

# GUIDE TO THE NEW CONGRESS

Profiles of new members
Party agendas
Committee previews





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# CQ Morning Briefing

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## Marathon Defense Markup Headlines a Busy Day

By Chris Wright, CQ Roll Call

In House committees today things will be hectic, as Armed Services marks up its defense policy measure — expect it to go late — and an Appropriations panel tackles Transportation-HUD funding. On the floor, members will vote on a research and development tax credit. Over in the Senate, debate continues on energy efficiency legislation.

Today in the House: Meets at 10 a.m. for morning hour and noon for legislative business; considers a bill (HR 4438) to permanently extend a research tax credit; also considers a draft resolution recommending that the House hold former IRS official Lois Lerner in contempt of Congress and a related resolution (H Res 565) calling on the attorney general to appoint a special counsel to investigate the IRS targeting of political groups for extra scrutiny.

Today in the Senate: Convenes at 9:30 a.m. and resumes considering a motion to proceed to a bill (S 2262) that would promote energy-efficient practices in buildings and manufacturing.

Today in Committees: Beyond the top headlines, Senate Agriculture holds a hearing on farm bill implementation (9 a.m., 328-A Russell); a House Energy and Commerce subcommittee talks health exchange enrollment data (10:15 a.m., 2123 Rayburn).

Today at the White House: The president travels to Arkansas to view damage from recent tornadoes, then flies to California for an event held by congressional Democratic campaign committees.

Miles to Go: Sure, today the House Transportation-HUD Appropriations Subcommitte marks up its draft fiscal 2015 bill. But the bigger story may be what's further down the highway — specifically, that House appropriators appear serious about trying to conference as many bills as possible with the Democrat-led Senate.

That seriousness is indicated by the House's draft 302(b) allocations, which CQ got early look at vesterday. The 302(b) numbers are essentially the maximum

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES, MARC PISCOTTY/GETTY IMAGES, ETHAN MILLER/GETTY IMAGES, AND JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

#### 114TH CONGRESS. 1st session

	House	Senate
Democrats	184	44
Republicans	244	53
Independents	0	2
Not called*	7	1

\* As of Nov. 12, these races were not called: Arizona 2; and California 7, 16 and 26. Additionally, a runoff is scheduled for Dec. 6 for Louisiana Senate and the state's 5th and 6th districts.

## Rhetorical Pivot: Conflict to Compromise

here's a new buzzword for the 114th Congress: Solutions.
After Republicans wrapped decisive victories Tuesday night, that was the dominant theme emerging from leaders in both chambers as they look toward working with President Barack Obama during the last two years of his administration.

Is the coordinated term a result of focus groups, a keen understanding that voters across America signaled they are fed up with gridlock, or purely well-written rhetorical flourish? That won't matter in the next few days.

As Democrats and the president take stock, the midterm takeaway is that Republicans are in charge, and they want to solve problems.

From the moment it was clear they were having a good night, there was little GOP gloating. Leaders and rank-and-file members sounded notes of compromise, and told voters their frustration with lack of action was heard loud and clear.

"We're going to function," Majority Leader-in-Waiting Mitch McConnell told reporters Wednesday afternoon, swearing there would not be another government shutdown.

The Kentuckyian had told his raucous supporters Tuesday night — hours before his party earned more than the six net victories needed to reclaim control of the chamber — that voters made clear they are "hungry for leadership," "want a reason to be hopeful" and are seeking "some reassurance that the people who run the government are actually on their side."

McConnell said the campaign was "about a government that people no longer trust to carry out its most basic duties — to keep them safe, to protect the border or to provide dignified and quality care for our veterans."

He said Republicans and the president have both a duty and obligation "to work together on issues where we can agree," and both Obama and McConnell offered similar thoughts in their respective news conferences Wednesday.

Outgoing Majority Leader Harry Reid agreed: "The message from voters is clear: They want us to work together."

Speaker John A. Boehner warned it was not a time for Republicans to celebrate their power grab or the largest GOP majority since 1949, but rather for "government to start getting results and implementing solutions to the challenges facing our country, starting with our still-struggling economy."

