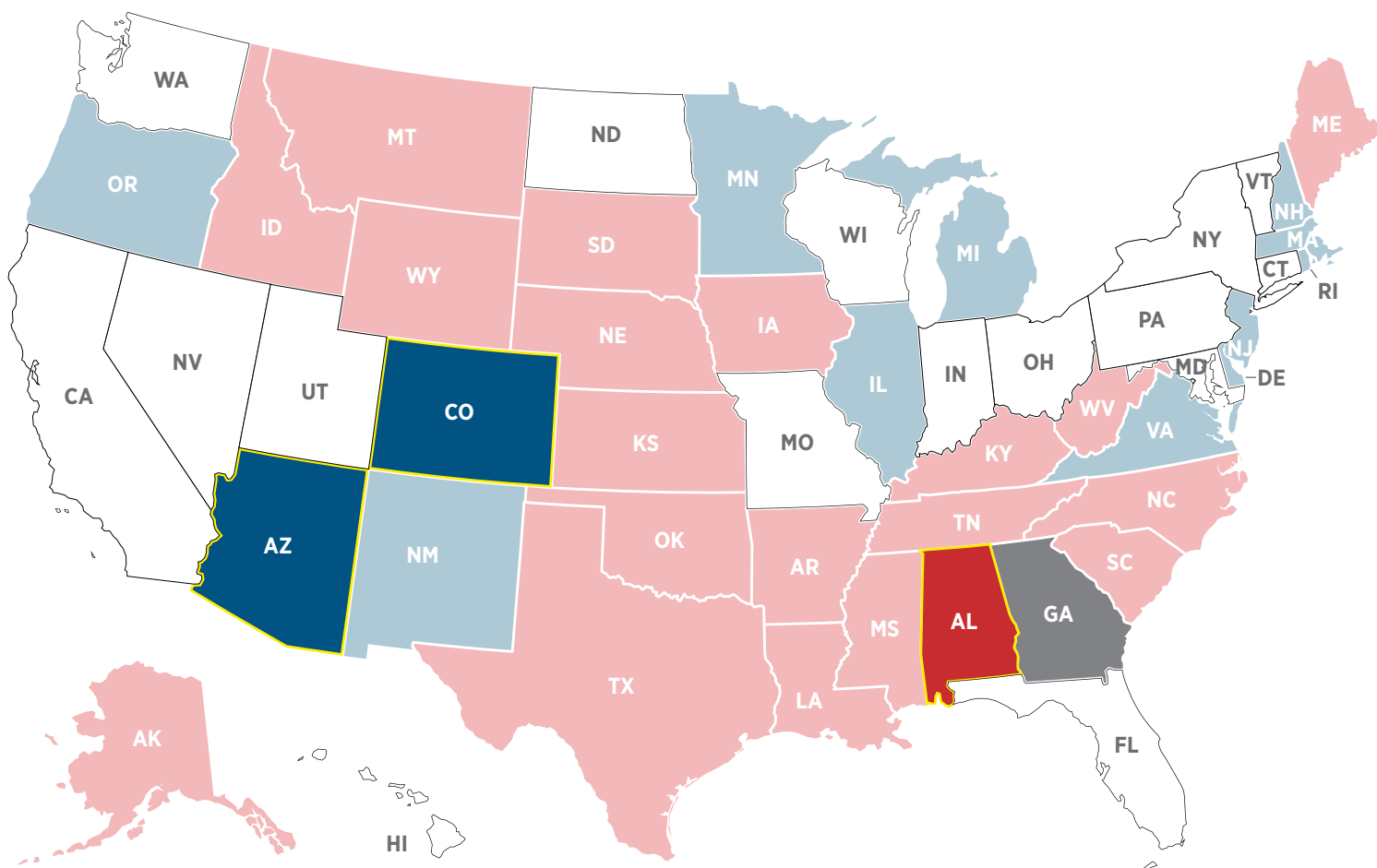
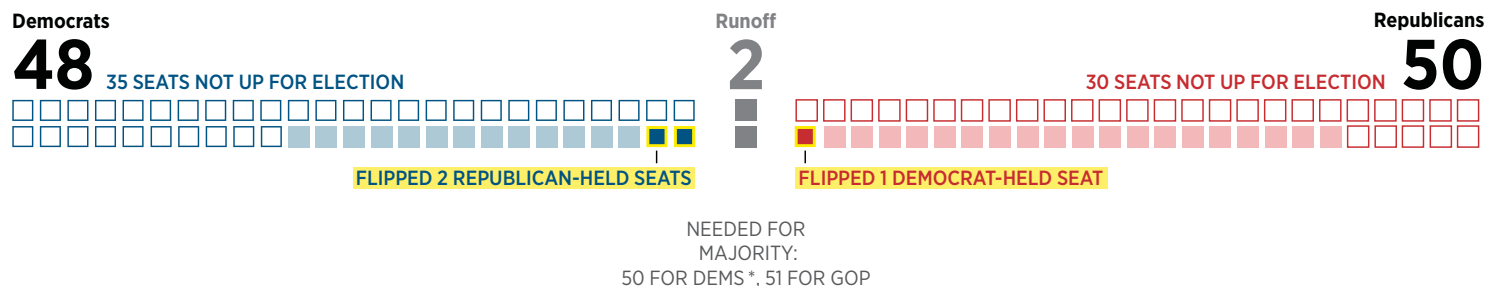


# The Senate comes down to Georgia

Balance of power in the 117th Senate

By Ryan Kelly



Note: \* Democrat Kamala Harris will be the Senate's tie-breaking vote upon taking office as vice president.

Source: The Associated Press

# Senate Leadership Outlook

## REPUBLICANS



### LEADER:

**Mitch McConnell**, the only member of GOP leadership who doesn't face conference-imposed term limits, will extend his record as the longest-serving Senate Republican leader.

**McConnell**

It's not clear whether Republicans will be in the majority or minority, as a double Georgia Senate runoff will determine that Jan. 5. But the unanimous vote to reelect the Kentucky Republican keeps McConnell, 78, at the steering wheel of his caucus.

In his tenure as majority leader in the 116th Congress, McConnell helped guide his party through the impeachment trial of President Donald Trump, resulting in Trump's acquittal, and helped get several COVID-19 aid packages passed quickly by large margins in the early months of the pandemic.

Since then, however, agreement on new COVID-19 aid has been hard to come by. And the majority leader was largely absent during the talks between Speaker Nancy Pelosi and White House negotiators, though he said he was kept up-to-date on the discussions. After his November win for a seventh Senate term, McConnell has said he plans to play a bigger role in further negotiations.

Though not much substantive legislation has passed since the summer, McConnell was able to get a third Trump-nominated Supreme Court justice confirmed, as well as dozens of other federal judges.



### WHIP:

South Dakotan **John Thune** will once again be the GOP's No. 2.

Thune, who returns as GOP whip after taking over in 2018 from the term-limited John Cornyn of Texas, is well-respected on Capitol Hill and lauded for his ability to broker deals.

He helped his party's majority navigate a deluge of events in his first term as majority whip, including the impeachment trial and the pandemic.

Regardless of which party holds the majority, Thune, 59, is expected to play an important role in fashioning the GOP message, particularly as it orients itself to the Biden administration. Thune, who came to the Senate in 2005 after defeating Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, has policy chops from his time chairing the Senate Commerce Committee and the Republican Conference.

Thune is up for reelection in 2022, though he begins the cycle the prohibitive favorite in his heavily Republican state. Trump easily won South Dakota in 2016 and 2020, and Thune has rarely had to break a sweat since his 2004 victory over Daschle.



### CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN:

Wyoming's **John Barrasso**, 68, continues as the chairman of the Republican Conference as the party begins to chart a policy path forward in a post-Trump world. The Republican National Committee chose not to craft an updated platform for 2020, instead adopting the platform from the 2016 Republican National Convention.

The orthopedic surgeon was chairman of the Republican Policy Committee from 2012 to 2019. He was key to policy messaging on Republican opposition to the 2010 health care overhaul.

More recently, he has increasingly focused on environmental issues, a likely area of continued growth. In the 115th and 116th congresses, Barrasso chaired the Environment and Public Works Committee. In the 117th, he will likely be the top Republican on the Energy and Natural Resources panel.

## DEMOCRATS



### LEADER:

**Charles E. Schumer** of New York will remain at the helm of the Senate Democratic Caucus for the third Congress in a row, as the Trump administration fades into the rear-view mirror.

**Schumer**

It's a new challenge for the chief strategist for Senate Democrats, who has led sustained criticism of the president and guided Democrats to a mostly unified front on when to accept Trump and McConnell's agenda and when to fight it.

Schumer, 70, will assume a new role in this Congress — whether in the majority or minority — as he attempts to foster a Democratic president's legislative priorities.

In past Congresses, Schumer has been able to work with McConnell, but his patience was tested as McConnell continued dismantling Senate traditions on judicial and other nominees, culminating in the truncated confirmation process of Supreme Court Justice Amy Coney Barrett.

Democrats and Republicans spent most of 2020 mired in inaction on the appropriations process and for months have remained billions of dollars apart on pandemic relief.

Schumer is up for reelection in 2022 and if he, like many veteran New York lawmakers in recent years, faces a primary challenge from the left, it could factor into some of his decisions on how he manages the Democrats' agenda.



### WHIP:

Fresh off winning his fifth term, Illinois Sen. **Richard J. Durbin**, 76, was once again elected to retain his spot as the Democratic whip.

**Durbin**

Durbin has been the top Democrat on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, where he has worked with committee Republicans on sensitive Pentagon funding. He is also seeking to become the top Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, where he helped lead the Democrats' fight against Barrett's Supreme Court nomination, as he did against Trump's previous picks, Neil M. Gorsuch and Brett M. Kavanaugh. At the same time, he has shown a willingness to play ball with Republicans on compromise choices at the district court level.



### ASSISTANT LEADER:

Washington's **Patty Murray**, like Schumer and Durbin, will continue in her slot on the Democratic leadership team.

**Murray**

Murray, 70, combines a political resume — she has twice chaired the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee — with policy chops. She previously chaired the Budget Committee and the Veterans' Affairs Committee, and she is currently the top Democrat on the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee. She is largely unmatched among Democrats who can simultaneously defend the party's priorities and work out bipartisan deals, as was demonstrated with her partnership with Tennessee's Lamar Alexander, who chaired the HELP panel and is retiring.

Murray assumed the No. 3 leadership team role in 2017 when then-leader Harry Reid retired and Schumer was elevated to Democratic leader.

— Chris Cioffi



ALABAMA

**TOMMY  
TUBERVILLE**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Sen. Doug Jones, D • **RESIDENCE:** Auburn • **BORN:** Sept. 18, 1954; Camden, Ark. • **RELIGION:** Church of Christ • **FAMILY:** Wife, Suzanne; two children • **EDUCATION:** Southern Arkansas U., B.S., 1976 • **CAREER:** Football coach, sports broadcaster • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Tommy Tuberville parlayed his success on the college gridiron into national elected office, following in the footsteps of other sports celebrities who made the switch to politics. While he never brought home a national title as leader of the Auburn Tigers, he managed to flip a Senate seat back to the Republicans.

Tuberville's policy positions closely track those of President Donald Trump. He wants to build a wall at the southern border, repeal the 2010 health care law and renew the doctrine of American exceptionalism.

To "drain the swamp" in Washington, he wants to institute term limits and ban politicians from becoming lobbyists.

His past as a prominent college football coach is never far from the surface. During his coaching days, his annual pay reached seven figures, and he describes his wealth as key to his outlook.

"I'm a politician's worst nightmare. I don't need the money, I don't need the job and I ain't going to be politically correct," he said at a campaign stop in Montgomery early in the campaign.

Calling himself a Christian conservative, Tuberville invokes God when he expresses doubt about the science of global warming. "There's one person that changes this climate in this country and that is God. OK?" Tuberville told the Daily Mountain Eagle, an Alabama newspaper.

On abortion, he has signaled a hard-line approach, saying last year he was "all for" an Alabama law meant to trigger a challenge to Roe v. Wade. The state law, designed to be among the strictest in the nation, banned abortion even in cases of sexual assault.

Football has shaped Tuberville's life, starting with his teenage years in Arkansas. He played the game in high school and was a free safety at Southern Arkansas University. He climbed the coaching ladder at the University of Miami and Texas A&M before landing his first head coaching job at the University of Mississippi.

When rumors emerged that he was considering a new job in Auburn, he batted them away with a denial that came back to haunt him. "They'll have to carry me out of here in a pine box," he said. Days later, he announced he would decamp to the rival team.

"Thank goodness Ole Miss can't vote," he would later joke on "The Opening Kickoff" radio program as he mulled a run for Alabama governor in 2018. He deferred, then launched his Senate bid in the next cycle. The political neophyte foiled former Republican Sen. Jeff Sessions' comeback bid in the GOP primary



ARIZONA

**MARK  
KELLY**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Sen. Martha McSally, R • **RESIDENCE:** Tucson • **BORN:** Feb. 21, 1964; Orange, N.J. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Gabrielle Giffords; two children • **EDUCATION:** U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, B.S., 1986; U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, M.S., 1994 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Navy • **CAREER:** Astronaut, space exploration company owner, nonprofit founder • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Mark Kelly was a 5-year-old in West Orange, N.J., when Apollo 11 landed on the moon. The son of two police officers, he would later say he considered it "completely out of the question" that "some kid from New Jersey" could do what the Apollo crews did.

Yet Kelly and his identical twin Scott went on to be the first siblings sent into space by NASA.

Kelly had flown combat jets for the Navy during Operation Desert Storm before joining the space program. He made four trips in the space shuttle, two as commander. But his connection to politics had been limited to his role as the husband of Arizona Democratic Rep. Gabrielle Giffords.

That changed when she was seriously injured in an assassination attempt by a gunman in Tucson on Jan. 8, 2011. She survived, but with a complex traumatic brain injury. Two years later, Giffords and Kelly together launched a gun safety advocacy group, "Giffords: Courage to Fight Gun Violence." Among other things, Kelly advocates for universal background checks on gun purchasers.

Kelly will bring his years of advocacy, lifetime of gun ownership and deeply personal experience with gun violence to the Senate. He follows in the footsteps of Ohio's John Glenn in his pivot from space flight to Capitol Hill.

He joined NASA in 1996, has spent more than 50 days in space and has made four trips to the International Space Station. Kelly retired from both the Navy and NASA in late 2011, citing his need to be with family.

He expects his experience in the space program to be a benefit in the Senate. "It requires a tremendous amount of collaboration, and it requires having a strong grasp of data and facts," Kelly told The Verge in 2019. "So I think — and I hope — that my experience is a benefit to my future colleagues."

Kelly, who won his seat in a special election, was eligible to take his seat ahead of other incoming senators-elect. He was sworn in Dec. 2.

Health care and climate change were key issues of his campaign and he said he intends to bring a scientific viewpoint and data-driven approach to policymaking. He calls health care a "right" and wants a public insurance option to compete with private plans.

Kelly graduated from the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy before being commissioned as a Naval officer in 1987. He flew 39 combat missions in the Arabian Gulf and later received his master's degree from the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School and graduated from the U.S. Naval Test Pilot School.



COLORADO

## JOHN HICKENLOOPER

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Sen. Cory Gardner, R • **RESIDENCE:** Denver • **BORN:** Feb. 7, 1952; Narbeth, Pa. • **RELIGION:** Episcopalian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Robin; one child • **EDUCATION:** Wesleyan U., B.A., 1974; Wesleyan U., M.S., 1980 • **CAREER:** Geologist, brewpub owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Mayor of Denver, 2003-11; governor, 2011-19; sought Democratic nomination for president, 2019

During John Hickenlooper's time as Denver mayor and Colorado governor, he was known for relatively moderate political stances. Now he'll sit in the Senate, representing a state that is seemingly shifting to the left.

Hickenlooper's governorship was marked by business-friendly initiatives, and he calls himself a fiscal conservative. He hopes to use his seat to address the effects of the coronavirus pandemic by providing aid to small businesses and local governments.

"People have lost their jobs, their businesses, they're trying to figure out how they're going to put food on their table," he said at an Oct. 9 debate. "In Washington, it's the same as it ever was."

Hickenlooper supports the creation of a public option to expand upon health care coverage under the 2010 health care law. He hopes to lower prescription drug prices by allowing Medicare to negotiate directly with drug companies and investigating potential anti-competitive practices in the pharmaceutical industry.

On climate change, the former geologist says the long-term change in weather patterns is a crisis with "fierce urgency." He calls for a transition to a 100 percent renewable energy economy with net-zero carbon emissions by 2050 and wants the United States to rejoin the Paris Agreement.

Hickenlooper sought the Democratic presidential nomination in 2019 before switching to a Senate campaign. While running for president, he showcased a middle-of-the-road approach against more left-leaning candidates. "If we turn towards socialism, we run the risk of helping to reelect the worst president in American history," he said at a primary debate in Miami.

He wants to raise the federal minimum wage to \$15 per hour, strengthen labor unions, address housing inequality through an infrastructure package, and make college more affordable by lowering interest rates and expanding loan forgiveness, making community colleges tuition-free and expanding Pell Grant eligibility.

In 2003, Hickenlooper was elected mayor of Denver then won reelection in 2007 with 88 percent of the vote. During his time as mayor, he eliminated a \$70 million budget deficit without major service cuts or layoffs, created an incentive-based compensation system for public employees and won approval for a \$4.7 billion mass transit plan.

He faced criticism for failing to end homelessness after announcing a 10-year plan to do so when he was first elected. Denver's city auditor released an audit criticizing the plan's implementation.

In 2011, he ran for governor and won a three-way contest with 51 percent of the vote. Limited to two consecutive terms, he left office in 2019.



GEORGIA

## JON OSSOFF

**BIOGRAPHY:** **PRONOUNCED:** AWS-off • **ELECTION:** Advanced to Jan. 5 runoff against Sen. David Perdue, R • **RESIDENCE:** Atlanta • **BORN:** Feb. 16, 1987; Atlanta, Ga. • **RELIGION:** Jewish • **FAMILY:** Wife, Alisha Kramer • **EDUCATION:** Georgetown U., B.S.F.S., 2009; London School of Economics, M.Sc., 2013 • **CAREER:** Documentary film producer, congressional aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Democratic candidate for U.S. House (special election), 2017

At 33, Jon Ossoff is already a veteran of one of the most expensive House campaigns ever and the most expensive Senate campaign in Georgia's history. He heads to a Jan. 5 runoff for a spot in the Senate.

Ossoff has Capitol Hill experience, working on the House side for Georgia Democrats. He was an intern in the office of John Lewis, and he was a national security aide for Hank Johnson.

Like his former boss Johnson, Ossoff has been highly critical of Washington's power structures. As a candidate, he has described Congress as an institution rife with corruption.

In his mid-20s he used an inheritance from his grandfather to buy an ownership stake in a London-based media production company that makes investigative documentaries. Many are about corruption in governments and organizations around the world.

Ossoff ran on that experience, saying he knows how to root out corruption. He backed campaign finance revisions and refused contributions from corporate political action committees.

Regardless of the problem, Ossoff usually pointed to money in politics as the root cause. He repeatedly linked it to what he identified as Georgia's primary problems: the coronavirus pandemic, health care, race relations and criminal justice.

Ossoff pledges to support the 2010 health care overhaul, lambasting Republicans for attempting to repeal it amid a pandemic and saying they were beholden to insurance companies at the expense of regular Georgians. He wants to expand the overhaul with a public option and allow Medicare to negotiate drug prices.

He pledged to support COVID-19 relief legislation and efforts to develop a national testing strategy. His wife, an OB-GYN, caught and recovered from the virus in the summer of 2020.

He also supports a ban on private prisons, the end of cash bail, legalizing cannabis and ending incarceration for nonviolent drug offenses. After the killing of Ahmaud Arbery, a Black man who was shot while jogging in Georgia, Ossoff touted his commitment to civil rights and criminal justice changes.

Ossoff didn't shy away from social issues that traditionally don't play well in the South, supporting abortion rights and a ban on semi-automatic rifles.

He made national news in 2017, running in the first special election of the Trump administration. He sought the seat vacated by Republican Rep. Tom Price, who became secretary of Health and Human Services. With donations pouring in from all over the country, Ossoff raised a record \$30 million, but lost by 3 points in a runoff with Republican Karen Handel.



## ADVANCED TO JAN. 5 RUNOFF



GEORGIA

**RAPHAEL  
WARNOCK**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Advanced to Jan. 5 runoff against Sen. Kelly Loeffler, R • **RESIDENCE:** Atlanta • **BORN:** July 23, 1969; Savannah, Ga. • **RELIGION:** Baptist • **FAMILY:** Divorced; two children • **EDUCATION:** Morehouse College, B.A., 1991; Union Theological Seminary, M.Div., 1994; Union Theological Seminary, M.Phil., Ph.D., 2006 • **CAREER:** Pastor • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Raphael Warnock lifted himself from public housing to become the senior pastor at civil rights icon Martin Luther King Jr.'s church in Atlanta. The social justice, health care and other policies he focused on in that job would likely carry over to his work in the Senate.

"This has been my life's work, and here is yet an opportunity to bring the things I've advocated for to the United States Senate," the Baptist preacher said. He would be the first Black senator from the state that played a central role in the civil rights movement.

His legislative priorities are to: end mass incarceration along with other criminal justice changes; improve the 2010 health care law; make college more affordable; restore voting rights laws; reduce gun violence; and protect LGBT people from discrimination.

Warnock views himself in the style of a "citizen representative," who goes to Washington but stays connected to the concerns in his community "and is not so enamored of Washington that they're more focused on the next election than they are the next generation."

And he said Congress could use a pastor's voice. "We are at an inflection point in American history," Warnock said, according to the Atlanta Journal-Constitution. "There is a fundamental question about the character of our country and the soul of our nation. We are in a spiritual crisis."

Warnock emerged from humble and spiritual beginnings. He grew up in Savannah public housing as one of 11 siblings. His mother spent summers picking tobacco and cotton. His father was a veteran and junk car salesman who preached at a local church on Sundays.

Low-interest student loans and Pell Grants helped him pay tuition for a psychology undergraduate degree at Morehouse College, which he said was an attempt to follow in the footsteps and achievements of King.

Warnock obtained master's degrees in divinity and philosophy and a doctorate in philosophy at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. At 35 he became the fifth senior pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, the church formerly led by King. He has also been involved with voting rights and led a "Freedom Caravan" of Hurricane Katrina evacuees back to New Orleans to vote in person.

Warnock aimed much of his campaign on health care, and the 500,000 people in the Medicaid gap in Georgia. He has a history of activism on the issue. In March 2014, he was arrested in a rally inside the state Capitol to urge lawmakers to stop opposing Medicaid expansion.



KANSAS

**ROGER  
MARSHALL**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Barbara Bollier, D, to succeed Sen. Pat Roberts, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Great Bend • **BORN:** Aug. 9, 1960; El Dorado, Kan. • **RELIGION:** Nondenominational Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Laina; four children • **EDUCATION:** Butler County Community College, A.S., 1980; Kansas State U., B.S., 1982; U. of Kansas, M.D., 1987 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Army Reserve • **CAREER:** Obstetrician-gynecologist, hospital president • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Kan. Wildlife, Parks and Tourism Commission, 2012-16; U.S. House, 2017-21

Through two terms in the House, Roger Marshall developed a constituent-first mindset and cultivated relationships on Capitol Hill, using his cordial demeanor to focus on Kansas' agricultural output instead of the state's often populist conservative ideology.

The approach seems to have paid dividends for the physician-turned-lawmaker. He now joins several prominent Kansas Republicans who have used the sprawling "Big 1st" district as a springboard to the Senate — among them Bob Dole, current Sen. Jerry Moran and Marshall's predecessor, Pat Roberts.

Marshall has held a seat on the House Agriculture Committee since coming to Congress and seeks to move to the Senate Agriculture Committee. He's also focused on boosting Kansas' agricultural competitiveness in the trade arena.

"When the playing level is even, Kansas farmers and ranchers can compete and win," he said when announcing his Senate bid at the Kansas State Fair.

He has regularly backed President Donald Trump on trade decisions and supported an agreement with China that included pledges to buy \$200 billion of U.S. goods over two years.

As an in-house expert on science and health matters on the House Science, Space and Technology Committee, Marshall focused on environmental threats to farmers and how to improve agriculture methods in the future.

Before coming to Congress, he had his own medical practice in Great Bend. He is staunchly against abortion and chose to work at specific hospitals because abortions were not performed there.

In addition to providing health care, Marshall has purchased health plans for employees. He favors a market-based health care overhaul that keeps coverage for preexisting conditions and expands the use of health savings accounts and telemedicine.

Marshall also has proposed a safety net of federally funded, state-administered guaranteed coverage pools, which he says "would allow flexibility for states to design a plan that maximizes value and quality."

Marshall's path to the Senate included contests with noted hard-line conservatives. In 2016, he defeated Rep. Tim Huelskamp, a prominent figure in the tea party movement, in a GOP House primary. The 2020 Senate primary saw him defeat Kris Kobach, a former Kansas secretary of state known for his battles against illegal immigration.

During his Senate campaign, Marshall did rounds at Kansas hospitals to treat COVID-19 patients during the pandemic. He disclosed that he took hydroxychloroquine as a prophylactic. Trump touted that malaria drug as a potential treatment for COVID-19, although some scientists said it could be harmful. The Food and Drug Administration withdrew its emergency use authorization for the drug in the summer after finding it was not effective in treating COVID-19 and over safety concerns.



NEW MEXICO  
**BEN RAY  
LUJÁN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Mark V. Ronchetti, R, to succeed Sen. Tom Udall, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Nambe • **BORN:** June 7, 1972; Santa Fe, N.M. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** New Mexico Highlands U., B.B.A., 2007 • **CAREER:** State government aide, human resources manager • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** N.M. Public Regulation Commission, 2005-09 (chairman, 2005-07); U.S. House, 2009-21 (DCCC chairman, 2015-19; assistant speaker, 2019-21)

Throughout 12 years in the House, Ben Ray Luján steadily increased his stature by serving as a reliable Democratic Party operative. As he establishes himself in the Senate, he is likely to continue his involvement in energy and technology policy.

Luján has been described as ambitious, a proficient fundraiser and good at staying on message. He chaired the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee for four years, overseeing the party's pickup of more than 30 House seats in the 2018 cycle, giving them control of the chamber for the first time since 2010. He held the position of assistant speaker in the 116th Congress, where he assisted Majority Leader Steny H. Hoyer, D-Md., in setting the Democratic agenda.

From the House Energy and Commerce Committee, Luján specialized in technology issues and kept an eye on the Energy Department's national laboratories in New Mexico and the state's energy sector.

Climate change is one of Luján's top energy concerns, and he emphasizes that climate change and emissions disproportionately affect minorities. "Environmental justice must include racial justice," he said at a June press conference on the release of the House Democrats' climate plan. Before coming to Congress he helped implement New Mexico's standard for renewable energy production as a member of the Public Regulation Commission.

Rural broadband access is also key among his concerns. He says connectivity is essential for safety in his state. "Too many young Native [American] men go missing and murdered every day in places where those phones don't work, where there's no connectivity or you can even find someone based on that signal," Luján said during the January 2020 unveiling of House Democrats' infrastructure package.

He is well versed in Native American issues, having worked on House bills regarding health care services, education and the protection of cultural artifacts.

Luján credits his personal style to his father, Ben Luján, a former ironworker who served in the New Mexico House for almost four decades and was its speaker for the last 12 years of his life. His father died of lung cancer in 2012. "I was able to learn from dad the importance of talking to people and treating everyone with respect," he said.

He fills the Senate seat left open by the retirement of Democrat Tom Udall. It's the second time he has succeeded Udall: Luján was elected to the House seat Udall left in 2008 to run for the Senate.

On taking office, Luján will become the fifth Hispanic American in the Senate and just the 10th in the history of the chamber.



TENNESSEE  
**BILL  
HAGERTY**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Marquita Bradshaw, D, to succeed Sen. Lamar Alexander, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Nashville • **BORN:** Aug. 14, 1959; Gallatin, Tenn. • **RELIGION:** Episcopalian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Chrissy; four children • **EDUCATION:** Vanderbilt U., B.A., 1981; Vanderbilt U., J.D., 1984 • **CAREER:** Private equity company owner, management consultant, White House aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Tenn. Department of Economic and Community Development commissioner, 2011-14; U.S. ambassador to Japan, 2017-19

Bill Hagerty has been around politics and government for decades, but the Senate will provide his first hands-on experience as an elected official. His brand of business-friendly Republicanism generally emphasizes free markets and less government regulation.

Hagerty also has developed a populist streak — he campaigned as an ally of Donald Trump and frequently stood with the president's positions.

Hagerty comes from the business world. He started out at a global consulting firm and eventually co-founded a private equity firm. His time in the private sector, however, has been interspersed with public service. He was a White House fellow and a staff member of the George H.W. Bush administration. In 2011, he was appointed to lead the Tennessee Department of Economic and Community Development, wooing companies to the state.

And more recently, Hagerty was Trump's ambassador to Japan. "I worked very closely with President Trump on the U.S.-Japan trade deal. It was critical for our farmers here in America," he told Fox Business in August 2020. Hagerty called his post the "honor of a lifetime."

But he left it behind when Republican Sen. Lamar Alexander announced his retirement. Hagerty told the Tennessean that he sought the Senate seat because what he saw from Washington was a "great threat" to "our conservative Tennessee values," aiming criticism at the progressive wing of the Democratic party.

Hagerty says he will focus on lower taxes and reductions in government regulation, as a means to draw manufacturing jobs back to the United States. Part of his agenda in Japan, he said, was advancing Trump's strategies in dealing with nearby China.

As a candidate, Hagerty did not hold back on many issues. When protests and civil unrest during the summer of 2020 sometimes turned violent, Hagerty issued a statement calling on Trump to invoke the Insurrection Act "to its fullest extent." He put "confirming constitutional judges" at the top of the issues list on his campaign website, and also promised to support gun rights and protect the country from what he called "Democrats' socialist agenda."

Hagerty vowed to serve no more than two terms in the Senate.

His first job after law school was at Boston Consulting Group, a management consulting firm, and it included a multiyear stint in Tokyo. One of his co-workers at Boston was Mitt Romney. "I've always had the highest regard for him," Hagerty said in a 2011 interview with Tennessee Town and City. Hagerty was the national finance chairman for Romney's 2008 presidential campaign.

During the Senate campaign, however, Hagerty seemed to distance himself from Romney — the Utah senator's vote to convict Trump on an impeachment charge was not popular with many Tennessee Republicans.



WYOMING

**CYNTHIA  
LUMMIS**

**BIOGRAPHY:** ELECTION: Defeated Merav Ben-David, D, to succeed Sen. Michael B. Enzi, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Cheyenne • **BORN:** Sept. 10, 1954; Cheyenne, Wyo. • **RELIGION:** Lutheran - Missouri Synod • **FAMILY:** Widowed; one child • **EDUCATION:** U. of Wyoming, B.S., 1976; U. of Wyoming, B.S., 1978; U. of Wyoming, J.D., 1985 • **CAREER:** Rancher, lawyer, gubernatorial aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Wyo. House, 1979-83, 1985-93; Wyo. Senate, 1993-95; Wyo. treasurer, 1999-2007; U.S. House, 2009-17.

During eight years in the House, Cynthia Lummis built a reputation as a fiscal hawk and a defender of Western interests. As a senator, she hopes to also shape discussions about financial technology.

