman, 2001-05; Md. Senate, 2007-present

Raskin is a law professor and a Maryland state senator who led successful efforts to abolish the death penalty, decriminalize marijuana use and grant legal recognition to marriages between same-sex couples.

In the Democratic primary, Raskin finished first in a nine-person field. One of his rivals, wine merchant David Trone, spent more than \$13 million of his own money in the primary and finished second, about 8,000 votes behind Raskin, who credited his grass-roots campaign for the victory.

One of Raskin's priorities in his first term will be to pass legislation to prohibit certain types of firearms he describes as "military-style assault weapons," as a Democrat-controlled Congress did in 1994.

In 2013, the Maryland General Assembly enacted one of the most stringent gun-safety laws in the nation. "I would like us to take the Maryland gun-safety approach national," Raskin says. He wants to enact a law requiring universal background checks for gun purchasers and tighter federal inspection of firearms dealers.

Raskin says he has a personal stake in the safety of the beleaguered Washington Metro system that has seen frequent service breakdowns and a 2015 smoke incident in which one passenger was killed.

"I live three blocks away from the Metro and would hope to take the Metro to work whenever I can," he says. "I will be deeply personally invested, as well as professionally invested, in the improvement of Metro's safety record."

He says that "we need a New Deal-sized investment in American infrastructure, but it has to be suffused with environmental values."

MICHIGAN 1  
**JACK BERGMAN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Lon Johnson, D, to succeed Rep. Dan Benishek, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Watersmeet • **BORN:** Feb. 2, 1947; Shakopee, Minn. • **RELIGION:** Lutheran • **FAMILY:** Wife, Cindy; five children • **EDUCATION:** Gustavus Adolphus Coll., B.A. 1969 (business); U. of West Fla., M.B.A. 1975 • **MILITARY:** Marine Corps, 1969-75 and 2003-09; R.I. National Guard, 1975-78; Marine Corps Reserve, 1978-2003 • **CAREER:** Pilot; Marine Corps officer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** La. Military Advisory Council, 2013-16

Bergman was commander of the Marine Corps Forces Reserve, retiring as a three-star general in 2009. His career included work as a pilot for Northwest Airlines and for a company that made hospital operating room equipment. He also started a firm that sold surgical microscopes and imaging equipment.

Bergman is familiar with Congress from appearances as a witness before House and Senate committees from 2003 to 2009, when he headed the Reserve.

"What I would like to see is less showmanship in some of the hearings and more meat on the bone about the realities of the issues," he says. "I was a little disappointed in a couple of the hearings that it was more political theater than it was substance."

He lived in New Orleans when he commanded the Reserve, which has its headquarters there, and has a strong affinity for that city, based partly on the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005.

He served on the board of a charter school, the New Orleans Military and Maritime Academy, which aims to give high school students the skills they'd need to find work in the shipping industry or before joining the military.

"It's a real example of how we can do education in our country at that high school level and get youngsters ready to take that next step at the age of 18," he says.

He lives in the town of Watersmeet, Mich., in the Upper Peninsula, near the border with Wisconsin.

Bergman says the Veterans Affairs Committee would be a natural fit for him. He also mentions an interest in the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee and the Energy and Commerce Committee.

REPUBLICAN

DEMOCRAT



MICHIGAN 10

**PAUL MITCHELL**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Frank Accavitti, D, to succeed Rep. Candice S. Miller, R, who ran for Macomb County Public Works Commissioner • **RESIDENCE:** Dryden Twp. • **BORN:** Nov. 14, 1956; Boston, Mass. • **RELIGION:** Protestant • **FAMILY:** Wife, Sherry; six children • **EDUCATION:** Mich. State U., B.A. 1978 (social science) • **CAREER:** Health care professional education center president • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** St. Clair City Council, 2008; sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 2014

Mitchell often invoked the American Dream on the campaign trail.

"I was the first kid in my extended family to go to college, never mind graduate from college," he says.

Mitchell spent over 35 years in the private sector and wants to see more voices from business in Washington.

He wants to reduce regulations and overhaul the tax code. "It's 74,000-plus pages, of which even a wizard could not figure out what's really in it," Mitchell says, adding that he would abolish the estate tax.

On national security, he says, "You can't lead from behind." He wants to support U.S. allies in the Middle East.

Mitchell's campaign was largely self-funded, with more than \$3 million in campaign receipts from his own contributions or loans from January 2015 to mid-July 2016.

Mitchell was working on a master's degree when he took a job at Chrysler. He transferred to Ross Education, a professional health care training network, in 1985. He was a manager and then CEO for six years until retiring in 2011.

Mitchell launched a super PAC called Pure PAC and ran television advertisements against Democratic Senate candidate Gary Peters, who won his 2014 election.

He dropped out of a race for the Michigan Senate in 2013 and lost the Republican congressional primary in 2014 in Michigan's 4th District to state Sen. John Moolenaar.

Undeterred, he got behind the opposition to a Michigan tax increase proposal that voters defeated in 2015. Mitchell filed to create a ballot committee against the proposal and served as the committee's chairman. Fighting the new tax, he says, "reinforced for me that ... you gotta engage the grassroots of the party."



MINNESOTA 2

**JASON LEWIS**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Angie Craig, D, to succeed Rep. John Kline, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Woodbury • **BORN:** Sep. 23, 1955; Waterloo, Iowa • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Leigh; two children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Northern Iowa, B.A. 1979 (education & business); U. of Colo.-Denver, M.A. 1992 • **CAREER:** Libertarian social networking site founder; radio and television talk show host; congressional district aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1990 (Colo.)

Lewis built a career as a right-wing talk radio host in the Twin Cities and Charlotte, N.C., before winning his House race. He's a vivid contrast with his predecessor, John Kline, a moderately conservative Republican.

For more than 20 years, Lewis made a living from his provocative radio gibes, such as one he made during a discussion about the 2010 health care law's requirement that employers pay for employees' contraception as part of their health insurance coverage.

"You've got a vast majority of young, single women who couldn't explain to you what GDP means," he said. "You know what they care about? They care about abortion. They care about abortion and gay marriage. They care about 'The View.' They are non-thinking."

Lewis did not recant his views during the campaign. "You know where I stand. I've been telling you publicly for 25 years. You can't run away from that and I don't intend to," he said in a debate with his Republican primary opponents, in comments reported by the Pioneer Press newspaper.

He also has a libertarian streak. "In far too many cases, the drug laws are enforced in the inner city," he says. "That has a disproportionate effect on people of color."

"The idea that low-level drug offenders should be thrown in jail with hardened criminals probably isn't the best solution," he said in a campaign video.

"And we need a bit more compassion," he said. "You and I have all had family members, relatives, acquaintances who got caught in the ugly cycle of substance abuse and drug addiction. We need to do something for these people; we need to help them."



NEBRASKA 2

**DON BACON**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Brad Ashford, D • **RESIDENCE:** Papillion • **BORN:** Aug. 16, 1963; Mokena, Ill. • **RELIGION:** Non-denominational Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Angie; four children • **EDUCATION:** Northern Ill. U., B.A. 1984 (political science); U. of Phoenix, M.A. 1995 (management) • **MILITARY:** Air Force, 1985-2014 • **CAREER:** Professor; congressional district aide; Air Force officer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Bacon, a first-time candidate and a retired Air Force brigadier general who once commanded Offutt Air Force Base near Omaha, recaptured a House seat his party had held for 20 years before Democrat Brad Ashford won it in 2014.

Bacon wants to be on the Armed Services Committee. His years in the Air Force enable him to discuss weapons systems, strategy and Pentagon organization with an easy familiarity.

Bacon notes that although Offutt Air Force Base itself is not in his district, many of its personnel live in the district. He wants to build up Offutt's cyberwarfare and intelligence operations at a time when the Air Force is trying to consolidate or close bases.

Bacon thinks the military has too many generals and admirals. "I think we're overstaffed," he says. "We have more general officers, three and four stars, than we did in the late '60s when we had Vietnam."

Bacon is dismayed that U.S. military planners and Congress have essentially put their chips on the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, which has been plagued by cost overruns and schedule delays. "I don't think it was the Air Force plan. We wanted more F-22s and we were ordered not to build any more," he says.

Bacon supports a gradual increase in the age at which people can begin to collect Social Security and Medicare benefits. His proposed change would apply only to today's younger workers, not to those who are close to retiring.

Bacon supports eliminating most income tax deductions, apart from the mortgage interest deduction and the charitable deduction. But at the same time he'd seek lower income tax rates.



NEVADA 3  
**JACKY  
ROSEN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Danny Tarkanian, R, to succeed Rep. Joe Heck, R, who ran for U.S. Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Henderson • **BORN:** Aug. 2, 1957; Chicago, Ill. • **RELIGION:** Jewish • **FAMILY:** Husband, Larry; one child • **EDUCATION:** U. of Minn., B.A. 1979 (psychology) • **CAREER:** Synagogue president; software developer; computer programmer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Rosen is prepared to take up the mantle bestowed on her — belatedly — by outgoing Sen. Harry Reid, Nevada's Democratic patriarch.

She picked up the torch on hot-button state issues, among them infrastructure funding to support the state's gaming and tourism industries and blocking the Yucca Mountain nuclear waste storage project.

With a daughter in college and a husband who works as a radiologist for the Veterans Administration, Rosen, most recently head of Congregation Nir Tamid in Henderson, Nev., sees legislative work as balancing the needs of young and old. The daughter of a veteran and the first in her family to graduate from college, Rosen holds policy positions in line with the Democratic mainstream.

She supports an increase in the national minimum wage. She backs an immigration overhaul. She champions equal reproductive rights. She defends the 2010 health care law because it gives the working class more financial freedom. But she also has noted that union-affiliated colleagues are concerned about the law's "Cadillac tax" on high-cost, employer-sponsored health coverage.

Rosen, while working her way through college, was a member of the Culinary Workers Union Local 226, one the largest and most politically powerful unions in the state with members who work in hotels and casinos.

She has lived for more than 35 years in southern Nevada, where she was a systems analyst and software developer for companies including Citibank, the now defunct Summa Corp., and regional public utility Southwest Gas.

Reid settled on Rosen to run in the 3rd District after exhausting his list of other candidates. Campaign funds and backing from prominent Democrats quickly followed.



NEVADA 4  
**RUBEN  
KIHUEN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Crescent Hardy, R • **PRONOUNCED:** KEE-when • **RESIDENCE:** Las Vegas • **BORN:** Apr. 25, 1980; Guadalajara, Mexico • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** U of Nev.-Las Vegas, B.S. 2005 (workforce education) • **CAREER:** Political consultant; congressional state aide; college academic adviser • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Nev. Assembly, 2006-10; Nev. Senate, 2010-present; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 2012

As a young man, Kihuen worked to get Nevada Democrats elected, including Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid. Now he's coming to Washington promising to push the same causes as Reid, including fighting a proposal to build a permanent nuclear waste repository at Yucca Mountain in Nevada.

Kihuen defeated Republican Rep. Crescent Hardy, who held the seat since 2014, and independent Mike Little.

The son of Mexican immigrants, Kihuen cast himself as the embodiment of the American dream sought by immigrant families.

Kihuen's campaign priorities included supporting free college education, overhauling the criminal justice system, protecting the 2010 health care law and raising the federal minimum wage.

He vows to fight climate change, saying he would work to end subsidies for big oil companies, expand the nation's renewable energy portfolio and make "polluters pay for the damage they're doing to the environment."

Kihuen, who was born in Guadalajara, Mexico, moved to the U.S. with his family when he was 8 years old. His mother found work as a hotel housekeeper and his father was a farmworker.

A beneficiary of the Ronald Reagan-era immigration policies, Kihuen says he would work to pass comprehensive immigration legislation that includes a pathway to citizenship.

Kihuen also says he aims to fix the "corrupt" campaign finance system while he is in Congress and pledges to sponsor a constitutional amendment to undo the Supreme Court's Citizens United decision.

Kihuen served in the Nevada State Assembly from 2007 to 2010 before becoming one of the youngest state senators in Nevada's history.



NEW HAMPSHIRE 1  
**CAROL  
SHEA-PORTER**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Frank C. Guinta, R • **RESIDENCE:** Rochester • **BORN:** Dec. 1, 1952; Brooklyn, N.Y. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Husband, Gene Porter; two children • **EDUCATION:** U. of N.H., B.A. 1975 (social services) and J.D. 1979 • **CAREER:** Community college instructor; social worker • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** U.S. House, 2007-11 and 2013-15 (defeated 2010 and 2014)

Shea-Porter has run six times since 2006 in one of the nation's premier swing districts, where three-quarters of the voters are independents or Republicans. She has won four of those races.

In her new stint in the House, Shea-Porter says she'll focus her legislative efforts on economic issues: promoting U.S. manufacturing, reducing college students' debt load and spending more on mass transit and other infrastructure.

She supports efforts to curb the influence of big campaign contributors and blames corporate and parochial interests for the tax code's complexity.

"Anybody who looks at that tax code knows darn well that Congress didn't actually write all that," she says.

"That's at the heart of a lot of this. The tax code is just corrupt and bizarre and it needs to be changed," Shea-Porter says. "And the way that it will change is to get the money out of politics."

Her voting record has been one of a progressive Democrat.

She says she is proudest of her House vote for the 2010 health care law and that the opioid addiction crisis in New Hampshire is proving the law's value.

"It was the hardest, and I knew that that would end my term," she says.

"It has brought health insurance to millions around the country. It has changed their lives. I still have people come up to me in grocery stores and other places and say, 'I never could get treatment for my diabetes' or whatever their story is. They say, 'I want to thank you for the health care.'"

■ REPUBLICAN

■ DEMOCRAT



NEW JERSEY 5

**JOSH  
GOTTHEIMER**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Scott Garrett, R • **RESIDENCE:** Wyckoff • **BORN:** Mar. 8, 1975; Livingston • **RELIGION:** Jewish • **FAMILY:** Wife, Marla; two children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Penn., B.A. 1997 (history); Harvard U., J.D. 2004 • **CAREER:** Ford Motor Company and Microsoft communications exec.; FCC and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights senior advisor; White House and presidential campaign aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**G**ottheimer was a novice candidate but no newcomer to top-tier politics and Fortune 500 corporations.

Educated at elite schools — the University of Pennsylvania, Oxford University and Harvard Law School — Gottheimer has made a career of working for powerful people and companies: intern for former House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, speechwriter for President Bill Clinton, strategic communications director for Ford Motor Co. and a corporate strategy manager for Microsoft.

Gottheimer grew up in North Caldwell, N.J., and moved back to the state in 2012.

He calls himself a centrist, “fiscally a bit more conservative, and socially progressive.”

Gottheimer wants to bring more federal money to his district, saying it pays more into the Treasury than it gets back in appropriations. He also says the tax burden on people in his district is too high. He favors repealing two revenue-raising provisions of the 2010 health care law: the tax on high-value, employer-sponsored health insurance plans and the tax on medical devices.

In 2015, Congress enacted a two-year moratorium on the medical device tax and delayed implementation of the so-called Cadillac tax from 2018 to 2020.

His priorities will be an overhaul of the tax system and an increase in infrastructure spending. He supports Maryland Democrat John Delaney’s proposal for an infrastructure loan fund. The money for the fund would come from overseas profits of U.S. corporations, which would be taxed at a lower rate if they are repatriated.

He would like to serve on the Financial Services Committee and also is interested in the Intelligence and the Transportation and Infrastructure committees.



NEW YORK 3

**TOM  
SUOZZI**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Jack Martins, R, to succeed Rep. Steve Israel, D, who retired • **PRONOUNCED:** SWAH-zee • **RESIDENCE:** Glen Cove • **BORN:** Aug. 31, 1962; Glen Cove • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Helene; three children • **EDUCATION:** Boston Coll., B.S. 1984 (accounting); Fordham U., J.D. 1989 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Mayor of Glen Cove, 1994-2001; Nassau County Exec., 2002-09; sought Democratic nomination for governor, 2006

**S**uozzi is a familiar figure to voters in his district, having been mayor of the small city of Glen Cove for eight years and executive of Nassau County, with a population of nearly 1.4 million, for another eight years. He also worked from 2010 to 2013 as a senior adviser on public-private partnerships at the investment bank Lazard.

An attorney and certified public accountant, Suozzi earned high marks for overhauling Nassau County’s government, refinancing its debt, improving its bond ratings and helping rescue it from the brink of insolvency, partly by pushing for tax increases.

He sought the Democratic nomination for governor in 2006, but got just 18 percent of the vote against Eliot Spitzer in the primary. He lost his bid for a third term as county executive in 2009 and lost again when he ran in 2013.

In the House, Suozzi says, he’ll concentrate on getting federal funding for infrastructure, including water systems, roads, bridges and airports.

“My main focus will be on bringing funds back to our district,” he says.

Suozzi thinks his district is being short-changed in the scramble for federal money as New Yorkers move to Sun Belt states that benefit from federal spending. His district, he says, pays more into the Treasury than it gets in federal spending.

“I can’t tell you how many of my residents who are moving to South Carolina, North Carolina, Florida and Arizona and saying, ‘Wow, it’s so great to live there; it’s so inexpensive! And everything’s new!’ And those states are typically net takers and we’re net donors. So we have to figure out how to re-examine the policy.”



NEW YORK 13

**ADRIANO  
ESPAILLAT**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Tony Evans, R, to succeed Rep. Charles B. Rangel, D, who retired • **PRONOUNCED:** ah-dri-AN-o ess-PIE-yot • **RESIDENCE:** Manhattan • **BORN:** Sept. 27, 1954; Santiago, Dominican Rep. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Marthera Madera; two children • **EDUCATION:** Queens Coll., B.S. 1978 (political science) • **CAREER:** Substance abuse education program director • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** N.Y. Assembly, 1997-2010; N.Y. Senate, 2011-present; sought Dem. nomination for U.S. House, 2012 and 2014

**E**spaillat established himself in his district first as an advocate of community causes and subsequently as a member of New York’s state legislature.

He’s the top Democrat on the state Senate Housing, Construction and Community Development Committee. That and his record advocating for tenants’ rights, investment in neighborhoods and affordable housing suggests what his agenda might be when he arrives in Congress.

Espaillat was the first Dominican-American to serve in a state legislature. He became chairman of the state Senate Puerto Rican/Latino Caucus.

Gentrification is becoming a prevalent issue in many cities, including New York. Espaillat wants to combat gentrification by allowing Congress to establish federal gentrification mitigation zones supported by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The zones would be identified based on history and connection to immigrant and minority communities, and would help protect the residents from being displaced. He proposes to give communities the right of first refusal for sale of residential buildings to developers.

Espaillat also wants to focus on preventing gun violence. He advocates for repeal of the Tiahrt amendments, provisions named for former Kansas Rep. Todd Tiahrt that prohibit the National Tracing Center of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives from releasing its firearms data to the public. Espaillat also says background checks on gun sales should be universal.

Espaillat’s path to Congress included the same insurmountable obstacle twice. He fell in the primaries in 2012 and 2014 to Charles B. Rangel, but prevailed this year when Rangel decided to retire after 45 years in the House.



NEW YORK 19  
**JOHN J. FASO**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Zephyr Teachout, D, to succeed Rep. Chris Gibson, R, who retired • **PRO- NOUNCED:** like “LASSO” • **RESIDENCE:** Kinderhook • **BORN:** Aug. 25, 1952; Massapequa • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Mary Frances; two children • **EDUCA- TION:** State U. of N.Y.-Brockport, B.A. 1974; George- town U., J.D. 1979 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** N.Y. Assembly, 1987-2002; Rep. nom. for governor, 2006; sought Rep. nom. for U.S. House, 2009

In an era when voters supposedly prefer out- sider candidates, Faso is a polished politician with lots of legislative and lobbying experi- ence in Albany, New York’s state capital.

“My primary reason for running was, frankly, I think the country is going over the financial cliff and we’ve got to get more growth in the economy. I think the federal government needs to dramatically reform its tax and regulatory policies to get more growth,” he said.

Faso arrives in Congress with experience in Washington. As a night student at George- town University law school in the 1970s, he worked to secure federal grants and tracked legislation in Congress for the New York Asso- ciation of Counties and for Nassau County.

Faso also did a stint on the staff of what was then called the House Government Opera- tions Committee.

In 1987 he took a seat in the state Assem- bly, where he served for 16 years, becoming minority leader. Faso ran for governor in 2006, but got only 28.7 percent of the vote against Democrat Eliot Spitzer. He then worked as a lobbyist in Albany.

Faso’s first priority will be to try to change federal law regarding Medicaid, so that New York can end its reliance on county govern- ments to pay much of the cost of the program.

Because he focused on fiscal and tax mat- ters during his years in the state legislature, Faso says he hopes to get a spot on the Ways and Means Committee.

He’s also interested in the Veterans Affairs Committee — his district has more than 43,000 veterans — and the Agriculture Committee — his district has more than 5,000 farms.