There won't be a whole lot of waiting — you can be sure Republicans will want to get started during the jam-packed lame-duck session. In between orientation, lawmakers have a long to-do list: electing party leaders, funding the government



CHRISTINA BELLANTONI Roll Call editor-in-chief @cbellantoni

beyond December and granting Obama more money to deal with the global Ebola crisis.

The consequences of the GOP rout will be seen immediately in the selection of chairmen and committee membership shuffles in the coming days; panels are detailed on pp. 62-75.

These power dynamics and more are all laid out in this guide, CQ Roll Call's signature publication. It's our way of introducing the new faces and personalities that will drive both the agenda and the conversation in the new Congress. It's a true labor of love that showcases what has become the most integrated newsroom CQ Roll Call has seen since we became one company.

The profiles you'll read here were reported and researched by members of both teams, including me. To put them together, we need

to speak with both major party candidates in close contests. Of course, there remain a few races still to be called. We have rolling deadlines throughout the day to make sure this publication can be printed by Thursday, so in several cases we have included new member profiles for candidates who aren't yet officially headed to Washington come January.

I learned a lot from talking with my two Democrats and two Republicans. Only Jody Hice in Georgia is on his way to Congress; the others lost.

Hice, a Baptist pastor and conservative talk radio host, is an advocate for a "fair tax" and has his eye on the Oversight and Government Reform Committee. He and newly elected Republican Mark Walker in North Carolina join the six faith leaders currently serving in the House.

Voters also elected at least six former Hill or political staffers, among them Elise Stefanik in New York, Barbara Comstock in Virginia and Carlos Curbelo in Florida.

There's a dentist, a pharmacist and Congress' first-ever artist: Alma Adams, who actually takes office this month because she won a special election to replace Melvin Watt in North Carolina. (Another fun fact: Adams becomes the 100th woman to serve in Congress.) We've collected the most interesting facts and figures about the 114th Congress and its at least 54 new members on pp. 58-59.

With some races outstanding, get up-to-the-minute results at RollCall.com, find deep policy analysis on CQ.com and follow @rollcall and @cqnow.

McConnell closed his victory speech in Louisville with a bold message: "I will not let you down." That's quite a promise. One thing's for sure: The next year in Congress is going to be interesting.

# The Senate

THE 114TH CONGRESS

# The Tables Have Turned

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

#### BY BEN WEYL

T'S ABOUT TO GET very hot for President Barack Obama and Senate Democrats - if newly energized Republicans can set aside their internal divisions and band together.

Having seized control of the Senate and bolstered their House majority, Republicans are preparing to unleash a wave of attacks on the administration — the kind fueled by eight years of pent-up frustration from being in the minority.

No more playing defense. No more tough votes on student loans or the minimum wage. Now, it'll be Democrats who get put on the spot, with frequent challenges expected on the president's health care law, the Keystone XL pipeline and a raft of other

Senate Republicans are already strategizing about how to pursue a budget reconciliation measure to get around the 60-vote threshold to move legislation and challenge the president. Spending bills to keep the government funded will likely have numer-

ous policy riders targeting Democratic priorities. The dozens of stymied "jobs" bills previously passed by the GOP-controlled House will now have a plausible path to the Senate floor. And Republicans will have veto power over Obama's ability to fill vacancies in his administration and in the judiciary.

Democrats aren't completely defenseless. The new Senate minority will likely still be able to use its potent filibuster powers to block legisla-



SAVORING VICTORY: This is a big moment for McConnell, who will achieve his long-sought goal of becoming majority leader. But he has a huge challenge to keep his fractious caucus united ahead of 2016.

tion, and the president, of course, retains his veto pen.

There's also another significant catch: GOP leaders will struggle to keep their fractious conference in line, particularly with a more stridently conservative House that has been in no mood to compromise. The stakes are high, since a failure to demonstrate an interest in governing responsibly could harm the GOP's chances in the 2016 presidential election. And, of course, if Republicans want to actually get anything

done, they'll have to compromise with the man already in the White House, an unlikely scenario.