Her foray into financial technology is a newer development — she bought her first bitcoin in 2013 and was drawn to its inherent scarcity. “Only 21 million bitcoin will ever be mined, and that in itself creates the scarcity that is associated with being a good, stabilized store of value,” she said. If the national debt and deficit erode the value of the dollar, more policies will be needed to facilitate bitcoin as a regular means of exchange, she said.

The former state treasurer sees the “digitization” of the U.S. dollar — a potential sea change in central banking — as a means to compete with other digitized currencies and as a boon for consumers who increasingly rely on technology. “We need to make sure that the U.S. dollar remains the world’s reserve currency,” she said. “That means digitizing the U.S. dollar to compete with the yuan.”

Lummis hopes to land a spot on the Finance Committee, where she could also address entitlement programs. She favors more state control over federal assistance; for example, she supports block-granting Medicaid to states. “I believe that Medicaid can best be administered at the state level and best targeted to each state’s unique health issues for their low-income populations,” she said.

Lummis has deep Wyoming roots. Her family arrived in Cheyenne one year after the railroad in the 1860s. Her great-grandfather acquired ranch land, and it stayed in the family. Lummis grew up in the ranching business; she and her siblings own big chunks of property in several parts of the state.

A recurring theme of her work is the effect of federal regulations and management on economic activity in the West, particularly in regard to the energy and agriculture sectors.

On energy policy, she supports an “all of the above” approach and wants to make sure her state’s production of coal, oil and gas remain part of the energy mix with a “level playing field” when considering incentives for renewables. “If we’re giving tax deductions to certain parts of the energy economy, we should do it to all,” she said.

Lummis retired from the House at the end of the 114th Congress, then passed on the 2018 Wyoming gubernatorial race. She established herself early on as the big-name candidate in the race to succeed retiring Republican Sen. Michael B. Enzi.



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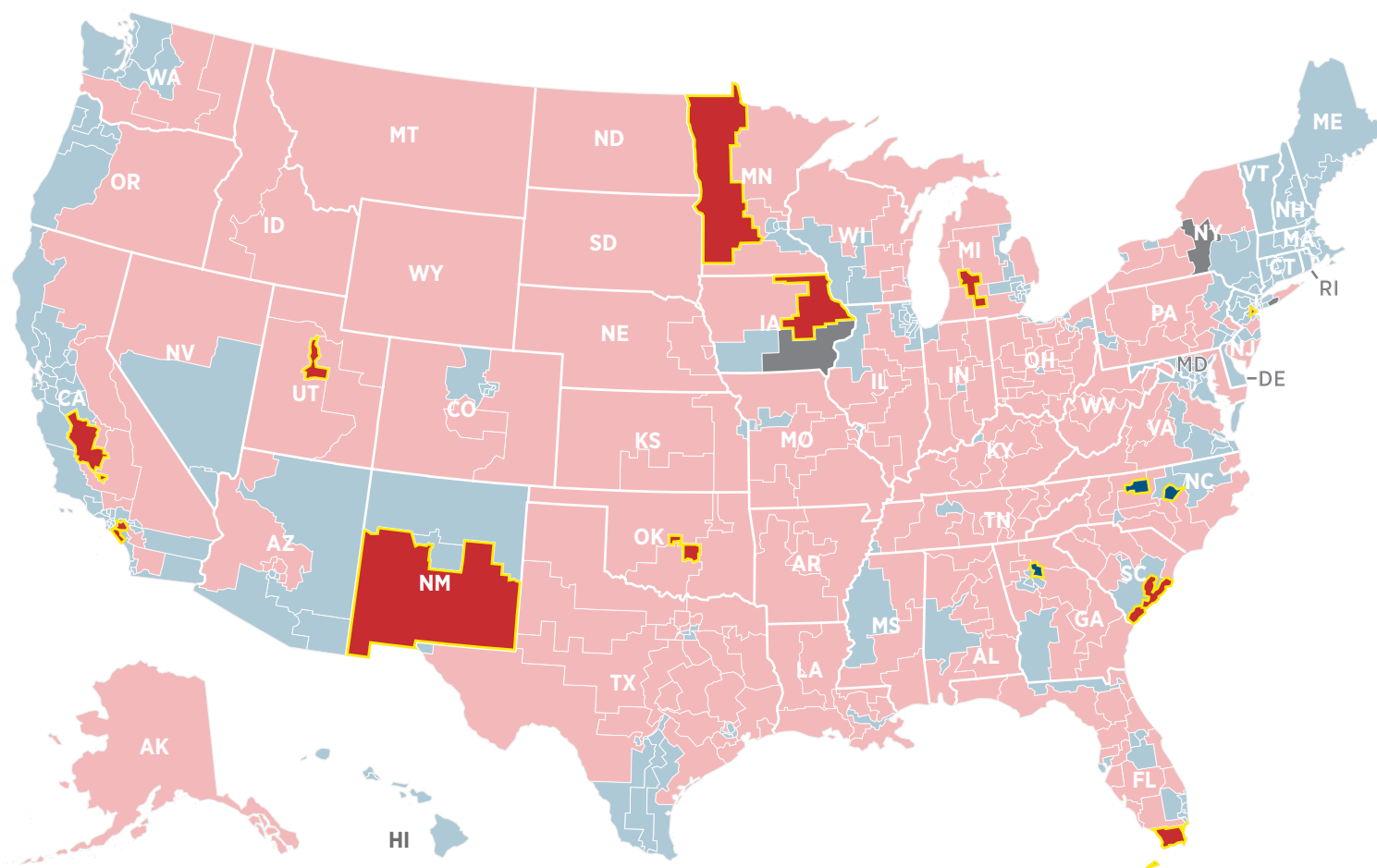
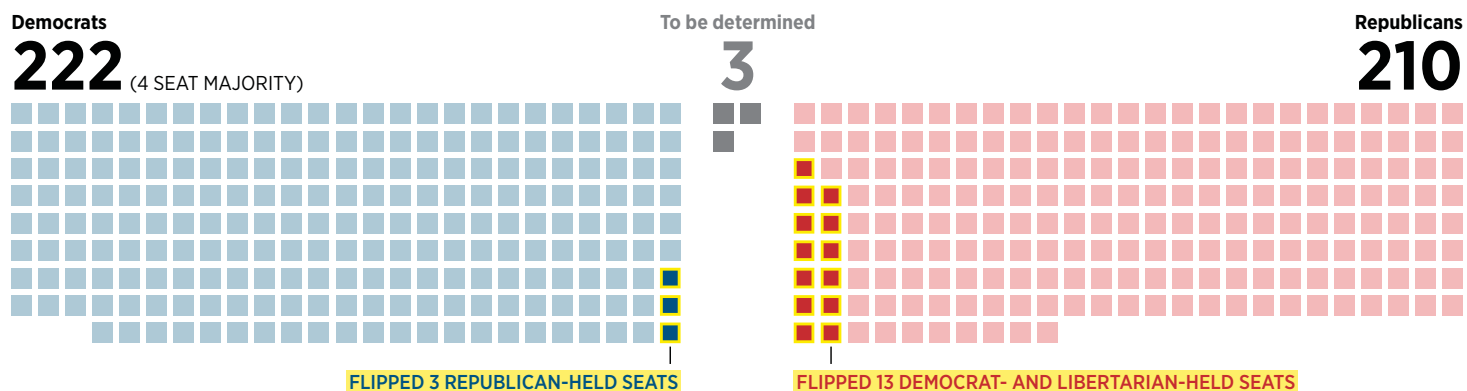
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# Democrats lose House seats but narrowly keep control

House of Representatives balance of power in the 117th Congress

By Ryan Kelly



Source: Election results called by The Associated Press as of 6 p.m. on Dec. 1.

Note: CQ Roll Call included two uncalled races on this page: Rep. Lee Zeldin of NY-01 due to his lead at press time, and LA-05, since the Dec. 5 runoff is between two Republicans.



# House Leadership Outlook

## DEMOCRATS



Pelosi

### SPEAKER:

**Nancy Pelosi**, 80, won her caucus's nomination to return as speaker for the 117th Congress — a term she has promised will be her last — but the California Democrat still needs to secure enough support to win 218 votes during the January speaker election on the House floor.

With a single-digit majority and 10 Democrats who did not vote for her in the 2019 speaker election returning to Congress, Pelosi has some persuading to do. At least two of the members who opposed Pelosi two years ago, Jim Cooper of Tennessee and Jason Crow of Colorado, plan to support her this time.

Some of the other members have not decided whether to support Pelosi but appear open to it. Oregon's Kurt Schrader said he "feels better" knowing Pelosi plans to stick to her pledge from after the 2018 election that she wouldn't serve more than two more terms as speaker, making the upcoming Congress her last. "It makes a big difference to me and I think a lot of members," he said.

Pelosi made that pledge as part of a deal cut with a handful of members who threatened to oppose her speaker bid two years ago. The group proposed term limits for the top three Democratic leaders that would have pushed the current occupants of those roles out after two more terms.

The Democratic Caucus never took up the term limit proposal, but Pelosi promised to abide by it regardless. She affirmed she plans to keep her word at a news conference Nov. 18 after the caucus nominated her for speaker. "I don't want to undermine any leverage I may have, but I made the statement," Pelosi said.

### MAJORITY LEADER:

**Steny H. Hoyer**, 81, is returning to the majority leader post to serve as Pelosi's No. 2 in Democratic leadership for the 10th consecutive term. No one challenged Hoyer for the role, and the caucus reelected the Maryland Democrat by acclamation on Nov. 18.



Hoyer



Clyburn

### MAJORITY WHIP:

**James E. Clyburn**, 80, will serve his eighth term as the third-ranking House Democrat. The caucus reelected the South Carolina Democrat majority whip by acclamation on Nov. 18.

### ASSISTANT SPEAKER:

Massachusetts Rep. **Katherine M. Clark**, 57, won a race for assistant speaker against Rhode Island Rep. David Cicilline, 59, in a 135-92 vote on Nov. 18. Clark's win makes her the second-highest-ranking woman ever in Democratic leadership, behind Pelosi. Clark entered the House in 2013 after winning a special election to replace Edward J. Markey, who was elected to the Senate. She first joined the leadership team two years ago after winning a contested election for caucus vice chairman.



Clark



Jeffries

### CAUCUS CHAIRMAN:

**Hakeem Jeffries**, 50, faced no competition in his bid for a second term as caucus chairman and was reelected by acclamation. Caucus rules prevent the New York Democrat from serving beyond two terms as chairman, but he is widely expected to run to succeed Pelosi as the top Democrat after she leaves.



Aguilar

### CAUCUS VICE CHAIRMAN:

In a 148-82 vote on Nov. 19, California Rep. **Pete Aguilar**, 41, beat Illinois Rep. Robin Kelly, 64, in a race for caucus vice chairman.

In taking over the No. 6 role, Aguilar will be the highest-ranking Latino in the 117th Congress, with outgoing Assistant Speaker Ben Ray Lujan of New Mexico headed to the Senate. The Congressional Hispanic Caucus and New Democrat Coalition endorsed Aguilar in the vice chairman race. The New Democrats' endorsement of Aguilar, their whip, was their first ever in a leadership race.

### DCCC CHAIRMAN:

New York Rep. **Sean Patrick Maloney**, 54, and California Rep. **Tony Cárdenas**, 57, are vying for Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee chairman. Maloney, who was endorsed by the LGBTQ+ Equality Caucus, would be the highest-ranking openly gay member of leadership. The winner will replace Illinois Rep. Cheri Bustos, who opted not to seek a second term atop the campaign arm after a disappointing election cycle in which Democrats lost seats when they expected gains.

### DPCC CO-CHAIRMEN:

The caucus elected its four Democratic Policy and Communications Committee co-chairmen by acclamation since their races were uncontested. The current three DPCC co-chairs — Michigan's **Debbie Dingell**, 67, California's **Ted Lieu**, 51, and Pennsylvania's **Matt Cartwright**, 59 — won second terms, their last per caucus rules. Joining them is Colorado's Joe Neguse, 36, who was elected to fill a fourth co-chairman seat that the caucus installed this fall to replace the so-called chair of chairs position created two years ago for Cicilline.

### CAUCUS LEADERSHIP REPRESENTATIVE:

Texas Rep. **Colin Allred**, 37, narrowly defeated fellow freshman Jason Crow of Colorado, 41, and third-term Michigan Rep. Brenda Lawrence, 66, to win the post of caucus leadership representative. Only members in their first five terms can vote for and serve in this position, which has a one-term limit. The contest required two ballots to resolve since no one secured an outright majority in the close first round, which Allred led with 46 votes to Crow's 43 and Lawrence's 42. Lawrence was dropped from the second-round ballot, which saw Allred prevail over Crow, 69-58.



Allred

### FRESHMAN REPRESENTATIVE:

New York's **Mondaire Jones** was unanimously elected Nov. 19 by fellow members of the incoming Democratic freshman class as their leadership representative. The 33-year-old will be the youngest member of the leadership team. Jones is the first openly gay Black man in leadership. He and fellow New Yorker Ritchie Torres, 32, made history as the first openly gay Black men elected to Congress.



Jones

## REPUBLICANS



McCarthy

House Republicans reelected California's **Kevin McCarthy**, 55, minority leader, Louisiana's **Steve Scalise**, 55, minority whip and Wyoming's **Liz Cheney**, 54, GOP Conference chairwoman. The top three GOP leaders all ran uncontested.

Minnesota's **Tom Emmer**, 59, was reelected as National Republican Congressional Committee chairman, and Alabama's **Gary Palmer**, 66, was reelected as Republican Policy Committee chairman. They also ran uncontested.

Republicans elected two new leaders: Louisiana's **Mike Johnson**, 48, as conference vice chairman and North Carolina's **Richard Hudson**, 49, as conference secretary.

— Lindsey McPherson



ALABAMA 01

## JERRY CARL

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated James Averhart, D, to succeed Rep. Bradley Byrne, R, who ran for Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Mobile • **BORN:** June 17, 1958; Mobile, Ala. • **RELIGION:** Southern Baptist • **FAMILY:** Wife, Tina; three children • **EDUCATION:** Lake City Community College, attended • **CAREER:** Entrepreneur • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Mobile County Commission, 2012-20 (president 2015-16, 2019-20)

Entrepreneur Jerry Carl brings a business-minded approach to his conservative district.

The Alabama county commissioner touts his experience starting roughly a dozen businesses, including companies manufacturing church furniture and selling home health care equipment.

"I've really tried to take my business background and apply it to government, which has worked very well," he said. Carl is hoping to use his business background with a spot on the Financial Services Committee.

Carl lists veterans' health care and border security as policy priorities.

"We got an Air Force base. We've got a very large Coast Guard base here. We've got a lot of military around us," he said. He wants to use his executive experience to help simplify the Veterans Affairs Department's health care system. "I think there's just way too much bureaucracy there," Carl said.

Carl also plans to look out for his district's defense manufacturing interests, including Austal USA, which builds naval combat ships at a Mobile shipyard. "That's 4,000 jobs."

A stint on the port authority as part of his county commission duties crystalized his concern over border security. He cites problems of drug trafficking, with his district's proximity to two interstate highways.

"When you talk about border security, it's not a problem just on the border of Mexico in Texas and Arizona. They're bringing those drugs across there, they're putting 'em on the interstate," Carl said. "If we can stop it at the border, we're a lot better off."



ALABAMA 02

## BARRY MOORE

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Phyllis Harvey-Hall, D, to succeed Rep. Martha Roby, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Enterprise • **BORN:** Sept. 26, 1966; Enterprise, Ala. • **RELIGION:** Baptist • **FAMILY:** Wife, Heather; four children • **EDUCATION:** Enterprise State Community College, A.S., 1990; Auburn U., B.S., 1992 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Ala. National Guard • **CAREER:** Waste management company owner, animal pharmaceutical company worker • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Ala. House, 2010-18; sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 2018

A former state lawmaker who started his own business, Barry Moore is interested in reducing regulations to stimulate small business growth. He says his experiences as the operator of a waste management company drew him to politics.

"I had to deal with a lot of government regulations and issues that seemed to be counterproductive to creating jobs and growing our company," he said.

A former member of the Alabama National Guard, he sees politics as a service and an opportunity to protect capitalism, free markets and small business.

Moore enters the House with the endorsement of the hard-line Freedom Caucus' political action committee. He's interested in seats on either the Veterans' Affairs Committee or the Armed Services Committee.

Tending to the military and veterans is one of Moore's top policy concerns, namely overseeing Maxwell-Gunter Air Force Base and Fort Rucker, both in his district, and a large number of veteran constituents. He says he'll bring a fresh perspective as the Alabama delegation's sole military veteran. "It's neat that we'll have somebody finally to be a voice to the process for a lot of those forgotten people," he said.

Moore first sought the seat in 2018, unsuccessfully challenging Rep. Martha Roby in the GOP primary. Moore argued that Roby alienated her constituents; she had withdrawn her support for then presidential candidate Donald Trump in 2016 following the public release of an audio recording that featured Trump making crude comments about women.

Roby opted not to seek another term in 2020, clearing the way for Moore.



CALIFORNIA 08

## JAY OBERNOLTE

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Christine Bubser, D, to succeed Rep. Paul Cook, R, who ran for San Bernardino County Bd. of Supervisors • **RESIDENCE:** Big Bear Lake • **BORN:** Aug. 18, 1970; Chicago, Ill. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Heather; two children • **EDUCATION:** California Inst. of Technology, B.S., 1992; U. of California, Los Angeles, M.S., 1997 • **CAREER:** Video game developer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Big Bear Lake City Council, 2010-14 (mayor, 2010-14); Calif. Assembly, 2014-20

A detail-oriented video game developer turned politician, Jay Obernolte comes to Congress with an interest in reducing regulations to stimulate businesses.

In the California Assembly, Obernolte opposed legislation requiring businesses to treat staff as employees rather than contractors if their work is tied to the nature of the business. He wants to prevent any offshoots of the California law from making progress at the federal level.

Obernolte says that allowing businesses to hire contractors instead of using resources for full-time employees is the reason California's tech industry, including his own company, has blossomed.

"The only way that I could grow my business is that I had more work to do than I could personally do myself — I could subcontract that work to other people that I knew would do a good job," he said.

Attending CalTech, Obernolte started a side gig programming for Nintendo. He went into video game development full-time after a game he designed for the Sega Genesis, "NFL '95," went platinum.

He founded FarSight Studios — the company has developed multi-platform videogames for consoles and smartphones.

The budget process is also a policy priority for Obernolte. He worked toward a doctorate in public sector budgeting while campaigning for Congress and says that lawmakers should take more of an interest in the budget process.

"Formation of the budget is one of those consequential things that we accomplish as a deliberative body every year," he said.



CALIFORNIA 21

## DAVID VALADAO

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. TJ Cox, D  
**• RESIDENCE:** Hanford • **BORN:** April 14, 1977; Hanford, Calif. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Terra; three children • **EDUCATION:** College of the Sequoias, attended • **CAREER:** Dairy farmer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Calif. Assembly, 2010-12; U.S. House, 2013-19

David Valadeo will pick up where he left off two years ago, advocating for his agriculture-heavy district in the House.

Valadao is a dairy farmer, and his Central Valley district is among the nation's top dairy districts. He served three terms before losing his seat in 2018. Water access occupied much of his attention then. It promises to be at the forefront of his agenda should he return to Congress.

He touts among his legislative accomplishments the 2016 enactment of a water resources bill that included some policy changes Valadao had sought aimed at increasing water storage capacity.

"We also have more to do," he said in a February interview on public radio. "I still think we have to continue to bring more water into the Central Valley. And that helps put us in a position where we can deliver clean water to the communities."

Another policy concern for his majority-Latino district is immigration — an issue where Valadao has been known to side with Democrats. He has supported legislation to give legal status to undocumented immigrants brought to the country as children.

In 2013 he was one of only three Republicans to sign on to a comprehensive immigration overhaul put forth by Democrats.

The California Republican has also faced a set of financial woes. Valadao and his wife filed for bankruptcy protection for their dairy and cattle businesses early in 2020. During his previous House tenure, he was among the poorest members of Congress due to his business debts.



CALIFORNIA 39

## YOUNG KIM

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Gil Cisneros, D • **RESIDENCE:** Fullerton • **BORN:** Oct. 18, 1962; Incheon, South Korea • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Charles; four children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Southern California, B.S., 1985 • **CAREER:** Public affairs consultant, congressional aide, clothing company business owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Calif. Assembly, 2014-16; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 2018

Young Kim, a longtime congressional aide and former state legislator, will be among the first Korean American women in Congress. Many of her positions are informed by her immigrant experience and place her as a moderate Republican.

Kim was born in Incheon, South Korea. While she was a child, her family moved to Guam, then Hawaii. College brought her to California, where she eventually started a women's clothing company.

The jump to public service came when Kim was introduced to Republican Ed Royce, who was a state senator at the time. She joined Royce's office and stayed with him when he transitioned to the U.S. House. Kim worked in the district as an adviser and community liaison, leaving in 2014 after 21 years to seek a California Assembly seat — which she held for one term.

Kim espouses free-market, business-friendly policies; she describes herself as a "problem solver" and touts her small-business background. She also encourages constituents to see her as an immigrant who understands the concerns of her diverse district.

She backs legal immigration and increased border security, but also endorses a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who were brought to the United States as children. She has been supportive of plans to overhaul law enforcement practices, but not to defund police.

Kim is also a critic of affirmative action, which critics say can disadvantage high-achieving Asian Americans. That issue helped her win her 2014 Assembly race.

She first ran for the House in 2018, hoping to succeed the retiring Royce. Kim fell about 3,500 votes shy of victory that cycle.



CALIFORNIA 48

## MICHELLE STEEL

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Harley Rouda, D • **RESIDENCE:** Surfside • **BORN:** June 21, 1955; Seoul, South Korea • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Shawn; two children • **EDUCATION:** Pepperdine U., B.S., 1997; U. of Southern California, E.M.B.A., 2010 • **CAREER:** Law firm finance officer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Calif. State Board of Equalization, 2007-15 (vice chairwoman, 2011-14); Orange County Board of Supervisors, 2015-20 (vice chairwoman, 2016, 2019; chairwoman, 2017, 2020)

Taxes were Michelle Steel's entry point to electoral politics, and they are likely to be her focus in Congress as well.

From 2007 to 2015, Steel served on the California State Board of Equalization, an elected body that oversees state tax policy and administration. She decided to run for the board after seeing her mother struggle to navigate tax notices for her sandwich shop. As Steel tells it, her mother, a Korean immigrant who does not speak English, ended up paying taxes she did not owe.

Among other things, Steel vows to oppose increases to the federal gas tax, and to undo changes to the state and local tax deduction and the mortgage interest deduction that were put in place by the 2017 tax overhaul.

Facing a term limit on the Board of Equalization, Steel ran for the Orange County Board of Supervisors and was twice chosen as chairwoman. As a county leader, Steel has been at the center of Orange County's response to the coronavirus. She drew criticism for resisting calls to shut down businesses and require residents to wear masks.

Before running for office Steel was a political commentator, hosting a weekly segment on the Korean-language station Radio Seoul starting in 1993. She was drawn to politics over concerns about how the 1992 Los Angeles riots — sparked by the acquittal of police officers videotaped beating Rodney King — were impacting the Korean community.

She has served on the President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders under presidents George W. Bush and Donald Trump.





CALIFORNIA 50

## DARRELL ISSA

**BIOGRAPHY:** **PRONOUNCED:** EYE-sah • **ELECTION:** Defeated Ammar Campa-Najjar, D, to succeed Rep. Duncan Hunter, R, who resigned • **RESIDENCE:** Vista • **BORN:** Nov. 1, 1953; Cleveland, Ohio • **RELIGION:** Antioch Orthodox Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Kathy; one child • **EDUCATION:** Kent State U., A.A., 1976; Siena Heights College, B.A., 1976 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Army, Army Reserve • **CAREER:** Car alarm company owner, electronics manufacturing company executive • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, 1998; U.S. House, 2001-19

**D**arrell Issa, who previously served nine terms in neighboring districts, is best known for his strong-arm tactics as chairman of the Oversight and Government Reform Committee during Barack Obama's administration.

"I've been changing Washington for 18 years, and when I return, I will continue to do exactly the kind of things I did that made me friends and enemies," he said during a press conference announcing his bid to return to Washington.

A former owner of a car alarm company and an executive at an electronics manufacturing company, Issa was the wealthiest member of Congress for a decade. He spent eight of his nine terms representing the 49th District.

Less than a year after his retirement from Congress, he jumped into the race to succeed former Rep. Duncan Hunter, who resigned from his seat in the neighboring 50th District — considered more favorable territory for a Republican.

During his time as Oversight chairman from 2011 to 2014, Issa's questioning of witnesses such as Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. made for vivid political theater. He led the effort in 2012 to have the House vote to hold Holder in contempt of Congress for not providing Justice Department documents concerning the Obama administration's botched gun-tracking program, Operation Fast and Furious.

Critics called him ambitious to the point of arrogance, but few questioned that Issa worked hard to win the Oversight job. He leapfrogged more-senior members by throwing himself into his work and mastering mundane subjects such as government procurement.



CALIFORNIA 53

## SARA JACOBS

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Georgette Gómez, D, to succeed Rep. Susan A. Davis, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** San Diego • **BORN:** Feb. 1, 1989; San Diego, Calif. • **RELIGION:** Jewish • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** Columbia U., B.A., 2011; Columbia U., M.I.A., 2012 • **CAREER:** Child anti-poverty nonprofit founder, State Dept. aide, U.N. aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 2018

**T**he scion of a well-known San Diego telecom family, Sara Jacobs is a young liberal interested in turning her nonprofit and international development backgrounds into an agenda focused on children's health, education and housing issues.

She wants to continue the work of Democratic Rep. Susan A. Davis, a senior member of the Education and Labor Committee who specialized in early childhood issues. Davis' retirement left the 53rd District open.

Mitigating childhood poverty is one of Jacobs' key priorities, stemming from her tenure leading a nonprofit in San Diego County and working with international organizations such as UNICEF.

She says the coronavirus pandemic has exacerbated the need for a large federal response to address poverty, especially in her district. "I think many people view us as this very nice beach town, but in fact, even before the economic crisis that we're in now, 40 percent of our kids were living in families experiencing poverty," she said.

Jacobs wants a seat on Education and Labor to work on poverty mitigation efforts. She's also open to spots on the Science, Space and Technology panel or Foreign Affairs.

Jacobs grew up in San Diego. Her grandfather is Irwin Jacobs, the founder of the multibillion-dollar telecom giant Qualcomm.

She ran in the 49th District in 2018, hoping to respond to the Trump administration's targeted travel ban and the proposed Defense Department policy to bar transgender persons from military service. But she did not advance past California's "top two" multiparty primary.

Jumping to the 53rd District, she finished first out of 15 candidates in the 2020 primary.



COLORADO 03

## LAUREN BOEBERT

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Diane Mitsch Bush, D, to succeed Rep. Scott Tipton, R, who was defeated in a primary • **RESIDENCE:** Silt • **BORN:** Dec. 19, 1986; Orlando, Fla. • **RELIGION:** Nondenominational Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Jayson; four children • **EDUCATION:** GED • **CAREER:** Restaurant owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**L**auren Boebert is a gun rights advocate focused on defending hard-line GOP stances.

Boebert strode onto the national stage by defeating five-term incumbent Scott Tipton in a GOP primary, en route to winning the western Colorado district. She bills herself as a backstop to keep Congress from sliding toward the policies of what she calls "left-wing lunatics."

She told the Denver Post that she would fight for "freedom, personal responsibility and the Constitution." She hopes to align with the conservative Freedom Caucus.

Boebert runs a gun-themed restaurant called Shooters Grill in the town of Rifle. The servers openly carry firearms. She favors open-carry policies. "I think it should be normal everywhere. I think it should be a common sight. I think we would have a lot less violence if it was," she told ABC News.

Boebert often echoes the rhetoric of President Donald Trump — she backs the construction of a border wall and questions the efficacy of masks to curb the spread of coronavirus. She previously expressed an interest in QAnon, a wide-ranging conspiracy theory that alleges a "deep state" plot against Trump, but now says, "I am not a follower."

She supports a fossil-fuel energy policy and is interested in a seat on the Energy and Commerce Committee. Boebert attributes wildfires in her district in 2020 to overgrown and ill-tended forests.

While this is her first political office, Boebert was also in the news for confronting Democratic presidential candidate Beto O'Rourke at a gun control event in Colorado, about his proposal to confiscate assault-style weapons. Boebert, who is seldom without a loaded weapon on her hip, carried a pistol at the event.





FLORIDA 03

## KAT CAMMACK

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Adam Christensen, D, to succeed Rep. Ted Yoho, R, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Gainesville • **BORN:** Feb. 16, 1988; Denver, Colo. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Matthew Harrison • **EDUCATION:** Metropolitan State U., Denver, B.A., 2011; U.S. Naval War College, M.S., 2017 • **CAREER:** Congressional aide, campaign aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

A former congressional aide, Kat Cammack joins the House GOP as its youngest female member. She has an eye toward shrinking the size of government and dealing with issues she argues pose major threats to younger generations: rising spending and the national debt.

"To me, having a seat at the table to put a stop to this reckless spending is incredibly important, and that's ultimately what I hope to do," she says.

Cammack's former boss, Republican Ted Yoho, is retiring from the north-central Florida seat after four terms.

She joins the House eager to shake up the institution she says made her more conservative during her eight years as a Capitol Hill staffer. "It has really solidified my beliefs in smaller government and really reinvigorated my desire to return as much power as possible to the states and local governments," she said.

She sees reining in spending as one way to do that and wants to see "common sense" steps taken to curb discretionary spending and reduce the size of federal government.

She also specializes in energy policy, having handled that portfolio in Yoho's office. Cammack is aiming for a spot on Energy and Commerce, where she can best advocate for the liquefied natural gas industry in her region.

"I think there's incredible opportunities for us as Americans to really make a push for being world leaders when it comes to LNG," she said.

Cammack also hopes to address technology issues such as data and privacy concerns and rural broadband access.



FLORIDA 15

## SCOTT FRANKLIN

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Alan Cohn, D, to succeed Rep. Ross Spano, R, who was defeated in a primary • **RESIDENCE:** Lakeland • **BORN:** Aug. 23, 1964; Thomaston, Ga. • **RELIGION:** Presbyterian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Amy; three children • **EDUCATION:** U.S. Naval Academy, B.S., 1986; Embry-Riddle Aeronautical U., M.B.A., 1994 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Navy, Navy Reserve • **CAREER:** Insurance executive • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Lakeland City Commission, 2018-20 (mayor pro tem, 2018-20)

Scott Franklin campaigned on his military experience, his business experience and support for the Trump administration. A GOP loyalist, he describes himself as a "strong conservative and a strict constitutionalist."

Franklin is familiar with calculating risk — as a Navy pilot he used to land F-14s on aircraft carrier decks, and he also has a career in the insurance industry. "I approach everything from a risk management standpoint," he said.

And he thinks federal borrowing and spending have been getting a bit risky. As the government continues to respond to the economic damage of the COVID-19 pandemic, Franklin calls for keeping taxes low and carefully scrutinizing future spending. He thinks provisions to aid small businesses in the March 2020 relief package "saved our economy" but would prefer a more-targeted approach going forward, perhaps focused on the hardest-hit industries.

And "we need to have an element of workforce development in there, because I think some of these jobs that people had aren't going to come back," he said.

Franklin, who served in the Navy for 26 years, also says Congress should not give a "blank check" to the Defense Department. He was supportive of the Trump administration's foreign policy, citing the avoidance of new conflicts and finding "ways to actually do things more peacefully."