NEW YORK 22  
**CLAUDIA TENNEY**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Kim Myers, D, to suc- ceed Rep. Richard Hanna, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** New Hartford • **BORN:** Feb. 4, 1961; Utica • **RELIGION:** Presbyterian • **FAMILY:** Divorced; one child • **EDUCA- TION:** Colgate U., B.A. 1983 (political science); U. of Cincin- nati, J.D. 1987 • **CAREER:** Lawyer; state legislature aide; newspaper publisher; Yugoslavian Consulate General aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** N.Y. Assembly, 2011-present; sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 2014

Tenney combines decidedly conservative views with a zest for polemical combat, re- ferring, for example, to “this imaginary beast called climate change.”

She’s wary of international tribunals having jurisdiction over American companies in trade disputes.

“Why would we subject our companies from the United States to the sovereignty of another country in some globalist kind of scheme?” she asks.

Tenney opposed a law signed by New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo in 2013 called the SAFE Act, restricting gun and ammunition purchases. She says the law hurt Remington Arms, a manufacturer in the town of Ilion in her district, and contends that what she called “the hostility by Cuomo against gun owners” caused Remington’s customers to ask why the company bothered to keep manufacturing in New York.

“We are dependent on these 1,300 jobs. There’d be nothing in Ilion without Reming- ton Arms,” she says.

As a college student in 1981, Tenney visited Yugoslavia. She can understand Serbo-Cro- atian but isn’t a fluent speaker. She says Bosnian refugees in Utica, home to one of the largest groups of that population in the nation, have been successful in assimilating into American culture.

“Refugees are totally different than illegal immigrants because they’re here legally through the asylum status,” she says.

She said many of the immigrants living ille- gally in the United States must be deported.

“They are here illegally, they are commit- ting crimes and those people need to go,” she said in a debate with her GOP primary opponents in June.



NORTH CAROLINA 13  
**TED BUDD**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Bruce Davis, D, to succeed Rep. George Holding, R, who ran in another district • **RESIDENCE:** Advance • **BORN:** Oct. 21, 1971; Winston-Salem • **RELIGION:** Non-denominational Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Amy Kate; three children • **EDUCATION:** Appalachian State U., B.S. 1994 (business administration); Dallas Theological Seminary, Th.M. 1998; Wake Forest U., M.B.A. 2007 • **CAREER:** Gun store and range owner; venture capitalist; facilities services company exec. • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Gun range owner Budd supports the right to bear arms and opposes abortion. But the self-described conservative is keeping his powder dry on problematic fiscal questions such as how to address the main drivers of federal spending, including Social Security and Medicare.

The first-time-elected Republican stresses the need for change and getting the govern- ment out of the way of businesses, which he says are trying to create jobs. Scaling back “overregulation” is one way to accomplish this, he says.

Knocking on 2,500 doors during the cam- paign, Budd says he “really discovered what I had heard, but [then] saw on the ground level, that people are really, really looking for some- thing new.” He says his constituents “feel like Washington and the system [are] failing, and they’re really worried about where we are headed in the country.”

The Club for Growth PAC endorsed Budd and spent almost \$500,000 on ads support- ing him in the 17-person Republican primary.

Raised on a farm, the married father of three worked as a vice president in his family’s facility services business and earned an MBA from Wake Forest University before purchasing a bankrupt shooting range, which he has run for the past six years. He received a master’s degree in educational leadership from Dallas Theological Seminary, an experi- ence he says “taught me to think.”

As he seeks to establish himself in Wash- ington, Budd tells people he wants to be “the nicest person anyone has ever disagreed with.”

He says constituent service will be a high priority, as well as making sure the W.G. “Bill” Hefner VA Medical Center in Salisbury receives the resources it needs.



PENNSYLVANIA 2

**DWIGHT  
EVANS**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated James Jones, R, in a special election to succeed Rep. Chaka Fattah, D, who resigned • **RESIDENCE:** Philadelphia • **BORN:** May 16, 1954; Philadelphia • **RELIGION:** Baptist • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** Community Coll. of Philadelphia, A.A. 1973; La Salle Coll., B.A. 1975 (English) • **CAREER:** Community organizer; substitute teacher • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Pa. House, 1981-present; sought Democratic nomination for Lt. gov., 1986, governor, 1994 and mayor of Philadelphia, 1999 and 2007

Evans is no stranger to the legislative process, having served in the Pennsylvania House since 1981.

Evans was Democratic chairman of the Pennsylvania House Appropriations Committee for 20 years, and helped establish the state's children's health insurance program and a financing program to attract supermarkets to neighborhoods lacking a source of fresh food. He has long-standing relationships with many in the Pennsylvania congressional delegation, and says his time as a state appropriator proves he can work across the aisle.

Evans says jobs are the major issue for the 2nd District, split between urban Philadelphia and wealthy Montgomery County. He describes the many colleges in the district as crucial to the region's economy.

He is especially interested in transportation and infrastructure as a tool for economic development. He serves on the board of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority, and knows first-hand what state and local officials can do and what the federal government should do. "Only at the national level can we do some things that transcend the economy," he says, pointing to President Dwight D. Eisenhower's push for a national highway system in the 1950s.

After graduating from college, Evans was a neighborhood organizer and career counselor, but "wanted to be where policy was made." He worked on a couple of campaigns before running himself in 1980. After winning his seat in the legislature, he made unsuccessful runs for higher office.

He says the efforts gave him greater understanding of the state, but he always came back to the legislature. "I've learned how to use the tools of the legislative process to get things done."



PENNSYLVANIA 8

**BRIAN  
FITZPATRICK**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Steve Santarsiero, D, to succeed Rep. Michael G. Fitzpatrick, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Middletown Twp. • **BORN:** Dec. 17, 1973; Philadelphia • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** La Salle U., B.S.B.A. 1996 (accounting); Penn. State U., J.D. and M.B.A. 2001 • **CAREER:** Lawyer; FBI agent; business consultant • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Special asst. U.S. attorney, 2011-13

Slated to be the only former FBI agent in Congress, Fitzpatrick will arrive in the wake of his popular brother, Rep. Michael G. Fitzpatrick, and will represent a district that's economically diverse and perennially purple at the national level.

Combating terrorism is one of his major issues. "Our leaders must be willing to name our enemy: radical Islamic terrorism. Only then can we clearly define who our fight is against and execute strategies to defeat this hateful and violent threat," he wrote in a July 2016 op-ed in *The Intelligencer*, a Bucks County newspaper.

He could find spots on a number of committees. As a special assistant U.S. attorney, he prosecuted drug crimes, including a 2012 case in which 13 people were convicted of trafficking over 11 tons of an illegal stimulant, khat. His experience may give him an interest in a seat on the Judiciary Committee. He also went to Iraq and was embedded as an al-Qaida interrogator, so the Select Intelligence Committee could suit him.

Expect him to fit solidly in the middle of the Republican caucus. He wants to abolish congressional pensions and supports term limits. He was national director of the FBI Campaign Finance and Election Crimes Enforcement Program and also worked in the public-corruption unit.

He sides with the Republicans on most of their priorities, such as opposing the Iran nuclear deal and repealing the estate tax. He also wants agencies to seek congressional approval for regulations that cost more than \$100 million and is a proponent of a balanced budget. On two major social issues, he strikes a more moderate tone, supporting funding for women's health organizations and leaving marijuana legalization to the states.



PENNSYLVANIA 16

**LLOYD K.  
SMUCKER**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Christina M. Hartman, D to succeed Rep. Joe Pitts, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** West Lampeter Twp. • **BORN:** Jan. 23, 1964; Lancaster • **RELIGION:** Lutheran • **FAMILY:** Wife, Cindy; three children • **EDUCATION:** Lebanon Valley Coll., attended; Franklin and Marshall Coll., attended • **CAREER:** Water dispenser company and construction company owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** West Lampeter Twp. Board, 2005-09; Pa. Senate, 2009-present

Smucker fits the familiar profile of the small business owner who got involved in local politics and then went on to the state legislature before winning a seat in the House of Representatives.

Smucker owned a commercial wall and ceiling construction business and served on the West Lampeter Township Planning Commission and then the West Lampeter Township Board of Supervisors.

In 2008 he won a seat in the state Senate, where he has been chairman of the Education Committee since 2015.

Smucker had some misgivings about his party's presidential nominee, but eventually endorsed Donald Trump and delivered a warmup speech for him at a rally in Lancaster County the month before the election.

Smucker's Trump endorsement was at odds with his previous stance on immigration. He had stepped forward on the issue in 2015, when some national Republicans were putting immigration policy overhaul efforts on hold.

He introduced a bill to provide that Pennsylvania residents who were illegally living in the United States would be eligible for the lower, in-state tuition rate at public institutions of higher education. The bill has yet to emerge from a state Senate committee.

He points out that other states already had laws that allowed students illegally living in the United States to pay the in-state tuition rate at state colleges and universities.

"There's no evidence that it drives additional illegal immigration" to those states, he says. "I think it's a conservative idea."

Smucker says he would like to eventually serve on the Ways and Means Committee so that he could play a role in a pro-growth tax policy.



TENNESSEE 8

## DAVID KUSTOFF

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rickey Hobson, D, to succeed Rep. Stephen Fincher, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Germantown • **BORN:** Oct. 8, 1966; Memphis • **RELIGION:** Jewish • **FAMILY:** Wife, Roberta; two children • **EDUCATION:** Memphis State U., B.B.A. 1989 and J.D. 1992 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 2002; U.S. attorney for Western Tenn., 2006-08; Tenn. Higher Education Commission vice chair, 2015-present

Once the U.S. attorney for the Western District of Tennessee, Kustoff lists among his accomplishments the conviction of several state legislators and other local officials, including then-Democratic state Sen. John N. Ford, the brother of former U.S. Rep. Harold E. Ford Sr. and uncle of former Rep. Harold E. Ford Jr., for bribery in a sting known as Operation Tennessee Waltz.

Kustoff puts law and order high on his congressional priority list, along with national security and economic development, calling those issues a reflection of constituents' concerns. He thinks his work as a U.S. attorney offers lessons for the nation.

Kustoff wants to secure the borders before tackling the rest of the immigration issue. He says the border problem is a manpower issue, and he distinguished himself from the Republican presidential candidate, Donald Trump, by saying it wouldn't be solved by building a wall. He adds that Immigration and Customs Enforcement as well as other law enforcement bodies need tools to enforce current laws.

His background might make the Homeland Security and Judiciary committees potential assignments. But his district's large agricultural sector may also raise his prospects for the Agriculture Committee.

He says Congress should simplify the tax code and cut tax rates to help both the local and national economy. He wants to remove the exemptions currently in the code. "If I could wave a magic wand, I'd wipe the slate clean and have a flat tax or a fair tax," he says.

He spent years working on political campaigns, including jobs as head of the Tennessee effort to elect George W. Bush president in both 2000 and 2004 and Lamar Alexander's successful campaign for Senate in 2002.



TEXAS 15

## VICENTE GONZALEZ

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Tim Westley, R, to succeed Rep. Rubén Hinojosa, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** McAllen • **BORN:** Sept. 4, 1967; Corpus Christi • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Loretta Saenz Gonzalez • **EDUCATION:** Embry-Riddle Aeronautical U., B.S. 1992 (aviation business administration); Texas Wesleyan U., J.D. 1996 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Once a high school dropout, Gonzalez subsequently returned to school, finished college and eventually prospered as a plaintiffs' attorney in insurance cases. He says expanding public education was critical to his district, one of the country's poorest.

He hopes to advance legislation that would see the federal government pay for the first two years of Americans' post-secondary education, he says, adding that the greater earnings potential would allow students in such a program to repay the government in taxes within five years.

Decades after going \$100,000 in debt to finance his higher education, Gonzalez spent his own money to win the Democratic primary for his seat. Only four House candidates across the country put more of their own money into campaigns during the primary period than Gonzalez's \$1.8 million, according to an analysis by the Center for Responsive Politics.

A political newcomer, Gonzalez says his ideology is generally in the center of the Democratic Party. On gun policy, however, the self-described gun collector says he might be inclined to buck his party. But he sees gun violence as a problem and would support plans to limit gun sales to people on government watch lists, increase waiting times and limit magazine capacity, he says.

Gonzalez plans to work on improving veterans' access to health care, he says. The closest full Veterans Affairs hospital to Gonzalez's district is roughly a four-hour drive from the district's population center in Hidalgo County.

Gonzalez describes his early years as "difficult." He dropped out of high school but later earned a GED certificate, followed by a college diploma. He graduated from law school in 1996 and launched his firm the next year, according to his campaign website.



TEXAS 19

## JODEY C. ARRINGTON

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated third-party candidates to succeed Rep. Randy Neugebauer R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Lubbock • **BORN:** Mar. 9, 1972; Lubbock • **RELIGION:** Evangelical Presbyterian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Anne; three children • **EDUCATION:** Texas Tech U., B.A. 1994 (political science) and M.P.A. 1997 • **CAREER:** Health care holding company president; university vice chancellor; FDIC, White House and gubernatorial aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Republican candidate for Texas Senate, 2014 (special)

Arrington's emergence from a crowded primary field in 2016 marked his first electoral win in his own right, following a decade of work in George W. Bush's gubernatorial and presidential administrations.

Arrington, president of a health care innovation holding company, has set his sights on eventually chairing the House Agriculture Committee, saying in a May 2016 primary debate he was gunning to bring the committee's gavel to the largely rural district. In that debate, Arrington criticized the farm bill for removing subsidies to cotton growers.

He supports "an all-of-the-above" energy policy that includes support of oil and gas producers, as well as wind energy companies.

Arrington says he'd prioritize border protection. Border Patrol needs additional manpower and equipment to effectively prevent people from entering illegally, he says.

He also considers himself an advocate of states' rights, especially on social issues.

President Barack Obama's administration overreached in implementing federal policies, Arrington says, singling out the EPA's Waters of the United States rule, which allows the agency to regulate pollutant runoff in non-navigable bodies of water, as hurting his district's farmers. He plans to support legislation that would give legislators additional oversight over the president.

Before launching his own political career, Arrington was an adviser to Bush during his last four years as Texas governor, then was an adviser on personnel matters in the Bush White House in 2001. Later that year, Bush named him chief of staff of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, where he stayed until moving to a Hurricane Katrina response task force in 2005. Bush and his wife Laura wrote campaign checks for him in 2016.



VIRGINIA 2  
**SCOTT  
TAYLOR**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Shaun Brown, D, to succeed Rep. Scott Rigell, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Virginia Beach • **BORN:** Apr. 27, 1979; Baltimore, Md. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Single; one child • **EDUCATION:** Harvard U., A.L.B. 2013 (international relations) • **MILITARY:** Navy, 1997-2005 • **CAREER:** Real estate broker; business security consultant • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Candidate for mayor of Virginia Beach, 2008; sought Rep. nomination for U.S. House, 2010; Va. House, 2014-present

Taylor is a former Navy SEAL, Virginia legislator, and security consultant with extensive overseas experience both during his Navy service and afterwards.

"The biggest problem right now with the military is sequestration," he says, referring to the spending limits imposed by the 2011 Budget Control Act.

In 2015, Taylor published a book, "Trust Betrayed: Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, and the Selling Out of America's National Security," in which he made the case for an activist American foreign policy.

"Whenever we retreat — and I don't mean that just in the literal battlefield sense of the word — we leave a vacuum that bad actors are sure to exploit," he wrote. "When our authority disappears, anything can happen, but most likely that's when the bullies will go into action. The acknowledgement of this is the beginning of realism."

Raised by a single mother, Taylor grew up in Hebron on Maryland's Eastern Shore, which he describes as "a small town without so much as a stoplight." Seeing the military as his best chance to get out of Hebron, he joined the Navy in 1997 after graduating from high school.

He served on deployments to South America and Central America and re-enlisted after the Sept. 11 attack.

In 2005, he was a sniper for three months in Baghdad and Ramadi before being injured and medically evacuated out of the country. Taylor left the Navy with the rank of petty officer second class.

As a security consultant after leaving the Navy, Taylor made several trips to Yemen over three and a half years, including during the Arab Spring.



VIRGINIA 4  
**A. DONALD  
MCEACHIN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Mike Wade, R, to succeed Rep. J. Randy Forbes, R, who ran in another district • **RESIDENCE:** Henrico • **BORN:** Oct. 10, 1961; Nuremberg, Germany (U.S. Base) • **RELIGION:** Baptist • **FAMILY:** Wife, Colette Wallace McEachin; three children • **EDUCATION:** American U., B.S. 1982; U. of Va., J.D. 1986; Va. Union U., M.Div. 2008 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Va. House, 1996-2002 and 2006-08; Democratic nominee for Va. attorney general, 2001; Va. Senate, 2008-present

McEachin announced his candidacy in March, after court-ordered redistricting moved the cities of Richmond and Petersburg, with their large African-American populations, into the 4th District, creating an opportunity for Democrats to pick up a seat. He easily won his primary with the backing of Virginia's Democratic establishment.

Born in Germany while his father was deployed with the Army, McEachin says he was inspired to seek office after seeing the direct impacts of politics on military families. He went into practice as a personal injury lawyer after earning a law degree from the University of Virginia. He was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1995 and to the Virginia Senate in 2007, where he chaired its Democratic caucus in recent years.

McEachin's legislative record from the General Assembly is a good indication of his liberal stances. He has sponsored legislation on gun safety, environmental protection and voter protections.

With large rural areas in his district, McEachin says that federal investment in rural broadband internet, which he considers essential to economic development, will be a top agenda item. "This is not a Republican policy or a Democratic policy issue," he says.

McEachin also takes an interest in defense spending and military personnel issues. He hopes to work with the Defense Department to improve military leave practices.

McEachin will be the third African-American to represent Virginia in Congress. He will also join a small group of House members with a seminary education. McEachin earned a Master of Divinity degree in the late-2000s, an experience that he says "tilted" his views on social justice and civil rights issues "farther to the left."



VIRGINIA 5  
**TOM  
GARRETT**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Jane Dittmar, D, to succeed Rep. Robert Hurt, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Scottsville • **BORN:** Mar. 27, 1972; Atlanta, Ga. • **RELIGION:** Disciples of Christ • **FAMILY:** Wife, Flanna; two children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Richmond, B.S. 1995 and J.D. 2003 • **MILITARY:** Army, 1995-2000 • **CAREER:** Lawyer; deputy county attorney; state campaign and leg. aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Va. assistant attorney general, 2006-07; Louisa County Commonwealth's attorney, 2008-11; Va. Senate, 2012-present

Garrett is a staunch conservative with a small-government philosophy, and he heads to Washington ready to promote pro-business policies. He says his main goal in Congress will be to "help people across the Potomac" in his rural Virginia district.

Garrett served in the Army after college and saw combat in Yugoslavia in the 1990s. After the Army, he earned a law degree and became a prosecutor, first as a Virginia assistant attorney general and then as the elected Louisa County commonwealth's attorney.

He was elected to the Virginia Senate in 2011. A fiscal conservative, Garrett voted against a Republican-backed budget that he considered wasteful. He also took a tough stance on immigration, sponsoring a bill that would have denied funding to any "sanctuary cities" in Virginia that declined to cooperate with federal immigration laws. Garrett opposes a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants already in the United States.

He says his main focus in Washington will be targeting federal regulations that he believes have driven jobs out of small towns across the country. He adds that reducing the regulatory burdens can help bring both old and new jobs to parts of America hurt by global competition. Representing a district where farming and timber constitute a large part of the economy, Garrett also wants to reduce regulatory obstacles to agricultural exports.

Student loans are another issue that concerns Garrett. He says high levels of student debt are a drag on the economy, and he has proposed a plan to allow students to defer receipt of Social Security payments at retirement in exchange for student debt reduction. "They can choose to eliminate their debt," he says, "but they'll be giving up the right to receive more money in the long run."



WASHINGTON 7  
**PRAMILA JAYAPAL**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Brady P. Walkinshaw, D, to succeed Rep. Jim McDermott, D, who retired • **PRO- NOUNCED:** pra-MIL-a JYE-a-paul • **RESIDENCE:** Columbia City • **BORN:** Sept. 21, 1965; Chennai, India • **RELIGION:** Unspecified • **FAMILY:** Husband, Steve Williamson; two children • **EDUCATION:** Georgetown U., B.A. 1986 (English); Northwestern U., M.B.A. 1990 • **CAREER:** Immigrant rights nonprofit director; public health grant fund director • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Wash. Senate, 2015-present

Jayapal is an outspoken progressive who sees herself as a catalyst for making Congress more accountable to those disenchanted with politics and government.

"Too many people feel like the economy is rigged against them," she says.

She is critical of what she calls "the prison-industrial complex that keeps people in jail." She wants to raise the federal minimum wage (Seattle's minimum will be \$15 an hour by 2017) and to increase Social Security and Medicare benefits. She opposes the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement and said labor union representatives ought to be part of any U.S. delegation that negotiates trade deals.

Jayapal introduced legislation at the state level for automatic voter registration. She also sponsored a bill for the state to pay for two years of tuition for Washington residents at community and technical colleges.