Ultimately, the fundamental dynamic of the last few years - divided government - hasn't changed. Even if Republicans are able to pass legislation challenging Obama, he'll use his veto pen liberally. The 2016 presidential contest is also only going to make cooperation more difficult, particularly with several presumptive candidates in the new Senate majority. That suggests a lot of messaging, but little in the way of legislating.

"I just don't see a truce in the permanent campaign," says Ross Baker, a Rutgers University political scientist.



**CAMPAIGNING:** The Senate Republican majority includes several likely presidential candidates, including Cruz.

#### McConnell Ascendant

The man of the moment is Mitch McConnell. After surviving his toughest campaign yet, the wily Kentucky Republican is finally about to climb to the post he's sought for decades — Senate majority leader.

Though some Republicans, like Ted Cruz of Texas, have declined to say whether they'll back McConnell to be majority leader, a serious leadership challenge isn't expected.

How McConnell, a longtime student of the Senate, intends to rule isn't entirely clear. He has signaled that he intends to play hardball in confronting the Obama administration, but he has also called for "restoring" the institution's standing as the world's greatest deliberative body. "The Senate needs to be fixed," he said in a victorious press conference after the GOP triumph.

McConnell has repeatedly blasted Majority Leader Harry Reid, a Nevada Democrat, for running roughshod over the GOP minority. In January 2014, McConnell suggested several proposals to make the Senate work better, including giving more authority to committee leaders and allowing senators to debate and vote on more floor amendments.

"My purpose is to suggest that the Senate can be better than it has been, and that it must be if we're to remain great as a nation," McConnell said from the Senate floor.

In the Senate, procedure is power, and there is intense interest over how the new majority will use its clout, including whether it will modify the rules governing filibusters.

Frustrated with a GOP blockade of Obama's nominees, Senate

Democrats changed the chamber's rules unilaterally to be able to cut off debate on most presidential nominees with a simple majority vote. Sixty votes are still necessary to end filibusters on Supreme Court nominees and on all legislation.

The move enraged Republicans. One of the first big decisions facing the new majority will be to decide on whether to maintain the new rules or re-establish the 60-vote threshold on all nominees.

Alternatively, Republicans could go a step further than the Democrats and eliminate the filibuster once and for all, in an effort to move their legislative



2016: Rand Paul, who has already been a thorn in McConnell's side, could complicate GOP leaders' strategy.

agenda with a simple majority. One argument against such a move is that Obama would still be able to exercise his veto power and would surely do so frequently.

John Cornyn of Texas, the Senate's second-highest ranking Republican, says he hopes a GOP majority will mean a return to regular order, including adoption of a budget - which Democrats frequently skipped - and moving bills through committees and onto the floor, with plenty of votes on amendments.

"We've got a lot of senators who haven't been here when the Congress has actually functioned, the Senate has

functioned, as it should and as it traditionally has," Cornyn says.

Allowing for a more open process may also help GOP leaders manage what's sure to be a restive caucus. Not only is the fight for the party's identity still raging between tea party and establishment forces, but several members are eyeing presidential runs, which will only complicate McConnell's calculus.

Keeping Cruz and Kentucky libertarian Rand Paul in line as they try to outflank each other on the campaign trail - while also tending to GOP members on the other side of the political spectrum, like Maine moderate Susan Collins — will be no easy task.

If Republicans demonstrate an inability to advance a positive agenda or end up triggering a crisis like last year's government shutdown, it could be disastrous for the party as it seeks to reclaim the White House in 2016.

#### GOP on Offense

Perhaps the best way to keep Republicans united is to focus on their shared enemy — the Obama agenda. Look for the most aggressive GOP offensives to come during upcoming fiscal debates.

This summer, at an event hosted by the right-wing billionaire brothers Charles and David Koch, McConnell vowed to use the appropriations process to undermine the administration's policies.