With his background in insurance, he's interested in a seat on the Financial Services Committee.

Franklin became the nominee by challenging freshman Republican Rep. Ross Spano in the primary. Spano was reportedly under investigation for alleged campaign finance violations in his 2018 campaign.



FLORIDA 19

## BYRON DONALDS

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Cindy Lyn Banyai, D, to succeed Rep. Francis Rooney, R, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Naples • **BORN:** Oct. 28, 1978; Brooklyn, N.Y. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Erika; three children • **EDUCATION:** Florida State U., B.S., 2002 • **CAREER:** Financial advisor, portfolio manager, credit manager • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 2012; Fla. House, 2016-20

Byron Donalds will enter the House determined to overhaul the budget process. The fiscal conservative is an advocate for zero-based budgeting, which requires every agency to justify its full budget each year.

"It helps you really understand what is necessary for the federal government to continue spending money on versus the things that we should just stop spending money on altogether," he said.

His goal is to use his background as a financial adviser by landing a seat on Financial Services. "I have a really good knowledge of what works on the ground, what doesn't work, and what rules have to change," he said.

Donalds says he's also interested in joining a pair of groups which are currently at political odds with each other: The House Freedom Caucus and the Congressional Black Caucus. "It's important that we have people on both sides of the aisle to really talk about the issues that affect Black people in America," he said.

And while Donalds generally calls for smaller government, one of the few areas he strays from that principle is water quality. His coastal district has experienced erosion and environmental degradation in the Everglades.

"The federal government has a responsibility for repairing the Everglades system," he said, emphasizing that he was more interested in the funding over the environmental aspects of the project. "It's really about making sure that the federal government steps up to the plate and funds the projects to help rebuild our water system."

Donalds was raised in Brooklyn but found his way to Florida for college. He was elected to the Florida House in 2016.



FLORIDA 26

## CARLOS GIMENEZ

**BIOGRAPHY:** PRONOUNCED: HEE-min-ez

• **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, D  
• **RESIDENCE:** Miami • **BORN:** Jan. 17, 1954; Cuba  
• **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Lourdes; three children • **EDUCATION:** Barry U., B.P.A., 1999 • **CAREER:** City manager, fire chief, firefighter • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Miami-Dade County Commission, 2004-11; mayor of Miami-Dade County, 2011-20

Describing himself as a center-right Republican and a fiscal conservative, Carlos Gimenez wants to use his two decades of local government experience to tackle economic issues in Congress.

Gimenez has embraced a “nonpartisan” label for years, and publicly voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016. But he switched gears in 2020, announcing his support for President Donald Trump and securing Trump’s endorsement.

He comes to Washington after nearly 10 years as mayor of Miami-Dade County, which has been hit hard by the coronavirus pandemic. Gimenez took a more cautious approach to re-opening businesses than the rest of the state, but defended Trump and Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis’ approach. “I think Washington has responded the best they could,” he told *The Washington Post*.

In line with Trump, he has criticized calls to “defund the police” and in 2017 directed county jails to comply with federal immigration detention requests, ending the county’s “sanctuary” status for undocumented immigrants.

He notes the need to address environmental issues including rising ocean levels, the restoration of the Florida Everglades and water flow from Lake Okeechobee.

Gimenez was born in Cuba and immigrated to Miami with his family in 1960, when he was almost 7. “I didn’t speak a word of English when I got here,” Gimenez remembers.

He worked as a firefighter for 25 years, becoming the fire chief for the City of Miami at 37. In 2000 he was appointed city manager, and in 2004 he was elected to the Board of County Commissioners.



FLORIDA 27

## MARÍA ELVIRA SALAZAR

**BIOGRAPHY:** ELECTION: Defeated Rep. Donna E.

Shalala, D • **RESIDENCE:** Coral Gables • **BORN:** Nov. 1, 1961; Miami, Fla. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Jaime Court; two children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Miami, B.A., 1983; Harvard U., M.P.A., 1995 • **CAREER:** Television reporter • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Republican nominee for U.S. House, 2018

María Elvira Salazar is a prominent Spanish-language television journalist who defines herself as a “Republican with an accent.”

She has spent decades reporting on politics, Latino issues and international affairs. “I have been a journalist for 35 years. I know the topics very well. I have asked the tough questions,” she told a Miami-based CBS affiliate. She has worked at Univision, Telemundo and CNN Español; she covered the White House and the Pentagon and served as a Central America bureau chief.

Salazar was born in Miami, where her Cuban parents fled to escape Fidel Castro’s dictatorship. She also spent part of her childhood in Puerto Rico.

“We know that socialism, it means ‘burning hell,’” Salazar told *Jewish Insider*. “If I can be a voice against that burning hell on the floor of the United States Congress, I will be that voice.”

In her 2020 bid, Salazar made “anti-socialism” a central part of her campaign. She compared the agenda of the Democratic House to socialist and communist policies favored by Castro — whom Salazar once interviewed — and other Latin American dictators.

Anti-socialism does not necessarily mean hard-line conservatism, however. Salazar is not a fan of the 2010 health care law, but in an October debate she said “you need to keep it until Congress offers something better, cheaper, and for everybody in this country.”

She also joins other South Florida lawmakers in seeking federal infrastructure funding to mitigate the effects of climate change and rising sea levels.



GEORGIA 05

## NIKEMA WILLIAMS

**BIOGRAPHY:** ELECTION: Defeated Angela

Stanton-King, R • **RESIDENCE:** Atlanta • **BORN:** July 30, 1978; Columbus, Ga. • **RELIGION:** Methodist • **FAMILY:** Husband, Leslie Small; one child • **EDUCATION:** Talladega College, B.A., 2000 • **CAREER:** Domestic worker advocacy group executive, government affairs executive • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Ga. Senate, 2017-20; Ga. Democratic Party chairwoman, 2019-20

Nikema Williams has no plans to fly under the radar on Capitol Hill.

She has been heavily involved with the Democratic Party for nearly two decades, and in 2019 she became the first Black chairwoman of the Georgia Democratic Party. While in Congress she wants to show the country that Black women are leaders.

Her “out loud and on purpose” approach is reminiscent of that of her “hero” and close friend, the late Democratic Rep. John Lewis. The civil rights icon held the 5th District seat for more than three decades. Williams’ husband was once an aide in Lewis’ office.

Atop Williams’ list of priorities is ensuring voting rights for all Americans. She wants to standardize state voter registration and absentee ballot rules. “The [COVID-19] pandemic has shone a spotlight on many issues,” she said, “and one of them is how disjointed our right to vote is across this country.”

A supporter of the “Medicare for All” concept, she says it should be “a basic human right” to have health coverage. She also wants to see a national response to the coronavirus pandemic.

Williams contracted the virus in the spring and spent three weeks battling symptoms. After she recovered, she started urging politicians to heed the advice of public health officials on reopening state economies.

A seat on the Oversight and Reform Committee appeals to Williams, who wants to examine how federal agencies work and take a deeper look into systemic oppression of minorities.



GEORGIA 07

## CAROLYN BOURDEAUX

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rich McCormick, R, to succeed Rep. Rob Woodall, R, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Suwanee • **BORN:** June 3, 1970; Roanoke, Va. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Jeff; one child • **EDUCATION:** Yale U., B.A., 1992; U. of Southern California, M.P.A., 1998; Syracuse U., Ph.D., 2003 • **CAREER:** University administrator, professor, state budget official, congressional aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Democratic nominee for U.S. House, 2018

After years of policy work, Carolyn Bourdeaux will move center stage as an elected official. It will “be nice to be out front setting the agenda,” the budgeting expert said. Her victory captured for Democrats a seat that had been held by the GOP since the mid-1990s.

Bourdeaux worked as a congressional aide, completed advanced degrees in public administration, then got hired as a professor at Georgia State University in Atlanta. She served as the director of the school’s Center for State and Local Finance. From 2007 to 2010, she took a leave of absence to run the Georgia Senate’s Budget and Evaluation Office, which provides nonpartisan budget analysis to state lawmakers.

She says the Trump administration’s attempt to repeal the 2010 health care law motivated her first run for Congress in 2018 — a very narrow loss to Republican Rep. Rob Woodall.

Health care will likely be a major issue for Bordeaux in the 117th Congress, and she supports expanding the 2010 health care law to include a public option and to increase subsidies for insurance plans. Public health investments, she says, will also be the only way to resolve the economic crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Bourdeaux also wants Congress to invest in ground-level institutions and infrastructure that help the country function. She supports expanding Pell Grants and other forms of education assistance, job training, rural broadband programs and mass transit infrastructure.

She has hopes that her background could merit a seat on the Ways and Means Committee; she’s also intrigued by the Energy and Commerce panel, another platform to address health care.



GEORGIA 09

## ANDREW CLYDE

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Devin Pandey, D, to succeed Rep. Doug Collins, R, who ran for Senate  
**• RESIDENCE:** Athens • **BORN:** Nov. 22, 1963; Walkerton, Ontario, Canada • **RELIGION:** Baptist • **FAMILY:** Wife, Jennifer • **EDUCATION:** Bethel College, B.B.A., 1985; U. of Georgia, M.B.A., 1999 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Navy, Navy Reserve • **CAREER:** Gun store owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Andrew Clyde, a 28-year Navy veteran and gun store owner, hopes to land a seat on the Armed Services Committee. He also wants to work on issues such as gun access.

Clyde had not held elected office before deciding to run for the House seat that Rep. Doug Collins, R-Ga., gave up to run for the Senate.

Clyde will focus much of his attention on gun access. He plans to pursue the deregulation of suppressors in short-barrel rifles and shotguns as well as removing the “sporting restriction” that a 1968 gun control law places on the type of firearms and ammunition that can be imported.

Nonsporting ammunition includes armor piercing ammunition, tracer ammunition (except sporting shotgun ammunition), ammunition for destructive devices, and incendiary ammunition, according to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. “There’s not a sporting definition in the Second Amendment,” Clyde said. “That’s a red herring that needs to go away.”

Expanding broadband internet access throughout his rural district is another top priority for Clyde. “I think the federal government, with private institutions, can help pave the way for that, just like they did with electricity and just like they did with telephones — treat it as a utility,” Clyde said, adding that he views broadband as an infrastructure issue.

He is a staunch fiscal conservative who calls for the elimination of any federal department or program not covered by congressional powers listed in Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution. Clyde also favors the “FairTax” plan to replace income taxes with a single national sales tax.



GEORGIA 14

## MARJORIE TAYLOR GREENE

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Kevin Van Ausdal, D, to succeed Rep. Tom Graves, R, who resigned  
**• RESIDENCE:** Rome • **BORN:** May 27, 1974; Milledgeville, Ga. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Perry; three children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Georgia, B.B.A., 1996 • **CAREER:** Construction and renovation company owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

An outspoken conservative known for her polarizing views, Marjorie Taylor Greene is on a mission to “save America and stop the socialist goals of the Democrat party.”

Taylor Greene calls herself an “unapologetically pro-life” conservative who will back legislation to stop taxpayer funding of abortions. A proud gun owner, she says she will staunchly defend the Second Amendment and push to end gun-free zones.

She is interested in a seat on the House Oversight and Reform Committee and plans to introduce legislation to make political targeting a hate crime. She seeks to put an end to the “Big Tech censorship” policies she believes are skewed against conservatives.

“They have no problem with antifa ... yet they will censor conservative speech, just because of the different political policies,” she said.

Taylor Greene previously promoted QAnon, a wide-ranging conspiracy theory that alleges a “deep state” plot against President Donald Trump, but she has since sought to distance herself from the fringe movement.

She also has been criticized for Facebook videos she posted voicing contentious views, including warnings of an “Islamic invasion” of government offices, referring to Jewish businessman George Soros as a “Nazi” and asserting that gangs, drugs and lack of education were holding down Black men in America.

Republican leaders have condemned her comments but Taylor Greene has been undeterred. She says she’s not coming to Congress to make friends.

Her path to Congress was assured after she defeated neurosurgeon John Cowan in the GOP primary in one of the most Republican districts in the country.





HAWAII 02

**KAI  
KAHELE**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **PRONOUNCED:** ka-HAY-lay • **ELECTION:** Defeated Joe Akana, R, to succeed Rep. Tulsi Gabbard, D, who ran for president • **RESIDENCE:** Hilo • **BORN:** March 28, 1974; Honolulu, Hawaii • **RELIGION:** Unspecified • **FAMILY:** Wife, Maria; three children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Hawaii, B.S., 1997 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Hawaii Air National Guard • **CAREER:** Airline pilot • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Hawaii Senate, 2016-20

**K**ai Kahele will be just the second Native Hawaiian to represent the state in Congress, following in the footsteps of a family friend, the late Sen. Daniel K. Akaka. He is a progressive interested in expanding federal programs to bolster Hawaii's economy and infrastructure.

He says he brings a fresh perspective in Congress as a representative from his state's "neighbor islands" — islands outside of the main population center of Oahu. Kahele was raised on the Big Island and still lives there with his family. As the delegation's only Native Hawaiian, he also wants to champion indigenous issues.

Kahele said his policy priorities have been shaped by the COVID-19 pandemic. He supports a single-payer health care plan. "COVID-19 has really exposed the major faults we already knew were there in our health care system," he said. "It has reaffirmed my belief that health care's got to be available and accessible to everyone."

He wants to be active in federal efforts to rehabilitate and diversify the state's economy, which has been crushed by the pandemic's effect on tourism. He sees the progressive-backed plan to strip carbon emissions from the economy — the so-called Green New Deal — as a way forward.

Kahele has been a state senator since 2016. As a member of the Hawaii National Guard, he did tours in Afghanistan and Iraq before taking his flying skills to Hawaiian Airlines as a commercial pilot.

Kahele announced his candidacy in January 2019, but a serious primary battle never developed. Democratic Rep. Tulsi Gabbard did not seek reelection and focused on her presidential campaign.



ILLINOIS 03

**MARIE  
NEWMAN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Mike Fracilone, R, to succeed Rep. Daniel Lipinski, D, who was defeated in a primary • **RESIDENCE:** La Grange • **BORN:** April 13, 1964; Chicago, Ill. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Husband, Jim; two children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Wisconsin, B.A., 1986 • **CAREER:** Marketing executive, business consultant, nonprofit founder • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 2018

**D**emocrats have held the 3rd District for more than four decades, but Marie Newman will represent it with a more progressive mindset than her predecessor — she ousted Rep. Daniel Lipinski in the primary.

Unlike Lipinski, Newman supports abortion rights. She also backs liberal proposals such as the "Medicare for All" government-run health care system and the so-called Green New Deal, a sweeping proposal to decarbonize the economy.

But many of her legislative and policy priorities — namely transportation and infrastructure — will offer the longtime marketing and advertising executive an opportunity to showcase her pragmatic side. She will seek a spot on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, which has jurisdiction over the nation's roads, railroads and waterways and civilian air travel.

"My priorities are what's important to the district," she said. Though she's an unabashed progressive, Newman says she's interested in finding common ground, or at least comity, with her conservative colleagues.

"I am looking forward to creating a congressional environment where we are respectful to one another, but where we also are very firm in our principles," said Newman. She founded Team Up to Stop Bullying after her son, Quinn, was bullied in elementary school. She has a transgender daughter, Evie, and advocates for LGBTQ rights.

Newman also calls for universal child care and a \$15 federal minimum wage. "By making our health care system more fair, our economy more fair, we will be better able to create racial equity," she said.



ILLINOIS 15

**MARY  
MILLER**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Erika C. Weaver, D, to succeed Rep. John Shimkus, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Oakland • **BORN:** Aug. 7, 1959; Naperville, Ill. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Chris; seven children • **EDUCATION:** Eastern Illinois U., B.S., 1981 • **CAREER:** Farmer, teacher • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**M**ary Miller is a political newcomer who presents herself as an across-the-board conservative. Her personal experience owning and operating a family farm will inform her work representing a rural district.

When 12-term Republican Rep. John Shimkus announced his retirement, Miller was "part of the group looking for a true conservative to run," she told the Illinois Newsroom. She defined a true conservative as someone who promotes smaller, more accountable government and reduces taxes.

The search ended with Miller. In addition to her fiscal conservatism, she ran on a message of "family, faith and freedom" and told the Chicago Tribune that "the erosion of our values and morals" is a major concern for voters in her district.

Miller and her husband have operated a cattle and grain farm for four decades. She has been an outspoken supporter of the Trump administration's approach to trade negotiations, which sometimes involves arm-twisting and retaliatory tariffs.

She cited the January 2020 "Phase 1" pact with China, which sought to boost the purchase of more U.S. agriculture products, as a move in the right direction. "We need more deals like this to open up new markets and new opportunities for our farmers," she told the Chicago Tribune.

She is a staunch defender of Second Amendment rights and increased border security.

Miller, who has an Illinois teaching certificate and taught a network of home-school students, is also an advocate of school choice.

In addition to farming, Miller and her husband are also now together in the business of politics. Chris Miller was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives in 2018.





INDIANA 01

## FRANK J. MRVAN

**BIOGRAPHY: PRONOUNCED:** mer-VAN • **ELECTION:**

Defeated Mark Leyva, R, to succeed Rep. Peter J. Visclosky, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Highland • **BORN:** April 16, 1969; Hammond, Ind. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Jane; two children • **EDUCATION:** Ball State U., B.A., 1992 • **CAREER:** Pharmaceutical salesperson, mortgage broker • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** North Township Board, 2002-05; North Township trustee, 2005-20

**F**runk J. Mrvan comes from a well-established Indiana Democratic tradition: protecting workers in the steel industry. He joins a collective of Midwestern lawmakers who prioritize policies that support that blue-collar industrial base.

His grandfather was an immigrant from Czechoslovakia who wound up in east Chicago working for a steel company.

Mrvan is hoping to show his peers in Congress that “not only is steel a national security issue, but it is an industry that provides hundreds of thousands of jobs” with wages that can financially support families.

He wants to shore up the domestic industry and protect the value of steel exports, arguing that American workers should be able to compete fairly in the global marketplace.

Mrvan previously saw to the needs of a struggling manufacturing workforce as a North Township trustee. “As a township trustee who has sat across the desk or the table of thousands of people who lost their jobs over the past 15 years, I know the impact of that loss,” he said.

Mrvan wants an economic response to the COVID-19 pandemic that benefits the manufacturing workforce. He calls for equitable health care access for workers throughout the pandemic.

Stylistically, Mrvan says that he hopes to emulate his predecessor, Democrat Peter J. Visclosky. When Visclosky announced that he would retire at the end of his 18th term, Mrvan jumped into the race and earned Visclosky’s endorsement. He dispatched 12 opponents in the Democratic primary then coasted to a November victory.



INDIANA 05

## VICTORIA SPARTZ

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Christina Hale, D, to succeed Rep. Susan W. Brooks, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Noblesville • **BORN:** Oct. 6, 1978; Chernihiv region, Ukraine, former Soviet Union • **RELIGION:** Orthodox Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Jason; two children • **EDUCATION:** Kyiv National U. of Economics, B.S., M.B.A., 2000; Indiana U., Purdue U. Indianapolis, M.P.A., 2006 • **CAREER:** Auditor, international business consultant • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Ind. Senate, 2017-20

**A** Ukrainian immigrant who moved to the U.S. two decades ago, Victoria Spartz is a classic small-government Republican who was motivated to run because of her distaste for the 2010 health law and her frustration with government bureaucracy.

“Health care is a complete disaster,” she said. She calls for more competition in the marketplace, saying the current system is too monopolistic, which drives up prices.

She would like to join the Energy and Commerce Committee, largely because of her interest in health care and experience with it in the Indiana Senate.

Spartz said the federal government’s role should be in national defense and immigration, with minimal involvement in health care and education.

“We are busy with too many other things so we are not doing what we need to be doing,” she said.

Spartz views immigration as a federal issue and opposes efforts by localities to provide sanctuaries to undocumented immigrants.

She came to the U.S. after meeting her husband, Jason, on a train in Europe. Spartz worked her way up from bank teller to certified public accountant and then finance executive. She became a citizen in 2006. In 2017, she was elected to replace retiring Indiana state Sen. Luke Kenley.

Spartz described herself as a reluctant politician, fed up with “how many worthless politicians we have who don’t get anything done.” So she decided to get involved.

“I need to be where I can bring [the] most value,” she said.



IOWA 01

## ASHLEY HINSON

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Abby Finkenauer, D • **RESIDENCE:** Marion • **BORN:** June 27, 1983; Des Moines, Iowa • **RELIGION:** Nondenominational Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Matt Arenholz; two children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Southern California, B.A., 2004 • **CAREER:** Television news reporter, news anchor • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Iowa House, 2017-20

**A**shley Hinson, a television anchor turned Iowa state legislator, brings a conservative bent back to the independent-minded 1st District.

The solidly conservative mom from Marion, a Cedar Rapids suburb, ran on a “tax cuts for middle-class families” message.

Hinson wants to lower taxes and make permanent the 2017 GOP tax law.

She says ensuring a consistent tax policy for small-business owners is her highest priority, arguing that employers need certainty in order to make the investments necessary to escape the economic downturn brought about by the coronavirus pandemic.

When it comes to spurring economic growth, she cites her work in the state legislature to reduce licensing requirements for various professional jobs.

Hinson hopes to land on either the Financial Services Committee or the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee.

The need for “a pipeline of workers” informs her approach to immigration policy. In a 2019 interview with WOI-DT, a Des Moines television station, Hinson said “the biggest thing I’m hearing from people is ‘Iowa has a workforce issue. We need immigrants to be able to help us.’”

When it comes to Iowa’s agricultural sector, Hinson opposes the proposed economic and energy overhaul from progressive Democrats known as the Green New Deal, which she argues would put farmers out of business.

One area where she breaks with many Republicans is her support for over-the-counter access to birth control. “I think we need to try to eliminate as many abortions as possible,” she said.

Hinson is a classically trained violinist who likes to tell people, “I can play anything from Mozart to ‘Margheritaville.’”

TOO CLOSE TO CALL



IOWA 02

**RITA  
HART**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Opposed Mariannette Miller-Meeks, R, to succeed Rep. Dave Loebsack, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Wheatland • **BORN:** May 5, 1956; Charles City, Iowa • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Husband, Paul; five children • **EDUCATION:** North Iowa Area Community College, A.A., 1976; U. of Northern Iowa, B.A., 1978; U. of Iowa, M.A., 1989 • **CAREER:** Farmer, school district administrator, teacher • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Iowa Senate, 2013-19; Democratic nominee for lieutenant governor, 2018

**R**ita Hart expects to bring a bipartisan, moderate approach to policy that leverages her experience as a teacher, farmer and state legislator.

She told Iowa's KWQC that her main priorities in Congress would be "tackling corruption in Washington, lowering the cost of health care, and rural economic development."

Hart is aiming for seats on the Agriculture and Education and Labor Committees, a reflection of her rural district and her personal experience. She and her husband Paul run a corn and soybean farm, and she worked as a high school English teacher and education administrator before she was first elected to the state Senate in 2012. She ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor in 2018.

Although she is loath to specify where she falls on the Democratic Party spectrum, Hart is likely to side with more moderate members of the caucus. On almost any issue, from health care to climate change to gun control, Hart stresses the need for bipartisan agreement. She attributes her bipartisan bent to her family, growing up as one of nine children in a politically divided household with a Republican mother and Democratic father.

She opposes the so-called Green New Deal, but she does support raising the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour. Along with other Iowa lawmakers, Hart has pledged her support for the renewable fuel standard and told The Gazette in Cedar Rapids that "supporting ethanol and biofuels is about tens of thousands of jobs in rural Iowa."

Hart was unopposed in the Democratic primary and had the endorsement of Rep. Dave Loebsack, who had announced his impending retirement in 2019.



IOWA 02

**MARIANNETTE  
MILLER-MEEKS**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Opposed Rita Hart, D, to succeed Rep. Dave Loebsack, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Ottumwa • **BORN:** Sept. 6, 1955; Herlong, Calif. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Husband, Curt; two children • **EDUCATION:** Texas Christian U., B.S., 1976; U. of Southern California, M.S., 1980; U. of Texas, M.D., 1986 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Army, Army Reserve • **CAREER:** Ophthalmologist, medical school professor, nurse • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Republican nominee for U.S. House, 2008, 2010, 2014; Iowa Department of Public Health director, 2011-14; Iowa Senate, 2019-20

**M**ariannette Miller-Meeks has worked as a nurse, an ophthalmologist and Iowa's public health director. The Army veteran describes herself as conservative. Some of her policy stances, however, could be described as leaning to the moderate side.

Miller-Meeks wants to reduce the federal government's role in managing health care, but in recent years she has shied away from calls for an outright repeal of the 2010 health care law, instead favoring piecemeal efforts to lower health care costs. She has also stated that the law's coverage protections for patients with preexisting conditions should be maintained.

Miller-Meeks opposes abortion, arguing that the Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade decision came at a time when women had fewer birth control options, and that expanding birth control access is the best means of preventing unintended or unwanted pregnancies.

Regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, Miller-Meeks said the federal response in the spring of 2020 was "appropriate" — for example, closing borders to limit travel. Moving forward, she said, the country needs to restore domestic manufacturing, particularly for things such as pharmaceuticals and medical gear.

However, she is not insistent on financial sanctions or penalties to punish China for its lack of transparency at the onset of the pandemic. China's markets are important for Iowa's farmers, and Miller-Meeks said the U.S. should work with international partners to encourage China to be better actors going forward. "Trade agreements [with China] were brought about through a lot of effort and care," she said. "I think there's ways to hold China accountable."



IOWA 04

**RANDY  
FEENSTRA**

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated J.D. Scholten, D, to succeed Rep. Steve King, R, who was defeated in a primary • **RESIDENCE:** Hull • **BORN:** Jan. 14, 1969; Hull, Iowa • **RELIGION:** Protestant • **FAMILY:** Wife, Lynette; four children • **EDUCATION:** Dordt College, B.A., 1991; Iowa State U., M.P.A., 2008; Northcentral U., Ph.D., attending • **CAREER:** City administrator, bank executive, professor • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sioux County treasurer, 2007-09; Iowa Senate, 2009-20

**R**andy Feenstra put his fiscal and social conservatism into practice as a member of the Iowa Senate. Now on a federal stage, he'll also be protecting agriculture interests.

Feenstra favors a looser regulatory environment for his heavily agricultural district and has expressed interest in a seat on the Agriculture Committee. "I will work to expand markets, promote Iowa ethanol and biofuels and ensure the EPA doesn't overreach with regulations that hurt our family farms and rural main streets," he wrote in a statement.

He is a proponent of the EPA's renewable fuels standard, which requires fuels such as corn ethanol to be blended into transportation fuel in increasing amounts each year. Iowa leads the country in ethanol production.

Feenstra says one of the first challenges he expects to face is addressing the economic situation in the wake of the pandemic and how to manage the nation's rising debt. "I think we have to be very cognizant of where we are in on our debt and start looking at ways to create balanced budgets," he said in an interview with a Des Moines CBS-affiliate news station.

He also advocates for a low-tax environment as a way to boost the economy. As chairman of the Iowa Senate's Ways and Means Committee, he helped steer a 2018 tax overhaul that included the largest tax cut in Iowa's history. He traces his interest in tax policy to the seven years he spent as the city administrator for his hometown of Hull, Iowa.

The biggest political hurdle Feenstra had to clear was the GOP primary. In that race, he defeated nine-term Rep. Steve King.



KANSAS 01

## TRACEY MANN

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Kali Barnett, D, to succeed Rep. Roger Marshall, R, who ran for Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Salina • **BORN:** Dec. 17, 1976; Quinter, Kan. • **RELIGION:** Evangelical Covenant • **FAMILY:** Wife, Audrey; four children • **EDUCATION:** Kansas State U., B.S., 2000 • **CAREER:** Real estate broker • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 2010; lieutenant governor, 2018-19

Tracey Mann continues a tradition of Kansas Republicans acting as stewards for agriculture. A former lieutenant governor, he is keen on taking on the role of farmer advocate in replacing Roger Marshall, who vacated the seat for a Senate bid.

Commonly called the “Big First,” the district is a massive rural area with more than 30 million acres of farmland and most of the state’s land mass.

Mann sums up his platform with two priorities: agriculture and conservative values. “On the issues, I tell people I am pro-life, pro-ag, pro-gun and pro-Trump,” he said.

His goal is a seat on the Agriculture Committee, to support deregulation that he says hurts Kansas farmers’ bottom line, including environmental controls from the EPA. Mann is worried about long-term problems like low commodity and livestock prices, which he says are further harmed by the economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic.

On trade wars, which have hurt agricultural export states like Kansas, Mann agrees with President Donald Trump’s approach despite the difficulty higher tariffs have caused many farmers. “Agriculture has been the tip of the spear and caught in the crossfire of those trade negotiations,” Mann says. He argues that most of his farmer constituents see setbacks as necessary to renegotiate trade imbalances made by China.

Mann’s first exposure to politics was interning for Jerry Moran, when Moran represented the 1st District seat in 1997. The current senator “instilled in me a love for Kansas and Kansans that never left me,” Mann says of his former boss and mentor.



KANSAS 02

## JAKE LaTURNER

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Michelle De La Isla, D, to succeed Rep. Steve Watkins, R, who was defeated in a primary • **RESIDENCE:** Topeka • **BORN:** Feb. 17, 1988; Galena, Kan. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Suzanne; four children • **EDUCATION:** Pittsburg State U., B.A., 2011 • **CAREER:** Campaign aide, customer service consultant • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Republican nomination for Kan. Senate, 2008; Kan. Senate, 2013-17; Kan. treasurer, 2017-20

Jake LaTurner is one of several millennial Republicans elected this cycle, giving the party an injection of younger energy.

He’s been the youngest member of the Kansas Senate and the youngest statewide elected official in the country. LaTurner says that conventional wisdom underestimates the appeal of conservatism to younger voters.

“Young people are interested in a message that involves individual freedom and personal responsibility. We just have to do a better job communicating that,” he said.

He beat scandal-plagued incumbent Steve Watkins during the Republican primary.

In Congress, LaTurner says he will advocate for much of the same agenda he promoted on the state level: addressing the national debt, imposing work requirements and drug testing for government assistance programs, limiting abortion and protecting gun rights.

He also supports a constitutional amendment that would impose 12-year service limits for senators and representatives. But unless that change is enacted, he’s not planning on a self-imposed term limit.

LaTurner wants to serve on the Energy and Commerce Committee, but knows that it’s unlikely for a first-term member. He also says he would join the Armed Services Committee — his district includes the Fort Leavenworth Army base — or the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee.

He first ran for the Kansas Senate in 2008, when he was 20 years old. He lost that first race but won in 2012. He was appointed the Kansas state treasurer in 2017 by former Republican Gov. Sam Brownback.

LaTurner’s most high-profile initiative as treasurer involved trying to return millions of dollars in unclaimed property to Kansans.

### ADVANCED TO DEC. 5 RUNOFF



LOUISIANA 05

## LUKE J. LETLOW

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Advanced to Dec. 5 runoff against Lance Harris, R • **RESIDENCE:** Start, La. • **BORN:** Dec. 6, 1979; Start, La. • **RELIGION:** Presbyterian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Julia; two children • **EDUCATION:** Louisiana Tech U., B.S., 2003 • **CAREER:** Congressional aide, campaign aide, government affairs manager • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

The amiable Luke J. Letlow already has his bearings in Congress, having worked as both a district director and chief of staff for Louisiana representatives. Should he find himself in the boss’ chair, he plans to make agriculture a major policy focus.