Born in India, Jayapal was sent by her parents to the United States at age 16 to attend Georgetown University, and she afterward joined the brokerage firm Paine Webber, where she worked on leveraged buyouts.

"It was a great experience for me," she told a campaign debate audience, "because it really taught me what I did not want to do, and it drove me to working for social justice for the next 25 years."

She has an interest in the Education and the Workforce Committee and the Judiciary Committee due to concern about an immigration overhaul and criminal sentencing reform.

Jayapal is the first woman of South Asian ancestry elected to the House. And she noted that she'll be one of the relatively few women of color in Congress.

"I fundamentally think that we have got to change the way Congress looks," she said.



WISCONSIN 8  
**MIKE GALLAGHER**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Tom Nelson, D, to succeed Rep. Reid Ribble, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Green Bay • **BORN:** Mar. 3, 1984; Green Bay • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** Princeton U., A.B. 2006 (Near Eastern studies); Georgetown U., M.A. 2012 (security studies), M.A. 2013 (government) and Ph.D. 2015 (intl. relations) • **MILITARY:** Marine Corps, 2006-13 • **CAREER:** Energy market strategist; presidential campaign aide; congressional aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Gallagher is a Marine Corps veteran who speaks Arabic and served in Iraq. He earned a doctorate in international relations from Georgetown University and worked on counter-terrorism matters on the GOP staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

His path to Congress is a bit unusual, but Gallagher follows other Iraq veterans who are Ivy League alumni, such as Rep. Seth Moulton of Massachusetts and Sen. Tom Cotton of Arkansas.

He says public opinion is turning against President Barack Obama's Middle East policy.

"We've had almost eight years of an experiment in disengaging from our commitments, disengaging from our allies. And the results speak for themselves," he says. "We've never seen anything like this in Iraq and Syria .... There are 6,000 foreign fighters with European passports running around. At some point, this is going to haunt us."

He favors stationing U.S. forces in Iraq as special operations troops embedded with Iraqi units, as intelligence officers, and in air support roles.

Gallagher would like to see an increase in global trade but doesn't support the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Obama administration's accord with Pacific Rim countries.

Gallagher will be looking out for the Littoral Combat Ship program. Some of the ships are made at Fincantieri Marinette Marine in his district.

The Government Accountability Office has warned Congress about the LCS, saying questions remain about the ship's reliability.

"We need a 350-ship Navy, and if we're going to do that, and if we want to defend our interests around the world, the Littoral Combat Ship is an integral part of that," Gallagher says.



WYOMING 1  
**LIZ CHENEY**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Ryan Greene, D, to succeed Rep. Cynthia M. Lummis, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Wilson • **BORN:** July 28, 1966; Madison, Wis. • **RELIGION:** Methodist • **FAMILY:** Husband, Philip Perry; five children • **EDUCATION:** Colo. Coll., B.A. 1988 (political science); U. of Chicago, J.D. 1996 • **CAREER:** Lawyer; State Dept. aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** State Dept. deputy asst. sec., 2002-03 and principal deputy asst. sec. 2005-06; sought Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, 2014

Cheney has one of the most famous last names among first-time House candidates in 2016. A former Fox News commentator and a State Department official in the administration of President George W. Bush, Cheney succeeds four-term Republican Rep. Cynthia M. Lummis, who retired.

In the 115th Congress, as Wyoming's sole House member, Cheney will have the same job that her father, former Vice President Dick Cheney, had from 1979 to 1989.

Cheney said she was the best person to be Wyoming's House member because she combined deep roots in the state as a fourth-generation Wyomingite with an insider's savvy about how the federal government works and self-confidence in front of the national media.

"If you have a brand-new member of Congress, somebody who has never spent any time before in a federal bureaucracy, or understanding the federal bureaucracy, and that person tries to conduct oversight of the career lifelong bureaucrats, they're going to have rings run around them every single time," she told the Wyoming Tribune Eagle editorial board.

She promised to be an aggressive defender of Wyoming's coal, oil and natural gas producers.

"We've got to have people representing us who are able to carry that case and able to say, 'I absolutely stand up proudly on behalf of fossil fuels,'" she says. "And we won't be cowed by people who sort of say, 'oh gosh, you know you're denying climate change.'"

In the Bush administration, Cheney was deputy assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs and worked on the Middle East Partnership Initiative, intended to bolster economies of moderate pro-American regimes and build more Western-style societies.

# DEPARTURES

FROM SENATE COMMITTEES

## AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION & FORESTRY

### Republicans (11)

Pat Roberts, Kan.  
Thad Cochran, Miss.  
Mitch McConnell, Ky.  
John Boozman, Ark.  
John Hoeven, N.D.  
David Perdue, Ga.  
Joni Ernst, Iowa  
Thom Tillis, N.C.  
Ben Sasse, Neb.  
John Thune, S.D.  
Charles E. Grassley, Iowa

### Democrats (9)

Debbie Stabenow, Mich.  
Patrick J. Leahy, Vt.  
Sherrod Brown, Ohio  
Amy Klobuchar, Minn.  
Michael Bennett, Colo.  
Kirsten Gillibrand, N.Y.  
Joe Donnelly, Ind.  
Heidi Heitkamp, N.D.  
Bob Casey, Pa.

## APPROPRIATIONS

### Republicans (16)

Thad Cochran, Miss.  
Mitch McConnell, Ky.  
Richard C. Shelby, Ala.  
Lamar Alexander, Tenn.  
Susan Collins, Maine  
Lisa Murkowski, Alaska  
Lindsey Graham, S.C.  
~~Mark S. Kirk, Ill.~~  
Roy Blunt, Mo.  
Jerry Moran, Kan.  
John Hoeven, N.D.  
John Boozman, Ark.  
Shelley Moore Capito, W.V.  
Bill Cassidy, La.

James Lankford, Okla.  
Steve Daines, Mont.

### Democrats (14)

~~Barbara A. Mikulski, Md.~~  
Patrick J. Leahy, Vt.  
Patty Murray, Wash.  
Dianne Feinstein, Calif.  
Richard J. Durbin, Ill.  
Jack Reed, R.I.  
Jon Tester, Mont.  
Tom Udall, N.M.  
Jeanne Shaheen, N.H.  
Jeff Merkley, Ore.  
Chris Coons, Del.  
Brian Schatz, Hawaii  
Tammy Baldwin, Wis.  
Christopher S. Murphy, Conn.

## ARMED SERVICES

### Republicans (14)

John McCain, Ariz.  
James M. Inhofe, Okla.  
Jeff Sessions, Ala.  
Roger Wicker, Miss.  
~~Kelly Ayotte, N.H.\*~~  
Deb Fischer, Neb.  
Tom Cotton, Ark.  
Mike Rounds, S.D.  
Joni Ernst, Iowa

### Democrats (12)

Jack Reed, R.I.  
Bill Nelson, Fla.  
Claire McCaskill, Mo.  
Joe Manchin III, W.V.  
Jeanne Shaheen, N.H.  
Kirsten Gillibrand, N.Y.  
Richard Blumenthal, Conn.  
Joe Donnelly, Ind.  
Mazie Hirono, Hawaii

Thom Tillis, N.C.  
Dan Sullivan, Alaska  
Mike Lee, Utah  
Lindsey Graham, S.C.  
Ted Cruz, Texas

Tim Kaine, Va.  
Angus King, Maine  
Martin Heinrich, N.M.

## BANKING, HOUSING & URBAN AFFAIRS

### Republicans (12)

Richard C. Shelby, Ala.  
Michael D. Crapo, Idaho  
Bob Corker, Tenn.  
~~David Vitter, La.~~  
Patrick J. Toomey, Pa.  
~~Mark S. Kirk, Ill.~~  
Dean Heller, Nev.  
Tim Scott, S.C.  
Ben Sasse, Neb.  
Tom Cotton, Ark.  
Mike Rounds, S.D.  
Jerry Moran, Kan.

### Democrats (10)

Sherrod Brown, Ohio  
Jack Reed, R.I.  
Charles E. Schumer, N.Y.  
Robert Menendez, N.J.  
Jon Tester, Mont.  
Mark Warner, Va.  
Jeff Merkley, Ore.  
Elizabeth Warren, Mass.  
Heidi Heitkamp, N.D.  
Joe Donnelly, Ind.

## BUDGET

### Republicans (12)

Michael B. Enzi, Wyo.  
Charles E. Grassley, Iowa  
Jeff Sessions, Ala.  
Michael D. Crapo, Idaho  
Lindsey Graham, S.C.  
Rob Portman, Ohio  
Patrick J. Toomey, Pa.  
Ron Johnson, Wis.  
~~Kelly Ayotte, N.H.\*~~  
Roger Wicker, Miss.  
Bob Corker, Tenn.  
David Perdue, Ga.

### Democrats (10)

Bernie Sanders, Vt.  
Patty Murray, Wash.  
Ron Wyden, Ore.  
Debbie Stabenow, Mich.  
Sheldon Whitehouse, R.I.  
Mark Warner, Va.  
Jeff Merkley, Ore.  
Tammy Baldwin, Wis.  
Tim Kaine, Va.  
Angus King, Maine

## COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION

### Republicans (13)

John Thune, S.D.  
Roger Wicker, Miss.  
Roy Blunt, Mo.  
Marco Rubio, Fla.

### Democrats (11)

Bill Nelson, Fla.  
Maria Cantwell, Wash.  
Claire McCaskill, Mo.  
Amy Klobuchar, Minn.

### ~~Kelly Ayotte, N.H.\*~~

Ted Cruz, Texas  
Deb Fischer, Neb.  
Jerry Moran, Kan.  
Dan Sullivan, Alaska  
Ron Johnson, Wis.  
Dean Heller, Nev.  
Cory Gardner, Colo.  
Steve Daines, Mont.

Richard Blumenthal, Conn.  
Brian Schatz, Hawaii  
Edward J. Markey, Mass.  
Cory Booker, N.J.  
Tom Udall, N.M.  
Joe Manchin III, W.V.  
Gary Peters, Mich.

## ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

### Republicans (12)

Lisa Murkowski, Alaska  
John Barrasso, Wyo.  
Jim Risch, Idaho  
Mike Lee, Utah  
Jeff Flake, Ariz.  
Bill Cassidy, La.  
Cory Gardner, Colo.  
Steve Daines, Mont.  
Rob Portman, Ohio  
John Hoeven, N.D.  
Lamar Alexander, Tenn.  
Shelley Moore Capito, W.V.

### Democrats (10)

Maria Cantwell, Wash.  
Ron Wyden, Ore.  
Bernie Sanders, Vt.  
Debbie Stabenow, Mich.  
Al Franken, Minn.  
Joe Manchin III, W.V.  
Martin Heinrich, N.M.  
Mazie Hirono, Hawaii  
Angus King, Maine  
Elizabeth Warren, Mass.

## ENVIRONMENT & PUBLIC WORKS

### Republicans (11)

James M. Inhofe, Okla.  
~~David Vitter, La.~~  
John Barrasso, Wyo.  
Shelley Moore Capito, W.V.  
Michael D. Crapo, Idaho  
John Boozman, Ark.  
Jeff Sessions, Ala.  
Roger Wicker, Miss.  
Deb Fischer, Neb.  
Mike Rounds, S.D.  
Dan Sullivan, Alaska

### Democrats (9)

~~Barbara Boxer, Calif.~~  
Thomas R. Carper, Del.  
Benjamin L. Cardin, Md.  
Bernie Sanders, Vt.  
Sheldon Whitehouse, R.I.  
Jeff Merkley, Ore.  
Kirsten Gillibrand, N.Y.  
Cory Booker, N.J.  
Edward J. Markey, Mass.

## FINANCE

### Republicans (14)

Orrin G. Hatch, Utah  
Charles E. Grassley, Iowa

### Democrats (12)

Ron Wyden, Ore.  
Charles E. Schumer, N.Y.

Michael D. Crapo, Idaho  
 Pat Roberts, Kan.  
 Michael B. Enzi, Wyo.  
 John Cornyn, Texas  
 John Thune, S.D.  
 Richard M. Burr, N.C.  
 Johnny Isakson, Ga.  
 Rob Portman, Ohio  
 Patrick J. Toomey, Pa.  
**Dan Coats, Ind.**  
 Dean Heller, Nev.  
 Tim Scott, S.C.

Debbie Stabenow, Mich.  
 Maria Cantwell, Wash.  
 Bill Nelson, Fla.  
 Robert Menendez, N.J.  
 Thomas R. Carper, Del.  
 Benjamin L. Cardin, Md.  
 Sherrod Brown, Ohio  
 Michael Bennett, Colo.  
 Bob Casey, Pa.  
 Mark Warner, Va.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

**Republicans (10)**  
 Bob Corker, Tenn.  
 Jim Risch, Idaho  
 Marco Rubio, Fla.  
 Ron Johnson, Wis.  
 Jeff Flake, Ariz.  
 Cory Gardner, Colo.  
 David Perdue, Ga.

**Democrats (9)**  
 Benjamin L. Cardin, Md.  
~~Barbara Boxer, Calif.~~  
 Robert Menendez, N.J.  
 Jeanne Shaheen, N.H.  
 Chris Coons, Del.  
 Tom Udall, N.M.  
 Christopher S. Murphy, Conn.  
 Tim Kaine, Va.  
 Edward J. Markey, Mass.

Johnny Isakson, Ga.  
 Rand Paul, Ky.  
 John Barrasso, Wyo.

## HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR & PENSIONS

**Republicans (12)**  
 Lamar Alexander, Tenn.  
 Michael B. Enzi, Wyo.  
 Richard M. Burr, N.C.  
 Johnny Isakson, Ga.  
 Rand Paul, Ky.  
 Susan Collins, Maine  
 Lisa Murkowski, Alaska  
**Mark S. Kirk, Ill.**  
 Tim Scott, S.C.

**Democrats (10)**  
 Patty Murray, Wash.  
**Barbara A. Mikulski, Md.**  
 Bernie Sanders, Vt.  
 Bob Casey, Pa.  
 Al Franken, Minn.  
 Michael Bennett, Colo.  
 Sheldon Whitehouse, R.I.  
 Tammy Baldwin, Wis.  
 Christopher S. Murphy, Conn.  
 Elizabeth Warren, Mass.

Orrin G. Hatch, Utah  
 Pat Roberts, Kan.  
 Bill Cassidy, La.

## HOMELAND SECURITY & GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

**Republicans (9)**  
 Ron Johnson, Wis.  
 John McCain, Ariz.  
 Rob Portman, Ohio  
 Rand Paul, Ky.  
 James Lankford, Okla.  
**Kelly Ayotte, N.H.\***

**Democrats (7)**  
 Thomas R. Carper, Del.  
 Claire McCaskill, Mo.  
 Jon Tester, Mont.  
 Tammy Baldwin, Wis.  
 Heidi Heitkamp, N.D.  
 Cory Booker, N.J.

Michael B. Enzi, Wyo.  
 Joni Ernst, Iowa  
 Ben Sasse, Neb.

Gary Peters, Mich.

## INDIAN AFFAIRS

**Republicans (8)**  
 John Barrasso, Wyo.  
 John McCain, Ariz.  
 Lisa Murkowski, Alaska  
 John Hoeven, N.D.  
 James Lankford, Okla.  
 Steve Daines, Mont.  
 Michael D. Crapo, Idaho  
 Jerry Moran, Kan.

**Democrats (6)**  
 Jon Tester, Mont.  
 Maria Cantwell, Wash.  
 Tom Udall, N.M.  
 Al Franken, Minn.  
 Brian Schatz, Hawaii  
 Heidi Heitkamp, N.D.

## JUDICIARY

**Republicans (11)**  
 Charles E. Grassley, Iowa  
 Orrin G. Hatch, Utah  
 Jeff Sessions, Ala.  
 Lindsey Graham, S.C.  
 John Cornyn, Texas  
 Mike Lee, Utah  
 Ted Cruz, Texas  
**David Vitter, La.**  
 Jeff Flake, Ariz.  
 David Perdue, Ga.  
 Thom Tillis, N.C.

**Democrats (9)**  
 Patrick J. Leahy, Vt.  
 Dianne Feinstein, Calif.  
 Charles E. Schumer, N.Y.  
 Richard J. Durbin, Ill.  
 Sheldon Whitehouse, R.I.  
 Amy Klobuchar, Minn.  
 Al Franken, Minn.  
 Chris Coons, Del.  
 Richard Blumenthal, Conn.

## RULES & ADMINISTRATION

**Republicans (10)**  
 Roy Blunt, Mo.  
 Lamar Alexander, Tenn.  
 Mitch McConnell, Ky.  
 Thad Cochran, Miss.  
 Pat Roberts, Kan.  
 Richard C. Shelby, Ala.  
 Ted Cruz, Texas  
 Shelley Moore Capito, W.V.  
 John Boozman, Ark.  
 Roger Wicker, Miss.

**Democrats (8)**  
 Charles E. Schumer, N.Y.  
 Dianne Feinstein, Calif.  
 Richard J. Durbin, Ill.  
 Tom Udall, N.M.  
 Mark Warner, Va.  
 Patrick J. Leahy, Vt.  
 Amy Klobuchar, Minn.  
 Angus King, Maine

## SELECT ETHICS

**Republicans (3)**  
 Johnny Isakson, Ga.  
 Pat Roberts, Kan.  
 Jim Risch, Idaho

**Democrats (3)**  
~~Barbara Boxer, Calif.~~  
 Chris Coons, Del.  
 Brian Schatz, Hawaii

## SELECT INTELLIGENCE

**Republicans (23)**  
 Richard M. Burr, N.C.  
 Jim Risch, Idaho  
~~Dan Coats, Ind.~~  
 Marco Rubio, Fla.  
 Susan Collins, Maine  
 Roy Blunt, Mo.  
 James Lankford, Okla.  
 Tom Cotton, Ark.

**Democrats (18)**  
 Dianne Feinstein, Calif.  
 Ron Wyden, Ore.  
**Barbara A. Mikulski, Md.**  
 Mark Warner, Va.  
 Martin Heinrich, N.M.  
 Angus King, Maine  
 Mazie K. Hirono, Hawaii

## SMALL BUSINESS & ENTREPRENEURSHIP

**Republicans (10)**  
**David Vitter, La.**  
 Jim Risch, Idaho  
 Marco Rubio, Fla.  
 Rand Paul, Ky.  
 Tim Scott, S.C.  
 Deb Fischer, Neb.  
 Cory Gardner, Colo.  
 Joni Ernst, Iowa  
~~Kelly Ayotte, N.H.\*~~  
 Michael B. Enzi, Wyo.

**Democrats (9)**  
 Jeanne Shaheen, N.H.  
 Maria Cantwell, Wash.  
 Benjamin L. Cardin, Md.  
 Heidi Heitkamp, N.D.  
 Edward J. Markey, Mass.  
 Cory Booker, N.J.  
 Chris Coons, Del.  
 Mazie K. Hirono, Hawaii  
 Gary Peters, Mich.

## SPECIAL AGING

**Republicans (11)**  
 Susan Collins, Maine  
 Orrin G. Hatch, Utah  
**Mark S. Kirk, Ill.**  
 Jeff Flake, Ariz.  
 Tim Scott, S.C.  
 Bob Corker, Tenn.  
 Dean Heller, Nev.  
 Tom Cotton, Ark.  
 David Perdue, Ga.  
 Thom Tillis, N.C.  
 Ben Sasse, Neb.

**Democrats (9)**  
 Claire McCaskill, Mo.  
 Bill Nelson, Fla.  
 Bob Casey, Pa.  
 Sheldon Whitehouse, R.I.  
 Kirsten Gillibrand, N.Y.  
 Richard Blumenthal, Conn.  
 Joe Donnelly, Ind.  
 Elizabeth Warren, Mass.  
 Tim Kaine, Va.

## VETERANS' AFFAIRS

**Republicans (8)**  
 Johnny Isakson, Ga.  
 Jerry Moran, Kan.  
 John Boozman, Ark.  
 Dean Heller, Nev.  
 Bill Cassidy, La.  
 Mike Rounds, S.D.  
 Thom Tillis, N.C.  
 Dan Sullivan, Alaska

**Democrats (7)**  
 Richard Blumenthal, Conn.  
 Patty Murray, Wash.  
 Bernie Sanders, Vt.  
 Sherrod Brown, Ohio  
 Jon Tester, Mont.  
 Mazie K. Hirono, Hawaii  
 Joe Manchin III, W.V.

**Note:** These pages account for incumbent retirements and any electoral losses called by **3 p.m.** Nov. 9.

# DEPARTURES

## FROM HOUSE COMMITTEES

### AGRICULTURE

#### Republicans (26)

K. Michael Conaway, Texas  
~~Randy Neugebauer, Texas~~  
Robert W. Goodlatte, Va.  
Frank D. Lucas, Okla.  
Steve King, Iowa  
Mike D. Rogers, Ala.  
Glenn Thompson, Pa.  
Bob Gibbs, Ohio  
Austin Scott, Ga.