"I assure you that in the spending bill, we will be pushing back against this bureaucracy by doing what's called placing riders in the bill. No money can be spent to do this or to do that. We're going to go after them on health care, on financial services, on the Environmental Protection Agency, across the board," McConnell said in a recording leaked to the liberal YouTube channel The Undercurrent.

> By attaching policy riders to bills to fund the government, Republicans hope to pressure Senate Democrats and Obama into swallowing the changes in order to avoid a damaging government shutdown.

> Obama is likely to stand firmly against efforts to fundamentally undermine his program, but Republicans could succeed with provisions that are relatively modest and have some bipartisan support.

> "It's a time-tested way of making policy changes," says Baker. "Since a lot of the appropriations are must-pass . . . it's one of these trains that leave the station and

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Another clash could come next year if Republicans again end up picking a fight over policy concessions in exchange for raising the debt ceiling. The current limit expires next March, although Congress may be able to wait until the summer or fall to act.

Republicans may also be eyeing the budget reconciliation process, which could be used as a way to gut the health care law or make major changes to the tax code or government spending. One advantage of reconciliation measures is that they can be passed with a simple majority. However, they can still be stopped by the president's veto.

With control of the Senate, Republicans will find their greatest success in blocking the president's priorities.

Democratic legislative proposals, including a higher minimum wage, student loan relief, and equal pay for women, will be, of course, dead on arrival.

But Republicans are also likely to blunt Obama's goals more subtly by flexing their muscles over the confirmation process for executive and judicial branch nominees. These are the individuals who are quietly implementing the Dodd-Frank financial regulatory overhaul or will determine the fate of the Affordable Care Act in the courts. Blocking nominees deemed too liberal or partisan will be a key way for Republicans to influence policy.

Russell Wheeler, an expert on the courts and judicial confirmation process at the Brookings Institution, says rising polarization in Congress is likely to reduce the number of judges Obama will get confirmed in his final two years as president.

That could have major policy implications, now and for years to

For instance, many analysts expect the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, which added three Obama appointees after Democrats changed the filibuster rule, to save a key piece of the health care overhaul in the case of Halbig v. Burwell, which challenges subsidies under the health care law. "That's a pretty big impact," Wheeler says.

He also thinks Republicans could try to run out the clock if a Supreme Court spot opens up.

"It depends on how 2016 is shaping up, but if they think they can save that vacancy for President Paul or Cruz, then I think the chances would be pretty slim," says Wheeler.

#### **GRIDLOCK PERSISTS**

Despite the numerous fights to come, GOP gains are likely to be modest when the dust clears, with gridlock prevailing on the biggest issues of the day.

Before the elections, Senate Republicans opted against outlining a sweeping vision of their agenda. Before departing for the campaign trail, McConnell told reporters he'd seek approval of the Keystone XL pipeline and a repeal of the medical device tax established by the health care law.

"Those are the kinds of things that we've not been able to vote on in the Senate for years that the American people might like us to address," he said.

House Speaker John A. Boehner of Ohio has also pointed to those



STRADDLING: Next year will be a difficult test for Boehner and McConnell to see if they can forge a united front in a caucus that spans from tea party firebrands to a New England moderate.

two items on his own to-do list, in a sign of the close coordination between the GOP leaders.

That kind of cooperation will continue in a Congress led by McConnell and Boehner, who have worked closely together amid debt ceiling crises and fiscal cliffs.

McConnell has routinely criticized Senate Democrats for refusing to take up the dozens of "jobs" bills passed by the GOP-controlled House. Those measures, many of which would dramatically loosen federal regulations, will land on the Senate floor next year, but that might be their final destination in light of Democratic opposition.

The same goes for other major issues. Take the health care overhaul: Republicans are sure to hold repeal votes in the Senate and the House, but legislation to overturn the law won't get further than that - owing to Democratic filibusters in the Senate or, if the filibuster is eliminated, presidential vetoes.

"Do they want to try to find a compromise, or will they just be content to let bills die in the Senate and be vetoed by the president?" asks Jim Manley, a former top Senate Democratic aide and now a senior director at QGA Public Affairs.