“I’ve been involved in the conservative movement all of my adult life,” Letlow says. He was a leader of the College Republicans, then jumped into campaigning for Bobby Jindal’s 2004 House race. That led to a job as Jindal’s district director, and he transitioned to state government when Jindal was elected governor.

From 2010 to 2014, Letlow worked out of the government affairs shop for QEP Resources, an oil and natural gas exploration company. But then it was back to politics. He managed Ralph Abraham’s 2014 campaign, then became Abraham’s chief of staff.

Agriculture is the economic driver for the 5th District and was a major focus in Abraham’s office — Letlow helped coordinate its work on the 2018 farm bill. Letlow plans to keep that focus going and hopes to land a seat on the Agriculture Committee. He views the panel as an ideal spot to advance a deregulation agenda, including for the timber and logging industries, which he says are vital for his district to thrive.

“I think we’ve had far too many useless rules and regulations that have come out of Washington,” he said. He credited President Donald Trump for spearheading an anti-regulatory focus.

Letlow also speaks of preserving rural culture. He calls himself “100 percent pro-life” and a “staunch defender of the Second Amendment.”

ADVANCED TO DEC. 5 RUNOFF



LOUISIANA 05

**LANCE  
HARRIS**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Advanced to Dec. 5 runoff against Luke Letlow, R • **RESIDENCE:** Alexandria • **BORN:** June 11, 1961; Pineville, La. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Leetha • **EDUCATION:** Louisiana College, attended • **CAREER:** Gas station and convenience store chain owner, real estate company owner, rancher • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** La. House, 2012-20 (Republican leader, 2012-20).

Lance Harris has been a leader of Louisiana GOP state politics for nearly a decade. He hopes to rein in government spending at the federal level and build on his state legislative efforts to protect law enforcement interests.

Harris ascended the GOP ranks in Baton Rouge and became chairman of the party's House delegation in his first year in the statehouse. He led efforts on revamping state budgetary practices and regularly clashed with Democratic Gov. John Bel Edwards over spending and other matters.

A gas station and convenience store chain owner, Harris has pushed for a deregulatory agenda, which he says helps small businesses. In 2018, Edwards vetoed a bill sponsored by Harris that would have allowed smaller gas stations to legally challenge larger stations that sell gas cheaper.

Harris frequently cites his legislative efforts to protect law enforcement. He crafted one of the nation's first state laws extending hate crime protections to law enforcement officers and firefighters.

"You see a lot of people terrorizing and threatening police officers on social media just due to the fact that they are policemen," Harris told CNN at the time.

In 2020 he sought to counter efforts aimed at redirecting police funding by pushing through the statehouse legislation that seeks to penalize localities that decrease budgets for law enforcement.

Harris describes himself as a line of defense for capitalism in a political climate teetering toward socialism. His parents were medical missionaries in China and were imprisoned for spreading the Christian gospel. Harris says they experienced firsthand how sliding away from free market economies leads to poverty.



MASSACHUSETTS 04

**JAKE  
AUCHINCLOSS**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **PRONOUNCED:** AW-ken-kloss • **ELECTION:** Defeated Julie A. Hall, R, to succeed Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy III, D, who ran for Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Newtonville • **BORN:** Jan. 29, 1988; Newton, Mass. • **RELIGION:** Jewish • **FAMILY:** Wife, Michele Gattineri; one child • **EDUCATION:** Harvard U., A.B., 2010; Massachusetts Inst. of Technology, M.B.A., 2016 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Marine Corps, Marine Corps Reserve • **CAREER:** Cybersecurity product manager, risk solutions consultant • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Newton City Council, 2016-20

Jake Auchincloss has a youthful appearance but a strong family connection to the past. He hopes to make a mark addressing climate change.

Public service is part of Auchincloss family lore. On his father's side, the family tree includes numerous political and government officials going back to the country's founding. His great-uncle was a national security adviser for John F. Kennedy, and his father is the deputy director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases.

Media outlets frequently describe Auchincloss, a member of the Newton City Council, as a moderate Democrat. But he lines up with progressives on climate issues. He sees the country at a crossroads — he supports the so-called Green New Deal proposal to reshape the U.S. economy as an innovator in green technology.

As a former manager with Liberty Mutual's innovation lab, Auchincloss brainstormed "risk solutions for the future," in anticipation of changes to housing, transportation and overall societal demographics. He says that investing in technology that mitigates climate change is the best way to grow the economy.

An Afghanistan War veteran, Auchincloss served in a Marine Corps reconnaissance unit during the Obama administration's surge strategy. "The failed forever wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have cost trillions of dollars, cost innocent lives and accomplished nothing," he said. He echoes calls to reduce the Defense Department's budget by at least 10 percent and redistribute the funding to education and health care.

Auchincloss will succeed Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy III, who lost a bid for the Senate.



MICHIGAN 03

**PETER  
MEIJER**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **PRONOUNCED:** MY-ur • **ELECTION:** Defeated Hillary Scholten, D, to succeed Rep. Justin Amash, Libertarian, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Grand Rapids • **BORN:** Jan. 10, 1988; Grand Rapids, Mich. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Gabriella • **EDUCATION:** Columbia U., B.A., 2012; New York U., M.B.A., 2017 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Army Reserve • **CAREER:** Humanitarian relief worker, real estate developer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Iraq War veteran and grocery store scion Peter Meijer brings a pragmatic approach to politics.

Meijer is a moderate Republican who invokes the leadership examples of his Michigan predecessors, including President Gerald Ford and Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, whom Meijer credits with leading the Republican Party from isolationism to globalism.

"The only long-term solutions are going to be those based on conservative principles like limited government, economic freedom and individual liberty," he said. "I want a government that does a few things but does those things exceptionally well and lives up to the standards we should expect from a superpower."

Meijer says he is well positioned to understand the fiscal needs of his constituents, thanks to the family business and his military background.

His great-grandfather, Hendrik Meijer, is the founder of the Meijer chain of supermarkets. The business was estimated to be worth more than \$10 billion in 2015, according to The Detroit News.

Although Meijer is hawkish on foreign policy, due in part to having served a combat tour in Iraq in 2010 and 2011, he thinks the U.S. should disengage from the ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

"The fundamental challenge is that the U.S. is perpetually fighting the last war. We've been in a post 9/11 mindset for two decades and are distracted by counterinsurgency and nation building when that does not present an existential threat," he said.

Instead, the U.S. should reorient itself toward engaging with Russia and China off of the battlefield, likely in the cyber domain, Meijer said.





MICHIGAN 10

**LISA  
McCLAIN**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Kimberly Bizon, D, to succeed Rep. Paul Mitchell, R, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Bruce Township • **BORN:** April 7, 1966; Farmington Hills, Mich. • **RELIGION:** Catholic  
**• FAMILY:** Husband, Mike; four children • **EDUCATION:** Northwood U., B.B.A., 1997 • **CAREER:** Financial planning executive, financial advisory branch district manager • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**S**elf-described conservative outsider Lisa McClain intends to be open to unorthodox solutions.

Though she favors cutting taxes, for instance, McClain sees the growing debt as a “huge” problem and does not rule out supporting a remedy that would include a revenue increase as well as spending curbs.

“What you’ll find with me is there’s not a lot of absolutes on a lot of things,” said McClain, senior vice president at the Hantz Group, a Southfield-based financial services company she helped start. “As it pertains to the deficit, I think we need to be a little bit creative on how we attack that problem.”

McClain had never run for office before her successful bid for the GOP nomination.

In her heavily Republican district, which stretches from the northern portion of political battleground Macomb County to the tip of Michigan’s agricultural thumb region, McClain says people’s biggest concern is “hands down” jobs and the economy. She backs more tax cuts and deregulation to encourage economic growth.

McClain wants to repeal the 2010 health care law and opposes a single-payer health care system. She favors long-proposed, Republican-backed changes such as allowing health insurance to be sold across state lines.

She opposes a federal or state mandate to take the COVID-19 vaccine as companies have moved closer to the development of several vaccines. “That’s a family decision,” she said, noting the flu vaccine is not mandatory.



MINNESOTA 07

**MICHELLE  
FISCHBACH**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **PRONOUNCED:** FISH-bock • **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Collin C. Peterson, D • **RESIDENCE:** Regal • **BORN:** Nov. 3, 1965; Woodbury, Minn.  
**• RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Husband, Scott; two children • **EDUCATION:** St. Cloud State U., B.A., 1989; William Mitchell College of Law, J.D., 2011 • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Paynesville City Council, 1994-96; Minn. Senate, 1996-18 (president, 2011-12, 2017-18); lieutenant governor, 2018-19

**M**ichelle Fischbach arrives in Congress as an experienced state legislator and official ready to advance a conservative agenda.

The former Minnesota lieutenant governor and first woman president of the Minnesota Senate says it is critical for Congress to focus on moving the economy forward.

Fischbach said COVID-19 dealt a blow to the economy and that Congress could provide stability to the economy by making expiring provisions of the 2017 tax law permanent.

She wants a seat on the Agriculture Committee, handling policies important to her rural district that sprawls from the Canadian border, down western Minnesota almost to the Iowa border.

Fischbach said the next farm bill, which the Agriculture committees are likely to draft in late 2022, will be important.

“I think the top priority in the next farm bill needs to be new farmers and making sure kids in our communities see the future in farming and are getting access to get started,” she said during a September primary debate.

“We really need to be out there talking to the farmers across the district about what kind of programs are working and what isn’t working and what they really need and what they are looking from us that would be helpful and move them into the future,” she continued.

Fischbach, a former chairwoman of the Minnesota Senate’s Higher Education Finance and Policy Committee, also would like to join the House Education and Labor Committee.



MISSOURI 01

**CORI  
BUSH**

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Anthony Rogers, R, to succeed Rep. William Lacy Clay, D, who was defeated in a primary • **RESIDENCE:** St. Louis  
**• BORN:** July 21, 1976; St. Louis, Mo. • **RELIGION:** Nondenominational Christian • **FAMILY:** Divorced; two children • **EDUCATION:** Lutheran School of Nursing, RN diploma, 2008 • **CAREER:** Clinic director, minister • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate, 2016; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 2018

**C**ori Bush completed the journey from protester to elected politician on her third attempt. Espousing a host of progressive policies, she is a new member of the clique known as the Squad.

Her path started with the 2014 police shooting of teenager Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo. That incident sparked protests, riots and public debates, often surrounding the relationship between Black people and law enforcement.

Bush became a leader in those protests, which lasted more than a year and drew international attention. She continued her activism, and after two unsuccessful bids for federal office she toppled 10-term Rep. William Lacy Clay in a Democratic primary.

Bush is overwhelmingly progressive. She has pledged to support the single-payer health care proposal known as Medicare for All, the so-called Green New Deal, a \$15-an-hour federal minimum wage, universal rent control and a “massive” investment in public housing. She wants to legalize marijuana, increase regulation of gun purchases, expand oversight of law enforcement, eliminate college debt and provide tuition-free higher education, and switch to public financing of elections.

She also supports the “defund the police” movement, defining it as a “re-allocation of funds” to various health and social services, she told Democracy Now. “It doesn’t mean the police won’t have money to pay their bills and to pay their salaries.”

Shortly after her primary victory, Bush was welcomed to the Squad, which started as a group of four progressive House members elected in 2018: New York’s Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Michigan’s Rashida Tlaib, Minnesota’s Ilhan Omar and Massachusetts’ Ayanna S. Pressley. The unofficial group is known for aggressive media and policy stances.



MONTANA AL

## MATT ROSENDALE

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Kathleen Williams, D, to succeed Rep. Greg Gianforte, R, who ran for governor • **RESIDENCE:** Glendive • **BORN:** July 7, 1960; Baltimore, Md. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Jean; three children • **EDUCATION:** Chesapeake College, attended • **CAREER:** Real estate developer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Mont. House, 2011-13; Mont. Senate, 2013-17 (Republican leader, 2015-17); sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 2014; Mont. auditor, 2017-20; Republican nominee for U.S. Senate, 2018

Seasoned conservative Matt Rosendale frequently describes himself as a “Trump conservative, straight shooter and fighter for Montana.”

He bounced back from an unsuccessful Senate bid in 2018, campaigning in a state where President Donald Trump has remained popular. In a September 2020 rally with Vice President Mike Pence, he said his main focus will be to work for “lower taxes, less government and more freedom.”

“I will always protect our Montana way of life, our pristine public lands and our God-given liberties,” he said.

Most recently, Rosendale was state auditor, regulating Montana’s insurance industry. He is keen on repealing the 2010 health care law, saying it has limited health care choice due to higher premiums and deductibles. Rosendale says he still wants coverage protection for people with preexisting health conditions but argues that can be best done at the state level.

A transplant from Maryland who bought a ranch and moved to Montana in 2002, Rosendale has worked to establish himself in a state where authenticity matters and locals distrust outside interests.

He was elected to the state House in 2010, touting his experience with agriculture interests. Two years later, he won a state Senate seat and served for two terms — he was majority leader from 2015-2017 — before leaving his seat to run for state auditor.

Rosendale ran an expensive and highly visible campaign for the Senate in 2018 against incumbent Democrat Jon Tester. Trump stumped for Rosendale multiple times during the campaign but Rosendale fell 4 points short.

He set his sights on the House when GOP Rep. Greg Gianforte announced a gubernatorial campaign.



NEW MEXICO 02

## YVETTE HERRELL

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Xochitl Torres Small, D • **RESIDENCE:** Alamogordo • **BORN:** March 16, 1964; Ruidoso, N.M. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** ITT Business School, attended • **CAREER:** Realtor • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** N.M. House, 2011-19; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 2018

Yvette Herrell has fervor for smaller government. She has described herself as both a fiscal and Christian conservative.

She has been a staunch supporter of President Donald Trump and comes to Congress with legislative experience thanks to her eight years in the New Mexico House.

Herrell supported the initial federal spending efforts to assist with the economic fallout of the COVID-19 pandemic, but she’s critical of the Democratic-led efforts on spending, including the \$3.4 trillion package the House passed in May 2020.

She calls the state’s restrictions to mitigate coronavirus spread government overreach. “New Mexico restaurants should be allowed to safely serve their customers and support their families and workers!” she wrote in a Facebook post.

Herrell wants to keep a business-friendly climate in New Mexico. She says she moved into government buoyed by her experience in the private sector in the real estate industry.

She sponsored legislation in the statehouse calling for a convention of states to consider amendments to the U.S. Constitution that would “impose fiscal restraints on the federal government,” limit the federal government’s jurisdiction and impose caps on the number of terms for members of Congress.

During her tenure as a state legislator, Herrell also sponsored a number of anti-abortion bills, including a measure to require medical care for any fetus that shows signs of life outside the womb after an abortion.

Herrell is enrolled in the Cherokee Nation and joins current Rep. Deb Haaland and fellow freshman Teresa Leger Fernandez as the only House delegation made up of women of color.



NEW MEXICO 03

## TERESA LEGER FERNANDEZ

**BIOGRAPHY: PRONOUNCED:** Te-RAY-sa LE-Jer • **ELECTION:** Defeated Alexis M. Johnson, R, to succeed Rep. Ben Ray Lujan, D, who ran for Senate • **RESIDENCE:** Santa Fe • **BORN:** July 1, 1959; Las Vegas, N.M. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Divorced; three children • **EDUCATION:** Yale U., B.A., 1982; Stanford U., J.D., 1987 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Teresa Leger Fernandez, an advocate for Native American communities and voting rights, fits squarely within the progressive wing of the Democratic party.

She is eager to address racial disparities and socio-economic inequities. “If we did things to strengthen economically our diverse communities, our nation would be stronger and we would also not have the racial division that we have right now,” she says.

Leger Fernandez supports several proposals to achieve her goal — including raising the minimum wage and expanding voting rights — but enacting policies enshrined in the so-called Green New Deal is near the top of her list.

For progressives such as Leger Fernandez, the threat of climate change is a fulcrum to leverage work on a host of other social and economic issues.

She argues that her state has allowed its mining operations to prosper at the expense of the environment and vulnerable populations. “We have some of the highest levels of asthma in the country among our children because of our coal-fired plants,” she said.

She has coupled her legal work on environmental justice with advocating for voting rights, pointing to her efforts to represent tribal communities and push for legislation to ensure that Native Americans in rural communities have voting access.

She supports raising the minimum wage as an opportunity to address pay inequity. “I am very concerned about the fact that minority communities — that minority women, we earn so much less than white males,” she said.

## LEADING AT PRESS TIME



NEW YORK 02

## ANDREW GARBARINO

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Opposed Jackie Gordon, D, to succeed Rep. Peter T. King, R, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Sayville • **BORN:** Sept. 27, 1984; West Islip, N.Y. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Single  
**• EDUCATION:** The George Washington U., B.A., 2006; Hofstra U., J.D., 2009 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** N.Y. Assembly, 2013-20

**A**lthough still in his 30s, Andrew Garbarino is an experienced state legislator, having served in the New York Assembly since 2013. He has a constituent-focused agenda.

For example: A top goal is raising or repealing the \$10,000 cap on state and local tax deductions, which has hit residents in his district particularly hard. “I think it’s a priority for every elected official from Long Island, and probably New York,” he said. “Very few houses on Long Island — between Nassau and Suffolk — have property taxes that are below \$10,000.”

His district also has pressing infrastructure concerns. The Great South Bay’s oyster and clam production has been hampered by water pollution, a problem Garbarino said is caused by old sewer systems and a lack of sewer systems in the area. Federal funds from an infrastructure bill could help revamp the sewer systems and roads in his district.

“Focusing on an infrastructure bill is definitely something that I want to tackle in my first term,” he said.

A Sayville, N.Y., native, Garbarino studied history and humanities at The George Washington University in Washington, D.C. Upon graduating from Hofstra University School of Law in 2009, he went to work for his father’s law firm. It is a general-practice firm — “client calls up, we do it,” Garbarino said.

The retirement of 14-term Republican Rep. Peter T. King created an opportunity for Garbarino to move from Albany to Washington. He received King’s endorsement in February and easily won the August primary.



NEW YORK 11

## NICOLE MALLIOTAKIS

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Max Rose, D  
**• RESIDENCE:** Staten Island • **BORN:** Nov. 11, 1980; New York, N.Y. • **RELIGION:** Greek Orthodox • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** Seton Hall U., B.A., 2001; Wagner College, M.B.A., 2010 • **CAREER:** State legislative aide, gubernatorial aide, public affairs manager • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** N.Y. Assembly, 2011-20; Republican nominee for mayor of New York City, 2017

**N**icole Malliotakis is an ambitious state legislator who will bring her conservative voice to Capitol Hill. Her agenda includes advocating for transportation funding and public safety.

The Staten Islander is also expected to be the only Republican representing a New York City district in Congress. “New York City needs to have somebody from the Republican side of the aisle to provide an alternative perspective,” she says.

Bridges, buses and railways have long been a concern for Malliotakis. “My bus service was eliminated in the community, tolls and fares had increased, and I felt like this was not good representation. So I ran for the Assembly,” she said.

She hopes for a seat on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee. “We need transportation infrastructure funding to come to New York City,” she said.

Public safety is another issue high on her list. Malliotakis made frequent media appearances to decry protests amid civic backlash over police brutality. She seeks to counter proposals from House progressives to defund the police, arguing they will make communities less safe.

Her mother is from Cuba and her father is from Greece. She frames her opposition to policies by progressive liberals as a fight against socialism. “My mother fled a communist regime,” she said. “These policies ... that are being proposed by some members of Congress are the very policies that millions of immigrants fled their home countries to escape.”

After college, Malliotakis worked in the community affairs office of Republican Gov. George Pataki. She moved on to work as a public affairs manager for Con Edison, then successfully ran for the Assembly in 2010. She ran for New York City mayor in 2017.



NEW YORK 15

## RITCHIE TORRES

**BIOGRAPHY: ELECTION:** Defeated Patrick Delices, R, to succeed Rep. José E. Serrano, D, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Bronx • **BORN:** March 12, 1988; Bronx, N.Y. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** New York U., attended • **CAREER:** City council aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** New York City Council, 2014-20

**R**itchie Torres once held the title of youngest elected official in New York City. The progressive Bronx native will soon be one of the younger members of Congress. Representing one of the poorest districts in the country, he hopes to make his mark on housing policy — an area where he already has considerable experience.

Torres was just 25 when he was elected to the New York City Council in 2013. In his first term there he chaired the committee overseeing the city’s housing authority. Torres, who was raised in public housing, says his big-picture goal is “housing vouchers for all”: government subsidies for rent costs that exceed 30 percent of a person’s income, with limits based on income and rent prices. He isn’t worried about offsetting the cost of providing such vouchers because he views housing as “a human right.”

Torres also has other ideas for steering federal assistance to constituents, such as expanding the child tax credit and the refundable portion of it.

He is interested in a seat on the Financial Services Committee. He also could be a good fit on Oversight and Reform, as he chaired the city council’s oversight panel for three years.

Torres was elected to an open seat created by the retirement of Democratic Rep. José E. Serrano, who had represented the district for 15 terms. He won a crowded primary with 32 percent of the vote.

He and fellow New York Democrat Mondaire Jones are the first openly gay Black men elected to Congress. Torres is Afro Latino — his father is Puerto Rican and his mother is African American.





NEW YORK 16

## JAMAAL BOWMAN

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Patrick McManus, Conservative, to succeed Rep. Eliot L. Engel, D, who was defeated in a primary • **RESIDENCE:** Yonkers • **BORN:** April 1, 1976; New York, N.Y. **RELIGION:** Unspecified • **FAMILY:** Wife, Melissa Oppenheimer; three children • **EDUCATION:** U. of New Haven, B.S., 1999; Mercy College, M.S., 2006; Manhattanville College, Ed.D., 2019 • **CAREER:** Teacher, middle school principal • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Jamaal Bowman is among the latest progressive firebrands joining the House. Challenging the Democratic Party establishment, he has plans that would dramatically reshape the economic and political landscape.

Among other things, his “Reconstruction Agenda” includes calls for free college, the cancellation of student debt, expansions of rent control and public housing, adopting the so-called Green New Deal, implementing the “Medicare for All” plan and increasing taxes on the wealthiest Americans.

A former middle school principal — of a public school he founded — Bowman was recruited to politics by the Justice Democrats political action committee. As a teacher and principal, Bowman was a leading voice in New York’s “opt-out” movement, encouraging families to revolt against the standardized testing system implemented by the 2001 education law. Bowman wants to see increases in Title I money flowing to low-income areas and halt federal funding for charter schools.

He is also a critic of the 1994 crime law, which he describes as favoring punishment over healing.

Bowman calls for a “truth and reconciliation commission” to examine the federal government’s role in America’s history of racism, modeled after similar investigations in post-Nazi Germany and post-apartheid South Africa. According to his campaign site, it would eventually “create a proposal for reparations that would rectify the harms that were caused by our government.”

To get to the House, Bowman had to defeat 16-term Democratic Rep. Eliot L. Engel, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He painted Engel — who had endorsements from Hillary Clinton, Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Sen. Charles E. Schumer — as out of touch with the district.



NEW YORK 17

## MONDAIRE JONES

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Maureen McArdle Schulman, R, to succeed Rep. Nita M. Lowey, D, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** South Nyack • **BORN:** May 18, 1987; Nyack, N.Y. • **RELIGION:** Baptist • **FAMILY:** Single • **EDUCATION:** Stanford U., B.A., 2009; Harvard U., J.D., 2013 • **CAREER:** Lawyer, county prosecutor • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

Mondaire Jones will bring a legal background and strong progressive bent to Washington. He and fellow New York Democrat Ritchie Torres are also the first openly gay Black men elected to Congress.

“What I have shown is that progressives can win the suburbs. My constituents will be Bill and Hillary Clinton and Gov. Andrew Cuomo,” Jones said.

An alumnus of the Obama administration’s Justice Department, he has judicial and electoral issues at the top of his to-do list. Jones wants to increase the number of justices on the Supreme Court, saying the high court in its current makeup has disenfranchised the American public. “Court expansion would not cause a death spiral of democracy,” Jones wrote in an opinion piece in Salon. “That death spiral is already here. And it will only get worse if we do nothing.”

He says one of his biggest priorities is to support legislation that would enfranchise more individuals and increase voter participation. Jones supports legislation House Democrats passed in 2019 to overhaul the electoral system with automatic voter registration and establish an optional public matching system for political donations under \$200.

On many other policy issues, Jones’ views can be described as very progressive. He has endorsed the so-called Green New Deal and proposals for a government-run single-payer health care plan that would cover all Americans.

Jones’ campaign started as an intraparty challenge to 16-term Rep. Nita M. Lowey, the Appropriations Committee chairwoman. However, within a few months Lowey announced her retirement.



NEW YORK 22

## CLAUDIA TENNEY

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Opposed Rep. Anthony Brindisi, D • **RESIDENCE:** New Hartford • **BORN:** Feb. 4, 1961; Utica, N.Y. • **RELIGION:** Presbyterian • **FAMILY:** Divorced; one child • **EDUCATION:** Colgate U., B.A., 1983; U. of Cincinnati, J.D., 1987 • **CAREER:** Lawyer, packaging company co-owner, newspaper publisher • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** N.Y. Assembly, 2011-16; sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 2014; U.S. House, 2017-19

Claudia Tenney combines conservative views with a zest for polemical combat. She is looking to return to her upstate New York seat for a second nonconsecutive term.

She advocates for the removal of undocumented immigrants and has referred to “this imaginary beast called climate change.”

“We do need to be stewards of our environment obviously, but the climate changes up and down,” she said.

Tenney has part ownership, along with her brothers and other family members, in Mid-York Press, a 60-employee company that makes packaging for food and pharmaceuticals. She has had a part-time management role in the operation.

Her upstate New York district has relied on manufacturing jobs, and she has said she wants to focus on keeping those jobs in the U.S.

While she has disagreed with President Donald Trump on certain trade policies, she has praised his use of tariffs against China, arguing that they have helped stop predatory trading and manufacturing practices from that country. She emphasizes the need to “move quickly to restore our industrial base, bring supply chains of national interest back to America, and punish Chinese theft and aggression.”

Tenney has also worked at her family-run newspaper and practiced law. She says her time as a journalist has been informative.

“I think what it does is highlight my view of what the news media is doing,” she said. “I know the challenge of having hundreds of press releases and going to the events myself and making decisions about what makes the newspaper.”





NORTH CAROLINA 02

## DEBORAH K. ROSS

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Alan D. Swain, R, to succeed Rep. George Holding, R, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Raleigh • **BORN:** June 20, 1963; Philadelphia, Pa. • **RELIGION:** Unitarian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Steve Wrinn • **EDUCATION:** Brown U., B.A., 1985; U. of North Carolina, J.D., 1990 • **CAREER:** Lawyer, nonprofit legal director, ethics consultant • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** N.C. House, 2003-13; Democratic nominee for U.S. Senate, 2016

A former state representative and state director for the American Civil Liberties Union, Deborah K. Ross will represent the urban center of Raleigh, with education and infrastructure near the top of her policy agenda.

Higher education is deeply enmeshed in Ross' district, which includes a slice of the Research Triangle and is anchored by North Carolina State University in Raleigh. The district also includes the state's largest community college system, Wake Tech.

She emphasizes the need for affordable higher education and is a proponent of community colleges, pointing out the difficulties of sustaining a job without additional education or skills training. "I've seen what Wake Tech has done in my area. It's trained people, it's retrained people," Ross said. "It's been a steppingstone for people who can't afford a four-year college."

Ross is self-assured and persuasive, and she enunciates with precision. "Being a legislator for me really means being a representative of my community, knowing what's going on on the ground," she said.

Citing the constant growth of Raleigh, Ross is also concerned with urban development and public transportation. She served as legal counsel to the Triangle region's transit agency and would like to use her expertise on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee.

She also expressed an interest in the Judiciary Committee, citing her work at the ACLU, where she led a campaign to address racial profiling by encouraging law enforcement to collect race-based statistics for traffic stops.

This was not Ross' first attempt at joining Congress. She fell 5 percentage points shy in her challenge to Republican Sen. Richard M. Burr in 2016.



NORTH CAROLINA 06

## KATHY MANNING

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Lee Haywood, R, to succeed Rep. Mark Walker, R, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Greensboro • **BORN:** Dec. 3, 1956; Detroit, Mich. • **RELIGION:** Jewish • **FAMILY:** Husband, Randall Kaplan; three children • **EDUCATION:** Harvard U., A.B. 1978; U. of Michigan, J.D., 1981 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Democratic nominee for U.S. House, 2018

Kathy Manning is a wealthy philanthropist and attorney from Greensboro who, like many of her Democratic colleagues, enters Congress with a focus on health care.

Creating pathways to cheaper prescription drug prices and building on the current health care law are policy priorities for Manning.

She cites her own battles with insurance companies to get approval for medication when her youngest daughter was diagnosed with a chronic illness. She says she has heard from many individuals with similar experiences.

To lower drug costs, she'd like to see changes to the 2010 health care law. "We need to fix the things that didn't work properly," she said. "We did not succeed in bringing down prescription drug prices."

With textile manufacturing in decline in her district, Manning also wants to bolster higher education and job training programs. "So many of those mills shut down in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and we have not been able to replicate those good-paying jobs," she said.

Manning says her committee interests lie with the Education and Labor and Foreign Affairs panels.

She emphasizes a consensus-based approach to legislating and credits her nonprofit work leading the Jewish Federations of North America — she was the first woman to chair the group — as her cornerstone in public service.

"I have learned that if you can get people to focus on what your end result is and figure out how to work together and compromise along the way, you can get things done," she said.



NORTH CAROLINA 11

## MADISON CAWTHORN

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Moe Davis, D, to succeed Rep. Mark Meadows, R, who resigned  
**• RESIDENCE:** Hendersonville. • **BORN:** Aug. 1, 1995; Hendersonville, N.C.. • **RELIGION:** Christian. • **FAMILY:** Engaged. • **EDUCATION:** Patrick Henry College, attended • **CAREER:** Congressional aide, food service manager • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

At 25, Madison Cawthorn is the youngest Republican elected to Congress. He fills the seat vacated by fellow Republican Mark Meadows, who resigned to become White House chief of staff.

The Hendersonville native, who uses a wheelchair after a near-fatal auto accident, said throughout his campaign that he has sought to connect to fellow young conservatives.

Cawthorn may be young, but his views are similar to his older predecessor's; fiscally conservative, strongly supportive of President Donald Trump, against abortion and for a hard-line immigration policy.

During the campaign, he emphasized health care and the environment, two issues that he said are important to him and other young people in his district.

"I think the Republican Party needs to start having their own narrative and their own mission when it comes to climate solutions," the avid hunter said in a Facebook Live talk hosted by conservative environmental group C3 Solutions.

He told Fox Business that government should deregulate health care and allow for more competition.

On the campaign trail, the Western North Carolina native said he has tried to reach out to a new generation of conservatives who may not currently be involved or interested in politics. He embraced social media, using the internet to keep campaigning amid the coronavirus pandemic.

Cawthorn says that he has a lot of wisdom and life lessons that will come with him to Washington.

"In my relatively short life ... I've known great suffering. I've known great loss. I've also known great recovery and a lot of true blessings," he said.



OKLAHOMA 05

## STEPHANIE BICE

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Kendra Horn, D • **RESIDENCE:** Oklahoma City • **BORN:** Nov. 11, 1973; Oklahoma City, Okla. • **RELIGION:** Catholic **FAMILY:** Husband, Geoffrey; two children • **EDUCATION:** Oklahoma State U., B.S., 1995 • **CAREER:** Marketing executive • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Okla. Senate, 2015-20 (assistant Republican floor leader, 2017-19)

State Sen. Stephanie Bice is reliably Republican and conservative. Her election to Congress marks a return to form for the district that includes most of Oklahoma City.