Rick Crawford, Ark.  
Scott DesJarlais, Tenn.  
~~Chris Gibson, N.Y.~~  
Vicky Hartzler, Mo.  
~~Dan Benishek, Mich.~~  
Jeff Denham, Calif.  
Doug LaMalfa, Calif.  
Rodney Davis, Ill.  
Ted Yoho, Fla.  
Jackie Walorski, Ind.  
Rick W. Allen, Ga.  
Mike Bost, Ill.  
David Rouzer, N.C.  
Ralph Abraham, La.  
Trent Kelly, Miss.  
John Moolenaar, Mich.  
Dan Newhouse, Wash.

#### Democrats (19)

Collin C. Peterson, Mich.  
David Scott, Ga.  
Jim Costa, Calif.  
Tim Walz, Minn.  
Marcia L. Fudge, Ohio  
Jim McGovern, Mass.  
Suzan DelBene, Wash.  
Filemon Vela, Texas  
Michelle Lujan Grisham, N.M.  
Ann McLane Kuster, N.H.  
Rick Nolan, Minn.  
Cheri Bustos, Ill.  
Sean Patrick Maloney, N.Y.

~~Ann Kirkpatrick, Ariz.~~  
Pete Aguilar, Calif.  
Stacey Plaskett, V.I.  
Alma Adams, N.C.  
~~Gwen Graham, Fla.~~  
~~Brad Ashford, Neb.~~

Jeff Fortenberry, Neb.

Tom Rooney, Fla.  
Chuck Fleischmann, Tenn.  
Jaime Herrera Beutler, Wash.  
David Joyce, Ohio  
David Valadao, Calif.  
Andy Harris, Md.  
Martha Roby, Ala.  
Mark Amodei, Nev.  
Chris Stewart, Utah  
~~Scott Rigell, Va.~~  
~~David Jolly, Fla.~~  
David Young, Iowa  
Evan H. Jenkins, W.V.  
Steven M. Palazzo, Miss.

Debbie Wasserman Schultz, Fla.  
Henry Cuellar, Texas  
Chellie Pingree, Maine  
Mike Quigley, Ill.  
Derek Kilmer, Wash.  
Matt Cartwright, Pa.

Sam Graves, Mo.  
Ryan Zinke, Mont.  
Elise Stefanik, N.Y.  
Martha McSally, Ariz.  
Steve Knight, Calif.  
Tom MacArthur, N.J.  
Steve Russell, Okla.

### BUDGET

#### Republicans (22)

Tom Price, Ga.  
Todd Rokita, Ind.  
~~Scott Garrett, N.J.~~  
Mario Diaz-Balart, Fla.  
Tom Cole, Okla.  
Tom McClintock, Calif.  
Diane Black, Tenn.  
Rob Woodall, Ga.  
Vicky Hartzler, Mo.  
~~Marlin Stutzman, Ind.~~

~~Frank C. Guinta, N.H.~~  
Mark Sanford, S.C.  
Steve Womack, Ark.  
Dave Brat, Va.  
Rod Blum, Iowa  
Alex Mooney, W.V.  
Glenn Grothman, Wis.  
Gary Palmer, Ala.  
John Moolenaar, Mich.  
Bruce Westerman, Ark.  
James B. Renacci, Ohio  
Bill Johnson, Ohio

#### Democrats (14)

~~Chris Van Hollen, Md.~~  
John Yarmuth, Ky.  
Bill Pascrell Jr., N.J.  
Tim Ryan, Ohio  
Gwen Moore, Wis.  
Kathy Castor, Fla.  
~~Jim McDermott, Wash.~~  
Barbara Lee, Calif.  
Mark Pocan, Wis.  
Michelle Lujan Grisham, N.M.  
Debbie Dingell, Mich.  
Ted Lieu, Calif.  
Donald Norcross, N.J.  
Seth Moulton, Mass.

### ARMED SERVICES

#### Republicans (36)

Mac Thornberry, Texas  
Walter B. Jones, N.C.  
~~J. Randy Forbes, Va.~~  
~~Jeff Miller, Fla.~~  
Joe Wilson, S.C.  
Frank A. LoBiondo, N.J.  
Rob Bishop, Utah  
Michael R. Turner, Ohio

#### ~~John Kline, Minn.~~

Mike D. Rogers, Ala.  
Trent Franks, Ariz.  
Bill Shuster, Pa.  
K. Michael Conaway, Texas  
Doug Lamborn, Colo.  
Rob Wittman, Va.  
Duncan Hunter, Calif.  
~~John Fleming, La.~~  
Mike Coffman, Colo.  
~~Chris Gibson, N.Y.~~  
Vicky Hartzler, Mo.  
~~Joe Heck, Nev.~~  
Austin Scott, Ga.  
Mo Brooks, Ala.  
~~Rich Nugent, Fla.~~  
Paul Cook, Calif.  
Jim Bridenstine, Okla.  
Brad Wenstrup, Ohio  
Jackie Walorski, Ind.  
Bradley Byrne, Ala.

#### Democrats (25)

Adam Smith, Wash.  
~~Loretta Sanchez, Calif.~~  
Robert A. Brady, Pa.  
Susan A. Davis, Calif.  
Jim Langevin, R.I.  
Rick Larsen, Wash.  
Jim Cooper, Tenn.  
Madeleine Z. Bordallo, Guam  
Joe Courtney, Conn.  
Niki Tsongas, Mass.  
John Garamendi, Calif.  
Hank Johnson, Ga.  
Jackie Speier, Calif.

#### ~~Tammy Duckworth, Ill.~~

Scott Peters, Calif.  
Marc Veasey, Texas  
Tulsi Gabbard, Hawaii  
Tim Walz, Minn.  
Beto O'Rourke, Texas  
Donald Norcross, N.J.  
Ruben Gallego, Ariz.  
~~Gwen Graham, Fla.~~  
~~Brad Ashford, Neb.~~  
Seth Moulton, Mass.  
Pete Aguilar, Calif.

### APPROPRIATIONS

#### Republicans (30)

Harold Rogers, Ky.  
Rodney Frelinghuysen, N.J.  
Robert B. Aderholt, Ala.  
Kay Granger, Texas  
Mike Simpson, Idaho  
John Culberson, Texas  
~~Ander Crenshaw, Fla.~~  
John Carter, Texas  
Ken Calvert, Calif.  
Tom Cole, Okla.  
Mario Diaz-Balart, Fla.  
Charlie Dent, Pa.  
Tom Graves, Ga.  
Kevin Yoder, Kan.  
Steve Womack, Ark.

#### Democrats (21)

Nita M. Lowey, N.Y.  
Marcy Kaptur, Ohio  
Peter J. Visclosky, Ind.  
Jose E. Serrano, N.Y.  
Rosa DeLauro, Conn.  
David E. Price, N.C.  
Lucille Roybal-Allard, Calif.  
~~Sam Farr, Calif.~~  
Sanford D. Bishop Jr., Ga.  
Barbara Lee, Calif.  
~~Michael M. Honda, Calif.~~  
Tom Emmer, Minn.  
Betty McCollum, Minn.  
~~Steve Israel, N.Y.~~  
C. A. Dutch Ruppersberger, Md.

### EDUCATION & THE WORKFORCE

#### Republicans (22)

~~John Kline, Minn.~~  
Joe Wilson, S.C.  
Virginia Foxx, N.C.  
Duncan Hunter, Calif.  
Phil Roe, Tenn.  
Glenn Thompson, Pa.  
Tim Walberg, Mich.  
~~Matt Salmon, Ariz.~~  
Brett Guthrie, Ky.  
Todd Rokita, Ind.

#### Democrats (16)

Robert C. Scott, Va.  
~~Ruben Hinojosa, Texas~~  
Susan A. Davis, Calif.  
Raul M. Grijalva, Ariz.  
Joe Courtney, Conn.  
Marcia L. Fudge, Ohio  
Jared Polis, Colo.  
Gregorio Kilili Camacho Sablan, N. Marianas  
Frederica S. Wilson, Fla.  
Suzanne Bonamici, Ore.

Lou Barletta, Pa.  
**Joe Heck, Nev.-**  
 Luke Messer, Ind.  
 Bradley Byrne, Ala.  
 Dave Brat, Va.  
 Earl L. "Buddy" Carter, Ga.  
 Mike Bishop, Mich.  
 Glenn Grothman, Wis.  
 Steve Russell, Okla.  
 Carlos Curbelo, Fla.  
 Elise Stefanik, N.Y.  
 Rick W. Allen, Ga.

Mark Pocan, Wis.  
 Mark Takano, Calif.  
 Hakeem Jeffries, N.Y.  
 Katherine M. Clark, Mass.  
 Alma Adams, N.C.  
 Mark DeSaulnier, Calif.

## ENERGY & COMMERCE

### Republicans (30)

Fred Upton, Mich.  
 Joe L. Barton, Texas  
 John Shimkus, Ill.  
**Joe Pitts, Pa.-**  
 Greg Walden, Ore.  
 Tim Murphy, Pa.  
 Michael C. Burgess, Texas  
 Marsha Blackburn, Tenn.  
 Steve Scalise, La.  
 Bob Latta, Ohio  
 Cathy McMorris Rodgers, Wash.  
 Gregg Harper, Miss.  
 Leonard Lance, N.J.  
 Brett Guthrie, Ky.  
 Pete Olson, Texas  
 David B. McKinley, W.V.  
 Mike Pompeo, Kan.  
 Adam Kinzinger, Ill.  
 Morgan Griffith, Va.  
 Gus Bilirakis, Fla.  
 Bill Johnson, Ohio  
 Billy Long, Mo.

### Renee Ellmers, N.C.-

Larry Bucshon, Ind.  
 Bill Flores, Texas  
 Susan W. Brooks, Ind.  
 Markwayne Mullin, Okla.  
 Richard Hudson, N.C.  
 Chris Collins, N.Y.  
 Kevin Cramer, N.D.

### Democrats (23)

Frank Pallone Jr., N.J.  
 Bobby L. Rush, Ill.  
 Anna G. Eshoo, Calif.  
 Eliot L. Engel, N.Y.  
 Gene Green, Texas  
 Diana DeGette, Colo.  
**Lois Capps, Calif.-**  
 Mike Doyle, Pa.  
 Jan Schakowsky, Ill.  
 G. K. Butterfield, N.C.  
 Doris Matsui, Calif.  
 Kathy Castor, Fla.  
 John Sarbanes, Md.  
 Jerry McNerney, Calif.  
 Peter Welch, Vt.  
 Ben Ray Lujan, N.M.  
 Paul Tonko, N.Y.  
 John Yarmuth, Ky.  
 Yvette D. Clarke, N.Y.  
 Dave Loebsack, Iowa  
 Kurt Schrader, Ore.  
 Joseph P. Kennedy III, Mass.  
 Tony Cardenas, Calif.

## ETHICS

### Republicans (5)

Charlie Dent, Pa.  
 Patrick Meehan, Pa.  
 Trey Gowdy, S.C.  
 Susan W. Brooks, Ind.  
 Kenny Marchant, Texas

### Democrats (5)

Linda T. Sanchez, Calif.  
 Michael E. Capuano, Mass.  
 Yvette D. Clarke, N.Y.  
 Ted Deutch, Fla.  
 John B. Larson, Conn.

## FINANCIAL SERVICES

### Republicans (34)

Jeb Hensarling, Texas  
 Peter T. King, N.Y.  
 Ed Royce, Calif.  
 Frank D. Lucas, Okla.  
**Scott Garrett, N.J.-**  
**Randy Neugebauer, Texas-**  
 Patrick T. McHenry, N.C.  
 Steve Pearce, N.M.  
 Bill Posey, Fla.  
**Michael G. Fitzpatrick, Pa.-**  
**Lynn Westmoreland, Ga.-**  
 Blaine Luetkemeyer, Mo.  
 Bill Huizenga, Mich.  
 Sean P. Duffy, Wis.  
**Robert Hurt, Va.-**  
 Steve Stivers, Ohio  
**Stephen Fincher, Tenn.-**  
**Marlin Stutzman, Ind.-**  
 Mick Mulvaney, S.C.  
 Randy Hultgren, Ill.  
 Dennis A. Ross, Fla.  
 Robert Pittenger, N.C.  
 Ann Wagner, Mo.  
 Andy Barr, Ky.  
 Keith Rothfus, Pa.  
 Luke Messer, Ind.  
 David Schweikert, Ariz.

### Frank C. Guinta, N.H.-

Scott Tipton, Colo.  
 Roger Williams, Texas  
 Bruce Poliquin, Maine  
 Mia Love, Utah  
 French Hill, Ark.  
 Tom Emmer, Minn.

### Democrats (26)

Maxine Waters, Calif.  
 Carolyn B. Maloney, N.Y.  
 Nydia M. Velazquez, N.Y.  
 Brad Sherman, Calif.  
 Gregory W. Meeks, N.Y.  
 Michael E. Capuano, Mass.  
**Ruben Hinojosa, Texas-**  
 William Lacy Clay, Mo.  
 Stephen F. Lynch, Mass.  
 David Scott, Ga.  
 Al Green, Texas  
 Emanuel Cleaver II, Mo.  
 Gwen Moore, Wis.  
 Keith Ellison, Minn.  
 Ed Perlmutter, Colo.  
 Jim Himes, Conn.  
**John Carney, Del.-**  
 Terri A. Sewell, Ala.  
 Bill Foster, Ill.  
 Dan Kildee, Mich.

### Patrick Murphy, Fla.-

John Delaney, Md.  
 Kyrsten Sinema, Ariz.  
 Joyce Beatty, Ohio  
 Denny Heck, Wash.  
 Juan C. Vargas, Calif.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### Republicans (25)

Ed Royce, Calif.  
 Christopher H. Smith, N.J.  
 Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Fla.  
 Dana Rohrabacher, Calif.  
 Steve Chabot, Ohio  
 Joe Wilson, S.C.  
 Michael McCaul, Texas  
 Ted Poe, Texas  
**Matt Salmon, Ariz.-**  
 Darrell Issa, Calif.\*  
 Tom Marino, Pa.  
 Jeff Duncan, S.C.  
 Mo Brooks, Ala.  
 Paul Cook, Calif.  
 Randy Weber, Texas  
 Scott Perry, Pa.  
 Ron DeSantis, Fla.  
 Mark Meadows, N.C.

### Democrats (19)

Eliot L. Engel, N.Y.  
 Brad Sherman, Calif.  
 Gregory W. Meeks, N.Y.  
 Albio Sires, N.J.  
 Gerald E. Connolly, Va.  
 Ted Deutch, Fla.  
 Brian Higgins, N.Y.  
 Karen Bass, Calif.  
 William Keating, Mass.  
 David Cicilline, R.I.  
**Alan Grayson, Fla.-**  
 Ami Bera, Calif.\*  
 Alan Lowenthal, Calif.  
 Grace Meng, N.Y.  
 Lois Frankel, Fla.  
 Tulsi Gabbard, Hawaii  
 Joaquin Castro, Texas  
 Robin Kelly, Ill.

Ted Yoho, Fla.

### Curt Clawson, Fla.-

Scott DesJarlais, Tenn.  
**Reid Ribble, Wis.-**  
 Dave Trott, Mich.  
 Lee Zeldin, N.Y.  
 Dan Donovan, N.Y.

Brendan F. Boyle, Pa.

## HOMELAND SCEURITY

### Republicans (18)

Michael McCaul, Texas  
 Lamar Smith, Texas  
 Peter T. King, N.Y.  
 Mike D. Rogers, Ala.  
**Candice S. Miller, Mich.-**  
 Jeff Duncan, S.C.  
 Tom Marino, Pa.  
 Lou Barletta, Pa.  
 Scott Perry, Pa.  
**Curt Clawson, Fla.-**

John Katko, N.Y.  
 Will Hurd, Texas  
 Earl L. "Buddy" Carter, Ga.  
 Mark Walker, N.C.  
 Barry Loudermilk, Ga.  
 Martha McSally, Ariz.  
 John Ratcliffe, Texas  
 Dan Donovan, N.Y.

### Democrats (12)

Bennie Thompson, Miss.  
**Loretta Sanchez, Calif.-**  
 Sheila Jackson Lee, Texas  
 Jim Langevin, R.I.  
 Brian Higgins, N.Y.  
 Cedric L. Richmond, La.  
 William Keating, Mass.  
 Donald Payne Jr., N.J.  
 Filemon Vela, Texas  
 Bonnie Watson Coleman, N.J.  
 Kathleen Rice, N.Y.  
 Norma J. Torres, Calif.

## HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

### Republicans (6)

**Candice S. Miller, Mich.-**  
 Gregg Harper, Miss.  
**Rich Nugent, Fla.-**  
 Rodney Davis, Ill.  
 Barbara Comstock, Va.  
 Mark Walker, N.C.

### Democrats (3)

Robert A. Brady, Pa.  
 Zoe Lofgren, Calif.  
 Juan C. Vargas, Calif.

## JUDICIARY

### Republicans (23)

Robert W. Goodlatte, Va.  
 Jim Sensenbrenner, Wis.  
 Lamar Smith, Texas  
 Steve Chabot, Ohio  
 Darrell Issa, Calif.\*  
**J. Randy Forbes, Va.-**  
 Steve King, Iowa  
 Trent Franks, Ariz.  
 Louie Gohmert, Texas  
 Jim Jordan, Ohio  
 Ted Poe, Texas  
 Jason Chaffetz, Utah

### Democrats (16)

John Conyers Jr., Mich.  
 Jerrold Nadler, N.Y.  
 Zoe Lofgren, Calif.  
 Sheila Jackson Lee, Texas  
 Steve Cohen, Tenn.  
 Hank Johnson, Ga.  
**Pedro R. Pierluisi, P.R.-**  
 Judy Chu, Calif.  
 Ted Deutch, Fla.  
 Luis V. Gutierrez, Ill.  
 Karen Bass, Calif.  
 Cedric L. Richmond, La.

Tom Marino, Pa.  
Trey Gowdy, S.C.  
Raul R. Labrador, Idaho  
Blake Farenthold, Texas  
Doug Collins, Ga.  
Ron DeSantis, Fla.  
Mimi Walters, Calif.  
Ken Buck, Colo.  
John Ratcliffe, Texas  
Dave Trott, Mich.  
Mike Bishop, Mich.

Suzan DelBene, Wash.  
Hakeem Jeffries, N.Y.  
David Cicilline, R.I.  
Scott Peters, Calif.

Scott DesJarlais, Tenn.  
Trey Gowdy, S.C.  
Blake Farenthold, Texas  
~~Cynthia M. Lummis, Wyo.~~  
Thomas Massie, Ky.  
Mark Meadows, N.C.  
Ron DeSantis, Fla.  
Mick Mulvaney, S.C.  
Ken Buck, Colo.

Robin Kelly, Ill.  
Brenda Lawrence, Mich.  
Ted Lieu, Calif.  
Bonnie Watson Coleman, N.J.  
Stacey Plaskett, V.I.  
Mark DeSaulnier, Calif.  
Brendan F. Boyle, Pa.  
Peter Welch, Vt.  
Michelle Lujan Grisham, N.M.

Darin LaHood, Ill.  
Warren Davidson, Ohio

## SELECT BENGHAZI

### Republicans (7)

Trey Gowdy, S.C.  
Jim Jordan, Ohio  
Peter Roskam, Ill.  
Mike Pompeo, Kan.  
Martha Roby, Ala.  
Susan W. Brooks, Ind.

~~Lynn Westmoreland, Ga.~~

### Democrats (5)

Elijah E. Cummings, Md.  
Adam Smith, Wash.  
Adam B. Schiff, Calif.  
Linda T. Sanchez, Calif.

~~Tammy Duckworth, Ill.~~

## NATURAL RESOURCES

### Republicans (26)

Rob Bishop, Utah  
Don Young, Alaska  
Louie Gohmert, Texas

Doug Lamborn, Colo.  
Rob Wittman, Va.

~~John Fleming, La.~~

Tom McClintock, Calif.  
Glenn Thompson, Pa.

~~Cynthia M. Lummis, Wyo.~~

~~Dan Benishek, Mich.~~

Jeff Duncan, S.C.  
Paul Gosar, Ariz.  
Raul R. Labrador, Idaho  
Doug LaMalfa, Calif.  
Jeff Denham, Calif.  
Paul Cook, Calif.  
Bruce Westerman, Ark.  
Garret Graves, La.  
Dan Newhouse, Wash.

Ryan Zinke, Mont.  
Jody B. Hice, Ga.  
Aumua Amata Coleman Radewagen, A.S.  
Tom MacArthur, N.J.  
Alex Mooney, W.V.  
~~Cresent Hardy, Nev.~~  
Darin LaHood, Ill.

### Democrats (17)

Raul M. Grijalva, Ariz.  
Grace F. Napolitano, Calif.

Madeleine Z. Bordallo, Guam

Jim Costa, Calif.