Like most observers, Manley expects the latter, with another unproductive two years, characterized by deadlock and intermittent crises.

The parties might find some common ground in isolated instances. A GOP-led Senate, for example, is likely to be more amenable than Democrats to granting the president "fast-track" trade authority, which provides for expedited consideration of trade deals in Congress and is a top priority of the administration.

But despite some happy talk from Republicans about building bipartisan support for a tax code overhaul or a rewrite of immigration laws, the odds of a grand bargain on any subject are remote. The partisan divisions are too stark and too deep at this point for a change in course during Obama's presidency.

And soon enough, the focus will shift from the Capitol to the campaign trail. Any effort to pass substantive, bipartisan legislation will be overtaken by political maneuvering ahead of the 2016 presidential contest, with Democrats and Republicans fighting for the upper hand.

"There's going to be a narrow window next year, maybe five or six months to get stuff done," says Manley, "before presidential primaries, especially on the Republican side, start dominating everything."

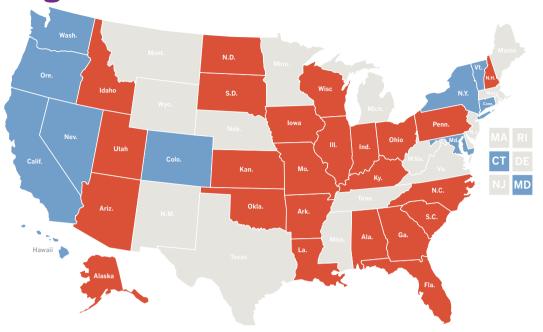
Emily Ethridge contributed to this report.

#### **The 2016 Battlegrounds**

Republican control of the Senate will be tested in two years. The 2016 elections reverse this year's partisan imbalance: Republicans will have to defend 24 seats, while Democrats have 10 at stake.

That's the downside of the GOP's success in 2010. Seven of the party's races come in states that President Barack Obama won in 2012 (Florida, Illinois, Iowa, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin).

A silver lining for Republicans: Unlike this year's map - where Democrats were trying to hold seats in "deep red" presidential states such as Montana and West Virginia - most of the seven states are considered more "purple" than "deep blue."





ALABAMA Richard C. Shelby



HAWAII Brian Schatz\*



MISSOURI Roy Blunt



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ALASKA Lisa Murkowski



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SOUTH CAROLINA Tim Scott\*



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ILLINOIS Mark S. Kirk



**NEW HAMPSHIRE** Kelly Ayotte



SOUTH DAKOTA John Thune



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NEW YORK Charles E. Schumer



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NORTH DAKOTA John Hoeven



WASHINGTON Patty Murray



CONNECTICUT Richard Blumenthal



KENTUCKY Rand Paul



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vears of seat's current term.

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# The House

THE 114TH CONGRESS

# A Sharper Turn To the Right

House leaders will have to navigate a larger GOP caucus ripe with fresh hard-liners ready to oppose them



#### BY EMILY ETHRIDGE

ITH THEIR EXPANDED House majority, Republicans have renewed hope for blocking President Barack Obama's priorities and moving their own agenda. But even though the newly energized Republicans are on track to hold their largest House majority since 1949, GOP leaders will continue to struggle to appease conservatives within the caucus.

House Republicans across the spectrum have said they look forward to a more united conference in the 114th Congress. But for conservatives, that means having leaders move more in line with their vision, not the other way around. If leaders chart a more centrist path, they will continue to make life difficult for Speaker John A. Boehner of Ohio, forcing him to pull bills from the floor or rely on Democrats to help pass legislation. Boehner – who is almost certain to keep his position — will continue to fight to get 218 votes out of his slightly bigger caucus in support of the measures he brings up.

In other words, voters should expect more of the same out of House Republicans for the 114th Congress. After all, despite recapturing the Senate, the GOP will still be operating in a divided government, with Obama retaining veto power and Democrats able to block bills in the Senate. Compromising with Democrats to a certain extent will be necessary, so House Republicans cannot expect to get everything they want — even when their conference agrees on what it wants. And although several conservative stalwarts acknowledge they will need to somewhat trim their ambitions, their irritation could grow if it appears Boehner is capitulating too much.