Bice considers it a priority to “repeal and replace” the 2010 health care law, saying it has resulted in higher premiums, deductibles and drug prices. She wants an overhaul that would increase competition among health care providers and provide health savings accounts to individuals. “Instead of providing insurance, let’s give an individual a health savings account ... and let them spend those dollars,” she told *The Oklahoman*.

Bice is also interested in protecting jobs in the oil and gas industry. She has emphasized the importance of domestic oil and gas production, including offshore drilling. “Banning drilling and exploration becomes problematic, because ... you’re going to start being reliant on foreign oil again,” she told *The Oklahoman*.

Bice is likely to vote reliably with her party on issues across the board. She has touted her strong ratings by the NRA and anti-abortion groups and her record as a fiscal conservative balancing budgets at the state level. In 2019 she was named chairwoman of the Oklahoma Senate’s Finance Committee.

She says she generally opposes tax increases and that there are “better ways” to address the federal deficit. But as a state senator, she did vote for a 2018 package raising taxes because it would support public education and provide teacher pay raises. “When you’re faced with a crisis, you have to make some tough choices, and I chose to be a problem solver,” she said of the vote in a 2019 candidate forum.



OREGON 02

## CLIFF BENTZ

**BIOGRAPHY:** **PRONOUNCED:** BENZ • **ELECTION:** Defeated Alex Spenser, D, to succeed Rep. Greg Walden, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Ontario • **BORN:** Jan. 12, 1952; Salem, Ore. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Lindsay Norman; two children • **EDUCATION:** Eastern Oregon State College, B.S., 1974; Lewis & Clark College, J.D., 1977 • **CAREER:** Lawyer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Ore. Water Resources Commission, 1988-95; Ore. House, 2008-18; Ore. Senate, 2018-20

Cliff Bentz stresses the three “T’s” of his eastern Oregon district — timber, trade and transportation — as he looks toward his legislative priorities in the new Congress.

Bentz sees spots on the Energy and Commerce Committee or the Natural Resources Committee as natural fits.

The 2nd District is the largest in the state and is regularly at risk for wildfires, with many communities surrounded by brush. Bentz advocates for active forest management.

He says that the district’s size is also what makes transportation and infrastructure issues among his concerns. “Roads are super important, and bridges,” he said. “We got to get across this huge space somehow.”

With recent shifts in trade policies and continued tariff talks with countries such as China, Bentz says he plans to keep watch on trade issues. “Oregon is an export state,” he said. “Everybody is scared to death about who’s going to buy what and negotiations with China.”

During his tenure in the state legislature, Bentz made national headlines in 2019 when he and a group of GOP state senators staged a walkout to prevent action on a climate change bill proposed by Democrats. Bentz went to Idaho to avoid being rounded up for the vote.

Bentz maintained that the measure would have been devastating to the state’s transportation, manufacturing and utility sectors.

Bentz hails from Ontario, Oregon a small town with an agriculture-based economy that sits across from Idaho along the Snake River. His politics align more closely with the Idaho congressional delegation, Republicans who champion small government and gun rights.



SOUTH CAROLINA 01

## NANCY MACE

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Joe Cunningham, D • **RESIDENCE:** Charleston • **BORN:** Dec. 4, 1977; Fayetteville, N.C. • **RELIGION:** Nondenominational Christian • **FAMILY:** Divorced; two children • **EDUCATION:** The Citadel, B.S., 1999; U. of Georgia, M.A., 2004 • **CAREER:** Management consultant, marketing executive, campaign aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, 2014; S.C. House, 2018-20

Like many South Carolina Republicans, Nancy Mace burnishes her credentials as a fiscal conservative. Beyond that, her agenda will likely be shaped in large part by her district.

Mace, a public relations consultant who served in the South Carolina House, has pledged not to vote for tax increases. “I believe we would be better off if we tax people not on what they earn but what they spend,” she said.

She opposes the 2010 health care law, but said she would only support a replacement that includes coverage for preexisting conditions. Two years before the law was enacted when she was starting a business, Mace was diagnosed with hemochromatosis, an iron disorder. It was deemed a preexisting condition and she was initially denied coverage.

Coastal issues are big in her district. Mace opposes drilling off the Atlantic coast but called a 2019 bill by her predecessor, Democratic Rep. Joe Cunningham, “more of a gimmick rather than a policy” with its blanket ban. “The way I would approach it is to inject federalism into the policy to allow states to say, ‘No I don’t want it off my coast,’” she said.

Mace grew up in Goose Creek, a Charleston suburb. In 1999 she became the first female graduate of the Corps of Cadets at The Citadel. Her father, James E. Mace, served in the Army for 28 years and was the school’s commandant.

Mace is most interested in joining the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee; she said Veterans’ Affairs and Financial Services also could be good fits.



TENNESSEE 01

## DIANA HARSHBARGER

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Blair Walsingham, D, to succeed Rep. Phil Roe, R, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Kingsport • **BORN:** Jan. 1, 1960; Bloomingdale, Tenn. • **RELIGION:** Baptist • **FAMILY:** Husband, Robert; one child • **EDUCATION:** Mercer U., Pharm.D., 1987 • **CAREER:** Pharmacist • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**D**iana Harshbarger will be one of only two pharmacists in the House and hopes her status as a political outsider will bring the right medicine to Congress.

Harshbarger aims to leverage her background in health care to advocate for issues like lowering the cost of prescription drugs and increasing generic drug pricing transparency and competition among insurers. She is a strong opponent of the 2010 health law.

Hailing from Kingsport and growing up in nearby Bloomingdale, Harshbarger went on to be the first in her family to go to college, and eventually completed her doctorate in pharmacy. She's worked as a pharmacist and small-business owner for over 30 years.

Harshbarger will be the first woman to serve in this seat. Her vision is to follow in the footsteps of President Donald Trump, using her experience in building her pharmacy business to inform and implement conservative policies in Congress.

She wants to stimulate economic growth and bring better jobs to her district. She has said that as the COVID-19 pandemic subsides, she will continue to be an advocate for rebuilding small businesses.

Harshbarger is passionate about mission work through her church and other nonprofits. She's served as a Baptist Sunday school teacher for nearly 25 years and is ardently opposed to abortion.

She also serves as a member of the local Chamber of Commerce and is a former board member of the International Academy of Compounding Pharmacists.

"People want you to be loyal to their community and not to Washington, and that's what I want to achieve," she said.



TEXAS 04

## PAT FALLON

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Russell Foster, D, to succeed Rep. John Ratcliffe, R, who resigned  
**• RESIDENCE:** Sherman • **BORN:** Dec. 19, 1967; Pittsfield, Mass. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Susan; two children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Notre Dame, B.A., 1990 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Air Force • **CAREER:** Apparel company owner • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Frisco City Council, 2009-12 (mayor pro tem, 2011-12); Texas House, 2013-19; Texas Senate, 2019-20

**P**at Fallon, a Texas transplant, has built his political career on a foundation suited to his adopted state — entrepreneurship, football and the military all have been important elements of his life.

He is focused on fiscal conservatism and overseeing federal spending, which he argues should be a priority for members of Congress regardless of party. "When you're wasting, or there's fraud, or you're abusing taxpayer dollars, everybody loses," he said. He points to an idea first proposed by Utah Sen. Mitt Romney during his 2012 presidential bid, which focused on shrinking the federal workforce by attrition rather than layoffs.

He was a walk-on reserve for the Notre Dame Fighting Irish football team during their 1988 championship season. His service in the Air Force took him to Wichita Falls, Texas. On leaving the military, he created a number of apparel businesses, including one which sells military-style outdoor apparel.

Fallon also has gotten notice for his social conservatism. As a member of the Texas House in 2013, he co-authored a bill to guarantee students, teachers and administrators in Texas school districts the right to wish one another "merry Christmas" or "happy Hanukkah" rather than just the secular terminology of "happy holidays." The measure, signed into law by Gov. Rick Perry, also protected religious displays for the holidays in schools.

Fallon began his political career on the Frisco City Council before being elected to the Texas House. He moved to the Texas Senate in 2019, then was appointed to replace Rep. John Ratcliffe on the ballot for the 2020 election. Ratcliffe resigned to serve as the director of national intelligence for the Trump administration.



TEXAS 11

## AUGUST PFLUGER

**BIOGRAPHY:** **PRONOUNCED:** FLEW-GER • **ELECTION:** Defeated Jon Mark Hogg, D, to succeed Rep. K. Michael Conaway, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** San Angelo  
**• BORN:** Dec. 28, 1977, San Angelo, Texas  
**• RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Camille; three children • **EDUCATION:** Air Force Academy, B.S., 2000; Embry-Riddle Aeronautical U., M.S.A., 2006; Air U., M.S., 2010; Georgetown U., M.A., 2019 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Air Force, Air Force Reserve • **CAREER:** Air Force pilot, National Security Council aide • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**A** career Air Force officer, August Pfluger often views issues through the lens of national security. That includes policy areas important to his West Texas district: agriculture and energy production.

Pfluger was born in San Angelo to a family of ranchers. A family history of military service spurred Pfluger's interest in aviation; he has spent thousands of hours in the cockpits of advanced aircraft.

He has also logged plenty of hours behind desks. Pfluger has three master's degrees. He has been stationed at the Pentagon, and was briefly attached to the National Security Council, helping to produce analysis and advice for the Trump administration.

"At the end of the day," he said, "whether it's oil and gas, whether it's agriculture, whether it's defense, all those things are going to fall under the umbrella of national security. And that really is what I've spent my entire life studying."

On agriculture, Pfluger ties national security to self sufficiency. "Food independence ... is probably a term that we haven't discussed enough," he said. He views energy produced in the Permian Basin as a "strategic asset" because of its importance to American commercial interests.

Pfluger presses for continued development of military technology. The Defense Department needs to optimize its operation and maintenance practices, he said, as competitors such as China and Russia increase technological capabilities.

Pfluger's path to Congress opened up with the retirement of Rep. K. Michael Conaway, an eight-term Republican and the ranking member of the Agriculture Committee. He won a 10-way primary with 52 percent of the vote.



TEXAS 13

## RONNY JACKSON

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Gus Trujillo, D, to succeed Rep. Mac Thornberry, R, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Amarillo • **BORN:** May 4, 1967; Levelland, Texas • **RELIGION:** Church of Christ • **FAMILY:** Wife, Jane; three children • **EDUCATION:** South Plains College, A.S., 1988; Texas A&M U., B.S., 1991; U. of Texas, Medical Branch, M.D., 1995 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Navy, Navy Reserve • **CAREER:** White House physician, White House aide, Navy physician • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**F**ormer White House physician Ronny Jackson has dived headfirst into partisan politics and now considers himself a staunch defender of Republican views.

He used his personal connection to President Donald Trump to solidify his brand, but also bills himself as a Washington outsider with military and health expertise.

Jackson burst onto the national scene in his position as Trump's doctor in 2018, following a press conference on the results of the president's first physical. At the time, he described Trump as having "incredibly good genes and it's just the way God made him."

He regularly touts his medical background in supporting the Trump administration's response to the coronavirus pandemic. He says the administration has treated the pandemic with the appropriate level of seriousness.

The Texas Republican contends that opening the economy is important to deal with during the pandemic, arguing lockdowns have been punitive to business owners rather than beneficial to public health. He also opposes mask requirements, citing a need for personal liberty.

Jackson wants to oversee defense issues. His predecessor, Mac Thornberry, was a leading GOP figure in defense matters as the chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

Jackson sees an opportunity for his district in the newest branch of the military, the Space Force. Because the mission set for the sixth branch is still a work in progress, he hopes to steer operational functions to Sheppard Air Force Base, which currently supports Air Force training missions.



TEXAS 17

## PETE SESSIONS

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rick Kennedy, D, to succeed Rep. Bill Flores, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Waco • **BORN:** March 22, 1955; Waco, Texas  
**• RELIGION:** United Methodist • **FAMILY:** Wife, Karen; two children, three stepchildren • **EDUCATION:** Southwestern U., B.S., 1978 • **CAREER:** Public policy analyst, telephone company executive • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Sought Republican nomination for U.S. House (special election), 1991; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1994; U.S. House, 1997-2019 (NRCC chairman, 2009-13)

**U**nfailingly businesslike and courtly, Pete Sessions returns to the House with 22 years of institutional knowledge in maneuvering legislation, and many GOP friends who can help him do just that.

Sessions says the first bill he will introduce in the 117th Congress will be to codify the "public charge" rule that the Trump administration implemented in early 2020.

The rule allows the government to withhold green cards from immigrants who use, or are deemed likely to rely on, food stamps, Medicaid, Section 8 housing and other public benefits intended for the poor. He acknowledges that because the rule doesn't have the force of law, any future president could roll it back or choose not to enforce it.

The former Rules Committee chairman says he's ready to serve in whatever capacity GOP leaders ask, including returning to the panel he led from 2013 until he lost his 2018 reelection bid. If he returns to Rules, Sessions could seek a waiver to also serve on Financial Services.

Medical research is a priority for Sessions, as two of his sons have genetic disorders. One has retinitis pigmentosa, a rare genetic disorder involving the breakdown and loss of cells in the retina. Another son, Alex, has Down syndrome.

Sessions said one of his most significant congressional accomplishments was the enactment of his 2006 bill giving states the option to create a Medicaid "buy in" for parents of children with disabilities whose family income or resources are up to 300 percent of the federal poverty level.

Sessions previously represented the 32nd District. His new district includes his hometown, Waco.



TEXAS 22

## TROY NEHLS

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Sri Preston Kulkarni, D, to succeed Rep. Pete Olson, R, who retired  
**• RESIDENCE:** Richmond • **BORN:** April 7, 1968; Beaver Dam, Wis. • **RELIGION:** Nondenominational Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Jill; three children • **EDUCATION:** Liberty U., B.A., 2001; U. of Houston, Downtown, M.S., 2011 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Army Reserve • **CAREER:** Police officer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Fort Bend County constable, 2005-12; Fort Bend County sheriff, 2013-20

**T**roy Nehls came to political fame as a staunchly conservative county sheriff. He plans to be a voice in Congress for law enforcement and border security.

With his signature white, wide-brimmed cowboy hat, Nehls is a highly visible public figure in the 22nd District, which takes in the majority of Fort Bend County. He joins Florida Republican John Rutherford as one of two former county sheriffs in Congress.

During the campaign, Nehls embraced President Donald Trump's approach to crack down when protests prompted by a national reckoning over race relations turned violent. He also supports Trump's border security strategies, such as construction of a wall at the southern border.

Nehls has decried calls to defund the police and argues against politicizing law enforcement. "Congress needs to stop making the issue partisan. Law enforcement in this country can always do better, but the partisan attacks calling for abolishment and defunding of law enforcement is uncalled for and dangerous," Nehls said in a statement to the Katy Times.

Nehls wants to address mental health issues facing individuals in his district — a focus when he was county sheriff. "We put people in jail because we didn't know what to do with them," Nehls told the Houston Chronicle. "And now the jails across the state are the de facto mental health provider for the state."

On a local level, he has pledged to protect his flood-prone district and cites funding drainage projects as a high priority. "I will make it my mission to ensure our district is properly prepared to respond to and prevent flooding," Nehls wrote on Facebook.





TEXAS 23

## TONY GONZALES

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Gina Ortiz Jones, D, to succeed Rep. Will Hurd, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** San Antonio • **BORN:** Oct. 10, 1980; Fort McClellan Army Base, Ala. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Angel; six children • **EDUCATION:** Chaminade U. of Honolulu, A.A., 2005; Excelsior College, B.S., 2009; American Public U., M.A., 2014; U. of Southern Mississippi, Ph.D., attending • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Navy • **CAREER:** Navy cryptologist, nonprofit founder, adjunct professor • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**T**ony Gonzales has an agenda shaped in large part by the border: The vast 23rd District includes more than 700 miles of the line between the United States and Mexico. As a trained Navy cryptologist he also has a distinct perspective on national security.

His early focus is reopening the border, as the Homeland Security Department indefinitely suspended all nonessential travel between the countries due to the COVID-19 pandemic. “We have to safely reopen our border for economic purposes,” Gonzales said during a candidate debate.

He argues that border towns like El Paso, Del Rio and Eagle Pass were losing out on millions of dollars due to the closed borders.

Even so, Gonzales — who was endorsed by President Donald Trump — has emphatically supported border security measures to curtail illegal immigration. That includes a border wall “where appropriate,” drones, surveillance cameras, and increased funding for the Border Patrol and Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

Gonzales has cast a wide net in his committee interests. His military background aligns with his interests on Armed Services, Foreign Affairs or Select Intelligence. He’s also open to becoming an appropriator, after working as a defense fellow in the office of Florida GOP Sen. Marco Rubio. Watching Rubio, he learned “how a member that understands that process can be effective,” he said.

He also has some personal experience in education: He has worked as an adjunct professor and served on San Antonio’s Head Start Policy Council. “I believe in early childhood development,” he said.



TEXAS 24

## BETH VAN DUYN

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Candace Valenzuela, D, to succeed Rep. Kenny Marchant, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Irving • **BORN:** Nov. 16, 1970; Albany, N.Y. • **RELIGION:** Episcopalian • **FAMILY:** Divorced; two children • **EDUCATION:** Cornell U., B.A., 1995 • **CAREER:** Marketing executive, strategic communications director, Housing and Urban Development regional administrator • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Irving City Council, 2004-10; mayor of Irving, 2011-17

**B**eth Van Duyne is a staunch proponent of limited government. In Congress, she plans to leverage relationships built when she served in city government and the federal bureaucracy.

Van Duyne was the first female mayor of Irving, a large suburb of Dallas. As her second term in that job was winding down, she was appointed by President Donald Trump to serve as a regional administrator for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, overseeing Texas and the four surrounding states.

She says her top priorities in Congress include restoring manufacturing jobs; promoting infrastructure development including roads, highways and internet access; expanding job training; and improving health care coverage. She told a local CBS affiliate that Congress should consider expanding health savings accounts, making premiums tax deductible and allowing health insurance to be sold across state lines.

Van Duyne was in the national media in 2015 on two occasions. As mayor, she raised concerns about an Islamic tribunal in Irving that was rumored to be a “Shariah court.” (It was issuing nonbinding rulings.) Later that year, a 14-year-old Muslim boy in Irving was arrested for bringing a homemade clock to school that was mistaken for a bomb. Van Duyne came to the public defense of the school and the police. The boy’s family unsuccessfully sued the school district for civil rights violations, and Van Duyne for defamation.

She stepped away from her HUD position to run for the House — GOP Rep. Kenny Marchant had cleared a path by announcing his retirement. Van Duyne was endorsed by Trump and easily won the primary.



UTAH 01

## BLAKE D. MOORE

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Darren Parry, D, to succeed Rep. Rob Bishop, R, who ran for lieutenant governor • **RESIDENCE:** Salt Lake City • **BORN:** June 22, 1980; Ogden, Utah • **RELIGION:** Mormon • **FAMILY:** Wife, Jane; three children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Utah, B.A., 2005; Northwestern U., M.S., 2018 • **CAREER:** Management consultant, foreign service officer • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**A** political newcomer, Blake D. Moore wants to be an authentic voice to communicate conservative values. He sees his problem-solving skills from his management consulting days as a way to invigorate how Congress conducts business.

“I really look forward to leveraging that consulting approach to a lot of the work that I’ll do in Washington,” he said.

Moore doesn’t view himself as a specialist. “I do not have to be the expert on X, Y or Z industry,” he said. “What I need to be able to do is be open and willing to take input, capture that data and information, process it ... put together a plan building support among a coalition of people.”

The Utah Republican says his ability to quickly size up situations is what’s needed to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Moore has identified three policy goals to focus on: improving jobs for northern Utah, spurring rural economic development and overseeing Hill Air Force Base, which is in his district.

He was a missionary for the Mormon church in South Korea, and he also lived in Singapore while working as a consultant. Moore has kept an eye on the Indo-Pacific region. He says stability and security within the South China Sea and neighboring territories is a decade-long challenge for U.S. policymakers.

He’d like committee assignments where he can tend to defense interests, such as Armed Services or the Appropriations Defense Subcommittee. He’s also open to a seat on Natural Resources, which was once chaired by his predecessor, Republican Rob Bishop.



UTAH 04

## BURGESS OWENS

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Rep. Ben McAdams, D • **RESIDENCE:** Draper • **BORN:** Aug. 2, 1951; Columbus, Ohio • **RELIGION:** Mormon • **FAMILY:** Divorced; six children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Miami, B.A., 1975 • **CAREER:** Professional football player, account executive, nonprofit founder • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** No previous office

**B**urgess Owens has thrown out the playbook for swing districts. The former NFL player — and frequent Fox News contributor — is consistently to the right on core policy issues and presents the political and cultural battles dividing the country as good against evil.

The right to bear arms, he says, is “granted by God and protected by the Constitution.” Abortion rights represent “evil socialist and Marxist ideology of the left [that] seeks to devalue life so much that mothers and fathers are willing to kill their own children.” The 2010 health care overhaul was an example of politicians “seeking to control every aspect of the lives of our citizenry.”

Although Owens says the health care law no longer needs to be repealed, changes should be introduced to “open the system to innovation and competition.”

Owens has made race and social justice issues central to his brief political career, taking issue with the theory that inequalities are rooted in systemic racism. His books, Twitter feed and cable television appearances feature frequent criticism of leaders of the Congressional Black Caucus as inept “Black elitists,” whose allegiance to the “powerful, greedy and self-centered” Democratic Party he says has stagnated growth in their communities.

At 22, Owens was a first-round draft pick for the New York Jets. He earned a Super Bowl ring in 1980 with the Oakland Raiders. When his post-NFL business endeavors failed, he worked as a chimney sweep and a security guard before landing at the Utah-based WordPerfect computer software company.

He later founded Second Chance 4 Youth, a nonprofit aimed at helping troubled children.



VIRGINIA 05

## BOB GOOD

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Cameron Webb, D, to succeed Rep. Denver Riggleman, R, who was defeated in a convention • **RESIDENCE:** Evington • **BORN:** Sept. 11, 1965; Wilkes Barre, Pa. • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Wife, Tracey; three children • **EDUCATION:** Liberty U., B.S., 1988; Liberty U., M.B.A., 2010 • **CAREER:** Loan manager, athletics director • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Campbell County Board of Supervisors, 2016-19

**B**ob Good calls himself a “bright-red biblical conservative” and plans to pursue a law-and-order agenda. He has vowed to bring Judeo-Christian values to Washington.

“Law enforcement and public safety are the No. 1 role of government,” he said at a September 2020 candidate forum. “Folks want to know that they are safe. If you’re not safe, nothing else matters.”

He promotes a wide swath of policing policies, from designating crimes against law enforcement as hate crimes to passing a federal protection on qualified immunity, the legal doctrine that shields police from lawsuits.

Good often cites the First Amendment and its protections for religious freedom. He has voiced opposition to a Virginia state law prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, characterizing it as a threat to religious liberty. “I don’t believe the government has any constitutional authority over religion, and so I will stand up and fight for religious freedom,” he told the Daily Progress, a Charlottesville newspaper.

A born-again Christian and alumnus of evangelical Liberty University, his faith has been a constant throughout his life. Good is still a member of the same church he attended as a child. He is outspoken about his opposition to abortion and believes in the “biblical view” of marriage between one man and one woman.

His district includes 23 counties spanning from the Washington exurbs to the North Carolina border and is the geographically largest in Virginia. Among his parochial concerns, Good wants to boost funding for increased broadband access in rural areas.



WASHINGTON 10

## MARILYN STRICKLAND

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Beth Doglio, D, to succeed Rep. Denny Heck, D, who ran for lieutenant governor • **RESIDENCE:** Tacoma • **BORN:** Sept. 25, 1962; Seoul, South Korea • **RELIGION:** Christian • **FAMILY:** Husband, Patrick Erwin; two stepchildren • **EDUCATION:** U. of Washington, B.A., 1984; Clark Atlanta U., M.B.A., 1992 • **CAREER:** City chamber of commerce president, library development officer, advertising executive • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Tacoma City Council, 2008-09; mayor of Tacoma, 2010-17

**W**ith an eight-year stint as mayor of Tacoma, Wash., under her belt, Marilyn Strickland intends to bring her local coalition-building experience to Congress.

Strickland also served as a member of the Tacoma City Council and as head of Seattle’s Chamber of Commerce. She intends to lean on that experience — with its emphasis on relationships and keeping open lines of communication — in the House of Representatives.

“Policies always should have as much input as possible from different points of view. I think you get the best policy outcomes then because the more voices you have, the more perspectives you have, the more you’re able to consider the benefits and risks of doing any policy,” Strickland said.

She is the first African American to represent Washington in Congress and one of the first Korean American women elected to Congress.

Her district has grown and diversified quickly. It was created following the 2010 census, and Strickland said she wants her work in Congress to reflect that. The area needs more infrastructure investment as well as support to keep its economy growing, she said.

“This is a very popular place to live, and people are getting priced out of [the Seattle area]. And so as we look at the growth that’s happening, the transportation and infrastructure that we have definitely needs investing and needs to be upgraded,” Strickland said.

In the wake of the coronavirus pandemic, Strickland plans to emphasize recovery efforts for local government and communities. People have to feel safe, with the virus in check, for the economy to return to normal, she said.



WISCONSIN 05

## SCOTT FITZGERALD

**BIOGRAPHY:** **ELECTION:** Defeated Tom Palzewicz, D, to succeed Rep. Jim Sensenbrenner, R, who retired • **RESIDENCE:** Juneau • **BORN:** Nov. 16, 1963; Chicago, Ill. • **RELIGION:** Catholic • **FAMILY:** Wife, Lisa; three children • **EDUCATION:** U. of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, B.S., 1985 • **MILITARY SERVICE:** Army Reserve • **CAREER:** Newspaper publisher • **POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS:** Dodge County Republican Party chairman, 1992-94; Wis. Senate, 1995-2020 (Republican leader, 2004, 2011-20)

**D**uring a quarter-century in the Wisconsin Senate, Scott Fitzgerald helped to build what he calls the “golden age” of conservatism in the state. He promises to be no less committed on Capitol Hill.

“We’ve fixed Wisconsin and made it a conservative beacon that the whole country looks to for reform,” Fitzgerald said when launching his congressional bid.

An ally of former Gov. Scott Walker, Fitzgerald championed Walker’s 2011 plan to shrink the state budget via changes to the collective bargaining rights for public employees. Walker signed the measure into law amid mass protests. Petitioners against the measure organized a campaign to oust Walker and GOP leaders in the Senate, including Fitzgerald. But none of the recall efforts were successful.

During Walker’s lame-duck session in 2018, Fitzgerald spearheaded efforts to give Wisconsin’s state legislature more authority to strip away powers from the incoming elected Democrat, Tony Evers.

Fitzgerald supports business openings amid the COVID-19 pandemic. He led GOP lawmakers in lawsuits both to block Evers’ stay-at-home order and to overturn the state’s mask mandate.

At the federal level, Fitzgerald is not opposed to additional pandemic aid, but he takes issue with giving more money to supplement unemployment. “It’s very easy to see why someone would say, I’m going to ride this out as long as I can and my job will probably still be there when the benefits run out,” he told cable network WisconsinEye.

He comes from a political family. His brother, Jeff, was the Republican Assembly speaker during Walker’s tenure, while Scott concurrently led Senate Republicans.



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## BY THE NUMBERS

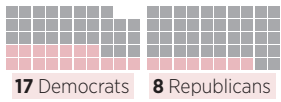
## Demographics of the 117th

By PAUL V. FONTELO, TERESA CARDENAS, ELEANOR VAN BUREN and RYAN KELLY

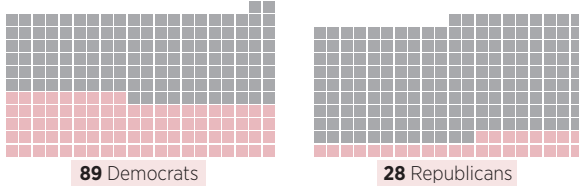
## Women continue making gains

Women will continue to make up a good share of the Democratic caucuses. Republicans claim fewer women, but doubled their House total from the 116th.

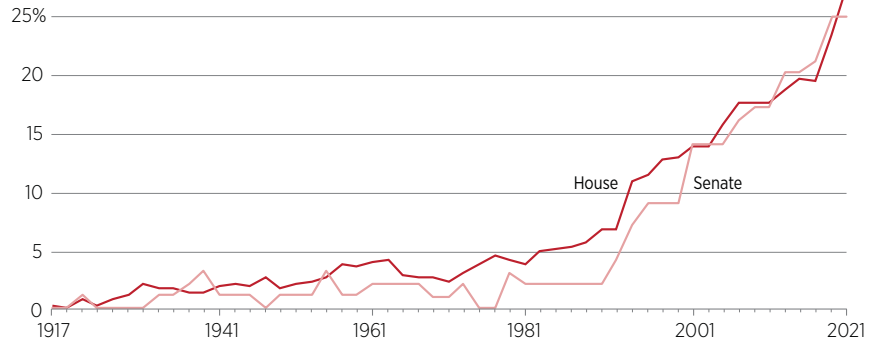
Senate: 73 Men 25 Women



House: 315 Men 117 Women



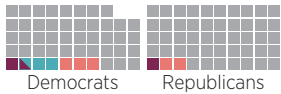
Percentage of seats held by women



## Race and ethnicity\*

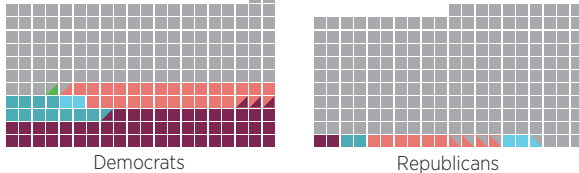
House Republicans add two Black and two Asian members. The election of Ben Ray Luján, D-N.M., adds a fifth Hispanic member to the Senate.

Senate

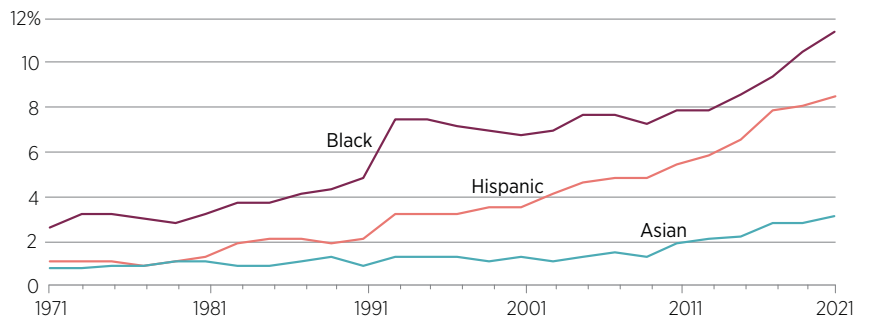


White (413 members)  
Hispanic (45)  
Asian (17)  
Black (61)  
American Indian & Alaska Native (5)  
Native Hawaiian & Pacific Islander (1)

House



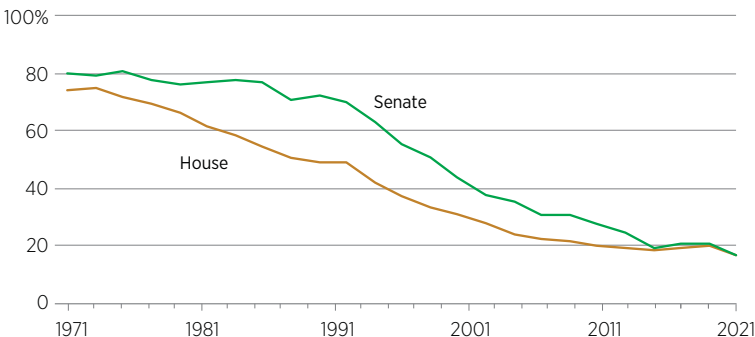
Percentage of members identifying as Black, Hispanic and Asian



\*Members identifying as more than one race or ethnicity are included in both totals.