Gregorio Kilili Camacho Sablan, N. Marianas

Niki Tsongas, Mass.

~~Pedro R. Pierluisi, P.R.~~

Jared Huffman, Calif.

Raul Ruiz, Calif.

Alan Lowenthal, Calif.

Don Beyer Jr., Va.

Norma J. Torres, Calif.

Debbie Dingell, Mich.

Ruben Gallego, Ariz.

~~Lois Capps, Calif.~~

Jared Polis, Colo.

William Lacy Clay, Mo.

Mark Walker, N.C.  
Rod Blum, Iowa  
Jody B. Hice, Ga.  
Steve Russell, Okla.  
Earl L. "Buddy" Carter, Ga.  
Glenn Grothman, Wis.  
Will Hurd, Texas  
Gary Palmer, Ala.

## RULES

### Republicans (9)

Pete Sessions, Texas  
Virginia Foxx, N.C.  
Tom Cole, Okla.  
Rob Woodall, Ga.  
Michael C. Burgess, Texas  
Steve Stivers, Ohio  
Doug Collins, Ga.  
Bradley Byrne, Ala.  
Dan Newhouse, Wash.

### Democrats (4)

Louise M. Slaughter, N.Y.  
Jim McGovern, Mass.  
Alcee L. Hastings, Fla.  
Jared Polis, Colo.

## SCIENCE, SPACE & TECHNOLOGY

### Republicans (22)

Lamar Smith, Texas  
Frank D. Lucas, Okla.  
Jim Sensenbrenner, Wis.  
Dana Rohrabacher, Calif.  
~~Randy Neugebauer, Texas~~  
Michael McCaul, Texas  
Mo Brooks, Ala.  
Randy Hultgren, Ill.  
Bill Posey, Fla.  
Thomas Massie, Ky.  
Jim Bridenstine, Okla.  
Randy Weber, Texas  
John Moolenaar, Mich.  
Steve Knight, Calif.  
Brian Babin, Texas  
Bruce Westerman, Ark.  
Barbara Comstock, Va.  
Gary Palmer, Ala.  
Barry Loudermilk, Ga.  
Ralph Abraham, La.

### Democrats (16)

Eddie Bernice Johnson, Texas  
Zoe Lofgren, Calif.  
Daniel Lipinski, Ill.  
~~Donna Edwards, Md.~~  
Suzanne Bonamici, Ore.  
Eric Swalwell, Calif.  
~~Alan Grayson, Fla.~~  
Ami Bera, Calif.\*  
Elizabeth Esty, Conn.  
Marc Veasey, Texas  
Katherine M. Clark, Mass.  
Don Beyer Jr., Va.  
Ed Perlmutter, Colo.  
Paul Tonko, N.Y.  
Mark Takano, Calif.  
Bill Foster, Ill.

### Republicans (13)

Steve Chabot, Ohio  
Steve King, Iowa  
Blaine Luetkemeyer, Mo.  
~~Richard Hanna, N.Y.~~  
~~Tim Huelskamp, Kan.~~  
~~Chris Gibson, N.Y.~~  
Dave Brat, Va.  
Aumua Amata Coleman Radewagen, A.S.  
Steve Knight, Calif.  
Carlos Curbelo, Fla.  
~~Cresent Hardy, Nev.~~  
Trent Kelly, Miss.  
Warren Davidson, Ohio

### Democrats (9)

Nydia M. Velazquez, N.Y.  
Judy Chu, Calif.  
~~Janice Hahn, Calif.~~  
Donald Payne Jr., N.J.  
Grace Meng, N.Y.  
Brenda Lawrence, Mich.  
Yvette D. Clarke, N.Y.  
Alma Adams, N.C.  
Seth Moulton, Mass.

## OVERSIGHT & GOVERNMENT REFORM

### Republicans (25)

Jason Chaffetz, Utah  
~~John L. Mica, Fla.~~  
Michael R. Turner, Ohio  
John J. Duncan Jr., Tenn.  
Jim Jordan, Ohio  
Tim Walberg, Mich.  
Justin Amash, Mich.  
Paul Gosar, Ariz.

### Democrats (17)

Elijah E. Cummings, Md.  
Carolyn B. Maloney, N.Y.  
Eleanor Holmes Norton, D.C.  
William Lacy Clay, Mo.  
Stephen F. Lynch, Mass.  
Jim Cooper, Tenn.  
Gerald E. Connolly, Va.  
~~Tammy Duckworth, Ill.~~

## TRANSPORTATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE

### Republicans (34)

Bill Shuster, Pa.  
Don Young, Alaska  
  
John J. Duncan Jr., Tenn.  
~~John L. Mica, Fla.~~  
Frank A. LoBiondo, N.J.  
  
Sam Graves, Mo.  
~~Candice S. Miller, Mich.~~  
Duncan Hunter, Calif.  
Rick Crawford, Ark.  
Lou Barletta, Pa.  
Blake Farenthold, Texas  
Bob Gibbs, Ohio  
~~Richard Hanna, N.Y.~~  
Daniel Webster, Fla.  
Jeff Denham, Calif.  
~~Reid Ribble, Wis.~~  
Thomas Massie, Ky.  
Mark Meadows, N.C.  
Scott Perry, Pa.  
  
Rodney Davis, Ill.  
Mark Sanford, S.C.  
Rob Woodall, Ga.  
Todd Rokita, Ind.  
John Katko, N.Y.  
Brian Babin, Texas  
~~Crescent Hardy, Nev.~~  
Ryan A. Costello, Pa.  
Garret Graves, La.  
Mimi Walters, Calif.  
Barbara Comstock, Va.  
Carlos Curbelo, Fla.  
David Rouzer, N.C.  
Lee Zeldin, N.Y.  
Mike Bost, Ill.

### Democrats (25)

Peter A. DeFazio, Ore.  
Eleanor Holmes Norton, D.C.  
  
Jerrold Nadler, N.Y.  
~~Corrine Brown, Fla.~~  
Eddie Bernice Johnson, Texas  
Elijah E. Cummings, Md.  
Rick Larsen, Wash.  
Michael E. Capuano, Mass.  
Grace F. Napolitano, Calif.  
Daniel Lipinski, Ill.  
Steve Cohen, Tenn.  
Albio Sires, N.J.  
~~Donna Edwards, Md.~~  
John Garamendi, Calif.  
Andre Carson, Ind.  
~~Janice Hahn, Calif.~~  
Rick Nolan, Minn.  
~~Ann Kirkpatrick, Ariz.~~  
Dina Titus, Nev.  
Sean Patrick Maloney, N.Y.  
Elizabeth Esty, Conn.  
Lois Frankel, Fla.  
Cheri Bustos, Ill.  
Jared Huffman, Calif.  
Julia Brownley, Calif.

## VETERANS' AFFAIRS

### Republicans (14)

~~Jeff Miller, Fla.~~  
Doug Lamborn, Colo.  
Gus Bilirakis, Fla.  
Phil Roe, Tenn.  
~~Dan Benishek, Mich.~~  
~~Tim Huelskamp, Kan.~~  
Mike Coffman, Colo.  
Brad Wenstrup, Ohio  
Jackie Walorski, Ind.  
Ralph Abraham, La.  
Lee Zeldin, N.Y.  
Ryan A. Costello, Pa.  
Aumua Amata Coleman Radewagen, A.S.  
Mike Bost, Ill.

### Democrats (10)

Mark Takano, Calif.  
~~Corrine Brown, Fla.~~  
Julia Brownley, Calif.  
Dina Titus, Nev.  
Raul Ruiz, Calif.  
Ann McLane Kuster, N.H.  
Beto O'Rourke, Texas  
Kathleen Rice, N.Y.  
Tim Walz, Minn.  
Jerry McNerney, Calif.

## WAYS & MEANS

### Republicans (24)

Kevin Brady, Texas  
Sam Johnson, Texas  
Devin Nunes, Calif.  
Pat Tiberi, Ohio  
Dave Reichert, Wash.  
~~Charles Boustany Jr., La.~~  
Peter Roskam, Ill.  
Tom Price, Ga.  
Vern Buchanan, Fla.  
Adrian Smith, Neb.  
Lynn Jenkins, Kan.  
Erik Paulsen, Minn.  
Kenny Marchant, Texas  
Diane Black, Tenn.  
Tom Reed, N.Y.  
~~Todd Young, Ind.~~  
Mike Kelly, Pa.  
James B. Renacci, Ohio  
Patrick Meehan, Pa.  
Kristi Noem, S.D.  
George Holding, N.C.  
Jason Smith, Mo.  
~~Robert J. Dold, Ill.~~  
Tom Rice, S.C.

### Democrats (15)

Sander M. Levin, Mich.  
~~Charles B. Rangel, N.Y.~~  
~~Jim McDermott, Wash.~~  
John Lewis, Ga.  
Richard E. Neal, Mass.  
Xavier Becerra, Calif.  
Lloyd Doggett, Texas  
Mike Thompson, Calif.  
John B. Larson, Conn.  
Earl Blumenauer, Ore.  
Ron Kind, Wis.  
Bill Pascrell Jr., N.J.  
Joseph Crowley, N.Y.  
Danny K. Davis, Ill.  
Linda T. Sanchez, Calif.

\* Note: Too close to call at press time

**Note:** These pages account for incumbent retirements and any electoral losses called by 5 p.m. Nov. 9.

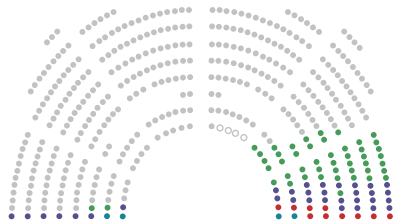
# DEMOGRAPHICS

## CONGRESS BY THE NUMBERS

### Race

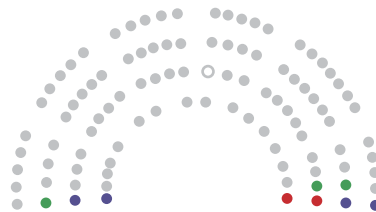
#### House of Representatives

• White: 339 • Black: 46 • Hispanic: 33  
• Asian: 10 • Other: 3



#### Senate

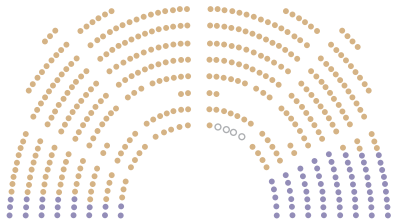
• White: 90 • Black: 3 • Hispanic: 4  
• Asian: 2



### Gender

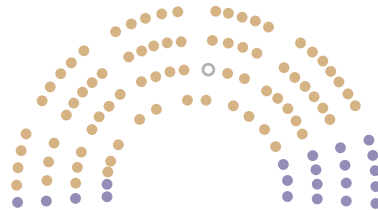
#### House of Representatives

• Male: 348 • Female: 83



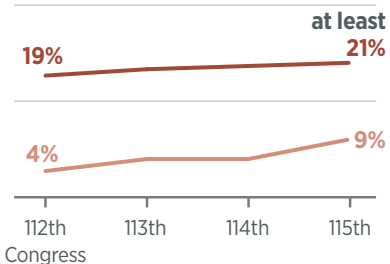
#### Senate

• Male: 78 • Female: 21



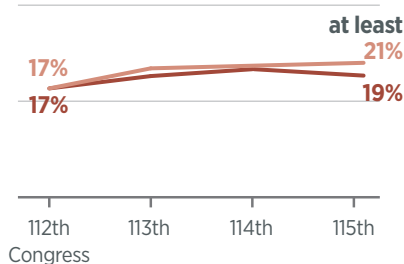
### More Minorities Head to Congress

— House — Senate



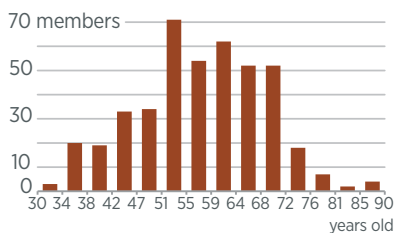
### Women Gain in Senate

— House — Senate

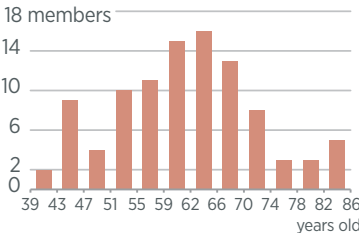


### Ages of the 115th Congress

#### House



#### Senate



Note: Members can be counted under more than one occupation. Includes members whose races were called as of 12:30 p.m. on Nov. 10; does not include delegates.  
Randy Leonard and Sean McMinn/CQ Roll Call

### Education

House

Senate

Advanced degree	234	57
Bachelor's or associate degree	184	22
No degree	13	0

### Occupation

House

Senate

Public office	191	44
Business	178	29
Law	156	50
Education	77	20
Real estate	30	5
Agriculture	23	5
Labor/blue collar	23	2
Medicine/doctor	17	4
Homemaker	15	5
Secretarial	17	2
Journalism	13	4
Health care	15	
Military	11	1
Technical	7	3
Engineering	9	
Clergy	8	1
Law enforcement	8	
Hospitality	6	
Science	5	
Professional athlete	5	
Artistic/creative	2	3
Actor/artist	1	2
Aeronautics	2	

### Religion

House

Senate

Roman Catholic	143	24
Protestant - other	80	14
Baptist	50	10
Methodist	31	9
Presbyterian	22	13
Episcopalian	27	5
Jewish	22	8
Lutheran	19	7
Other/unspecified	11	3
Mormon	7	6
Eastern Orthodox	4	
African Methodist Episcopal	4	
Pentecostal	3	
Buddhist	2	1
Seventh-Day Adventist	2	
Muslim	2	
Christian Scientist	2	



## ELECTION NIGHT

Democrat Tammy Duckworth celebrates her victory over Sen. Mark S. Kirk in Illinois.

Charles Rex Arbogast/AP

# DEPARTING MEMBERS

OF THE 114TH CONGRESS

## Defeated in general election

2 Democrats, 7 Republicans

NAME	FIRST ELECTED	DEFEATED BY
Rep. Brad Ashford, D-Neb. (2)	2014	Don Bacon, R
Rep. Robert Dold, R-Ill. (10)	2010	Brad Schneider, D
Rep. Scott Garrett, R-N.J. (5)	2002	Josh Gottheimer, D
Rep. Frank Guinta, R-N.H. (1)	2010	Carol Shea-Porter, D
Rep. Cresent Hardy, R-Nev. (4)	2014	Ruben Kihuen, D
Rep. Michael M. Honda, D-Calif. (17)	2000	Ro Khanna, D
Rep. David Jolly, R-Fla. (13)	2014	Charlie Crist, D
Sen. Mark S. Kirk, R-Ill.	2010	Tammy Duckworth, D
Rep. John L. Mica, R-Fla. (7)	1992	Stephanie Murphy, D

## Lost campaign for renomination

1 Democrat, 3 Republicans

NAME	FIRST ELECTED	WINNER OF NOMINATION
Rep. Corrine Brown, D-Fla. (5)	1992	Al Lawson, D
Rep. Renee Ellmers, R-N.C. (2)	2010	Rep. George Holding, R
Rep. J. Randy Forbes, R-Va. (4)*	2001	Scott Taylor, R
Rep. Tim Huelskamp, R-Kan. (1)	2010	Roger Marshall, R

\* Forbes was defeated in the 2nd District primary



## Sought other office

10 Democrats, 6 Republicans

NAME	FIRST ELECTED	RESULT
Rep. Charles Boustany Jr., R-La. (3)	2004	Lost Senate race
Rep. John Carney, D-Del. (AL)	2010	Elected Governor
Rep. Tammy Duckworth, D-Ill. (8)	2012	Elected to Senate
Rep. Donna Edwards, D-Md. (4)	2008	Lost Senate primary
Rep. John Fleming, R-La. (4)	2008	Lost Senate race
Rep. Alan Grayson, D-Fla. (9)	2008	Lost Senate primary
Rep. Janice Hahn, D-Calif. (44)	2011	TBD Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors
Rep. Joe Heck, R-Nev. (3)	2010	Lost Senate race
Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick, D-Ariz. (1)	2008	Lost Senate race
Rep. Candice S. Miller, R-Mich. (10)	2002	Elected Macomb County Public Works Commissioner
Rep. Patrick Murphy, D-Fla. (18)	2012	Lost Senate race
Resident Commissioner Pedro R. Pierluisi, D-P.R. (AL)	2008	Lost gubernatorial primary
Rep. Loretta Sanchez, D-Calif. (46)	1996	Lost Senate race
Rep. Marlin Stutzman, R-Ind. (3)	2010	Lost Senate primary
Rep. Chris Van Hollen, D-Md. (8)	2002	Elected to Senate
Rep. Todd Young, R-Ind. (9)	2010	Elected to Senate



CQ Roll Call file photos

## Deceased

1 Democrat, 1 Republican

NAME	FIRST ELECTED	DATE	DETAILS
Rep. Alan Nunnelee, R-Miss.	2010	Died on Feb. 6, 2015	Seat filled by special election
Rep. Mark Takai, D-Hawaii	2014	Died on July 20, 2016	Seat filled by special election on Nov. 8

## Resignations 1 Democrat, 4 Republicans

NAME	FIRST ELECTED	EFFECTIVE DATE	DETAILS
Rep. John A. Boehner, R-Ohio (8)	1990	Oct. 31, 2015	Seat filled by special election
Rep. Chaka Fattah, D-Pa. (2)	1994	June 23, 2016	Had been defeated in a primary election Apr. 26, 2016; seat filled by special election on Nov. 8
Rep. Michael G. Grimm, R-N.Y. (11)	2010	Jan. 5, 2015	Seat filled by special election
Rep. Aaron Schock, R-Ill. (18)	2008	March 31, 2015	Seat filled by special election
Rep. Edward Whitfield, R-Ky. (1)	1994	Sept. 6, 2016	Seat filled by special election on Nov. 8

## Retiring, Senate 3 Democrats, 2 Republicans

NAME	FIRST ELECTED OR APPOINTED
Barbara Boxer, D-Calif.	1992
Dan Coats, R-Ind.	1988
Barbara A. Mikulski, D-Md.	1986
Harry Reid, D-Nev.	1986
David Vitter, R-La.	2004

## Retiring, House 7 Democrats, 18 Republicans

Dan Benishek, R-Mich. (1)	2010
Lois Capps, D-Calif. (24)	1998
Curt Clawson, R-Fla. (19)	2014
Ander Crenshaw, R-Fla. (4)	2000
Sam Farr, D-Calif. (20)	1993
Stephen Fincher, R-Tenn. (8)	2010
Michael G. Fitzpatrick, R-Pa. (8)	2004
Chris Gibson, R-N.Y. (19)	2010
Gwen Graham, D-Fla. (2)	2014
Richard Hanna, R-N.Y. (22)	2010
Rubén Hinojosa, D-Texas (15)	1996
Robert Hurt, R-Va. (5)	2010
Steve Israel, D-N.Y. (3)	2000
John Kline, R-Minn. (2)	2002
Cynthia M. Lummis, R-Wyo. (AL )	2008
Jim McDermott, D-Wash. (7)	1988
Jeff Miller, R-Fla. (1)	2001
Randy Neugebauer, R-Texas (19)	2003
Rich Nugent, R-Fla. (11)	2010
Joe Pitts, R-Pa. (16)	1996
Charles B. Rangel, D-N.Y. (13)	1970
Reid Ribble, R-Wis. (8)	2010
Scott Rigell, R-Va. (2)	2010
Matt Salmon, R-Ariz. (5)	1994
Lynn Westmoreland, R-Ga. (3)	2004



CQ Roll Call file photos

# DATES TO WATCH

2016-2017

## 2016

### NOVEMBER

14

House is scheduled to reconvene for the lame-duck session. The Senate gavels in the next day. During the lame duck, new members will have orientation and members of the 115th Congress will elect leaders.

### DECEMBER

9

Current continuing resolution expires. Congress must pass appropriations legislation to avoid a government shutdown.



31

Deadline for an eight-member congressional task force to issue its findings on obstacles in current federal law and programs to economic growth in Puerto Rico.

## 2017

### JANUARY

1

Pay raises for military personnel take effect, if the president signs a fiscal 2017 defense authorization bill into law before the start of the calendar year.

3

Congress' start date as set by the Constitution. However, this can be changed by law.



20 ▲

Inauguration Day

### FEBRUARY

6

The president's budget is due to Congress. But in recent practice, new presidents have delayed their submissions for several weeks, and provided specific details even later.

15

The Congressional Budget Office submits a report on the economic and budget outlook to the Budget committees.



### MARCH

15

The current suspension of the debt limit expires.



### APRIL

1

Deadline for the Senate Budget Committee to report the budget resolution.

15

Deadline for the House and Senate to complete action on a budget resolution.

30

Under the House-passed fiscal 2017 defense appropriations bill, money for operations overseas would expire. The Senate's version of the Pentagon spending bill would fund the wars for the full fiscal year.