The divided government will continue to be a difficult political climate to operate in, and nobody will get everything they want — including the different sects of the GOP. That climate could handicap the House leadership's chances of moving major legislation and make it harder to establish a strong party platform leading up to the presi-



dential elections.

"The thing the party would ordinarily be doing in Congress, which is to try to position themselves for the 2016 election, is going to be upset by the factional fighting within the party," says Linda Fowler, a professor of policy studies at Dartmouth College.

Conservatives will continue to insist on sticking to a tight budget, which means Congress could see more battles over raising the debt ceiling or spending bills to keep the government running. And finding compromises on big domestic issues, such as immigration and health care, will be extremely difficult.

Both factions - the leadership and the conservatives - have expressed hope that the new GOP members will join their side. Before the election, Boehner told the International Franchise Association that he needs a bigger majority to help get around the few members that cause trouble for the leadership. "On any given day, 16 of my members decide they're going to go this way, and all of a sudden I have nothing," the speaker said, according to The Hill newspaper. "You might notice I have a few knuckleheads in my conference."

But some of those troublemakers predict that the new members will strengthen their ranks. "The general sense is it's going to be more conservative, which I think is a good thing," says Jim Jordan, an Ohio Republican, citing new members like Barry Loudermilk in Georgia's 11th district. And of course there is Dave Brat, who upset former House Majority Leader Eric Cantor in the June Republican primary to represent Virginia's seventh district.

Overall, conservatives have high hopes, and say the relationship between leadership and conservatives has improved, especially since California's Kevin McCarthy and Louisiana's Steve Scalise moved to new leadership positions last summer. "It's a much more bottomup management style than it has been in the past, and I think the options have been better. And I think they've been better because they've been more conservative," says Mick Mulvaney of South Carolina.

While some Republicans are quietly trying to temper expectations, there's a strong sense that, at the very least, they will be able to pull issues to the right. "We know that maybe we can pass something that is more conservative in the House, and the Senate will have to moderate it a little bit just because you need the Democratic votes," says Raúl R. Labrador, an Idaho Republican. "We can actually move along the same parallel lines, even if their legislation is going to be a little less conservative than ours so they can get enough votes."

#### TARGET LIST

House leaders won't be able to get bills turned into law by appealing only to the conservative members of their party. Once again, their challenge will be to find a sweet spot that can keep conservatives aboard while attracting enough moderate Republicans and Democrats to shake off the label of a do-nothing Congress and build a strong party platform for 2016. With that in mind, Republican leaders have already set a long list of things they would like to accomplish in the 114th Congress.

Despite the "knuckleheads," Boehner has expressed confidence in his ability to keep his caucus together and make ambitious moves. He told ABC's "This Week" in September that "tax reform, a big highway bill, certainly are in the realm of the doable."

Overhauling the tax code and passing other business-related items will be a priority for the House early on. Pennsylvanian Republican Rep. Mike Kelly says, "We're looking at getting tax reform done, regulation reform - everyone knows that those are the talking points. We have to get the economy back on track."

Speaking to the American Enterprise Institute, Boehner put fixing the tax code as the first of five points to improve the economy, saying lawmakers should "bring down the rates for every American, clear out all the loopholes, allow people to do their taxes on two sheets of paper."

Still, although lawmakers have long discussed rewriting the tax code, they have little to show for it so far. Getting the divided House GOP caucus together on such a big item may be too ambitious. "They may have some slight changes here and there, but I don't think they take up tax reform," says James Thurber, director of the Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies at American University.

Republicans are also hopeful that leaders will again bring up some of the many jobs bills the House passed in the 113th Congress, but which Senate Democrats ignored. And they are also sure to bring up some measures targeted at pressuring Obama, such as approving the Keystone XL pipeline. Members of both parties in both chambers support the pipeline, although Senate Democratic leadership blocked a vote on it in the 113th Congress. Boehner hopes to put an approval bill on the president's desk and force him to decide whether to veto it.