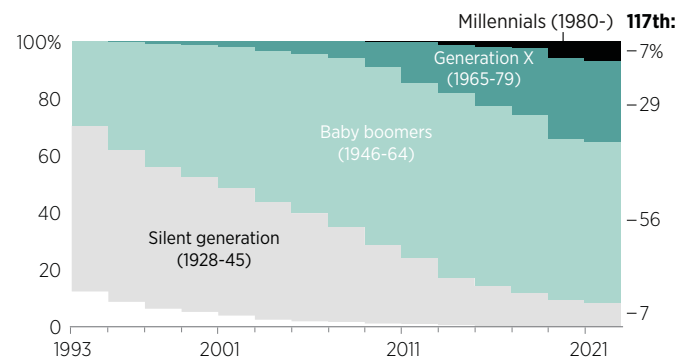
## Military veterans

The number of members with military experience has dropped since the last draft call 48 years ago.



## Generational representation

The House has 38 members born in the 1980s and one born in the 1990s, while the Senate waits for its first millennial.



Sources: CQ Roll Call data. Election results called by The Associated Press as of 6 p.m. on Dec. 1.

Notes: Senate independents are counted with Democrats. Delegates are not included in totals. Two uncalled races are included on this page — Rep. Lee Zeldin of NY-01 due to his lead at press time, and LA-05 where both candidates share characteristics: white, male, Republicans with no military service (they are not included in the generations graphic).



# SENATE COMMITTEES

## OUTLOOK AND DEPARTURES

By SHAWN ZELLER

**W**hen it comes to Senate committees, everything depends on the outcome of two Georgia Senate runoffs in January that will determine control of the chamber.

If Republicans win at least one of them, they'll retain the majority. But party-imposed term limits will prompt a reshuffling at a number of panels, including Finance and Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs. Republicans will also have to replace the chairmen at Health, Education, Labor and Pensions and at Agriculture, both of whom retired. The Energy and Natural Resources and Environment and Public Works panels will also see new Republican leaders.

If Democrats win the Georgia seats, both party caucuses will have 50

votes. Vice President Kamala Harris will break ties and allow the Democrats to name committee leaders. But past precedent suggests that the panels will give each party equal representation, staffing and funding. Committee votes that end in ties will go to the full Senate for committee approval, with Harris available to break ties.

If Democrats get to name leaders, the current ranking members are expected to move up, except at Judiciary. There, California's Dianne Feinstein said she would not seek the top spot after liberal groups criticized her handling of October's Supreme Court confirmation hearings for Amy Coney Barrett.



Collins



Scott

### AGING

**JURISDICTION:** *The committee studies and investigates issues that affect older Americans, often reporting its findings and making recommendations to the full Senate. But it has no legislative role itself. Among its activities, it conducts oversight of programs that benefit the elderly, such as Medicare and Social Security, and investigates fraud against the elderly.*

The unique special committee is expected to continue its nonpartisan activities in the 117th Congress aimed at protecting older adults

and enhancing their lives. It will likely hold hearings on a wide range of issues important to older Americans — including health and retirement security and the adequacy of employment opportunities for older workers — and conduct investigations, including on specific allegations of fraud.

Maine's Susan Collins, who has been a member of the panel since joining the Senate in 1997 and chaired the committee for the past three Congresses, could continue as chairwoman if Republicans retain the majority. GOP committee leadership term limits do not apply to Senate Aging. However, Collins could step aside for South Carolina's Tim Scott to take the helm. Scott is currently second in seniority among Republicans on the panel,

having joined the committee in the 114th Congress.

If Democrats gain the Senate majority, Pennsylvania's Bob Casey is expected to become chairman. Casey has been on the committee since joining the Senate in 2007, and for the past three Congresses he has been the panel's top Democrat.

An immediate focus of the committee under either majority will likely be a continuing examination of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on vulnerable older adults and how to better protect them. The panel held several hearings on that issue this year.

— Chuck Conlon



Casey



Boozman



Stabenow

### AGRICULTURE

**JURISDICTION:** *Senate Agriculture oversees the U.S. Forest Service, the Commodity Futures Trading Commission and the Agriculture Department — with its school meal programs, farm and conservation programs, international humanitarian food programs and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, formerly known as food stamps.*

With the retirement of Chairman Pat Roberts, a Kansas Republican, the panel will get a new leader regardless which party gets the majority after Georgia's runoff elections. Republican John Boozman of Arkansas and Democrat Debbie Stabenow of Michigan are candidates for their parties' top spots on the panel.

The committee will be working on a five-year reauthorization of the farm bill to replace the 2018 law that expires in 2023. The bill sets policy for agriculture, conservation, nutrition and rural development programs. Past efforts to get bills finished before expiration have stumbled over regional issues or partisan flare-ups over food stamps.

Boozman has said he wants the committee to move quickly on fact-gathering and other steps. He has also said he wants to tackle school lunch and breakfast programs that have been operating since 2015 without authorization but with funds nevertheless being appropriated.

Boozman also said he wants to review supply chains that were severely affected when restaurants and institutional food companies closed or sharply reduced demand because COVID-19 public health restrictions kept people home and slowed the economy since the early months of 2020.

Big meatpackers like the Arkansas-based

Tyson Foods Inc. slowed operations as commercial demand dropped and hundreds of workers became ill or tested positive for COVID-19. Hog producers in particular found themselves with nearly market-ready animals but no slaughterhouses to send them to.

Stabenow, the current ranking member and former chairwoman of the panel, would review trade and farm aid by the Trump administration, which she and other Democrats say favored large farm operations. A Government Accountability Office report in September confirmed uneven payouts that sent most of the money to big farms.

Stabenow also plans to focus on climate change and establishing carbon markets that farmers could participate in. She is a co-sponsor of bipartisan legislation that would give the Agriculture Department responsibility for making it easier for farmers, ranchers and private forestland owners to move into carbon credit markets.

— Ellyn Ferguson



Shelby

## APPROPRIATIONS

**JURISDICTION:** Under Article I of the Constitution, the executive branch cannot spend money not previously appropriated by Congress. The Appropriations Committee is responsible for dividing up all federal discretionary spending, or money not set aside for specific purposes under prior law, among dozens of Cabinet departments and agencies.



Leahy

The Senate Appropriations Committee tends to be more collegial than other panels,

with members understanding that if they can't reach agreement with one another and their House colleagues, there would be a partial government shutdown.

That means regardless of whether Chairman Richard C. Shelby, R-Ala., keeps the gavel or passes it off to the panel's top Democrat, Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont, the dozen annual spending bills will likely continue being drafted in the bipartisan manner they have been for years.

The biggest difference may be the annual markup process, when committee members debate and offer amendments to the bills in preparation for floor debate.

Shelby and Leahy reached an impasse this summer over whether Democrats could offer amendments on additional COVID-19 aid, and on overhauling police departments after the killing of George Floyd, a Black man, sparked unrest around the country.

The standoff could resume next year if Senate Republicans want to hold the line on left-leaning spending policy against a Democratic House and White House.

Whoever the chairman is will have at least a few months to reach an agreement on committee debate before the fiscal 2022 appropriations process kicks off.

Congressional leaders and the Budget committees will first have to determine how much the federal government will devote to discretionary spending during the upcoming fiscal year, slated to begin on Oct. 1. Until that topline spending level is set, panel leaders won't be able to divide available funds among the 12 subcommittees.

Both the Republican and Democratic sides of the committee roster will undergo some changes in the meantime.

The retirement of Tennessee's Lamar Alexander leaves a vacancy atop the Energy-Water Subcommittee. Cindy Hyde-Smith of Mississippi could potentially leave her position as the top Republican



Caroline Brehman/CQ Roll Call file photo

Whoever heads the panel will have just a few months before the FY22 appropriations process begins.

on the Legislative Branch Subcommittee to take over on Energy-Water. If that occurred, Steve Daines of Montana could then get his first opportunity as a chairman or a ranking member on the Legislative Branch panel.

It's possible someone with more seniority than Hyde-Smith decides to move from their subcommittee to Energy-Water, however, which could set off a larger round of musical chairs.

Democrat Tom Udall's retirement leaves an opening on the Interior-Environment Subcommittee that could lead to movement on a couple other subcommittees. Once the dust settles, Tammy Baldwin, D-Wis., will likely end up with a subcommittee leadership position.

— Jennifer Shutt



Inhofe

## ARMED SERVICES

**JURISDICTION:** The committee authorizes spending and considers nominations for most U.S. national security departments and agencies. This includes the Defense Department's armed services and agencies, including intelligence organizations, plus the Energy Department's atomic weapons initiatives. The panel oversees personnel programs, research, procurement, operations and military construction projects.



Reed

The Armed Services Committee is traditionally more bipartisan than the chamber or the Congress at large. So whether it's chaired by Republican James M. Inhofe of Oklahoma or Democrat Jack Reed of Rhode Island, its members will agree on most things.

Each party lost at least one panel member to electoral defeat: Republican Martha McSally of Arizona and Democrat Doug Jones of Alabama. And Republican David Perdue

faces a runoff election in Georgia.

The committee's priority is always to send the president a defense authorization bill, or NDAA, that can be enacted. If the fiscal 2021 version is completed in the lame-duck session, it will mark 60 consecutive NDAAs.

Senators from both parties will back President-elect Joe Biden if, as expected, he reverses Donald Trump's announced or considered withdrawal of troops from Germany, Africa or South Korea. They will also back maintaining modest forces in Afghanistan and the Middle East, if Biden proposes that.

Committee members from both parties will likewise agree with Biden's coming emphasis on restoring relations with allies and distancing himself from strongmen with whom Trump felt a kinship.

And, on the most pressing question of the future — how to contest China's rise — members from both parties will back Biden's efforts to compete with China militarily, though some hawks will want a more confrontational approach.

On certain other issues, to be sure, it will

matter somewhat more whether Republicans or Democrats are in the majority.

There will be bipartisan resistance to the 10 percent cut in the defense budget, or roughly \$70 billion a year, that some progressives support. But a Democratic majority could support a smaller cut — something less than half that, perhaps.

If Reed takes the panel's helm, one set of programs is almost sure to be all but invulnerable there, even if overall shipbuilding plans are scaled back: submarines, which are built by many of his Rhode Island constituents in next-door Connecticut.

Under a Republican majority, it would be a slightly different story. They would seek to continue defense spending on the upward trajectory it has enjoyed for several years, despite the limitations on spending in the 2011 budget control law.

However, even if Republicans have the Senate majority and a larger number of House seats than in the 116th Congress, having a Democratic president will weaken the GOP's overall position in the defense budget debate.

— John M. Donnelly





Toomey

## BANKING, HOUSING & URBAN AFFAIRS

**JURISDICTION:** *The committee oversees commodities, monetary policy, export controls, public and private housing, urban development and urban mass transit. That includes oversight of the Housing and Urban Development Department, the Federal Reserve System and other financial regulators.*



Brown

The likely candidates to lead the panel couldn't have more contradictory political views. Patrick J. Toomey, R-Pa., is an unwavering advocate of free markets, while Sherrod Brown, D-Ohio, the ranking member in the 116th Congress, is an energetic progressive.

But the bar for bipartisan efforts is already low. Under Chairman Michael D. Crapo of Idaho, who is expected to give up the gavel even if Republicans retain the majority, the committee marked up only one bill in the 116th Congress.

Toomey, who announced he would not run for reelection in 2022, didn't show much enthusiasm for a pot banking bill the committee debated in 2020. But in a recent interview, Toomey said he's open to working on the issue. Still, Pennsylvania isn't among the states that have licensed marijuana dispensaries, making the issue less pressing to his constituents.

He may have a shot at an overhaul of housing finance, including an end to the federal conservatorship of mortgage giants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

He also might find Democrats sympathetic to removing or reducing subtle subsidies for the financial sector. Toomey co-sponsored legislation that would replace the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation's orderly liquidation authority over banks and other financial firms with a new chapter of the federal bankruptcy code. That measure would also be eligible for reconciliation, meaning it could pass with a simple majority in the Senate.

Brown, who is further left than most Democrats on the panel, has co-sponsored bills that would institute postal banking,

restrict corporate share buybacks, limit overdraft fees, crack down on private equity and mandate public company disclosures on environmental, social and governance issues.

He would work to ensure that renters get eviction relief in a COVID-19 relief package and will fight for large appropriations for rental assistance and public housing construction in subsequent infrastructure spending proposals that Democrats may take up.

Democratic control would create an opportunity for lawmakers to use the Congressional Review Act to reverse deregulatory moves made in the final months of the Trump administration. The party also would push for stronger civil rights protections in consumer lending and for more minorities and women at the top levels of finance.

Brown has worked with Republicans on issues such as long-term reauthorizations of the Terrorism Risk Insurance Program and may find common cause on export subsidies with populist Republicans like Tom Cotton of Arkansas.

— Jim Saksa



Graham

## BUDGET

**JURISDICTION:** *The Senate Budget Committee is responsible for advancing a budget resolution, a fiscal framework which, if adopted by both chambers, sets an enforceable ceiling on spending and a floor for tax revenue. The committee monitors compliance with budget rules, enforceable by points of order, and has jurisdiction over budget laws.*



Sanders

The Budget Committee will pursue drastically different ends depending on which party ends up in control of the Senate. Under GOP control, the committee is certain to push for overall spending restraint while making an exception for defense in the fiscal 2022 budget resolution.



Whitehouse

The panel will likely resist Democrats' efforts to roll back some of the tax cuts in the 2017 tax overhaul (PL 115-97) and raise other taxes.

Republicans might tangle over whether to extend statutory spending caps that expire at the end of fiscal 2021, with deficit hawks arguing for a new round of caps and defense

hawks worried that caps would constrain defense spending.

Republicans are apt to take a fresh look at how record-high deficits and rising government debt can be managed after the record spending of the pandemic. The panel could take up the cause of overhauling entitlement programs such as Medicare, whose trust fund is projected to run out of money in 2024.

If Democrats win the Senate, they can follow through with plans to adopt two budget resolutions next year — one for fiscal 2021 and another for fiscal 2022 — with reconciliation instructions allowing them to advance budget- and tax-related legislation that would be exempt from a Senate filibuster.

Absent a large COVID-19 relief package in the lame-duck session, the first reconciliation bill is likely to focus on pandemic relief and economic stimulus. Health care, climate change, infrastructure and rolling back some of the 2017 tax cuts are other top candidates for reconciliation during the year.

Despite limits to reconciliation spelled out in the Senate's Byrd rule, Bill Dauster, a former top Democratic Senate aide, believes that while "it will take a little bit of work," reconciliation

could be used for pandemic relief, health care, climate action and even infrastructure. G. William Hoagland, a former top GOP Senate aide, said reconciliation will be harder than people think, in part because "this takes coordination, consultation, consideration and consensus."

If Democrats take the Senate, Bernie Sanders, I-Vt., is the next likely chairman, with Sheldon Whitehouse, D-R.I., next in line if Sanders were to take a Cabinet position, for instance. Under GOP control, Lindsey Graham, R-S.C., is likely to succeed retiring Budget Chairman Michael B. Enzi, R-Wyo.

— Paul M. Krawzak



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call file photo

The Senate Budget Committee's first reconciliation bill is likely to focus on pandemic relief and economic stimulus.



Wicker



Cantwell

## COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION

**JURISDICTION:** The panel has jurisdiction on a wide variety of topics, including communications, transportation and technology. It oversees highways, aviation, rail and transportation security, the Coast Guard, oceans, fisheries, weather, science, space and tourism. It also examines issues including economic development, technology and product safety.

While control of the Senate remains in question, the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will see familiar faces at the top in 2021, with Roger Wicker, R-Miss., and Maria Cantwell, D-Wash., poised to take their leadership positions again.

Wicker, who became chairman in January 2019, would now be working with a Democrat in the White House. But his close relationship with Cantwell bodes well for him in 2021.

The pair forged a tight partnership in 2020, working closely on a bill aimed at overhauling the Federal Aviation Administration's aircraft certification process. The bill, a response to two Boeing 737 MAX accidents that claimed 346 lives, was marked up in the lame-duck session after being pulled at the last minute

from an earlier committee vote.

Next year, the two must strike a deal on infrastructure; Congress passed a one-year extension of the current surface transportation law (PL 114-94), and the committee has jurisdiction over rail and safety issues in the bill.

Should Republicans retain the Senate, it's unlikely that they'll agree with the Biden administration on many technology issues, but it's possible that the two could strike deals in a couple of areas. The first and most likely of those is on overhauling Section 230, the liability shield that protects companies like Facebook and Twitter from lawsuits.

During the campaign, President-elect Joe Biden said the companies had become too powerful and called for a full repeal of the law, taking a more extreme stance than most lawmakers from both parties. There's no consensus yet on a framework for Section 230 reform, but the bipartisan interest is there.

There's also bipartisan support for federal data privacy protections, and both Wicker and Cantwell are likely to reintroduce their bills that represent the starting positions of



Stephen Brashear/Getty Images file photo

Recently Wicker and Cantwell worked together to draft a bill to overhaul the FAA's certification process, a response to Boeing 737 MAX accidents.

both sides. But Silicon Valley is opposed, and how far Biden is willing to go may depend on how well the tech industry lobbies its longtime ally, Vice President-elect Kamala Harris.

While it's unclear whether subcommittee chairmen will shift their roles, one top Republican position must be replaced: Cory Gardner of Colorado, who was chairman of the Science, Oceans, Fisheries and Weather Subcommittee in 2020, lost his election, leaving at least one vacancy to fill.

— Jessica Wehrman

— Dean DeChiaro



Barrasso



Manchin

## ENERGY & NATURAL RESOURCES

**JURISDICTION:** This committee has a broad bailiwick, covering the Interior and Energy departments and oversight of federal land use, utilities, pipelines, natural gas, nuclear projects, siting of renewables, the National Laboratories, federal oil reserves and energy data. It also has oversight of the U.S. Forest Service and power marketing administrations.

Alaska's Lisa Murkowski will relinquish the top Republican spot on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, having reached a party-imposed term limit. John Barrasso of Wyoming has announced his intention to take over, meaning he'll hold the gavel should the Senate remain in Republican control. Barrasso

would likely pursue a broad deregulatory agenda friendly toward fossil fuel industries, including coal.

In the 116th Congress, Murkowski and ranking member Joe Manchin III, D-W.Va., had a good rapport. Manchin and Barrasso could find common ground over coal and carbon capture technology, as the coal industry remains a significant political power in their home states.

If the Senate runoffs in Georgia give Democrats control of the chamber, Manchin would likely lead the panel, though Bernie Sanders, I-Vt., has more seniority.

There may be bipartisan support for reviving an energy resource development package that stalled on the floor March 9. That bill included energy efficiency, renewable energy, battery storage and nuclear provisions.

Under the Murkowski-Manchin duo, Democrats grew weary over the nomination process, after the Trump administration refused to pick members of the Federal

Energy Regulatory Commission in a bipartisan manner, as is tradition. Ultimately a pair of nominees, one from each party, was confirmed in November.

Three divisions of the Interior Department — the National Park Service, the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement and the Bureau of Land Management — have gone without Senate-confirmed heads during Trump's term. Filing those spots will be high on the to-do list.

Two critics of federal land management, Mike Lee of Utah and Steve Daines of Montana, are expected to retain the top Republican spots on the Public Lands, Forests, and Mining and National Parks subcommittees.

Republicans will have several new faces on the panel: Cory Gardner of Colorado and Martha McSally of Arizona were defeated, and Lamar Alexander of Tennessee is retiring.

— Benjamin J. Hulac





Capito



Carper

## ENVIRONMENT & PUBLIC WORKS

**JURISDICTION:** The panel has jurisdiction over environmental issues, including air pollution, wildlife, flood control, ocean dumping, water pollution, toxic substances other than pesticides, solid waste disposal and recycling. It oversees construction and maintenance of highways, public buildings, public works, bridges, dams and nuclear power facilities.

The Environment and Public Works Committee will begin the 117th Congress facing the same impasse it reached in the 116th: How best to tackle a five-year surface transportation reauthorization bill.

Congress could not reach an agreement on the highway reauthorization bill last year,

instead opting to pass a one-year reauthorization of the 2015 law (PL 114-94). While the Senate panel approved a five-year, \$287 billion highway bill that included a climate section in July 2019, the Democratic House passed a more ambitious \$494 billion highway bill in 2020 that threaded climate change provisions throughout.

Through his “Build Back Better” platform, which intertwines climate and infrastructure, President-elect Joe Biden has demonstrated more willingness to go big on the two issues together. This combination could be a sticking point for Republicans who are more likely to embrace the concept of resilience in infrastructure than to actually try to tackle climate change by lowering carbon emissions.

Shelley Moore Capito of West Virginia is expected to take over the top Republican spot on the committee, as the current chairman, John Barrasso of Wyoming, has opted to claim the top GOP spot on the Energy and Natural

Resources Committee. (James M. Inhofe of Oklahoma has more seniority than Capito but is unlikely to give up his spot atop the Armed Services Committee.)

Capito has shown an interest in the EPA’s national air standards, carbon capture technology, wastewater investments and water contamination.

Thomas R. Carper of Delaware is expected to continue to lead committee Democrats and prioritize the climate crisis, environmental justice, public transport and biodiversity protection. He might also find bipartisan agreement on wetlands conservation and hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), highly potent greenhouse gases. Barrasso and Carper worked out a deal on HFCs in September.

Carper would likely shift to chairman if Democrats win both runoff Senate elections in Georgia, delivering his party the majority.

— Benjamin J. Hulac

— Jessica Wehrman



Lankford



Coons

## ETHICS

**JURISDICTION:** The agenda of the six-member bipartisan panel is set jointly by the chairman and vice chairman. The panel offers guidance on how to comply with standards of conduct, investigates alleged violations of standards of conduct by Senate members and employees, and may undertake or recommend remedial or enforcement action.

What the Senate Ethics Committee is up to at any given time can be a bit of a mystery. Chairman James Lankford, R-Okla.— who took the helm when Johnny Isakson of Georgia resigned at the end of 2019 — and Vice Chairman Chris Coons, D-Del., have continued the tradition

of giving away very little about committee proceedings.

The panel, split evenly with three Republicans and three Democrats, hasn’t issued a press release since 2017. Its last public letter was its 2018 letter of admonition to New Jersey Democrat Bob Menendez.

Its 2019 report said the committee received 251 new reports of alleged violations. Committee staff dismissed the vast majority but conducted a preliminary inquiry on 16 of the allegations. None resulted in a disciplinary sanction, the report said.

What information has trickled out about the committee’s activities this year mostly stems from stock trades by senators at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, which also caught the attention of federal regulators.

Several senators, including Republicans Kelly Loeffler of Georgia, Richard M. Burr of

North Carolina and James M. Inhofe of Oklahoma, as well as California Democrat Dianne Feinstein, received scrutiny from the Justice Department for their trades. All investigations were closed, except the one into Burr.

The House Ethics Committee has in the past been more active than the Senate panel because the nonpartisan, independent Office of Congressional Ethics makes investigation recommendations to House Ethics. There’s no Senate parallel.

Burr sent a letter to the panel in March asking it to look into his matter, saying “an independent review is warranted to ensure full and complete transparency.”

When asked for an update on his request, his office declined to comment. Deborah Sue Mayer, the committee’s staff director, also did not respond to a request for comment.

— Chris Cioffi



Crapo



Wyden

## FINANCE

**JURISDICTION:** The Senate Finance Committee has jurisdiction over all revenue-related measures, including legislation affecting taxes and trade tariffs, and all programs enacted under the Social Security Act, including old-age and survivors’ insurance and disability insurance, Medicare and Medicaid. The panel also has jurisdiction over other health care programs financed by taxes and social safety net programs for the poor, such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

The Finance Committee’s new chairman will face fights on partisan issues such as drug pricing and efforts to roll back the 2017 tax code overhaul, but also will enjoy friendlier opportunities when it comes to bipartisan tax, health care and trade bills.

If Republicans retain their Senate majority, a game of musical chairmanships should land Banking Chairman Michael D. Crapo, R-Idaho, in the top spot at the tax-writing panel as a term-limited Charles E. Grassley, R-Iowa, returns to the big chair at the Judiciary Committee.

If Democrats take over, Ron Wyden of Oregon becomes committee chairman for the second time, having taken the gavel for most of 2014

following the resignation of Montana Democrat Max Baucus, who became U.S. ambassador to China. Wyden would likely push for letting Medicare negotiate prices for some expensive drugs.

If Republicans have control, Crapo will have the task of shepherding a drug pricing bill that unites Senate Republicans. Some Senate Republicans had distanced themselves from Grassley’s bipartisan efforts last year.

Crapo, like Grassley, would resist changes to the 2017 tax overhaul (PL 115-97), while Wyden would have an ally in House Ways and Means Chairman Richard E. Neal, D-Mass., who is expected to continue his assault on the overhaul law with hearings and possible legislation.

But there also likely will be agreement on the tax front. An already assembled package of retirement savings measures has bipartisan support, as will legislation to renew a collection of expiring tax breaks known as “extenders.”

On trade, the Finance Committee will focus on reauthorizing trade promotion authority

(PL 114-26) and the Trade Adjustment Assistance Program (PL 114-27). The trade promotion law, which expires July 1, 2021, lays out negotiating objectives, requirements for consulting with Congress on trade talks and deadlines for public disclosure.

The Trade Adjustment Assistance Program

provides benefits and employment services to workers who have lost jobs or had their hours reduced because of increased imports and foreign competition. It expires June 30, 2021.

— *Ellyn Ferguson*

— *Sandhya Raman*

— *Doug Sword*



Risch

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

**JURISDICTION:** *One of the Senate's oldest committees, Foreign Relations assesses the fitness of diplomatic nominees, oversees proposed foreign arms sales, weighs new treaties and considers resolutions authorizing the use of military force or even war. The panel oversees the State Department, the U.S. Agency for International Development and several smaller agencies.*



Menendez

Should the Senate remain in Republican hands, expect the Foreign Relations Committee to perform slightly more oversight of the State Department with a Democrat in the White House.

Chairman Jim Risch, R-Idaho, distinguished himself during the 116th Congress by holding roughly 40 percent fewer policy hearings than the historical average set by his recent predecessors, according to an analysis by the centrist Lugar

Center's Congressional Oversight Hearing Index.

Given Risch's hawkish views on nuclear weapons and the Middle East, he's likely to hold hearings critical of the Biden administration's expected nuclear negotiations with Iran and Russia.

And Risch has also signaled an interest in playing a more active role in influencing U.S. policy toward China. In July, he introduced a bill that seeks to reduce China's opportunities for intellectual property and scientific research theft in the United States. The bill may be refiled in the coming Congress or combined with other complementary Democratic proposals.

Should the Senate flip to Democratic control, it's likely the Biden administration will face even more oversight led by the panel's top Democrat, Bob Menendez of New Jersey. When he chaired the panel in 2013 and 2014, Menendez held 45 more policy hearings than Risch did in the most recent Congress, even as a member of his own party occupied the White House, according to the Lugar Center.

Menendez, who is a relative hawk on national security issues, spent the last two years

as ranking member entrepreneurially using Senate rules to impede Trump administration efforts to advance its foreign policy objectives.

Menendez once worked with President-elect Joe Biden on the Foreign Relations Committee, during Biden's last years as its chairman. He told CQ Roll Call that his initial priorities include assisting the Biden administration's international response to the coronavirus pandemic. He and other committee Democrats over the summer introduced legislation that would authorize \$9 billion in foreign aid to combat the virus abroad, though it's possible that the amount could be increased because of the worsening crisis.

Menendez also wants the committee to play a leading role in advancing a holistic congressional strategy for competing with China. He may re-introduce a bill he filed in September that includes more than \$350 billion in new authorizations for federally funded research into emerging technologies such as quantum computing and artificial intelligence, plus more security assistance to friendly countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

— *Rachel Oswald*



Burr

## HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR & PENSIONS

**JURISDICTION:** *The Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee oversees legislation affecting health care, including employer-sponsored insurance, K-12 schools, colleges and universities, labor and employment. It oversees the nation's public health departments, as well as the Education and Labor departments.*



Murray

The HELP Committee will see a leadership shakeup in the next Congress, regardless of which party ends up in control of the Senate.

Chairman Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, the top Republican on the panel since 2015, is retiring. Fellow Republicans Michael B. Enzi of Wyoming and Pat Roberts of Kansas are also retiring, opening up spots on the committee. Georgia Republican Kelly

Loeffler, who faces a Jan. 5 runoff election, also sits on the panel.

Senate Republicans typically select committee leaders by seniority, meaning that Richard M. Burr of North Carolina would be next in line. Burr, who stepped aside as the Intelligence Committee chairman earlier this year after coming under investigation for stock trades during the COVID-19 pandemic, told CQ Roll Call he'll decide before the caucus organizes whether he'll take on the role. Burr has a long-standing interest in the Food and Drug Administration and pandemic preparedness.

If Burr does not become the top Republican, Rand Paul of Kentucky would be next in line.

If Democrats prevail in the runoffs for both of Georgia's Senate seats and take control of the chamber, the current ranking member on HELP, Patty Murray of Washington, would take over as chairwoman. Alabama Democrat Doug Jones lost his reelection bid, opening a spot for a new Democrat on the committee.

Regardless of which party is setting the

agenda, the committee will continue to play a prominent role in the government's COVID-19 response.

The committee will likely keep hearing from the nation's top health officials, although President-elect Joe Biden will nominate new agency leaders. Biden has said he wants Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, to stay on in the role, in which he is not a political appointee. Fauci and Paul have sparred in public hearings on how to best control the spread of the coronavirus.

The committee's efforts this year to end surprise out-of-network medical bills and to lower prescription drug costs could continue in the next Congress. However, Alexander led the push on surprise billing, and it's not clear how his retirement may change the approach.

If Democrats control the panel, they will have a role in enacting Biden's agenda, although a major health insurance overhaul would be difficult with a tight majority.

— *Mary Ellen McIntire*





Portman



Peters

## HOMELAND SECURITY & GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

**JURISDICTION:** Following enactment of the Homeland Security Act of 2002, the committee combined its original jurisdiction over government operations and spending with an additional focus on homeland security issues. It oversees matters related to the Homeland Security Department, the Coast Guard, transportation security, immigration levels and trade.

Regardless of which party gains the majority in the Senate, the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee will get a new leader.

That's because Ron Johnson, R-Wis., who has headed the panel since January 2015, said

he's about to "time out as chairman" because of GOP term limit rules.

Depending on what happens in Georgia's runoff elections, Johnson, a supporter of Trump-era hard-line border policies, will either cede the gavel to Rob Portman, R-Ohio, or the committee's current ranking member, Gary Peters, D-Mich.

Portman, who currently serves as chairman of the panel's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, has partnered with committee Democrats on legislation related to strengthening cybersecurity and tightening federal spending. He has led oversight on Russian disinformation campaigns and Chinese state-owned companies in the United States and would continue to prioritize cybersecurity in the committee's next iteration under Republican leadership.