### MAY

15

Annual appropriations bills may be considered in the House without a budget resolution.



### JUNE

26 ▲

The Supreme Court's last scheduled day for the current term. Traditionally the most contentious and important decisions are released around this date.

### JULY

15

President submits midsession review of budget to Congress.

### SEPTEMBER

30

- Last day of fiscal 2017.
- Food and Drug Administration user fee authority expires.
- Children's Health Insurance Program authority expires.
- Authorization for the Federal Aviation Administration expires.

### OCTOBER

1

Start of fiscal 2018. Congress must pass new appropriations, with a signature from the president, or the federal government shuts down.

# HOUSE COMMITTEES

## PREDICTIONS AND DEPARTURES

By **JASON DICK**

For Republicans, there was almost nowhere to go but down. Their House majority after the 2014 elections was its highest since the Great Depression and had extended to districts that were traditionally Democratic bastions.

With the 2016 elections now over, the GOP is still in control of the chamber, but with a slightly reduced margin. One area of stability the

GOP enjoys is in its corps of committee chairmen, with relatively little turnover except for a few high-profile vacant slots at the Appropriations, Energy and Commerce, and Education and the Workforce committees.

With a GOP conference that will skew more conservative, Republican leaders may lean on these experienced hands to help shape the agenda for the 115th Congress after a particularly contentious election season.



### AGRICULTURE

◀ Conaway

House Agriculture Chairman K. Michael Conaway devoted a lot of committee time in the 114th Congress to scrutinizing the nation's largest domestic food aid program for the poor, part of the Texas Republican's plan to avoid the political crossfire his predecessor endured in writing the 2014 farm bill.

The committee work — 18 hearings at either the Nutrition Subcommittee or full committee level on the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance

Program (SNAP) — is preparation for a 2018 farm bill. The full committee and subcommittees also reviewed farm programs, conservation and other agriculture-related elements that fall under a multi-year farm bill.

"No ag chairman is worth his or her salt until they have passed a farm bill," Conaway said this year.

Conaway became chairman in 2015, succeeding Oklahoman Frank D. Lucas, who had reached his six-year term limit. The current farm bill expires Sept. 30, 2018.

At the time of passage, the Congressional Budget Office estimated the 2014 legislation would spend nearly \$956 billion over 10 years.

SNAP, formerly known as food stamps, constitutes nearly 70 percent of farm bill spending. Conservatives wanted nearly \$40 billion in cuts over 10 years to the program; most House Democrats said that would hurt low-income families. The House eventually passed the SNAP and agriculture parts of the legislation separately.

Conaway may revisit Commodity Futures Trading Commission legislation his committee approved and the House passed in 2015, with an eye to revising CFTC's rule-making for the over-the-counter derivatives market it now polices as part of the 2010 financial overhaul law known as Dodd-Frank.

— Ellyn Ferguson



### APPROPRIATIONS

◀ Frelinghuysen

A new Republican chairman at the helm is unlikely to change the direction of the committee, which will again serve as a central platform for partisan melees over spending and policy.

But with the GOP in control of both the Senate and White House, House Republicans will revel in opportunities to pursue spending and policy priorities through appropriations bills.

The committee was prolific in marking up bills during the 114th Congress (2015-16), amassing a perfect 12-for-12 record each year. But those measures were laden with policy riders that drove a wedge between Republicans and Democrats. Even mild funding bills dealing

with veterans or energy programs turned sour on the floor as members sought to add amendments on LGBT protections, the Iran nuclear deal and everything in between.

Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen from New Jersey is the favorite to succeed outgoing Chairman Harold Rogers of Kentucky. Rogers is hoping for a switcheroo — he wants the Defense subcommittee gavel Frelinghuysen holds. But Texas Republican Kay Granger, another longtime appropriator, also wants the Defense chair.

Nita M. Lowey of New York is expected to lead the Democrats as ranking member for a third term. Lowey, a staunch advocate for liberal priorities, will again weigh in against provisions her side sees as poison pills.

Other key posts will open up, like the Financial Services Subcommittee chairmanship held by retiring Rep. Ander Crenshaw of Florida.

Crenshaw claimed the Financial Services gavel in 2013 and has used his position to slash budgets at the IRS, steer Homeland Security facilities to Florida and secure language in a 2014 spending package to chip away at the 2010 Dodd-Frank financial overhaul. Next in line on the subcommittee is Rep. Tom Graves of Georgia, who now holds the Legislative Branch gavel but may see the Financial Services chairmanship — a magnet for donations from the financial sector — as a step up.

On the Agriculture Subcommittee, ranking Democrat Sam Farr of California is retiring, leaving a vacancy atop a panel attractive for those interested in food and drug issues. It's unclear who will claim the opening. Senior Democrats on the Agriculture panel already have top spots on others.

— Ryan McCrimmon



**FINANCIAL TEAM:**  
Price, left, and Yarmuth  
are favored to lead the  
Budget Committee.

Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call



## ARMED SERVICES

Thornberry

Mac Thornberry of Texas will start his second term chairing the House Armed Services Committee, but other panel leaders will be new because of retirements, primary defeats or runs for other office.

The departing members include two subcommittee chairmen — J. Randy Forbes of Virginia and Joe Heck of Nevada — plus Jeff Miller of Florida, John Kline of Minnesota, John Fleming of Louisiana, Chris Gibson of New York and Rich Nugent of Florida.

Fights may erupt over at least three subcommittee gavels (Seapower and Projection Forces, Readiness and Military Personnel) if not others.

Of the remaining GOP members, as many as five of the most senior ones are out of the running to be subcommittee chairs for various reasons. Consequently, the bottom half of the GOP roster will see its influence surge.

On the Democratic side, fewer key players are departing, but they are noteworthy.

Gone will be Loretta Sanchez of California, the No. 2 Democrat behind ranking member Adam Smith of Washington. She lost a Senate bid. Ditto Tammy Duckworth of Illinois, who won a Senate bid. Mark Takai of Hawaii died

this year. Florida's Gwen Graham is retiring.

Meanwhile, tensions are rising with Russia, North Korea's nuclear programs proceed apace, the war against the Islamic State is raging, Syria continues to implode, violence is rising in Afghanistan and China is increasingly assertive.

Republicans will try once more to seek changes in the budget law so it permits more defense spending. They have succeeded before, but are hemmed in by Democrats' insistence that domestic spending get relief from the sequester. The war budget remains uncapped by law, though. If a new conflict breaks out, all budget bets are off.

— John M. Donnelly



## BUDGET

Price

House Budget Chairman Tom Price will face a challenge in 2017 that could be just as daunting as the one he dealt with this year, when divided House Republicans were unable to pass a budget resolution.

With the fiscal 2018 discretionary caps dropping by \$5.2 billion below current spending, the Georgia Republican will have to decide early whether to write the fiscal 2018 budget resolution to the statutory caps or a higher figure. Congress raised the caps for 2016 and 2017 in a 2015 budget deal. Thus, spending limits for 2017 are higher than the 2018 caps. In fiscal 2017, the caps for base discretionary spending

are \$551.1 billion for defense; \$518.5 billion for nondefense. In fiscal 2018, the caps are lower: \$549 billion for defense; \$515.4 billion for nondefense. Adjusting the caps requires a change in law. That is more than can be accomplished in a budget resolution, which sets limits on spending enforceable by congressional rules but is not a law. So there will be greater pressure than ever to pass another deal raising spending limits.

The budget resolution also may be used for reconciliation, an expedited procedure that makes it easier to pass spending or tax-related legislation in the Senate. Speaker Paul D. Ryan, R-Wis., said he wants to use it for a tax overhaul. While a budget resolution will be Price's priority, he also wants to rewrite the landmark 1974 Budget Act. The committee has held several hearings on changing the budget process.

Price is seeking a second term as Budget

chairman and is almost sure to get it. It remains a question who will replace Chris Van Hollen, the newly elected senator from Maryland, as ranking Democrat. John Yarmuth of Kentucky, next in seniority after Van Hollen, has campaigned for the post and so far has no challenger. It is possible Xavier Becerra of California, stepping down from caucus chairman because of term limits, could enter the race.

Overall membership of the committee also will change because of retirements, defeats, committee term limits and the desire of some lawmakers to go to other committees.

On the Democratic side, Bill Pascrell Jr. of New Jersey, Tim Ryan of Ohio, Gwen Moore of Wisconsin and Kathy Castor of Florida will have no terms left after this year, requiring them to step down unless waivers are granted.

— Paul M. Krawzak



## EDUCATION & THE WORKFORCE

◀ Foxx

The House Education and the Workforce's top priority for the 115th Congress will be reauthorizing the Higher Education Act, an effort expected to be helmed by North Carolina's Virginia Foxx, who is in line to succeed retiring Chairman John Kline of Minnesota.

Foxx says one of the top issues for her in the bill is offering prospective students more information on college and programs without compromising the security of current students. The debate on what data should be stored and shared intensified after the last reauthorization

in 2008; a Foxx-sponsored amendment banned the department from creating a database of personal info that could be linked to a student.

Also up for debate is how to address the costs of a college degree and student debt.

There is the possibility the legislation might be broken up, particularly bipartisan provisions dealing with student data, student loan counseling and programs for Hispanics and African-Americans, which cleared the committee and House during this Congress.

Meanwhile, if a career and technical education bill unanimously approved by the House doesn't make it through the Senate this year, Foxx said she will take it up again in the 115th Congress.

Legislation on school meal nutrition remains

a priority.

The committee approved a bill this year, but the vote was split along partisan lines and has not received a vote in the House.

On labor issues, the committee may continue pushing back on Obama administration regulations such as extending overtime pay and changing the definition of a "joint employer."

The committee might also address pensions, a pressing issue because the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp., a backstop for underfunded pensions, is underfunded itself.

— Emily Wilkins



## ENERGY & COMMERCE

◀ Shimkus

The race to replace term-limited Rep. Fred Upton of Michigan atop the House Energy and Commerce Committee is likely to determine the wide-ranging panel's agenda; the two top contenders, Reps. John Shimkus of Illinois and Greg Walden of Oregon, offer policy priorities on different ends of the panel's jurisdiction.

Shimkus has the inside track, and seniority. Walden, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, is keeping the race competitive.

Under Shimkus the committee would probably look to build on his energy and environment experience. His work as Environment and the Economy Subcommittee chairman during this Congress has led to a comprehensive overhaul

to the nation's toxic chemical review laws.

Shimkus is one of Congress' most vocal supporters of designating Yucca Mountain in Nevada as the repository for the nation's nuclear waste, which is opposed by the Obama administration and departing Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid of Nevada. He has also said he's willing to look at a revamp of the Renewable Fuel Standard program, which sets goals for the consumption of ethanol — an issue that divides more along state regions than political parties.

If Walden takes the helm, he is likely to make communications and technology a focal point. Walden, who led the subcommittee with jurisdiction over those topics, is a former radio station owner with a deep knowledge of the communications business.

Walden is a critic of the Federal Communications Commission on a range of issues, including its net neutrality rules. He has expressed concerns about additional regulations the FCC

may impose on broadband providers, such as whether the FCC may try to regulate the rates consumers are charged for internet access.

Many of the communications and technology issues appeal to both parties, though, including legislation that would help improve the reliability of calls and broadband access. Regardless, whoever leads the panel will have three major health priorities to address: legislation to renew user fee agreements between private industry and the Food and Drug Administration, a reauthorization of the Children's Health Insurance Program and the future of the 2010 health care overhaul.

The chairman of the Health Subcommittee will loom large. Most aides anticipate Michael C. Burgess of Texas or Tim Murphy of Pennsylvania to take the helm. Upton could seek the chairmanship if his signature 21st Century Cures legislation is not signed into law this year.

— Jeremy Dillon and Joe Williams

## ETHICS

The House Committee on Ethics is likely to have a new lawmaker at the helm with Rep. Charlie Dent of Pennsylvania stepping down because of committee term limits.

Dent has only been chairman for one term. But lawmakers may only serve three consecutive Congresses on the panel unless one is serving as chairman during a fourth Congress. This is the case with the long-serving Dent.

Similarly, ranking member Linda T. Sánchez of California may depart if she wins her race for Democratic Caucus vice chairwoman. Both

positions are appointments made by the speaker and minority leader, neither of which have divulged their potential picks for the panel.

The 10-member committee is evenly divided between the parties.

The panel has been involved in several high-profile investigations of members. Last March, it announced it was investigating Florida Democratic Rep. Corrine Brown over allegations that she used campaign funds for personal purposes, failed to comply with tax laws and made false statements and disclosures to the House and the Federal Election Commission. Brown was later indicted for mail and wire fraud and lost

a primary challenge in her redrawn 5th District.

The panel's work typically revolved around less dramatic cases. In September, it rebuked West Virginia Republican David B. McKinley for ignoring the panel's advice to remove his name from an engineering firm he founded decades before he was first elected to Congress. In July, it concluded unanimously that Kentucky Republican Rep. Edward Whitfield "failed to prohibit lobbying contacts between his staff and his wife" but that Whitfield didn't break House rules prohibiting members from using their influence improperly. He resigned in September.

— Rema Rahman and Adriel Bettelheim



## FINANCIAL SERVICES

◀ Hensarling

Texas Republican Jeb Hensarling's third and final term as Financial Services Committee chairman marks his best chance to accomplish his oft-avowed goal of repealing the 2010 Dodd-Frank financial overhaul.

Ranking member Maxine Waters of California will mark her fifth year fending off such efforts.

An early supporter of Donald Trump, Hensarling already has a 500-page bill (HR 5983) approved by his committee last summer that would repeal much of Dodd-Frank. Whether it would be updated to embrace Trump's desire to reinstitute an updated version of Glass-Steagel's separation of Wall Street and Main Street is the big question.

The GOP's capture of the White House also gives fuel to Hensarling's long-time drive to bring the Consumer Financial Protection

Bureau and the Financial Stability Oversight Council into the appropriations process.

Hensarling found bipartisan support for other moves to ease regulation. He may try again on a bill to allow banks to lend more by changing how they count deposits from local governments and other big depositors. He could similarly make progress on a measure to have the Housing and Urban Development Department, as well as utilities, report consumers' on-time payments to credit reporting companies. By doing so, the measure would enable an estimated 26 million Americans, sometimes described as credit invisible, to build credit histories.

Hensarling would also find enthusiasm among Democrats and possibly some Republicans for more hearings into banks' treatment of customers.

The committee grilled Wells Fargo CEO John Stumpf in September about the bank's admission that it opened as many as 2 million unauthorized bank and credit accounts. Stumpf has since resigned.

Hensarling made clear that a September

hearing into Wells Fargo's behavior was a first step. At that time, he said it was the "beginning of an investigation, not an end."

A continued investigation would have the added benefit to Republicans of providing a chance for Hensarling and GOP colleagues to argue that the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau should have been quicker to spot Wells Fargo's behavior.

The committee will also have some new faces, including in the leadership. Texas Republican Randy Neugebauer is leaving after six terms, vacating the chairmanship of the Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit subcommittee.

That panel's vice chairman, Rep. Steve Pearce of New Mexico, would be in line to replace him. Republicans Lynn Westmoreland of Georgia, Robert Hurt of Virginia and Marlin Stutzman of Indiana are all leaving Congress.

The Democrats are losing retiring Rep. Rubén Hinojosa of Texas. Patrick Murphy of Florida is also leaving, having lost a Senate bid.

— Doug Sword



## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

◀ Royce

Rep. Ed Royce has one more term as House Foreign Affairs chairman before Republican Conference rules will force him to relinquish the gavel.

The California Republican is expected to use his third term as committee leader to continue to push punitive sanctions measures against Iran and North Korea.

Royce has been a major proponent of using sanctions, including secondary sanctions that affect third-party nations, as financial cudgels to coerce countries into abandoning bad behavior like ballistic missile and nuclear weapons development.

But Royce's push of sanctions bills against Iran this year, which lacked Democratic consultation and co-sponsors, was criticized by lawmakers like ranking Democrat Eliot L. Engel of

New York, who warned it was jeopardizing the bipartisan reputation of the committee's work.

With Donald Trump in the White House, Royce is expected to feel empowered to advance bills that impose harsh sanctions on broad swaths of Iran's economy.

At the same time, Royce has cultivated a reputation for backing sensible foreign aid reforms, including improving food security assistance and electricity generation in Africa.

Additional single-issue foreign aid reform measures are likely to get a positive reception from Royce, who appears to favor a piecemeal approach to modernizing U.S. foreign assistance as opposed to the comprehensive approach Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Bob Corker, R-Tenn., has been trying to build up to in the Senate.

Engel is expected to maintain his seat as top Democrat on the committee, a position he has used in the last four years to defend Obama administration foreign policies with notable exceptions on Iran.

Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen is set to return as

the head of the Middle East and North Africa Subcommittee.

The Florida Republican, who previously chaired the full committee, has used her position to bash the Obama administration's policies toward Iran and Israel.

And Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, R-Calif., is expected to continue to lead the Europe subcommittee, which gives him a good position to air his controversially glowing opinions about Russian President Vladimir Putin.

GOP Rep. Matt Salmon of Arizona is retiring, leaving behind his gavel in charge of the Asia and the Pacific Subcommittee. Rohrabacher is next on that panel's depth chart, but he's unlikely to leave his current chairmanship. Steve Chabot of Ohio is next in seniority.

Christopher H. Smith of New Jersey is likely to stay on leading the Africa Subcommittee, while Ted Poe of Texas is likely to stay on heading the Terrorism panel and Jeff Duncan of South Carolina will likely stay put leading the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee.

— Rachel Oswald



## HOMELAND SECURITY

◀ McCaul

Michael McCaul of Texas will remain chairman of the House Homeland Security Committee, but the retirement of Vice Chairwoman Candice S. Miller of Michigan, a seven-term lawmaker, will lead to other leadership changes, particularly at the Border and Maritime Security Subcommittee she chaired.

McCaul has said one of his top priorities in the next Congress is reforming oversight of the Department of Homeland Security. In September, he said he was in discussions with Speaker Paul D. Ryan of Wisconsin and planned to introduce a rules package in the new Congress that would reduce the number of committees

with jurisdiction over the department. About 100 committees and subcommittees in both the Senate and the House oversee the agency, and McCaul is pushing for his committee to have the sole authorizing responsibility.

But the reorganization is unlikely to be smooth because committees that stand to lose their oversight responsibility, like the House Judiciary Committee, will likely strongly defend their turf.

McCaul has signaled that he intends to continue the committee's focus on cyber-warfare and security, border and transportation security, and on efforts to counter violent extremism and self-radicalization in the United States.

One of the significant accomplishments of the committee in the 114th Congress was enactment of the Cybersecurity Act, which passed in December 2015 as part of the omnibus

spending legislation. Parts of the bill emerged from McCaul's committee. The law allows, among other issues, private U.S. companies to share information on cybersecurity threats with Homeland Security.

Since the passage of that bill, McCaul has teamed up with Democratic Sen. Mark Warner of Virginia to look at the challenges faced by law enforcement agencies confronted by criminals and terrorists using encrypted communications to escape scrutiny. That effort is likely to continue in the next session of Congress.

The Obama administration's plans to open direct flights between the U.S. and Cuba despite weak security measures at many Cuban airports came under the committee's scrutiny in the last session and is likely to remain one of the areas of focus in the next one.

— Gopal Ratnam



## HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

◀ Harper

There will be a new mayor on Capitol Hill, as the chairman of the House Administration Committee is colloquially known.

Republican Rep. Candice S. Miller, who has led the panel since 2013, is leaving the House, having opted to return to Michigan by running for Macomb County public works commissioner.

The panel oversees agencies that support members of Congress, such as the Capitol Police, the Architect of the Capitol and the Library of Congress, as well as member-specific topics like franked mail, the free postage representatives get for official correspondence.

For instance, the panel has probed several incidents involving the Capitol Police, including

officers leaving their guns in bathrooms, as well as shootings and security incidents on Capitol grounds.

The panel's jurisdiction also extends to overlooked issues that affect virtually every person who works in or visits the Capitol, a dynamic that has encouraged a bipartisan comity absent from most congressional panels.

As the Architect of the Capitol continues an extensive renovation of the Cannon House Office Building, for instance, the committee can expect to receive its share of gripes from members and staff from both sides of the aisle.

It has even gotten involved in choosing the type of utensils House-side cafeterias provide, as well as how the Capitol Power Plant delivers electricity and heating.

And if members or staff want more recharging stations in House parking lots for electric cars, House Administration is typically their

starting point.

Gregg Harper of Mississippi is next in seniority, although the chairmanship of the panel is up to the speaker. But the job would likely be Harper's if he wants it.

Harper is steeped in the operations of the House and has also served on joint committees on the Library of Congress and Printing.

Pennsylvania's Robert A. Brady has long been Democrats' top man on the panel, a position that suits Brady's experience as a political kingmaker in Philadelphia.

One particularly moribund topic the committee has jurisdiction over is oversight of federal elections. The panel produced a law to upgrade voting systems and set standards in the wake of the contentious 2000 election. This year, in a heated election featuring concerns about voting integrity, the panel was largely silent.