A similar item Boehner often mentions is repealing the medical device tax in Obama's 2010 health care overhaul. Again, that measure has bipartisan support and could put Obama in a tough spot if it makes it to his desk. But some hard-line conservatives will continue to insist on trying to repeal the law in full, and will oppose anything that seems like it would "improve" Obamacare. That means Boehner will likely have to rely on some Democrats to push the medical device tax bill

through. It also means he will need to spend some floor time taking votes on fully repealing Obamacare, especially to satisfy the new members who have not yet had a chance to cast their vote on the issue.

#### **EYES ON IMMIGRATION**

Boehner also will run up against the conservative side of his caucus on the thorny issue of immigration. He has said it's possible to find a bipartisan way forward on changing the nation's immigration laws, but conservatives have vowed to oppose any bill that even opens the door to something like the immigration legislation the Senate passed in 2013. In fact, hardliners refused to approve supplemental money for agencies dealing with the surge in child migrants without also voting to cancel Obama's executive order deferring action on some illegal immigrants.

Obama has pledged to take additional executive actions on immigration between the midterm elections and the end of the year, which will further enrage conservatives. It could be nearly impossible for Boehner to nudge conservatives to accept some changes on the issue — even if party leaders are looking for the GOP to take a stance on the issue before 2016 and help appeal to Hispanic voters.

Thurber says the leadership's challenge, particularly on big issues like immigration, "will be continuing to try to keep the far right within the policy direction of what they want to do in the House."

Failing to make moves on those big issues may not be as important to many rank-and-file House Republicans as it would be the national party, says Fowler. She says many House GOP members are "insulated from national tides in a very peculiar way right now" because the vast majority of their seats are not in tossup or Democratic-leaning districts. "I

factoring the party would ordinarily be doing in Congress ... which is to try to position themselves for the 2016 election, is going to be upset by the factional fighting.

Linda Fowler
 Dartmouth College

think they don't necessarily feel a lot of obligation to do stuff to enhance the national reputation," she adds.

It may be enough of a struggle for Republicans to simply fulfill some of the most basic congressional duties: writing a budget, passing spending bills, keeping the government running and paying debts. These fundamental responsibilities have been difficult for House Republicans to accomplish at times, even leading to a government shutdown in 2013. And they will be among the first challenges that the new House encounters.

A budget resolution will be due by March or April, and there will be strong push to pass a budget reconciliation measure to circumvent the 60-vote threshold in the newly GOP-led Senate. House lawmakers will also have to allocate money to federal agencies, whether it's for the rest of fiscal 2015 or looking ahead to fiscal 2016. Many members

are calling for a return to the regular appropriations process, but Congress has had to rely on bipartisan omnibus measures and continuing resolutions to get things done for the past few years.

Some time next year, Congress also will have to address raising the debt ceiling to increase the government's borrowing capacity — a vote that used to be routine. But in recent years, House Republicans have been unable to wrangle enough of their own members to raise the borrowing limit without Democratic help.

Thurber predicts that leadership will continue to struggle with such votes, putting financial markets on edge. "It will come right to the brink again," he says.

Another thing to watch for the 114th Congress is how House Republicans keep up their numerous investigations into the Obama administration. Since taking the House majority, committee chairmen have used their power to hold oversight hearings, request documents and call up administration officials as witnesses. Although the issues have had varying rates of staying power, the investigations tie up officials' hands and cast a negative light on Obama's team.

Investigations and oversight into the administration may be the area where House Republicans are most unified. In other areas, from the basic duties of governing to tackling larger domestic issues, the conference is likely to continue experiencing the same struggles with its divided caucus as it has had for the past few years.

"I don't see life in the House being more productive or more consensual or anything else," says Fowler. "I think it'll be more of the same and the things that they hope to do, they're not gonna be able to do."

Paul M. Krawzak contributed to this report.