Portman would also address the ongoing addiction epidemic and transparency in COVID-19 relief efforts rather than

more-polarizing issues in past sessions, such as border security and illegal immigration.

Peters, as the committee's top Democrat, has resisted the most divisive Trump-era immigration policies — specifically border wall construction and the practice of family separations at the border.

In the months leading up to 2020 election, Peters focused on the fiscal crisis in the U.S. Postal Service and the government response to COVID-19. He is likely to continue work on these topics in the 117th Congress, in addition to transparency and federal spending issues, which are the bipartisan bread and butter of the committee.

A spokesperson for Peters told CQ Roll Call: "He looks forward to continuing this work through the committee, which has traditionally set aside partisan differences to protect the nation and ensure our government works efficiently and effectively for all."

— Tanvi Misra



Murkowski



Schatz

## INDIAN AFFAIRS

**JURISDICTION:** The Senate Indian Affairs Committee oversees all matters relating to American Indians, Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians, including health, safety, education, trust responsibilities and land management issues. It also has jurisdiction over claims against the U.S., general welfare of tribal communities and tribal cultural and religious matters.

If the GOP maintains its control of the Senate, Alaska Republican Lisa Murkowski is expected to take the helm

of the Indian Affairs Committee.

Murkowski will likely continue her efforts to address energy costs in rural and tribal communities in her new post. She has been chairwoman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee since 2015, but Republican party rules limit committee chairs to six-year terms.

A Democratic majority in the chamber would likely put the gavel in the hands of Hawaii's Brian Schatz, who will become the panel's top Democrat with the retirement of Tom Udall of New Mexico. Schatz would be the third Hawaii senator to chair the panel, following Daniel K. Akaka and Daniel K. Inouye.

Although Maria Cantwell of Washington and Jon Tester of Montana have seniority over

Schatz, the two are expected to continue to serve as the top Democrats on the Commerce, Science and Transportation and the Veterans' Affairs committees, respectively.

Schatz led the Senate Democrats' Special Committee on the Climate Crisis in the 116th Congress, and he would likely spearhead committee action on addressing climate change's impact on Native American communities.

With either Murkowski or Schatz in charge, the panel is expected to focus on addressing the COVID-19 pandemic's disproportionate impact on Native Americans. Their relationship will likely result in a shared agenda to benefit Alaska Natives and the Native Hawaiian community.

— Sean Newhouse



Rubio



Warner

## INTELLIGENCE

**JURISDICTION:** The committee oversees all the U.S. intelligence agencies, including the CIA and those at the departments of Defense, State, Energy, Justice and Homeland Security. It also approves the annual intelligence authorization bills, which set policy for the intelligence community.

The question of who chairs the Intelligence Committee will be complicated not only

by the outcome of the two Senate races in Georgia but also by what happens in the ongoing probe of Sen. Richard M. Burr.

Burr, a Republican from North Carolina, voluntarily stepped down from the committee chairmanship in May after the FBI opened an investigation into allegations of insider trading. Burr is alleged to have made stock trades based on an intelligence briefing about the spread of COVID-19. Florida Republican Marco Rubio has served as the acting chairman of the panel since then.

If Republicans keep their Senate majority, and depending on if and when Burr is cleared

of the allegations, he may still have a few months left of the six-year term limit that Republicans impose on committee chairmanships. Burr first became chairman in the 114th Congress and would have completed his six-year term this December. If the clock runs out, or if the probe is ongoing, the leadership baton may permanently pass to Rubio.

Complicating things more, Burr is also next in line to lead Republicans on the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, with Chairman Lamar Alexander retiring. If Burr decides to take on that role instead, Rubio would also get the Intelligence slot.

If Democrats win both the Senate races in Georgia and gain a majority in the Senate thanks to the tie-breaking vote of Vice President Kamala Harris, then the Intelligence chairmanship would go to Virginia's Mark Warner, who has served as the top Democrat on the panel for the past six years.

Regardless of who ends up becoming chairman, the committee's emphasis in the 117th Congress could shift away from the

intense focus of the past two years on Russian interference in the 2016 elections. The Senate Intelligence panel produced a bipartisan five-volume report on its investigations into Russian interference in 2016.

The panel will likely turn its attention in 2021 to improving intelligence collection on China, Russia, Iran and other adversaries.

Rubio and Warner have worked together in the past, especially on security challenges posed by emerging technologies. The two also

have teamed up to raise alarms about China's telecom hegemony on 5G, and were among the earliest to call on the Trump administration to restrict the use of Huawei and ZTE telecom equipment.

Warner, a former telecom entrepreneur, is likely to continue his push to examine the role of social media companies in becoming conduits for foreign interference and disinformation operations.

— Gopal Ratnam



Grassley

## JUDICIARY

**JURISDICTION:** The committee processes judicial nominations and legislates issues such as law enforcement, civil rights, immigration, intellectual property and antitrust cases. It oversees the Justice Department, as well as federal courts.



Durbin

The committee will enter the Biden era with frayed relationships after four years focused mainly on processing judicial nominees, including three divisive Supreme Court

picks. Nominations will remain a contentious chunk of the panel's work.

Much of the committee's legislative and oversight agenda will depend on which party controls the chamber. No matter what, such a closely divided Senate means the committee will have to find legislation that avoids sharply partisan issues and garners broad bipartisan support if it wants to make law.

Either way, the committee will have a new leader. The folksy but sometimes cantankerous Charles E. Grassley of Iowa will retake control of the panel if Republicans have the

majority, but he would be unlikely to push through judicial nominees as quickly as he did when he had the gavel in the first half of the Trump administration.

It's not clear who would have the top spot for Democrats now that Sen. Dianne Feinstein stepped aside. Sen. Richard J. Durbin of Illinois, the Democratic whip, has expressed an interest, as has Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse of Rhode Island.

The committee's members in recent years have found common ground on some legislative issues, such as a criminal justice overhaul dubbed the First Step Act during the Trump administration. The two sides could take a second step in the 117th Congress.

Other issues will be divisive, particularly if Democrats take control and seek to move bills on gun control, voting rights, policing, immigration and potentially structural changes to the federal courts. Republicans at the end of 2020 focused on the actions of social media companies in politics and online speech. Those topics give committee members — some of whom have outsized



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call file photo

The Judiciary Committee will have to deal with the lingering bitterness from the Amy Coney Barrett confirmation fight.

media profiles — a platform to criticize or support the Biden administration.

The panel's membership likely won't change much, with the notable exception of the departure of California Democrat Kamala Harris, who will become vice president.

But the committee will have to work through the lingering bitterness of the Justice Amy Coney Barrett confirmation fight, as well as complaints from Democrats that the committee shirked its oversight responsibility of the Trump administration and changed the rules for judicial nominations.

— Todd Ruger



Blunt

## RULES

**JURISDICTION:** The committee oversees Senate rules and regulations, including those governing floor and gallery rules; meetings of Congress and attendance of members; credentials and qualifications of members of the Senate; contested elections and acceptance of incompatible offices; federal elections, including the election of the president, vice president and members of Congress; and presidential succession.



Klobuchar

Republican Roy Blunt of Missouri is expected to remain chairman of the Rules Committee if the GOP retains Senate control, with Democrat Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota as the ranking member. Those roles would be reversed with Democrats in the majority.

The committee traditionally has been somewhat of a legislative backwater, with most of its activities during recent Congresses focused on vetting and conducting hearings on certain sub-Cabinet nominees who must be confirmed by the Senate. Those activities would continue in the 117th Congress for individuals nominated for positions in the Biden administration.

Although the panel is also responsible for

Senate rules, any major changes — such as ending the legislative filibuster, as some Democrats have proposed — likely would be attempted through parliamentary procedures directly on the Senate floor. In past years, both Democratic and Republican majorities have used the floor rather than the committee for significant changes to rules on executive branch nominees, federal judges and the Supreme Court.

Under either majority, the Rules Committee might weigh in on potential legislation to help states enhance election security, and it might conduct hearings on the issue of presidential succession.

— Robert Tomkin





Rubio

## SMALL BUSINESS & ENTREPRENEURSHIP

**JURISDICTION:** *The Senate Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee oversees the Small Business Administration and legislation related to it.*



Risch

Republican control of the Senate could put the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee gavel in the hands of one of four lawmakers. The panel's goals in the 117th Congress will depend a lot on

which one.

Marco Rubio of Florida, the Small Business chairman in the 116th Congress, was instrumental in shaping COVID-19 aid for small businesses. The pandemic is likely to keep a focus on aid, and Rubio could see it as a platform to pursue activist Republican policy in support of small businesses.

But Rubio has also been acting chairman of Senate Intelligence since May, because Chairman Richard M. Burr, R-N.C., stepped aside over an investigation into alleged stock trading on confidential information. If Rubio becomes the Intelligence chairman, he would have to give up the Small Business gavel.

Idaho's Jim Risch would be next in line, but he holds the Foreign Relations Committee gavel and is expected to keep it. Kentucky's Rand Paul, another Small Business leadership candidate, is expected to helm the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee.

South Carolina's Tim Scott would take over Small Business if his more-senior GOP colleagues chair other committees. He is expected to seek to boost small-business investment through opportunity zones that offer investors tax breaks to develop economically struggling neighborhoods. Scott got opportunity zones included in the GOP's 2017 tax overhaul, and they've been one of his signature issues since then.

Scott has led on race issues for the GOP

and would continue to do so by pushing for legislation that would encourage — but not mandate — the Small Business Administration to work more with minority-owned businesses. He has co-sponsored bills with Democrats that would improve the terms of SBA loans for manufacturers, allow nonprofit child care providers to apply to SBA loan programs and boost the agency's technical assistance programs for tech startups.

Rubio, Risch or Scott are likely to continue the bipartisanship on the panel. Paul, who generally opposes the SBA stepping into free markets, could set a more partisan tone.

A Democratic majority would put Maryland's Benjamin L. Cardin in the chairman's seat. Cardin worked with Rubio on the Paycheck Protection Program to give small businesses pandemic relief. He would likely seek to expand SBA lending programs.



Cardin

— Jim Saksa



Moran

## VETERANS' AFFAIRS

**JURISDICTION:** *The Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee oversees legislation on veterans health care and disability benefits, as well as cemeteries operated by the Department of Veterans Affairs. The VA serves about 9 million veterans and runs America's largest integrated health care network.*



Tester

If Republicans win at least one Jan. 5 runoff in Georgia and retain control of the

Senate, Jerry Moran, R-Kan., will return as the Veterans' Affairs chairman. Moran took the gavel from Georgia Republican Johnny Isakson, who resigned at the end of 2019 due to health issues. Moran will likely continue focusing on improving mental health treatment and reducing the rate of veteran suicides, following passage of a series of related laws this past fall.

If Democrats take control of the chamber, the gavel will pass from Moran to Jon Tester, a three-term Democrat from Montana.

But the dynamic is unlikely to change

much. The committee has a history of bipartisan cooperation, and many bills are fast-tracked to avoid taking up Senate floor time. Tester and Moran maintain a friendly rapport after serving on five committees together in the 116th Congress.

The committee advanced several bills expanding treatment for exposure to toxins in 2020, which Moran wants to see enacted into law.

Additionally, the committee's oversight agenda will focus on the VA's electronic health record overhaul, implementation of its expanded private care program and expansion of a program for caregiver benefits.

Tester would likely keep a closer eye on the VA's collaboration with community doctors and hospitals than his Republican predecessors, given Democrats' concerns over privatization.



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call file photo

Former Veterans' Affairs chairman Johnny Isakson, left, retired in 2019. His former Georgia seat is one of the runoffs that will determine Senate control in the 117th Congress.

Only one current member of the committee could be affected by the election. Georgia Republican Kelly Loeffler — who was appointed to fill Isakson's seat — is in a runoff election Jan. 5 for the right to complete Isakson's term.

— Lauren Clason

# Roll Call

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# HOUSE COMMITTEES

## OUTLOOK AND DEPARTURES

By SHAWN ZELLER

**D**emocrats' margins on House committees will narrow after Republicans cut into their majority on Election Day.

But the Democrats retained control of the chamber and that means nearly all of the same chairmen will lead the panels in 2021 as did in 2020.

The exceptions include Appropriations where the retirement of Nita M. Lowey sparked a race to succeed her. Lowey's fellow New Yorker, Eliot L.

Engel, lost his seat in a primary to Jamaal Bowman, and will be replaced atop the Foreign Affairs Committee. At the Agriculture Committee, Collin C. Peterson of Minnesota lost his general election race, leaving the gavel for another lawmaker.

Each party's steering committee made recommendations in competitive committee leadership races the week of Nov. 30. Final votes by each caucus were expected Dec. 3, just after press time.



Scott

### AGRICULTURE

**JURISDICTION:** House Agriculture handles legislation reauthorizing farm, conservation and food stamp programs and the Agriculture Department agencies that run them. It also has oversight of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission and the U.S. Forest Service.

The electoral defeat of Chairman Collin C. Peterson, D-Minn., means there will be a new leader. David Scott of Georgia was recommended for the role by the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee over Jim Costa of California; a vote by the full Democratic Caucus was expected Dec. 3. Scott is expected to highlight his own priorities while also following Peterson's plan of identifying lessons learned from the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on agriculture and food supply chains.

The panel is likely to move ahead with

that plan and apply those lessons to the 2023 farm bill, typically a five-year measure that sets policies for farm, conservation, nutrition and rural development programs. Committee members could get additional money in the bill's baseline to bolster programs.

However, any new funding will almost certainly not match the \$23 billion in total direct payments to farmers from the Trump administration's ad hoc trade aid program in 2018 and 2019 and the more recent \$16 billion in COVID-19 direct payments from economic relief bills (PL 116-127, PL 116-136) and funds from the Commodity Credit Corporation.

The committee will probably weigh in on any coronavirus relief packages to try and enact changes before the current farm bill (PL 115-334) expires in 2023. For example, many livestock producers euthanized market-ready animals when key slaughterhouses and processing plants temporarily shut down or slowed operations after hundreds of workers tested positive for COVID-19. The supply chain had to adapt

to an abrupt drop in demand from institutional buyers like schools and restaurants that closed or scaled back purchases.

Current law allows the Agriculture Department to help cover the costs associated with killing livestock and poultry to control the spread of disease. The department says it lacks authority to make payments when healthy animals are killed because of market conditions. Farm-state lawmakers say the department needs that authority for both the pandemic and future surprises.

Republicans also have a top spot to fill, given the retirement of ranking member K. Michael Conaway of Texas. The Republican Steering Committee nominated Glenn "GT" Thompson of Pennsylvania to succeed Conaway. Thompson is next in seniority and currently serves as ranking member of the General Farm Commodities and Risk Management Subcommittee. The House GOP Conference was slated to make a final decision Dec. 3.

— Ellyn Ferguson



DeLauro

### APPROPRIATIONS

**JURISDICTION:** Under Article I of the Constitution, the executive branch cannot spend money not previously appropriated by Congress. The Appropriations committees are responsible for dividing up all federal discretionary spending, or money not set aside for specific purposes under prior law, among dozens of Cabinet departments and agencies.



Kaptur



Wasserman Schultz

Democratic control of the House Appropriations Committee will allow the majority to continue advocating for left-leaning budget priorities, though under President Joe Biden they are less likely to push for "policy riders" to curb White House directives they disagree with.

The powerful spending panel tends to be more collegial than other committees; if Congress can't come together on appropriations bills, most agencies will have to cease operations other than those considered essential for national security and public safety.

The retirement of Chairwoman Nita M. Lowey, D-N.Y., paves the way for new leadership on the panel. The Democratic Steering and Policy Committee recommended Connecticut's Rosa DeLauro to take over, endorsing her over Marcy Kaptur of Ohio and Debbie Wasserman Schultz of Florida. But the full Democratic Caucus has the final say; a vote was expected Dec. 3.

Betty McCollum of Minnesota will likely become chairwoman of the Defense subcommittee and Matt Cartwright of Pennsylvania will lead the Commerce-Justice-Science panel. McCollum's move from the Interior-Environment subcommittee

means Maine's Chellie Pingree will likely take over that panel as chairwoman. And Barbara Lee of California is expected to become the top Democrat on the State-Foreign Operations subcommittee following Lowey's retirement.

A big question hanging over the next chairwoman is how to resuscitate "earmarks," the once-reviled local projects that were effectively banned a decade ago. Democrats want to bring them back under strict transparency rules, but the GOP-controlled Senate has voted for a permanent ban in that chamber.

The first step in the appropriations process will be setting overall topline spending levels. Fiscal 2022 will be the first time in a decade that spending caps haven't been set under prior law. That will require a negotiation between the two chambers and the White House on numbers appropriators can use to write their 12 spending bills.

— Jennifer Shutt





Smith

## ARMED SERVICES

**JURISDICTION:** This Committee authorizes military spending, creates Pentagon policy and oversees the Defense Department, the leadership of the Pentagon, the armed forces and the Department of Energy's nuclear weapons programs.

During the 117th Congress, the committee will continue to provide oversight of the deployment of U.S. combat forces overseas, especially in Afghanistan. Committee members, particularly those who have served in the 19-year-old war, have signaled their impatience with continued deployments there, albeit in much smaller numbers than at the height of the war.

Committee members will navigate a broader, evolving national security strategy that could mean a reorganization of U.S. forces and influence internationally.

Also on the agenda will be an effort to curb defense spending after consecutive years of increases to the Pentagon's budget. Chairman Adam Smith, D-Wash., has already signaled his displeasure with constant increased spending.

Smith has questioned some of the department's long-term plans, including expensive efforts to modernize all three legs of the nuclear triad.

During the 117th Congress, the committee will continue to work on the next annual Pentagon policy bill, which authorizes funding for the military, sets policy and outlines what Congress thinks the Pentagon's priorities should be.

Smith is known as a thoughtful lawmaker who is adept at working with members across the aisle on the committee's must-pass authorization bill and other issues. He worked closely with ranking member Mac Thornberry of Texas, who is retiring. Thornberry's likely successor for the top GOP spot is Mike D. Rogers of Alabama, who received the endorsement of the Republican Steering Committee. A vote by the full GOP caucus was expected Dec. 3.

The committee will have to contend with a



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call file photo

The Armed Services Committee will attempt to curb defense spending after consecutive years of increases to the Pentagon's budget.

shift in its makeup, as a substantial number of lawmakers will not be returning, due to both retirements and election defeats. Aside from Thornberry, that list includes Rob Bishop, R-Utah., K. Michael Conaway, R-Texas, Paul Cook, R-Calif., Bradley Byrne, R-Ala., Ralph Abraham, R-La., Paul Mitchell, R-Mich., Susan A. Davis, D-Calif., and Tulsi Gabbard, D-Hawaii.

— Mark Satter



Yarmuth

## BUDGET

**JURISDICTION:** The Budget committees are responsible for advancing a budget resolution, a fiscal framework which, if adopted by both chambers, sets an enforceable ceiling on spending and a floor on tax revenue. The

committee monitors compliance with budget rules, enforceable by points of order, and has jurisdiction over budget laws.

Chairman John Yarmuth, D-Ky., says he's committed to writing a budget blueprint next year, though he acknowledges adoption in the closely divided House will be difficult. He can't rely on any GOP support, and intraparty debates over defense spending and taxes could get dicey.

Yarmuth did not bring a budget resolution before the committee during his first two years as chairman under divided government. But it wasn't as necessary, because Congress was already operating under statutory spending caps governing the appropriations process. Now those caps have expired, and the Budget committees need to set enforceable spending caps, at minimum.

Yarmuth said he anticipates the budget resolution will set separate limits on defense

and nondefense spending under the overall limit on discretionary spending. He thinks progressives will insist on separate limits allowing "the ability to increase nondefense and hold defense where it is."

He also said the budget resolution will show "significant" budget deficits, which "means that we put more pressure on new Dems to vote on bigger deficits, which they'll resist."

Yarmuth had been gaming out two rounds of "reconciliation" next year to pass budget- and tax-related legislation, assuming Democrats took control of the Senate. That's a procedure made possible if both chambers adopt a joint budget resolution, which allows for filibuster-proof bills as long as they are limited to fiscal policy.

The House GOP Steering Committee recommended Jason Smith of Missouri over Bill Johnson of Ohio as ranking member. Johnson has more seniority on the panel



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call file photo

House rules say the Budget Committee must be comprised of five members from the Ways and Means Committee, five members from the Appropriations Committee, and one member from the Rules Committee.

than Smith, who said in a statement that he'd highlight Democratic spending policies he disagrees with, such as the so-called Green New Deal. The full GOP caucus was expected to vote on the choice Dec. 3.

Smith would replace Steve Womack of Arkansas, who's stepping down to be the top Republican on the Appropriations Financial Services Subcommittee.

— Paul M. Krawczak





## EDUCATION & LABOR

Scott

**JURISDICTION:** *The committee oversees federal programs dealing with education at all levels. Those include school lunch and child nutrition programs, oversight of the Education Department, programs to address at-risk youth, adult education and anti-poverty programs. It also oversees the Labor Department and major labor programs, including job training and workforce development, unions, worker health and safety and employee benefits, including health care.*

The House Education and Labor Committee hopes to begin the 117th Congress with an eye toward COVID-19 relief under the continued leadership of Chairman Robert C. Scott, D-Va. Republican Virginia Foxx of North Carolina is expected to remain in her role as ranking member.

The panel will focus on outstanding

priorities that aren't addressed in a wider COVID-19 relief package, committee staff said, including assistance for schools in complying with COVID-19 health guidelines, legislation to address a continuing unemployment crisis, and paid leave benefits.

The committee also plans to continue pushing for a comprehensive reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, something not done since 2008. HEA reauthorization was on the agenda for both the House Education and Labor Committee and the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee during the 116th Congress, but efforts tapered off during the pandemic.

In October 2019, the committee advanced, with no Republican support, a sweeping higher education overhaul. The measure would expand Pell Grants, direct more aid to minority-serving institutions, emphasize campus safety, set several new requirements designed to impose tougher standards on for-profit colleges, and use federal aid

to encourage states to offer tuition-free community college educations.

That bill could form the basis for a Democrat-spearheaded reauthorization bill, but if Republicans control the Senate, Democrats would likely need to make several concessions.

Other goals also depend on who controls the Senate. If Democrats do, the committee will likely again bring up major Democratic priority bills that advanced out of committee during the 116th Congress. Those include measures on school infrastructure, school diversity, gun violence prevention, prescription drug prices, youth homelessness, surprise medical billing, pay inequity, apprenticeships and the minimum wage.

Subcommittee chairmanships are likely to remain the same, except for the Subcommittee on Higher Education and Workforce Investment. Current chairwoman Susan A. Davis of California is retiring and will be replaced.

— Caroline Simon



## ENERGY & COMMERCE

Pallone Jr.

**JURISDICTION:** *The oldest continuous standing House committee legislates issues such as health care and insurance, environmental protection, energy policy and the internet. It has oversight of the Health and Human Services, Energy and Commerce departments, as well as the EPA, the Food and Drug Administration and the Federal Communications Commission.*

The Energy and Commerce Committee probably won't look starkly different on the Democratic side. There are just four confirmed departures among 31 Democratic members, and Frank Pallone Jr., D-N.J., should continue as chairman.

But the Republican side will undergo a shake-up. Ranking member Greg Walden of Oregon is retiring, and the Republican Steering Committee endorsed Cathy McMorris Rodgers of Washington as his successor. A vote by the full GOP caucus was expected Dec. 3.

If Rodgers takes the top GOP spot on the full committee, it would vacate the ranking member position on the Consumer Protection and Commerce Subcommittee. The Environment and Climate Change Subcommittee also will lose its top Republican, as John Shimkus of Illinois is retiring.

With its jurisdiction over health care, energy, the environment and the internet, the committee is poised to play a major role in President-elect Joe Biden's policy agenda.

Committee Democrats will have to work closely with the Ways and Means Committee to shepherd through Biden's plan for building on the 2010 health care law (PL 111-148, PL 111-152). The panel, which oversees the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, will also surely have a hand in tackling the coronavirus.

House Democrats and the Biden administration should have no problem cooperating to close the "digital divide" and the so-called homework gap, which affects roughly 12 million children nationwide without home internet access.

It's a safe expectation the committee will push Biden-backed legislation to restore "net neutrality" regulations the Trump administration repealed.

But the outcome of those efforts will depend on which party controls the Senate after Georgia holds its runoff election in January. A Republican Senate is unlikely to support Democratic legislation in any of those areas. Data privacy legislation and efforts to weaken Big Tech's prized liability shield, known as Section 230, might be areas ripe for compromise in a divided Congress.

It's a similar story for energy and the environment. There is interest from House Democrats to pass climate legislation, but bills to lower greenhouse gas emissions are likely non-starters in a Republican-held Senate.

The committee may find bipartisan interest in Energy Department research grants, water pollution, asbestos and supercomputing.

— Benjamin J. Hulac

— Andrew Siddons

— Dean DeChiara

## ETHICS

**JURISDICTION:** *The panel investigates allegations of misconduct among lawmakers and House employees and adjudicates those matters. The only evenly divided committee in the chamber — composed of five Democrats and Republicans each — also reviews financial disclosure statements to ensure compliance with a 2012 law meant to combat insider trading.*

The House Ethics Committee has been busy lately, largely because of the work of the Office of Congressional Ethics, an independent, investigative House entity that transmits matters to the committee when it finds there is a "substantial reason" to believe a violation may have occurred. This mechanism — which does not exist in the Senate — forces the House Ethics Committee to investigate the matters,

which, in most cases, eventually become public.

The top members on the Ethics panel and its membership are in flux. House leadership picks the panel's leaders and those positions are not locked in yet. Florida Democrat Ted Deutch chaired the committee in the 116th Congress, but he has served the maximum number of terms on the panel and will be replaced. Republicans already had one

vacancy heading into the election and will lose two more members with the retirements of ranking member Kenny Marchant of Texas and George Holding of North Carolina.

In July, the House, at the urging of the Ethics panel, formally reprimanded Arizona Republican Rep. David Schweikert for allowing his office to misuse taxpayer dollars, violating campaign finance reporting requirements, and several other violations of

federal law and House rules, a rare sanction of an individual member by his colleagues. The resolution marked the first time a member has been reprimanded on the floor since 2012, when California Democrat Laura Richardson was sanctioned.

One matter to look out for is the Ethics Committee's investigation into whether Guam Del. Michael F.Q. San Nicolas had an improper sexual relationship with a staffer

in his congressional office and accepted excessive campaign contributions, among other allegations of impropriety. The committee in 2020 empaneled an investigative subcommittee into the allegations surrounding San Nicolas, following a referral by the Office of Congressional Ethics.

— Chris Marquette



Waters

## FINANCIAL SERVICES

**JURISDICTION:** *The House Financial Services Committee supervises the housing and financial services sectors, including banking, insurance, real estate, public housing and securities. It oversees the Housing and Urban Development Department, the Federal Reserve and other federal financial regulators.*

Maxine Waters will keep the gavel on the Financial Services Committee, much to the chagrin of the Wall Street executives often on the receiving end of her rhetorical blows. The California Democrat has backed putting at least \$100 billion for public housing into

an infrastructure package, and she might get her chance. Both the executive and legislative branches may see infrastructure as a point of agreement in a weak economy.

Financial services issues aren't expected to be high up on a Democratic priority list that includes COVID-19 relief, a tax overhaul and expanding health care.

The panel's perpetual to-do list includes reauthorizations of the National Flood Insurance and the Terrorism Risk Insurance programs. A marijuana banking bill and an overhaul of the nation's anti-money-laundering laws also will be in the mix.

Waters gets along with committee members from both sides of the aisle, although Republicans tire of what they view as her theatrics in the committee's high-profile

hearings. When the cameras are off, she has a reputation as a fair negotiator open to compromise. She looked out for vulnerable Democrats on her committee, ensuring they got to campaign on passing legislation through the House — even though most of those bills died in the Senate. Expect more of the same.

Diversity and inclusion will remain a top issue for Democrats, who will advance bills encouraging financial firms and federal regulators to hire more women and minorities. Bills that mandate minority representation will face opposition from committee Republicans — led by ranking member Patrick T. McHenry of North Carolina — but those that merely ask employers to consider more minorities will pick up some bipartisan support.

— Jim Saksa



Meeks

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

**JURISDICTION:** *Established in 1822, the committee oversees the State Department, the U.S. Agency for International Development and several smaller agencies. Oversight over foreign aid programs, the president's war powers, the deployment of U.S. troops and proposed weapon sales are within its jurisdiction.*



Castro

The Foreign Affairs Committee will have a new chairman in the 117th

Congress, with the gavel race down to Gregory W. Meeks of New York — who was endorsed by the Democratic Steering Committee — and Joaquin Castro of Texas. Outgoing chairman Eliot L. Engel of New York lost his reelection primary this summer.

Regardless of who wins the gavel, Middle East issues will likely be less of a focus in the new Congress. Both Meeks and Castro have said they would like to see a greater emphasis on Western Hemisphere policy, particularly an examination of the causes of mass migration

to the southern U.S. border. China issues are also expected to be a major priority.

A strong shared feeling among committee Democrats is a need for more oversight to address what they see as longstanding problems within the State Department and foreign aid agencies related to the diversity of diplomats and civil service employees. The incoming Biden administration could be more amenable to those particular oversight efforts than the outgoing Trump administration.

Members also have concerns about the panel's influence. So far this century, the committee has struggled to regularly advance an annual State Department authorization bill — and it has been decades since a foreign aid reauthorization bill has been passed by Congress. In the absence of such bills, the House committee has seen its institutional stature gradually ebb, mostly to be accrued by the Armed Services Committee and the Appropriations State-Foreign Operations Subcommittee.



Mario Tama/Getty Images file photo

A top priority for the Foreign Affairs Committee will be a probe into the causes of mass migration to the southern U.S. border.

The next chairman will likely continue efforts by Engel and his predecessor as chairman, Republican Ed Royce of California, to rebuild that stature by advancing partial authorization bills that become more comprehensive each year.

Bipartisanship has traditionally been prized on the committee; Republican Michael McCaul of Texas is expected to continue as ranking member.

— Rachel Oswald



## HOMELAND SECURITY

Thompson

*JURISDICTION: Created in the aftermath of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, this committee oversees government activities related to election and homeland security; and matters related to the Department of Homeland Security, which oversees immigration, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Transportation Security Administration and the Coast Guard.*

Homeland Security Chairman Bennie Thompson, D-Miss., said election security and oversight of immigration policies will remain key focus areas for the committee in the next session.

But he also plans to dedicate plenty of time to addressing a rise in domestic terror threats. That focus reflects concerns about far-right groups seen as emboldened in the

past several years by a president who has hesitated when asked to denounce them. “We need to make sure that any form of domestic terrorism is forbidden and not try to politicize it,” he said.

On election security, the committee will “constantly be on watch” for moves by other nations. “Russia and North Korea [and] China have demonstrated that they want to do us harm, that they want to compromise our system of how we elect our leaders,” he said.

On immigration, Thompson said Congress must protect immigrants who were brought as children to the United States unlawfully by their parents. In the 116th Congress, the House passed a bill that would give such immigrants a pathway to citizenship beyond the current Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program.

“We have to set the standard to care for people who have come into this country illegally,” Thompson said. “We have slipped

from the original intent of our immigration system.”

Under Thompson’s leadership in the 116th Congress, the committee held multiple hearings that forced Homeland Security Department officials to answer questions about the treatment of migrants, particularly children, detained in government facilities. The next session will continue to explore the treatment and welfare of such detainees, particularly amid the coronavirus pandemic.