— Jason Dick



## JUDICIARY

◀ Goodlatte

Republican Robert W. Goodlatte of Virginia starts his third term as chairman with a slate of unfinished priorities, including changes to the nation's criminal justice system and technology policy. The incoming Trump administration and continued Republican control of the Senate provides a friendlier atmosphere for the committee's legislative efforts. The committee

advanced bills in the 114th Congress in six areas to overhaul criminal justice and sentencing. The effort has stalled in Congress at the end of the election year, but criminal justice remains one of the most promising areas for a signature legislative effort.

John Conyers Jr. of Michigan, expected to remain the committee's top Democrat, has supported criminal justice changes and brings 52 years of experience on civil and voting rights.

Goodlatte also wants to deter frivolous lawsuits against patent holders, so-called patent trolls. The committee advanced legislation in

June 2015 about legal fees, but it stalled amid a lobbying battle between tech giants on one side and the biotech industry and universities on the other.

The committee could try to update the laws governing when and how law enforcement can access private data, an effort that passed the House in April 2016 but stalled in the Senate.

— Todd Ruger and Alisha Green



## NATURAL RESOURCES

◀ Bishop

Led by Utah's Rob Bishop, the committee has reprimanded the Obama administration for regulations aimed at cutting carbon emissions, combating climate change and advancing renewable energy sources.

Committee Republicans will likely continue efforts to advance more pro-fossil-fuel legislation, including for oil and gas drilling on public lands and chipping away at the ability of federal agencies like Interior and EPA to enforce energy and environment regulations designed by a Democratic administration.

Republicans will also aim to undermine the Interior Department's moves to overhaul the way it calculates royalty rates and fees levied on oil, gas and coal companies drilling and mining on public lands.

An Interior rule that aims at eliminating a loophole that allows companies to reduce royalty fees takes effect Jan. 1, and will be subject to pushback from congressional Republicans.

Bishop will try to coax Interior to expedite its review of environmental and health costs of coal use while the agency holds off on issuing new leases.

Ranking Democrat Raúl M. Grijalva of Arizona can be expected to continue his push for environment-friendly policies.

Grijalva, a darling of environmentalists and

advocate for tribal issues, will likely push for stronger protection of Native American tribal sites, propelled by the fight by North Dakota's Standing Rock Sioux against the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline that would carry crude oil from North Dakota to refineries in Illinois.

The involvement of the Interior Department, the Army Corps of Engineers and the Justice Department in engaging tribal leaders to discuss a better way to address tribal concerns before large infrastructure projects like pipelines are approved will give tribal issues more prominence on the committee.

— Elvina Nawaguna



## OVERSIGHT & GOVERNMENT REFORM

◀ Chaffetz

Donald Trump's victory in the presidential contest derailed the high-profile plans of committee Chairman Jason Chaffetz, a Utah Republican, who promised to use his gavel to investigate a President Hillary Clinton.

If Clinton had won the White House, the panel would have been a hub of partisan rancor, with Chaffetz probing Clinton's emails and her family's foundation — just as it led the charge against her husband, then-President Bill Clin-

ton, in the 1990s.

Though it may not grab headlines the way an investigation of the first woman president would have, during the Trump administration, the panel is expected to continue bird-dogging the IRS and probing harassment allegations from National Park Service employees.

The committee has offered no indication it will let up in its battle with the IRS and Commissioner John Koskinen amid a long-running investigation into the agency's handling of conservative nonprofit groups.

Though the probes of the IRS will surely divide the panel along party lines, expect bipartisanship when it comes to the Park Service. Republicans and Democrats, led by ranking member Elijah E. Cummings of Maryland, have

expressed outrage about a culture of retaliation against whistleblowers.

The panel held hearings in June and September to examine the service's failure to fire or punish culprits at Grand Canyon National Park, Yosemite National Park and Canaveral National Seashore, and to hear testimonies from employees who were whistleblowers or victims of sexual harassment.

The committee is expected to continue putting pressure on the Interior Department to take punitive action against accused park officials and to overhaul the way sexual harassment complaints and whistleblowers are handled.

— Kate Ackley and Elvina Nawaguna



## RULES

◀ Sessions

Little change is expected at the Rules Committee, which is responsible for setting the parameters for House floor consideration of legislation and is considered a direct arm of House leadership.

Texan Pete Sessions will continue to chair the panel, entering his third consecutive Congress in that role. The Rules chairman and ranking Democrat, along with committee members, are selected by the speaker and minority leader, subject to ratification by their respective parties. Although he was originally selected for the

position by former Speaker John A. Boehner, Sessions also has a good working relationship with current Speaker Paul D. Ryan of Wisconsin. The Rules chairman is not subject to GOP-imposed term limits.

However, the panel likely will lose its No. 2 Republican, Virginia Foxx of North Carolina, who is expected to chair the Education and the Workforce Committee for the 115th Congress.

In seeking replacements for GOP vacancies on the panel, Sessions has said he favors issue experts who sit on other committees and have experience with the bills coming to the House floor.

House Rules has a disproportionate 9-4 majority to ensure that it approves floor rules that reflect leadership wishes.

At the beginning of the 114th Congress, two GOP members lost their seats on the committee after voting against Boehner for speaker.

In addition to its role as gatekeeper to the House floor, the Rules Committee in the 115th Congress may, in concert with the Budget Committee, move legislation to modify how Congress considers budget and appropriations bills. Republicans in both chambers have expressed a desire to revamp the congressional budget process, and Rules has direct jurisdiction over the rules and laws that affect House floor operations.

On the Democratic side, New York's Louise M. Slaughter, who has been on the committee since the late 1980s, is expected to remain the top Democrat.

— Chuck Conlon



## SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

◀ Smith

Since taking the gavel at Science, Texas Republican Lamar Smith has made no secret of his aim to change what was once a sleepy backwater into a launching pad for conservative ideas. And 2017 will likely be no different.

Smith will once again be at the helm, and the committee will likely continue to focus on questioning climate science.

Smith says he does not believe the scientific

consensus that climate change is man-made; President-elect Donald Trump may be a kindred spirit. The mogul has called global warming a hoax and says attempts to address planetary warming trends are too costly to U.S. industries.

In 2015, the committee cut NASA's budget for Earth science — though the year-end omnibus included a modest increase in funding. He has accused National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration scientists of altering climate data to get “politically correct results,” and NOAA has refused his subpoena requests for internal communications. Science and environmental advocates say Smith's efforts chill scientific

inquiry.

Smith has also targeted what he considers wasteful research at the National Science Foundation.

He's also keenly interested in a mission to Mars, but says the president has underfunded efforts there, as well as exploration of Jupiter's moon Europa. He contends NASA is drifting aimlessly under the Obama administration.

Eddie Bernice Johnson of Texas is expected to return as the top-ranking Democrat on the panel.

— Jonathan Miller



## SELECT INTELLIGENCE

◀ Nunes

Chairman Devin Nunes and ranking Democrat Adam B. Schiff are both expected to remain in their leadership posts on the Intelligence Committee. The two Californians have worked closely together since they moved into the panel's top roles in 2015.

That translates into continuity and stability on the committee, which is charged with overseeing the nation's constellation of intelligence agencies, including the CIA and FBI, as well as the National Security Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Both congressmen place an emphasis on the panel's oversight role, and passing an annual intelligence policy bill is a top priority. Nunes and Schiff successfully shepherded that measure into law for fiscal 2016, and the fiscal 2017 ver-

sion has passed the House and appears likely to be wrapped into some sort of broader legislation in this year's lame-duck session.

Another top priority will be renewing section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, which is set to expire at the end of 2017. The program authorizes the government to collect electronic communications of foreigners outside the United States, although officials acknowledge that American citizens' communications are also swept up.

Renewing the measure, particularly without changes, is likely to face serious opposition. The process appears likely to go through the Judiciary Committee, not the Intelligence panel, although aides say their committees are expected to collaborate on it.

On the thorny issue of encryption, the committee is unlikely to pursue legislation in the 115th Congress.

Lawmakers remain divided on the issue, and Nunes and Schiff are waiting for an updated

study they requested from the National Academy of Sciences on potential solutions that are technologically and economically feasible. What that means is: Don't expect encryption legislation.

Nunes is also looking to introduce a classified information protection bill that would tighten some of the rules and regulations around the handling of classified information.

There will be some changes atop the subcommittees.

Joe Heck of Nevada, chairman of the Department of Defense Intelligence and Overheard Architecture panel, is leaving the House after his Senate run.

And Lynn Westmoreland of Georgia, who wields the gavel of the NSA and Cybersecurity Subcommittee, is retiring.

On the Democratic side of the roster, Patrick Murphy of Florida is leaving the House in light of his own Senate run.

— Ryan Lucas



## SMALL BUSINESS

◀ Chabot

Ohio Republican Steve Chabot and New York Democrat Nydia M. Velázquez are likely to retain their respective positions as chairman and ranking member, but two chairmen of subcommittees are departing. Chabot is likely to steer the committee to continue the focus on federal regulations' effect on small businesses. Republicans made removing regulations and roadblocks to small businesses' access to capital

a part of the party's 2016 platform.

Chabot, who serves as co-chairman of the House Task Force on Reducing Regulatory Burdens, pledged to get “government off the backs of America's 28 million small businesses so they can do what they do best: create jobs and help grow the economy.”

The committee's investigation into whether Wells Fargo's creation of as many as 2 million unauthorized customer accounts extended to its small business division could stretch into the 115th Congress.

Chabot's goal is to ensure that Wells Fargo is properly administering Small Business Adminis-

tration loan programs and that the SBA is working to protect small businesses against fraudulent activity. The committee may also continue work on legislation to increase small business access to federal contracts, which Chabot says would create jobs and foster innovation.

New York Republican Richard Hanna is retiring, opening the chairman's seat on the Subcommittee on Contracting and Workforce. Kansas Republican Tim Huelskamp, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Economic Growth, Tax and Capital Access, lost his primary and will also be leaving the House.

— Charlene Carter



## TRANSPORTATION & INFRASTRUCTURE

Shuster

In what is likely to be his final term as chairman, Pennsylvania's Bill Shuster faces an uphill battle on a longtime priority: spinning off the Federal Aviation Administration's air traffic control system to a private non-profit entity.

Peter A. DeFazio of Oregon will remain ranking member and, despite a constructive relationship with Shuster, will likely continue to oppose the proposal. The committee approved an FAA reauthorization that included the spinoff in 2016, overcoming fierce opposition. Even then, it didn't get a vote on the House floor and senators indicated they would not accept it.

The chambers did reach a deal on a 14-month

extension; that gives Shuster time to raise the issue again, despite long odds.

President-elect Donald Trump has not offered specifics of a promised \$500-billion infrastructure package. Shuster, who endorsed Trump, will likely have an influential role in shaping what that package becomes.

The Water Resources and Environment Subcommittee, which oversees the Army Corps of Engineers authorization bills Shuster has prioritized, will see new leadership. Chairman Bob Gibbs of Ohio is term-limited. Duncan Hunter of California is the most senior Republican continuing on the subcommittee. But Hunter is chairman of the Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation Subcommittee, an issue important to Hunter's San Diego-area district. Hunter, a Marine Corps veteran, also covets the chairmanship of the Armed Services Subcommittee

on Seapower and Projection Forces.

If Hunter passes, Rick Crawford of Arkansas is next in line. But Louisiana's Garret Graves is an up-and-comer who could make a play.

Regardless, Shuster will prioritize what could be a third consecutive water resources bill. Shuster sold the 2016 bill as a return to the two-year cycle that affected industries desire. House and Senate have yet to resolve differences in their versions of the bill, although they could take a run at it in the lame duck.

DeFazio is likely to continue to push to spend a surplus in the Harbor Maintenance Trust Fund. GOP leaders stripped from the 2016 bill a provision requiring the surplus to be spent, which incensed DeFazio. Shuster has been supportive of using the surplus on harbor maintenance.

— Jacob Fischler



## VETERANS' AFFAIRS

Roe

With Chairman Jeff Miller of Florida retiring, several Republicans have their eyes on the gavel of the Veterans' Affairs Committee. A number of Republicans are interested, including Phil Roe of Tennessee and Doug Lamborn and Mike Coffman, both of Colorado.

Lamborn is the second-highest in seniority on the panel after Miller. Coffman is a veteran who leads the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee. He has pushed for better mental health care and suicide prevention, as well as

increased oversight of construction and contracting practices.

Roe, a physician and veteran as well, has made an expansion of private health care a focal point of what he hopes to accomplish as chairman, according to a one-page summary his staff shared with CQ.

Roe wants to create a network of private primary care physicians certified by the VA and establish independent oversight to review the agency's assets as well as oversee management of health care.

Whoever leads the panel will have to grapple with demands from the Department of Veterans Affairs to institute a broad policy overhaul, a request bolstered by a congressionally established

commission's findings that the panel reviewed in September. Rep. Mark Takano of California wants to continue as the panel's top Democrat.

Key on the list of priorities will be reauthorization of a program allowing veterans in some cases to seek care from private physicians, clinics or hospitals.

The Veterans Choice Program's rollout has been rocky, and some lawmakers are unsure if it is functioning as intended. Veterans Choice expires on Aug. 7 or whenever its \$10 billion in funding runs out.

Miller butted heads with VA Secretary Robert McDonald, leading to public spats that the next chairman will need to address.

— Kellie Mejdreich



## WAYS & MEANS

Brady

Chairman Kevin Brady of Texas faces the challenge of squaring the GOP's ambitious tax wish list with the partisan realities of the 115th Congress.

The House's top tax-writer likely will look to move smaller measures that can attract bipartisan support — and potentially the new president's signature — while framing long-range Republican goals from the GOP's "Better Way" agenda, such as streamlining taxes and curbing IRS clout.

A bipartisan push to finance infrastructure

with revenue generated by a one-time tax on corporate assets stashed overseas by U.S. companies could give Brady an opening to explore a limited international tax overhaul. But he and other party leaders have signaled their desire to promote a tax rewrite that lowers rates for individuals and corporations, possibly as a messaging measure and to provide Republicans with a 2018 campaign theme.

On trade, Brady aims to complete the first miscellaneous tariff bill since 2010 based on new petition evaluations by the International Trade Commission by late 2017. On health care, Brady will look to move proposals to expand health savings accounts and curb mandates and taxes under the health care overhaul. The post-election session will provide a window for

Brady to try to move a measure to slow down a proposed Treasury Department rule to curb estate-tax discounts for minority stakes in family-owned businesses. Such action would foreshadow further jabs at regulations next year.

While Brady has opposed an across-the-board extension of 30 tax breaks expiring at the end of 2016, he has left the door open for a compromise to advance some committee-approved incentives. The panel has already passed bills that would defer taxes on stock options for employees in new ventures and that prevent a higher threshold for deductible medical expenses. Such a package could move in a year-end fiscal package or possibly in tandem with an extension of the debt limit that expires March 15.

— Alan K. Ota

# SENATE COMMITTEES

## PREDICTIONS AND DEPARTURES

By **SHAWN ZELLER**

In holding onto their Senate majority on Nov. 8, Republicans brought unified government back to Washington for the first time since 2010. And 2017 will mark the first time in a decade that Republicans control both the legislative and executive branches.

While Senate Democrats will still have the filibuster to block legislation, unified government opens up the possibility for the GOP of enacting

a far-reaching budget reconciliation measure to repeal much of President Barack Obama's 2010 health care law and, potentially, go much further because it would require only a simple majority to pass. Republicans could attempt to make significant changes to the Medicaid health care program for the poor, to Medicare, and to the tax code. Much of that will depend on what the Senate parliamentarian determines is permissible.



### AGRICULTURE

◀ Roberts

Senate Agriculture Chairman Pat Roberts, a Kansas Republican, is expected to spend much of the committee's time on delivering a new multi-year farm bill by 2018.

Roberts is sharply critical of regulations he says restrict farmers' and ranchers' ability to make decisions about their operations and use of their land. Most of his ire is directed at the Environmental Protection Agency, which is outside the committee's jurisdiction.

"The regulatory framework we have today is vast. It's confusing and often counterproduc-

tive. We must find new ways to inject common sense into the rule-making process across the entire federal government," he said in September.

He has little patience for groups outside agriculture calling for major changes to the federally subsidized crop insurance program or any program considered to be part of the federal financial safety net for ranchers and farmers.

In addition to farm programs, Roberts will have to strike a balance on the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, formerly known as food stamps. It is the federal government's largest domestic food aid program for low-income people and accounts for about 70 percent of all farm bill spending. That makes it a likely source for cuts, although Senate Agricul-

ture Democrats will oppose changes that could reduce benefits.

In 2017, Roberts is also likely to revisit reauthorization legislation for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, an agency that oversees regulations on over-the-counter derivatives. He says rules designed to rein in larger, speculative derivative users are increasing the cost of hedging business risks by farmers and other commercial end-users. Roberts says he is dissatisfied with the 2010 Dodd-Frank financial overhaul law, which expanded the CFTC's regulatory authority.

The committee approved reauthorization legislation (S 2917) in 2016 along party lines, but the Senate did not act on it.

— *Ellyn Ferguson*



### APPROPRIATIONS

◀ Cochran

The panel will build on two productive appropriations cycles in the 114th Congress — at the committee level, at least. But spending bills are likely to again serve as a platform for policy disputes and battles over new administration proposals, and it's doubtful Congress will be weaned off its steady diet of stopgap funding and omnibus packages.

Sen. Thad Cochran is expected to return for a third and final term as chairman. In the 114th Congress, the genteel Mississippi Republican led a prolific panel that churned out appropriations bills. The committee marked up all 12 titles

in both 2015 and 2016, the first time in a decade the Senate panel reported every bill over two years.

Cochran will be paired with a new ranking Democrat after the retirement of Barbara A. Mikulski of Maryland, a fierce negotiator instrumental in hammering out omnibus packages. The short list of potential successors includes Richard J. Durbin of Illinois, who's worked alongside Cochran on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee; Patty Murray of Washington, a deal-maker who's successfully negotiated with Republicans; and Dianne Feinstein of California, another veteran appropriator with good relationships across the aisle.

The panel took center stage in 2016 as Republican leaders set a sky-high bar of passing all 12 individual appropriations bills before the

start of the new fiscal year on Oct. 1. Congress came up 11 bills short, though the committee had marked up 12 spending bills by June 29, the earliest Senate completion of committee work since 1988. And the measures were notably bipartisan.

Appropriators often boast that their committee is a model of bipartisan cooperation, and congressional leaders typically tap new senators for the panel who would continue that tradition. In recent years, the GOP has preferred to add those more inclined to deal-making than bomb throwing. Democrats have selected members facing difficult re-election bids. They may continue that trend in the 115th Congress with a handful of Democratic senators up for re-election in battleground states in 2018.

— *Ryan McCrimmon*



## ARMED SERVICES

◀ McCain

Senate Armed Services Chairman John McCain will maintain control of the panel in the next Congress, giving the GOP's strongest hawk a high-profile but awkward perch from which to work with the incoming Trump administration on defense spending levels and priorities.

McCain famously withdrew his endorsement of the now president-elect after the release of the Access Hollywood video in which Trump maligned women, lining up what could be a

tense relationship with the next commander-in-chief.

Trump, who has no military experience and has spoken about his military plans only in broad strokes, would ordinarily rely on a hawk like McCain to guide his defense and foreign policy. But there will likely not be much ordinary in the relationship between McCain and Trump, setting up an interesting dynamic for the committee and the next president.

McCain is no stranger to tension. During his first two years as chairman, the Arizona Republican fought a Democratic administration while also reaching across the aisle each year to draft the bipartisan Pentagon policy bill. He will con-

tinue to work closely with the committee's top Democrat, Jack Reed of Rhode Island, to push the must-pass legislation through Congress, likely continuing his years-long push to rewrite the Pentagon's buying policies.

At the same time, McCain and his fellow Republicans on the panel, buoyed by their ability to retain the majority of the Senate, will push for more money for the military than allowed under the existing budget caps. Reed and other Democrats have steadily resisted those efforts.

The committee's roster is unlikely to change much, with most of the leaders of the panel's six subcommittees returning.

— Megan Scully



## BANKING, HOUSING & URBAN AFFAIRS

◀ Crapo

Michael D. Crapo of Idaho rises to the chairmanship of the Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee, replacing Alabama's Richard C. Shelby, who is term limited. Watch for Crapo's behavior on nominees to financial posts for signs of whether he's running the committee differently than Shelby did.

Shelby held up two Federal Reserve nominees throughout the 114th Congress, saying he was doing so because the administration hadn't nominated a Federal Reserve governor to serve as vice chairman of supervision at the central bank as required by the Dodd-Frank law. By the end of this year, the Fed will have been two members short of its full complement of seven

for 948 days. Shelby also held up three nominees to the Export-Import Bank board, keeping the board from fielding a quorum.

Crapo has a history of working across the aisle on bills, notably when he partnered with former Banking Chairman Tim Johnson of South Dakota to overhaul the nation's housing finance system in the 113th Congress. That bill was approved in committee, but never passed the Senate. Crapo worked with Sherrod Brown of Ohio on a bill related to small business employee savings plans in the current Congress.

Republicans have long criticized the Dodd-Frank financial overhaul of 2010. President-elect Donald Trump's desire to repeal Dodd-Frank should be welcomed in Crapo's committee, but the new president's wish to bring back Glass-Steagall separations to the banking world may not be as warmly received. Under Shelby, the committee sought to roll back

portions of Dodd-Frank, including a provision to increase the minimum size of so-called "too big to fail" bank holding companies from \$50 billion to \$500 billion. The bill found its way into the 2016 Financial Services spending bill, but couldn't find a home in the omnibus.

Brown will once again be the ranking member. He is a Wall Street critic and staunch defender of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, which was created by Dodd-Frank.

Besides revisiting his effort to overhaul mortgage giants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, Crapo can be expected to push heavily on the Economic Growth and Regulatory Paperwork Reduction Act process to review federal regulations every decade. He has pushed in the past to add Dodd-Frank and Consumer Financial Protection Bureau regulations to the next review and likely will do so again.

— Doug Sword



## BUDGET

◀ Enzi

All indications are that Chairman Michael B. Enzi, who has spent much of the past year working on a budget overhaul bill, will get two more years to oversee Congress' budget process.

The Wyoming Republican, who caused a stir last year when he opted not to invite the Obama administration to testify on its final budget, will set the tone for how the Republican Senate approaches President Donald Trump's first budget. The panel also will be expected to come up with a budget resolution this year. A provision in

the two-year budget deal struck in 2015 allowed Enzi last year to simply file spending topline and give Senate appropriators the go-ahead to craft spending bills that reflected the budget caps, which is what he did.

In addition to holding hearings on the annual budget resolution, he'll be responsible for staking out the Senate GOP's position on sequestration, the debt ceiling, the deficit and the ever-increasing federal debt. Enzi could also be a key Republican voice negotiating a new budget deal with Democrats to avoid sequestration cuts taking full effect.

Who sits to Enzi's right this year remains to be seen.

Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders, an independent who has spent the last two years as the

Democrats' top negotiator, is advocating to leave the Budget Committee for the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions panel.

That committee's Democrats are currently led by Sen. Patty Murray of Washington, who is expected to rise up the ranks of Democratic leadership or become Appropriations chairwoman. If Sanders moves to HELP, Sens. Ron Wyden of Oregon, Debbie Stabenow of Michigan and Sheldon Whitehouse of Rhode Island would be second, third and fourth in line.

Whitehouse, who sat in as the committee's top Democrat while Sanders campaigned, is a likely candidate for ranking member, should Sanders head to HELP because Wyden and Stabenow will likely pursue other opportunities.

— Jennifer Shutt



## COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION

Thune

John Thune of South Dakota and Bill Nelson of Florida will be back as chairman and ranking member, ensuring leadership continuity.

The pair worked cooperatively on transportation and technology legislation over the first two years of Thune's chairmanship. The committee approved legislation that won broad support, including surface transportation and Federal Aviation Administration authorizations.

The committee will have to return to the aviation bill in the next Congress. The current authorization expires at the end of fiscal 2017.

House Republican transportation leaders pushed a spinoff of air traffic control operations in the FAA bill last year. Democratic gains in the Senate put that idea further out of reach, but Republicans could revisit the issue.

The 2016 legislation demonstrated bipartisan support for an overhaul of the FAA process for certifying aircraft and parts, as well as integrating drones into the national airspace.

Thune and Nelson will likely push to include those issues in a reauthorization in 2017. They have worked together on legislation that would free more spectrum for faster wireless service, and bipartisan groups of committee members have collaborated on bills tackling tech issues such as studying the so-called "Internet of Things," a reference to the growing number of

internet-connected devices.

Regulatory action at the Federal Communications Commission, however, has been one point of contention on the committee and could continue causing partisan divisions.

Commerce is likely to work on bills that bolster the growing private sector industry focused on sending humans into space and, eventually, to Mars. NASA's operations in Florida, and the considerable aerospace industry presence in the state, make Nelson a reliable backer of measures that support space exploration and related science and technology endeavors. Republicans Marco Rubio of Florida and Ted Cruz of Texas, both on the committee, have also backed such efforts.

— Jacob Fischler



## ENERGY & NATURAL RESOURCES

Murkowski

The committee has spent much of the last year-and-a-half working on an ambitious bipartisan energy bill that would help U.S. policy catch up with the country's rapidly transforming power sector.

That bill (S 2012), of which Chairwoman Lisa Murkowski is the main sponsor, is in conference as the 114th Congress winds down. If a deal is not reached before committee leadership changes hands, the Alaska Republican could continue shepherding the negotiations or try to reintroduce the legislation next year.

The committee, whose members have had a record of working across party lines, is expected to pursue bipartisan legislation aimed at improving budgeting for forest management and fighting wildfires, a draft of which is already circulating.

Murkowski, a strong supporter of offshore oil and gas development in Alaska, will likely keep up her efforts to coax the Interior Department to continue issuing drilling leases that benefit her state, especially since the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management canceled Arctic lease sales from the Chukchi and Beaufort seas in the 2012 to 2017 program.

Republicans and Democrats on the committee have been united in pushing to secure the U.S. energy infrastructure, including proposing

legislation to protect the grid from disruptions like cyberattacks. This will likely continue to be a theme on the committee.

Ranking member Maria Cantwell, a Washington Democrat, can be expected to push legislation that protects her state's interests, including promoting renewable energy sources.

Cantwell in June introduced legislation (S 3066) that would prohibit the Office of Surface Mining and Reclamation Enforcement and state authorities from allowing coal companies to insure themselves against environmental damage they cause, and would also require the Interior Department to issue regulations that limit the federal government's financial liability in coal mine cleanups.

— Elvina Nawaguna



## ENVIRONMENT & PUBLIC WORKS

Barrasso

The committee's leadership will turn over in early 2017 as James M. Inhofe of Oklahoma has to leave the chairman's seat because of term limits and ranking member Barbara Boxer of California is retiring.

John Barrasso of Wyoming is most likely to take over the gavel. Four senators are potentially in position to become ranking member.

Barrasso is a vocal critic of the Obama administration's efforts to cut carbon emissions. He opposes both the Clean Power Plan and the Paris Climate deal.

With Barrasso in charge, Republicans are likely to continue their quest to rescind key

Obama administration environmental regulations, like efforts to curb carbon emissions from new and existing power plants.

The committee may look to revamp the EPA's Renewable Fuel Standard program as well, although that issue tends to fall along regional divides, not partisan ones.

The committee may have another look at public works in the new administration. Congress passed a long-term highway bill in December 2015, but the incoming president campaigned for more long-term investment in infrastructure.

The committee will also likely advance another two-year water resources authorization bill in the next Congress, after passing legislation in 2014 and moving a 2016 version to a conference committee.

Thomas R. Carper of Delaware is the odds-

on favorite for the role of ranking Democrat, but he may opt to stay in the ranking member's spot on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

If Carper demurs, three other members are potential replacements.

Benjamin L. Cardin of Maryland and Bernie Sanders, a Vermont independent, would be next in line by seniority, but each has his eye on other opportunities.

That leaves Sheldon Whitehouse of Rhode Island, an outspoken advocate of measures to address climate change.

Inhofe and Boxer are among the most ideological members of their parties, but managed to work together. Among the most pressing questions for Barrasso and Carper is whether they can find common ground.

— Jacob Fischler and Jeremy Dillon



## FINANCE

Hatch

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch of Utah, the longest-serving Republican in the Senate, will keep the Finance gavel he received from Democrat Ron Wyden of Oregon in January 2015.

Hatch and Wyden have forged a good working relationship and strive for bipartisanship on taxes, trade and health care. The top tax writers continue to vet ideas for a tax overhaul, long-sought legislation that has been pushed out of reach by a split over the scope and size of any

rate cuts for individuals and businesses.

Hatch will work with GOP Leader Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, including on how to pay for much-needed improvements in infrastructure sought by President-elect Donald Trump. An old idea that's new again: instituting a one-time tax cut on corporate assets stashed overseas by U.S. companies.

Hatch also wants to reshape dividend taxes, which could move in a fiscal package or perhaps as an add-on to an extension of the debt limit, which expires in March.

While Speaker Paul D. Ryan has floated the idea of using budget reconciliation rules to pass a tax overhaul, it's unclear if Senate Republicans like that idea.

Both parties eye tweaks to the health care overhaul, such as measures to address hikes in premiums and to put off again the medical device tax that Congress already suspended for 2016 and 2017. The Children's Health Insurance Program needs to be reauthorized and expires in September 2017.

The post-election session could give the Finance Committee an opening to extend more than 30 tax breaks that expire at the end of 2016. While some would like to take up the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal, McConnell has been adamant it won't get floor time in a lame-duck session and it's surely dead in the new year, as Trump vigorously opposed it.

— Alan K. Ota

FOREIGN  
RELATIONS

Corker

If Donald Trump brings to the White House the isolationist foreign policy views he expressed on the campaign trail, it could create some tensions with Republicans on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, many of whom have a more interventionist outlook.

Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Bob Corker will maintain his hold on the gavel unless he's tapped for secretary of State, something he has said he'd "strongly consider," if Trump were to ask him. The Tennessee Republican, who has

avored a vigorous U.S. role overseas, nonetheless gained attention earlier this year for his calibrated support of Trump's calls for NATO member nations to spend more money on their own defense.

If Corker heads to Foggy Bottom, the committee leadership should fall to Jim Risch of Idaho, who is also a senior member of the Intelligence Committee and served as a surrogate for Florida Sen. Marco Rubio's unsuccessful presidential campaign. Risch is a hawk on Russia and could object if Trump follows through on his campaign pledge to rethink the U.S.-Russia relationship.

Rubio's re-election to the Senate means he should maintain his spot as Western Hemisphere Subcommittee chairman. There's poten-

tial for conflict between him and Trump over Trump's plan to build a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border.

Also expected to maintain a committee leadership position is Wisconsin's Ron Johnson, who won his re-election battle. The Europe and Regional Security Cooperation Subcommittee chairman gave only tepid support to Trump during the election.

Committee member Rand Paul also won re-election. The Kentucky Republican's isolationist positions could create room for some alignment with Trump.

Democrat Tim Kaine is also expected to remain on the committee after failing to take the White House as Hillary Clinton's running mate.

— Rachel Oswald

HEALTH, EDUCATION,  
LABOR & PENSIONS

Alexander

With Republicans narrowly maintaining control of the Senate, Tennessee's Lamar Alexander is expected to continue his chairmanship of the committee, which has functioned smoothly under his leadership along with Patty Murray as ranking member. But the Washington Democrat might have opportunities elsewhere, and if she pursues them, Vermont independent Bernie Sanders or Pennsylvania Democrat Bob Casey would be next in line.

In a year with the committee planning to pursue some must-pass legislation related to health care and education, some observers worry Sanders would be less effective than Murray or

Casey at forging compromise.

In the health care arena, the legislation that allows the Food and Drug Administration to collect fees from regulated industry — and provides nearly half of the agency's budget — is up for renewal. If the long-stalled "21st Century Cures" medical innovation effort fails to pass in the lame-duck session, the user fee legislation is seen as a vehicle for some potentially controversial FDA policy changes.

Reauthorizing the Higher Education Act, which Alexander said was a priority in 2016, will remain so next year. Alexander has touted half a dozen proposals to decrease student debt. For starters, he wants to encourage more students to apply for financial aid by reducing the 108-question Free Application for Federal Student Aid to two questions.

Some of Alexander's proposals have bipar-

tisan support, including offering the Pell Grant program to students year-round and streamlining federal regulations for college and universities to reduce duplicative requirements. However, Alexander is at odds with Democrats on his committee who say that the cost of college is a barrier to students attending. Alexander also opposed their plan to refinance student loans.

On labor issues, Alexander would continue to fight policies enacted under the Obama administration, including a National Labor Relations Board ruling on joint employers and micro-unions. Should the Labor Department's overtime rule go into effect on Dec. 1, Alexander will continue to work with businesses, universities and some nonprofits concerned about how the additional expenses would impact their day-to-day operations.

— Andrew Siddons and Emily Wilkins



## HOMELAND SECURITY & GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Portman

The Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee will not see any change in leadership in the new Congress after Chairman Ron Johnson, a Wisconsin Republican, won a tough re-election for a second term. Sen. Thomas R. Carper of Delaware will continue to be the top Democrat on the panel.

Johnson, a former business executive, has focused on the dangers posed by undocumented immigrants coming across the southern border as well as on the vetting of Syrian refugees. In that, he's pushed the FBI and Homeland Security Department to find ways to automate the vetting of social media activities of refugees seeking asylum.

Johnson also has questioned Homeland Security's efforts in preventing Americans from succumbing to online propaganda by militant groups and proposed legislation in the last Con-

gress to address that threat.

The committee will likely continue to work with other Senate panels and their House counterparts in an effort to streamline congressional oversight of Homeland Security, which is now overseen by about 100 committees and subcommittees across the chambers. Streamlining oversight of the department is one of the key recommendations of the commission that investigated the 2001 terrorist attacks that has yet to be implemented.

— Gopal Ratnam



## INDIAN AFFAIRS

Hoeven

North Dakota Republican John Hoeven is poised to become the next chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee, but his rise to the top job would take place only if Chairman John Barrasso of Wyoming opts to move to the chairman's seat at Environment and Public Works in

the next Congress.

John McCain of Arizona and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska are second and third in seniority, but they likely will continue as chairs of Armed Services and Energy and Natural Resources, respectively.

Barrasso made legislation aimed at cutting through federal red tape a priority, especially red tape related to tribal energy programs.

In the 114th Congress, panel Republicans backed legislation to attempt to streamline fed-

eral programs and agencies in Indian Country but didn't garner sufficient support. Barrasso attempted, unsuccessfully thus far, to overhaul the Bureau of Indian Education and replace it with a new Indian Education Agency.

Hoeven is likely to continue that focus.

He could potentially focus on legislation addressing tribal energy resources, tribal land management, law enforcement and Indian health care.

— Greg Tourial



## JUDICIARY

Grassley

The committee's work will feature confirmation fights and, if there's an immigration bill, it will have to first come through Judiciary.

The most contentious issue facing the committee is likely to be a confirmation hearing for the nominee to fill the Supreme Court seat of

the late Justice Antonin Scalia.

The committee has unfinished policy work, most notably a measure (S 2123) to overhaul the criminal justice system, but Republicans who opposed that bill likely gained an ally in President-elect Donald Trump, who ran a tough-on-crime campaign.

Trump might be more amenable to renewing Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, a controversial anti-terrorism measure set to expire at the end of 2017.

Iowa Republican Charles E. Grassley returns as chairman. Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont will almost certainly stay as ranking Democrat.

Most of the members of the committee are expected to remain the same, with all returning to Congress except Republican David Vitter of Louisiana, who is retiring. Republican Sen. Jeff Sessions of Alabama, a staunch Trump supporter, could also play a larger role as a voice for the new administration.

— Todd Ruger and Alisha Green



## SMALL BUSINESS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Risch

Jim Risch, an Idaho Republican, should be first in line to become chairman of the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee when David Vitter of Louisiana retires in January.

With President-elect Donald Trump promising relief for small businesses and congressional leaders promising incentives for small business

borrowing, the committee could find itself being a venue for promoting growth in a sector largely left behind in this recovery. Unlike past economic recoveries where small businesses created most of the new jobs, large companies have stoked most of the employment gains of recent years.

A more energetic Republican agenda could be met with Democratic cooperation on a committee known for bipartisanship.

Jeanne Shaheen of New Hampshire, the current ranking member, is expected to keep that slot.

The committee's work is often directed at improving access to Small Business Administration programs for particular groups.

Shaheen's legislation (S 3009) in 2016, for example, was aimed at giving National Guard and Reserve members better access to the loans.

The panel has oversight of the SBA business loans and disaster loans. Vitter pushed to extend deadlines for applying for an agency disaster loan to address the damage done by flooding in Louisiana in 2016.

— Doug Sword



## VETERANS' AFFAIRS

Isakson

Sen. Johnny Isakson plans to retain his gavel on the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

That would provide a measure of stability. The Georgia Republican and Sen. Richard Blumenthal of Connecticut, the committee's top Democrat, have made progress on a so-called "minibus" bill of reforms known as the Veterans First Act (S 2921). The measure would implement sweeping changes to the Veterans Affairs Department, including expanded access and

reimbursement for in-home care, alterations in the VA's personnel policies, new mental health care policies and remedies for the agency's massive appeals backlog for disability claims.

Isakson begins his second term chairing the panel, which he took over from Vermont independent Bernie Sanders. A key priority for Isakson will be the enactment of the Veterans First Act, which he tried to get on the Senate floor prior to the election.

Two years after scandal wracked the VA, when whistleblower complaints surfaced of veterans dying while waiting for care at a Phoenix health care facility, VA authorizers have been working with the Obama administration to try to root out problems. But it's slow going,

officials say, because of a lack of resources and a multitude of complaints.

Looking to 2017, high on the list of priorities for the chairman will be reauthorization of the Veterans Choice Program that allows veterans to seek care from private physicians and hospitals. It expires on Aug. 7, 2017, or whenever the \$10 billion allocated to it runs out.

The bipartisan relationship between Blumenthal and Isakson could provide a boost for authorizers in the 115th Congress. A challenge for an incoming chairman may be the change of leadership in the House, where the gavel is up for grabs after Florida Republican Jeff Miller retires at year's end.

—Kellie Mejdrich



## SELECT INTELLIGENCE

Burr

After a close election battle, Republican Richard M. Burr of North Carolina is back at the helm of the Intelligence Committee, where he'll be joined by Vice Chairwoman Dianne Feinstein, the California Democrat.

Burr and Feinstein hold similar views on many of the panel's most challenging issues, including cybersecurity, encryption and oversight of the intelligence community.

As in years past, the top priority for the committee will be the annual intelligence policy

bill, which authorizes funding for the nation's intelligence agencies.

Renewing Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, which is set to expire at the end of 2017, also will be on the agenda. Under this program, the government has the authority to collect electronic communications of foreigners outside the United States, although officials acknowledge that American citizens' communications are also swept up. Aides say the renewal debate is likely to go through the Judiciary Committee, not the intelligence panel, but the two are expected to work together.

Burr and Feinstein could also renew their push for an encryption bill. The two lawmakers collaborated on a draft bill in the 114th Congress

that would have forced companies to provide data when presented with a court order.

A final issue that the committee could tackle is FBI access to Electronic Communications Transactional Records. The bureau wants the authority to use so-called national security letters, which do not require a warrant, to obtain information from technology companies about an individual's online usage.

The proposed changes were included in the fiscal 2017 intelligence policy bill (S 3017), although some Democrats put a hold on the measure over opposition to the provision. It's unclear whether the section will be included in any legislation that passes in the lame duck.

—Ryan Lucas

## OTHER COMMITTEES

Maine's Susan Collins is the likely chairwoman of the **Special Committee on Aging** in the coming Congress.

She led the committee in the current one to focus on health care, emphasizing programs that research diseases such as Alzheimer's and diabetes, as well as advocating measures that would protect seniors from financial fraud.

Financial security for retirees is another issue that Collins likely will continue to emphasize as chairwoman.

Missouri's Claire McCaskill will likely stay on as ranking member, but Bob Casey of Pennsylvania has a shot at it. McCaskill is the top Democrat on the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Permanent Investigations

Subcommittee and could rise to the ranking position on the full committee, replacing Thomas R. Carper of Delaware, who has the option to become ranking member on Senate Environment and Public Works.

Bill Nelson, who is next in seniority, will probably remain the ranking member of the Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee. That would leave Casey.

While the committee lacks legislative authority, it submits findings and recommendations to other committees as a basis for future legislation.

Sen. Roy Blunt's re-election in Missouri means he will likely continue in his post as the Republican leader on the **Rules and Administration Committee**.

Depending on how the jockeying for other positions goes, Sen. Tom Udall of New Mexico could end up as the top Democrat on Rules,

which could push the panel into a more activist role on overhauling the Senate's rules governing filibusters and delay tactics. Udall has long been one of the loudest voices on procedural issues.

How important is the **Senate Ethics Committee**? Just ask John Ensign or Bob Packwood.

The panel rarely makes news, but when it does the result can be the downfall of a senator. So it is important that the integrity of the six members, evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats, be beyond reproach.

Assuming that Johnny Isakson is re-elected in a January Georgia runoff, he'll be the top Republican.

The logical Democrats to replace the retiring Californian, Barbara Boxer, would be either of the two others on the panel: Chris Coons of Delaware or Brian Schatz of Hawaii.

—Adriel Bettelheim, Greg Tourial, Niels Lesniewski and Bridget Bowman