Thompson said he hopes a new session will bring with it a fresh start to ease deeply partisan tensions between lawmakers, both during hearings and in private, over Trump administration policies.

The panel is expected to have a new top Republican — possibly John Katko of New York. The current ranking member, Mike D. Rogers of Alabama, is likely to become the top Republican on the Armed Services Committee.

— Camila DeChalus



## HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

Lofgren

*JURISDICTION: The panel oversees day-to-day operations of the House, including committee budgets, member office accounts, personnel policies and legislative branch agencies that support lawmakers, including the Architect of the Capitol, the Capitol Police and the Library of Congress. It also considers proposals to make or amend federal election law.*

Continued Democratic control means that Chairwoman Zoe Lofgren of California is expected to continue as the “mayor of Capitol Hill,” as the leader of the House Administration Committee is sometimes called. Unlike many other committees, the top spot on

House Administration is not determined by seniority. The speaker appoints someone to lead the panel. Rep. Rodney Davis of Illinois is likely to remain ranking Republican.

The COVID-19 pandemic turned the congressional workplace upside down, just like it did for so many Americans. The panel churned out updates and guidance on options for telework, equipping a newly dispersed workforce and how to classify new office expenses, like thermometers and plexiglass.

When the pandemic eventually slows and staffers begin returning to work in large numbers and visitor tours and external meetings resume, the panel will likely play a key role in guiding how the House can resume typical operations safely.

The temporary authorization of proxy voting and remote committee meetings

to allow House members to vote and conduct business during the pandemic was a contentious undertaking. While moving to fully remote voting is not on House leadership’s agenda, House Administration would have an oversight role of the House Clerk’s implementation of any such system.

With many unprecedented elements to the 2020 elections, including record use of vote-by-mail and early voting, the committee will likely continue to explore issues of election access, election security and campaign finance.

Security for members and how Capitol Police handles security and staffing issues will continue to be on the committee’s agenda, as threats against lawmakers increase.

— Katherine Tully-McManus



## INTELLIGENCE

Schiff

*JURISDICTION: The committee oversees all the U.S. intelligence agencies, including the CIA and those at the departments of Defense, State, Energy, Justice and Homeland Security. It also approves the annual intelligence authorization bills, which set policy for the intelligence community.*

In the last Congress, the Intelligence Committee was at the center of the chamber’s impeachment proceedings against President Donald Trump, which stemmed from a

multiyear probe of Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

In the 117th Congress, the committee is likely to remain instrumental to understanding how foreign spy agencies distort American elections and democracy and how the U.S. counterintelligence operation responds to those threats. Those issues could become dominant if the outcome of the November election turns out to have been tainted by foreign interference.

But Chairman Adam B. Schiff, D-Calif., has signaled that he intends for the panel to focus on other long-term problems as well.

In September, after a two-year review, the

committee released a report that said the “nation’s intelligence agencies have a lot of work to do to fully address the challenge posed by China.”

In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, intelligence agencies spent two decades focusing on the threats posed by terrorism and have successfully thwarted repeat attacks, Schiff said in a statement accompanying the report. But the capacity of U.S. spy agencies to “address hard targets like China has waned,” he said.

Schiff has called for an “immediate reprimatization and realignment of resources” at the intelligence agencies to compete with



China on diplomatic, economic, and military terms for the next several decades.

U.S. intelligence agencies must step up their collection and analysis of open-source information on China, hire more Mandarin-speaking analysts, and focus on “nontraditional areas of competition” such as responses to climate change and possible

outbreaks of diseases, rather than be fixated on traditional military competition, Schiff said at a speech at the Brookings Institution in October.

It’s likely Schiff will remain chairman of the panel, unless he’s chosen for a position in the Biden administration or runs for the Senate.

It remains to be seen how the panel’s Republicans will function in the next Congress. In the last session, the Republican minority boycotted several public hearings held by the committee on election interference and online disinformation campaigns. Rep. Devin Nunes of California is expected to remain ranking member.

— Gopal Ratnam



Nadler

## JUDICIARY

**JURISDICTION:** *The committee legislates issues such as law enforcement, civil rights, immigration, intellectual property and antitrust cases. It oversees the Justice Department, as well as the Homeland Security Department and the nation’s federal courts.*

The House Judiciary Committee will renew its push for broad overhauls on policing, voting rights, gun control and other social policies, and maintain aggressive oversight of actions by the outgoing Trump administration.

Democrat Jerrold Nadler of New York, a political scrapper, is poised to remain chairman after two bruising years of oversight battles with the Trump administration. The committee should remain the epicenter for probes of Donald Trump and his policies, which will gain momentum with increased cooperation from the incoming Biden administration.

Nadler also has a broad portfolio of high-profile legislation that the Democratic House passed in the past two years, but which

stalled after moving to the Republican Senate.

That includes a 137-page bill to address police misconduct, introduced after civil unrest in response to high-profile killings of Black people at the hands of police in 2020. It also includes an array of gun control measures, such as bolstering background checks for gun purchases, introduced in response to mass shootings in 2019.

Other panel efforts may be responses to the Trump administration, such as bills to increase oversight of a president’s pardon power, curtail a president’s ability to wield political influence over the Justice Department, and secure the possibility that presidents could face criminal charges when they leave office.

But Democrats will still have to compromise with Republicans on these issues if they want to make laws. The committee has been a stage for partisan fighting over divisive political issues.



Anna Moneymaker/New York Times/pool file photo

The House Judiciary Committee should remain the epicenter for investigations of Donald Trump and his policies.

Ohio Republican Jim Jordan, a conservative rabble-rouser and one of Trump’s most vocal defenders, is poised to continue as the panel’s top Republican. The GOP will lose the experience of Jim Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin, who is retiring, and Doug Collins of Georgia, who lost a Senate campaign.

— Todd Ruger



Grijalva

## NATURAL RESOURCES

**JURISDICTION:** *A magnet for Westerners, this committee legislates on federal land, mining, offshore energy, wildlife, oceans, renewables and more. It oversees*

*the Interior Department and sub-agencies, like the National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management, as well as the Forest Service, which is part of the Agriculture Department.*

Democrats on the House Natural Resources Committee had lined up sweeping climate legislation with the hope their party would regain the Senate. That outcome is still uncertain, and Raúl M. Grijalva, the progressive Arizona Democrat who serves as

chairman, will likely have to rein in ambitions for an aggressive climate policy overhaul.

But under President-elect Joe Biden, committee Democrats will almost certainly have friendly relationships with the executive agencies they oversee. That should allow a significant thawing of tensions with the Interior Department, a big change from that relationship under the Trump administration.

The panel will have a new top Republican. The current ranking member, the loquacious Rob Bishop of Utah, is retiring. The Republican Steering Committee endorsed Bruce Westerman of Arkansas as his replacement. The House GOP Conference was slated to make a final decision Dec. 3.

Bishop and Grijalva had a voluble and sometimes acrimonious relationship, peaking when the committee voted in

February to give the Democrats broad power to issue subpoenas unilaterally. The move came after the Interior Department refused to send agency officials to hearings or to supply documents.

Under Democratic control, expect the committee to look into potential environmental damage caused by the Trump administration detonating land to clear areas for construction of a U.S.-Mexico border wall. It’s also likely to examine the federal response to natural disasters, especially hurricanes, including in territories such as the U.S. Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico.

Democrats will likely also scrutinize U.S. Park Police for its role in clearing protesters from Lafayette Square, near the White House, on June 1.

— Benjamin J. Hulac



## OVERSIGHT & GOV'T REFORM

Maloney

*JURISDICTION: The chief investigative panel in the House conducts probes into actions of the executive branch and occasionally nongovernment entities. The committee also has legislative jurisdiction over the federal civil workforce, general management of government operations and recordkeeping, the District of Columbia, the Postal Service and the Census Bureau.*

Carolyn B. Maloney, a New York Democrat, heads into her first full term leading the Oversight and Reform Committee. Maloney became chairwoman in fall 2019, after the death of Maryland Democrat Elijah E. Cummings.

The change in the White House will shift the panel's investigative focus.

In the 116th Congress, Oversight Democrats opened several probes into President Donald Trump and his administration, culminating in an impeachment inquiry conducted with the Intelligence and Judiciary committees. That

led to the House charging Trump with abuse of power and obstruction of Congress.

Heading into the 117th Congress with President-elect Joe Biden leading their party, Oversight Democrats will likely investigate more matters outside of the executive branch, although committee Republicans will undoubtedly call for probes into the Biden administration. Like Maloney, the panel's top Republican, James R. Comer of Kentucky, is relatively new to his position. He became the ranking member in June after Jim Jordan of Ohio yielded the spot to become the ranking member of the Judiciary Committee.

The panel's focus on Trump's affairs will diminish but won't disappear, given litigation related to those probes. Some committee Democrats may also get involved in efforts to have Trump prosecuted for alleged crimes once he's out of office.

"Of course, the top priority of the House — and presumably the entire government — will be on crushing the coronavirus and rebuilding our economy, and the Committee will play a key role in those efforts," Maloney said in a statement.



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call file photo

The Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus, chaired by James E. Clyburn, will continue in the 117th Congress.

Oversight is home to the Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus Crisis that Majority Whip James E. Clyburn chairs. The select panel, charged with rooting out waste, fraud or abuse of taxpayer dollars spent on pandemic aid, will continue in the 117th Congress.

The Oversight Committee also plans to continue its probes on drug prices, the Postal Service and the census.

— Lindsey McPherson



## RULES

McGovern

*JURISDICTION: The panel oversees the rules of the House, except ones relating to the Code of Official Conduct, and rules for joint sessions with the Senate. It also determines the order of business of the House, congressional recesses and final adjournments of Congress.*

Jim McGovern will continue to lead the House Rules Committee in the 117th Congress, and the Massachusetts Democrat will need to quickly figure out if — and how — to allow congressionally directed spending, better known as earmarks.

As support from his party for bringing back earmarks gains traction, the Massachusetts Democrat says allowing their use would be good for the institution. "It is becoming increasingly difficult, even when the Republicans were in charge, to get bipartisan buy-in to spending bills or to big bills in part because members don't have any skin in the game," he said.

McGovern points out that Republicans banned earmarks in their conference rules, but nothing in the chamber's rules prohibits their use. He specified that he supports the use of earmarks with guardrails and transparency requirements, and that leaders are considering



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call file photo

The Rules Committee could consider adding further provisions for the 117th Congress on remote hearings and proxy voting.

whether they should include language in the rules package "that outlines all the rules surrounding congressionally directed spending."

As the federal government continues its efforts to control the COVID-19 pandemic, McGovern says he supports adding provisions to the rules package for the 117th Congress on remote proxy voting and hearings, to allow lawmakers to continue to participate in congressional business virtually. As some House leaders have shied away from expanding remote voting, he added that there is value in face-to-face interactions between members on legislation and he doesn't want to "drift away" from that.

The panel also may spend some time looking into continuity of Congress issues and how

congressional business is conducted during national emergencies.

The committee traditionally has a disproportionate 9-4 majority to ensure it approves floor debate rules that reflect the wishes of leadership. As of mid-November, eight of the nine Democrats appointed to the panel at the beginning of the 116th Congress are scheduled to return. Donna E. Shalala of Florida lost her reelection bid.

Georgia Republican Rob Woodall's decision to not seek reelection means there will be at least one opening on the GOP side of the dais. Ranking member Tom Cole of Oklahoma is expected to stay on the panel.

— Michael Teitelbaum





Johnson

## SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

**JURISDICTION:** *The committee oversees the government's energy research and its nonmilitary energy laboratories, as well as federal research on the environment. It has jurisdiction over NASA and outer space policy, as well as the National Science Foundation, the National Weather Service and the National Institute of Standards and Technology.*

Leadership on the House Science Committee in the next Congress will be largely unchanged, with Chairwoman Eddie Bernice Johnson, D-Texas, and ranking member Frank D. Lucas, R-Okla., expected to retain their top spots. But the committee's rank and file will

undergo changes. Democrats will bid farewell to Daniel Lipinski of Illinois, who lost a primary challenge, and Kendra Horn of Oklahoma, who fell to a GOP challenger. The GOP side looks mostly the same except for Francis Rooney, who retired.

The committee's agenda should not shift too significantly with Joe Biden in the White House, although it's a safe assumption that its environmental research efforts will place a greater emphasis on climate change, something that made it into the party's 2020 presidential platform.

Space exploration could be an area of some contention. Trump sought to prioritize NASA's agenda, and while Democrats largely support NASA's efforts to send astronauts back to the moon, the previous administration's 2024 deadline for doing so could take a hit if the agency's funding is reduced.

Biden has said he wants to lead "a bold space program that will continue to send astronaut heroes to expand our exploration," but NASA was omitted from his plan to direct \$300 million in research to other science agencies. Perhaps making matters worse, the agency is losing a major Democratic ally with the departure of Horn, who chaired the Space and Aeronautics Subcommittee.

While disbursement of that \$300 million would be determined by the Appropriations Committee, the Science Committee would oversee how it's spent. Biden wants the investments, including in the National Science Foundation, to counter Chinese advancements in artificial intelligence and 5G and to create jobs in biotechnology, aerospace and clean energy — all areas under the committee's jurisdiction.

— Dean DeChiaro



Velázquez

## SMALL BUSINESS

**JURISDICTION:** *The House Small Business Committee oversees the Small Business Administration and legislation related to it, plus other matters affecting small businesses.*

New York Democrat Nydia M. Velázquez will keep the gavel of the Small Business Committee. As the new Congress convenes, the COVID-19 pandemic will again preoccupy the panel, either because of its oversight of relief for small businesses or potentially in formulating legislation to provide additional aid.

The SBA's administration of the Paycheck

Protection Program, the Economic Injury Disaster Loan program and other lending programs that kept businesses afloat amid the pandemic has raised questions, as the rush to get money out the door resulted in many ineligible businesses receiving funds.

Velázquez's priorities include overhauling the SBA's disaster relief programs, encouraging more private sector lending to small businesses, and expanding the agency's loan guaranty offerings. Many of those will garner at least some bipartisan backing, as government support for small business is a rare issue on which Democrats and Republicans mostly agree.

Other Democratic priorities will face GOP

resistance, however. Velázquez wants to see consumer lending protections extended to small businesses, and she is worried that some predatory lenders, assuming that entrepreneurs can protect themselves financially, bilk immigrant shopkeepers and restaurateurs. Republicans, meanwhile, think most consumer credit protections go too far, and they would be loath to expand them to businesses.

Still, comity is the Small Business Committee's standard operating procedure, and that spirit of bipartisanship should continue in the 117th Congress. Blaine Luetkemeyer of Missouri is expected to take over as the panel's top Republican.

— Jim Saksa



DeFazio

## TRANSPORTATION & INFRASTRUCTURE

**JURISDICTION:** *The House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure has jurisdiction over all modes of transportation: aviation, maritime, highways, bridges, mass transit and railroads. It oversees clean water and wastewater management, flood damage reduction, pipelines, federally owned real estate and public buildings, disaster preparedness and response, and hazardous materials transportation.*

Joe Biden's presidential election victory gives Transportation and Infrastructure Chairman Peter A. DeFazio a key ally on transportation issues and the fight against climate change.

For DeFazio, an Oregon Democrat, the two issues are inextricably linked: The \$494

billion highway bill he shepherded through the House last year had climate change provisions woven throughout. Similarly, Biden's "Build Back Better" campaign slogan was equal parts a climate plan and an infrastructure plan.

But both Biden and DeFazio will face resistance from Senate Republicans, whose \$287 billion bill was far more modest. In the end, the 116th Congress punted, passing a one-year extension of the 2015 highway law. The new Congress must pass a long-term bill or face a repeat of 2015, when it passed a series of short-term highway bill extensions before finally passing the 2015 law.

Congress has yet to agree on another coronavirus stimulus bill, but expect DeFazio to continue the fight to help modes of transportation that have seen ridership plummet in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic. Transit,

airlines and Amtrak have all struggled, and while DeFazio does not have spending authority, he'll likely use his chairmanship to push for additional assistance for those industries.

Among subcommittee chairmen, turnover is expected to be minimal: Only Daniel Lipinski, D-Ill., chairman of the Subcommittee on Railroads, Pipelines and Hazardous Materials, is departing. Donald M. Payne Jr., D-N.J., has signaled his interest in the chairmanship.

The committee is generally bipartisan, but the fight over last year's highway bill was bruising, resulting in a three-day markup and complaints that Republicans were shut out of the process. As 2021 begins with a smaller House Democratic majority, it's likely that old fights will continue. Rep. Sam Graves of Missouri is expected to remain top Republican.

— Jessica Wehrman





## VETERANS' AFFAIRS

**JURISDICTION:** This panel legislates issues affecting health care and benefits for veterans. It oversees the Department of Veterans Affairs, which serves about 9 million veterans and runs America's largest integrated health care network.

Takano

The Veterans' Affairs Committee will look to continue its efforts to stymie the barrage of problems that flow from the VA, the massive agency that oversees health care benefits for the nation's veterans.

For years, veterans seeking care from the VA have expressed concerns about monthslong waits for treatment, the mismanagement of their records and employee misconduct, including sexual assault cases, that reportedly endangered patients and staff.

Under the expected leadership of Chairman Mark Takano, D-Calif., the committee will look to work more closely with VA officials — a partnership that has proved challenging recently. In October, VA officials declined to participate in a Senate hearing on a 2018 law (PL 115-182) that aimed to remedy some problems through changes including more coverage of health care services for veterans

at private sector facilities outside the VA system.

Pressing issues the committee will likely consider include legislation to address mental health and suicides, by building on a landmark bipartisan law (PL 116-171) President Donald Trump signed this fall that included grants to state and private organizations that work to prevent veteran suicide. The law also mandates that the Government Accountability Office investigate issues within the VA, including with its mental health workforce and its suicide prevention outreach program.

Also among the panel's priorities is legislation to secure VA benefits for veterans who were left disabled or chronically ill after exposure to toxic burn pits in Iraq and Afghanistan. In September, committee members accused VA officials of being reluctant to grant benefits to veterans exposed to burn pits, despite evidence the pits can cause serious medical problems.

The panel also will oversee VA's efforts on another nagging issue: its overhaul of a massive,



Win McNamee/Getty Images file photo

The committee is likely to build on a bipartisan measure signed into law by President Donald Trump this fall that addresses mental health issues of veterans.

\$16 billion electronic health records system that has been hindered by numerous delays.

Ranking member Phil Roe of Tennessee is retiring. The Republican Steering Committee endorsed Mike Bost of Illinois to become the new ranking member, with the House GOP Conference scheduled to decide Dec. 3.

Other lawmakers who either retired or lost their seats include Democrats Joe Cunningham of South Carolina and Collin C. Peterson of Minnesota.

— Mark Satter



## WAYS & MEANS

**JURISDICTION:** Ways and Means has sole responsibility for all legislation dealing with federal revenue, which under the Constitution must begin in the House. That power gives Ways and

Neal

Means authority over all tax bills as well as tariff and trade legislation, Social Security, Medicare, unemployment insurance and other safety net programs.

Democrats will once again focus their efforts on health care, especially if they face an unfavorable Supreme Court decision on the 2010 health care law. The committee has unfinished business on drug prices, an area of contention with Republicans, and surprise medical bills. Those efforts stalled in 2020 amid disputes between industry stakeholders.

Chairman Richard E. Neal, D-Mass., will likely revisit a bill allowing the government to negotiate drug prices under Medicare. But progressives' push for a public health insurance option will be trickier, given the sway that hospitals hold with lawmakers.

On tax policy, Neal's top priorities include expanding the earned income and child tax credits for lower-income households. He also wants to find a way to rescue failing union pension plans and a government backstop projected to run out of money by 2025. Those efforts have run into static with Republicans, but Neal has also agreed with ranking member Kevin Brady, R-Texas, on a bipartisan expansion of retirement savings incentives that could serve as a jumping-off point for action next year.

Neal wants to tackle an infrastructure spending bill, including bond financing provisions to incentivize more state and local projects as well as extensions of clean energy tax credits for wind and solar power and electric vehicles.

On trade policy, Ways and Means will need to deal with trade promotion authority, which expires July 1, 2021. TPA lays out negotiating objectives, consultations with Congress and deadlines for public disclosure in exchange for expedited consideration of trade deals. At roughly the same time, lawmakers face expiration of the Trade Adjustment Assistance Program on June 30. TAA provides benefits



Paul Harris/Getty Images file photo

Neal wants his panel to take on an infrastructure spending bill that would include extensions of tax credits for wind and solar power.

and employment services to workers who lose jobs or hours because of imports and foreign competition.

In the past, lawmakers have paired the two measures in order to maximize support from both business and labor interests. The reauthorizations may give the Democrats' union base and liberal wing an opportunity to demand more from the administration.

— Lauren Clason

— Ellyn Ferguson

— Doug Sword



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# TRANSITIONS

## OF THE 116TH CONGRESS

### DEFEATED IN GENERAL ELECTION 13 DEMOCRATS, 2 REPUBLICANS

| NAME                                     | FIRST ELECTED OR APPOINTED | DEFEATED BY             |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Sen. Cory Gardner, R-Colo.               | 2014                       | John Hickenlooper, D    |
| Sen. Doug Jones, D-Ala.                  | 2017                       | Tommy Tuberville, R     |
| Sen. Martha McSally, R-Ariz.*            | 2019                       | Mark Kelly, D           |
| Rep. Gil Cisneros, D-Calif. (39)         | 2018                       | Young Kim, R            |
| Rep. TJ Cox, D-Calif. (21)               | 2018                       | David Valadao, R        |
| Rep. Joe Cunningham, D-S.C. (1)          | 2018                       | Nancy Mace, R           |
| Rep. Abby Finkenauer, D-Iowa (1)         | 2018                       | Ashley Hinson, R        |
| Rep. Kendra Horn, D-Okla. (5)            | 2018                       | Stephanie Bice, R       |
| Rep. Ben McAdams, D-Utah (4)             | 2018                       | Burgess Owens, R        |
| Rep. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, D-Fla. (26) | 2018                       | Carlos Gimenez, R       |
| Rep. Collin C. Peterson, D-Minn. (7)     | 1990                       | Michelle Fischbach, R   |
| Rep. Max Rose, D-N.Y. (11)               | 2018                       | Nicole Malliotakis, R   |
| Rep. Harley Rouda, D-Calif. (48)         | 2018                       | Michelle Steel, R       |
| Rep. Donna E. Shalala, D-Fla. (27)       | 2018                       | María Elvira Salazar, R |
| Rep. Xochitl Torres Small, D-N.M. (2)    | 2018                       | Yvette Herrell, R       |

\* Defeated in special election Nov. 3; Mark Kelly was sworn in Dec. 2.



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call file photo

**Minnesota Rep. Collin C. Peterson lost his reelection bid after serving in the House for 30 years.**



Caroline Brehman and Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call file photo

**New York Democratic Rep. Eliot L. Engel, left, and Iowa Republican Steve King both lost their primary challenges.**

### LOST CAMPAIGN FOR RENOMINATION 3 DEMOCRATS, 5 REPUBLICANS

| NAME                              | FIRST ELECTED | WINNER OF NOMINATION |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Rep. William Lacy Clay, D-Mo. (1) | 2000          | Cori Bush, D         |
| Rep. Eliot L. Engel, D-N.Y. (16)  | 1988          | Jamaal Bowman, D     |
| Rep. Steve King, R-Iowa (4)       | 2002          | Randy Feenstra, R    |
| Rep. Daniel Lipinski, D-Ill. (3)  | 2004          | Marie Newman, D      |
| Rep. Denver Riggleman, R-Va. (5)  | 2018          | Bob Good, R          |
| Rep. Ross Spano, R-Fla. (15)      | 2018          | Scott Franklin, R    |
| Rep. Scott Tipton, R-Colo. (3)    | 2010          | Lauren Boebert, R    |
| Rep. Steve Watkins, R-Kan. (2)    | 2018          | Jake LaTurner, R     |

### SOUGHT OTHER OFFICE 4 DEMOCRATS, 6 REPUBLICANS

| NAME                                    | FIRST ELECTED | RESULT  |
|---|---------------|---|
| Rep. Rob Bishop, R-Utah (1)             | 2002          | Lost lieutenant gubernatorial primary                 |
| Rep. Bradley Byrne, R-Ala. (1)          | 2013          | Lost Senate primary                                   |
| Rep. Doug Collins, R-Ga. (9)            | 2012          | Lost Senate race                                      |
| Rep. Paul Cook, R-Calif. (8)            | 2012          | Elected to San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors |
| Rep. Tulsi Gabbard, D-Hawaii (2)        | 2012          | Withdrew from presidential primaries                  |
| Rep. Greg Gianforte, R-Mont. (AL)       | 2017          | Elected governor                                      |
| Rep. Denny Heck, D-Wash. (10)           | 2012          | Elected lieutenant governor                           |
| Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy III, D-Mass. (4) | 2012          | Lost Senate primary                                   |
| Rep. Ben Ray Lujan, D-N.M. (3)          | 2008          | Elected to Senate                                     |
| Rep. Roger Marshall, R-Kan. (1)         | 2016          | Elected to Senate                                     |



Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call file photo

**After a 3-year stint in the House, Greg Gianforte will be the next governor of Montana.**



Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call file photo

**Former New York Rep. Chris Collins is currently serving a 2-year prison sentence for insider trading.**

### RESIGNED 1 DEMOCRAT, 8 REPUBLICANS

| NAME                         | FIRST ELECTED | EFFECTIVE DATE | RESULT   |
|------------------------------|---------------|----------------|--|
| Rep. Tom Graves, R-Ga.       | 2010          | Oct. 4, 2020   | Joined lobbying firm                                       |
| Rep. John Ratcliffe, R-Texas | 2014          | May 22, 2020   | Appointed director of national intelligence                |
| Rep. Mark Meadows, R-N.C.    | 2012          | March 30, 2020 | Named White House chief of staff                           |
| Rep. Duncan Hunter, R-Calif. | 2008          | Jan. 13, 2020  | Pleaded guilty to campaign funds misuse charges            |
| Sen. Johnny Isakson, R-Ga.   | 2004          | Dec. 31, 2019  | Resigned for health reasons                                |
| Rep. Katie Hill, D-Calif.    | 2018          | Nov. 3, 2019   | Resigned over allegations of improper staffer relationship |
| Rep. Chris Collins, R-N.Y.   | 2012          | Oct. 1, 2019   | Pleaded guilty to insider trading charges                  |
| Rep. Sean P. Duffy, R-Wis.   | 2010          | Sept. 23, 2019 | Joined lobbying firm                                       |
| Rep. Tom Marino, R-Pa.       | 2010          | Jan. 23, 2019  | Joined gaming technology company                           |



## DECEASED 2 DEMOCRATS, 1 REPUBLICAN



Bill Clark and Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call file photo

From left: Reps. Elijah E. Cummings, Walter B. Jones and John Lewis passed away during the 116th Congress.

| NAME                           | FIRST ELECTED | DATE          | REPLACED BY  |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| Rep. Elijah E. Cummings, D-Md. | 1996          | Oct. 17, 2019 | Kweisi Mfume, D-Md. - Seat filled by special election on April 28, 2020  |
| Rep. Walter B. Jones, R-N.C.   | 1994          | Feb. 10, 2019 | Greg Murphy, R-N.C. - Seat filled by special election on Sept. 10, 2019  |
| Rep. John Lewis, D-Ga.         | 1986          | July 17, 2020 | Kwanza Hall, D-Ga. - Elected to fill seat until Jan. 3;<br>Nikema Williams, D-Ga. - Elected to fill seat for 117th Congress. |



Bill Clark and Tom Williams/CQ Roll Call file photo

From left, Sens. Lamar Alexander, Michael B. Enzi, Pat Roberts and Tom Udall.

## RETIRING, SENATE 1 DEMOCRAT, 3 REPUBLICANS

| NAME                          | FIRST ELECTED | ANNOUNCED      |
|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| Sen. Lamar Alexander, R-Tenn. | 2002          | Dec. 17, 2018  |
| Sen. Michael B. Enzi, R-Wyo.  | 1996          | May 4, 2019    |
| Sen. Pat Roberts, R-Kan.      | 1996          | Jan. 4, 2019   |
| Sen. Tom Udall, D-N.M.        | 2008          | March 25, 2019 |

## RETIRING, HOUSE 5 DEMOCRATS, 20 REPUBLICANS, 1 LIBERTARIAN

| NAME                                     | FIRST ELECTED | ANNOUNCED      |
|--|---------------|----------------|
| Rep. Ralph Abraham, R-La. (5)            | 2014          | Feb. 26, 2020  |
| Rep. Justin Amash, Libertarian-Mich. (3) | 2010          | May 8, 2020    |
| Rep. Susan W. Brooks, R-Ind. (5)         | 2012          | June 14, 2019  |
| Rep. K. Michael Conaway, R-Texas (11)    | 2004          | July 31, 2019  |
| Rep. Susan A. Davis, D-Calif. (53)       | 2000          | Sept. 4, 2019  |
| Rep. Bill Flores, R-Texas (17)           | 2010          | Sept. 4, 2019  |
| Rep. George Holding, R-N.C. (2)          | 2012          | Dec. 6, 2019   |
| Rep. Will Hurd, R-Texas (23)             | 2014          | Aug. 1, 2019   |
| Rep. Peter T. King, R-N.Y. (2)           | 1992          | Nov. 11, 2019  |
| Rep. Dave Loebsack, D-Iowa (2)           | 2006          | April 12, 2019 |
| Rep. Nita M. Lowey, D-N.Y. (17)          | 1988          | Oct. 10, 2019  |
| Rep. Kenny Marchant, R-Texas (24)        | 2004          | Aug. 5, 2019   |
| Rep. Paul Mitchell, R-Mich. (10)         | 2016          | July 24, 2019  |
| Rep. Pete Olson, R-Texas (22)            | 2008          | July 25, 2019  |
| Rep. Martha Roby, R-Ala. (2)             | 2010          | July 26, 2019  |
| Rep. Phil Roe, R-Tenn. (1)               | 2008          | Jan. 3, 2020   |
| Rep. Francis Rooney, R-Fla. (19)         | 2016          | Oct. 19, 2019  |
| Rep. Jim Sensenbrenner, R-Wis. (5)       | 1978          | Sept. 4, 2019  |
| Rep. José E. Serrano, D-N.Y. (15)        | 1990          | March 25, 2019 |
| Rep. John Shimkus, R-Ill. (15)           | 1996          | Aug. 30, 2019  |
| Rep. Mac Thornberry, R-Texas (13)        | 1994          | Sept. 30, 2019 |
| Rep. Peter J. Visclosky, D-Ind. (1)      | 1984          | Nov. 6, 2019   |
| Rep. Greg Walden, R-Ore. (2)             | 1998          | Oct. 28, 2019  |
| Rep. Mark Walker, R-N.C. (6)             | 2014          | Dec. 16, 2019  |
| Rep. Rob Woodall, R-Ga. (7)              | 2010          | Feb. 7, 2019   |
| Rep. Ted Yoho, R-Fla. (3)                | 2012          | Dec. 10, 2019  |



Tom Williams and Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call file photo

Clockwise from top: Long-serving Reps. Nita M. Lowey, Mac Thornberry, Peter J. Visclosky and Jim Sensenbrenner all opted to retire after 2020.

**Note:** This list does not include **Vice President-elect Kamala Harris, D-Calif.**, who is expected to resign from the Senate and **Rep. Cedric L. Richmond, D-La.**, who has announced he intends to resign to join the Biden administration.

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