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# **Dates to Watch**

THE LAME DUCK & THE 114TH CONGRESS, IST SESSION

The next Congress will have a lot on its plate, though how much it gets done is anyone's guess. Following are key dates for what's left of the 113th Congress, and for what awaits in the first session for the next group of 535 lawmakers.

#### 2014

#### **Nov. 12**

· Congress is scheduled to reconvene for the lame-duck session, during which new members will have orientation and members of the 114th Congress will elect leaders.

#### Nov. 15

• Open enrollment for health law insurance exchanges begins. It runs through Feb. 15, 2015. The small-business health insurance exchange, known as SHOP, goes live. It is open to businesses with 50 or fewer full-time employees.

#### Nov. 24

• Deadline for Iran, the United States and five major powers to produce a nuclear accord. Congress is poised to pass new Iran sanctions if no agreement is reached or lawmakers feel an accord doesn't remove Iran's capacity to build a nuclear bomb.

#### Dec. 6

· Louisiana Senate runoff between Democratic incumbent Mary L. Landrieu and her GOP challenger, Rep. Bill Cassidy. Two **House races** in the state also have runoffs: in the 5th District. Democrat James "Jamie" Mayo faces Republican Ralph Abraham. In the 6th District, Democratic former Gov. Edwin W. Edwards faces Republican Garret Graves.

#### Dec. 11

- Current continuing resolution expires. Congress needs to pass appropriations legislation to avoid a government shutdown.
- Also expiring is the authorization for the Pentagon to train and equip Syrian rebels to fight the Islamic State group. That authority was rolled into the CR.

#### Dec. 16

• Term of National Labor Relations Board member Nancy Shiffer expires. If nominee Sharon Block isn't confirmed before then, it could result in deadlocked. 2-2 board votes.

#### Dec. 31

- · Coverage ends for 2014 insurance plans purchased in the health law marketplaces.
- Terrorism Risk Insurance Act expires. The law, enacted after Sept. 11 attacks, provides a federal backstop on insur-

ance claims in major terrorism events.

· Deadline for Secretary of State John Kerry to certify to Congress

that Egypt is on a path toward democracy as a condition for delivering \$650 million in tanks and warplanes. Failure to certify by the end of the year will stop delivery of the weapons and place new strains on U.S.-Egypt relations.

#### 2015

#### Jan. 1

• The health care law's employer mandate takes effect. Under that provision, companies with at least 50 full-time workers - those who work 30 hours or more per week — must provide insurance options for their employees.

· Congress' start date as set by the Constitution. However, this can be changed by law and likely will be, since it falls on a Saturday.

#### **Late January**

• State of the Union address.

• The president's budget is due to Congress. But the White House has missed this deadline most years Barack Obama has been in office. Six weeks after the president submits his budget, the committees submit their "views and estimates" to the Budget committees.

#### Feb. 15

• Deadline for submission of a Congressional Budget Office report on projected spending for the upcoming fiscal year.

#### March 16

· The debt limit resets to a lower level. If Congress does not raise the debt limit, the Treasury Department will still be able to move around funds to make payments until the summer, or possibly into the fall, according to the Bipartisan Policy Center.

#### March 31

- Last day of the current doc fix, which postpones cuts to Medicare reimbursement rates to doctors. Lawmakers have been stuck on how to pay for a permanent replacement to the 1997 rate formula that, if implemented, would cut the payments.
- Numerous other Medicare reimbursement and health care programs are also set to expire.

#### April 1

• Statutory deadline for the Senate Budget Committee to report its budget resolution.

#### April 15

• Statutory deadline for Congress to complete action on a budget resolution.

#### **May 15**

• The House may begin to consider annual appropriations bills.

#### **May 31**

 Last day of authority for federal



#### surface transportation programs financed by the Highway Trust Fund. In July, Congress dipped into general revenue funds to avert cuts in federal transportation funding to states.

#### June 30

• Export-Import Bank charter expires. Congress temporarily extended the export finance agency's charter in September as part of the continuing resolution, amid conservative calls for Ex-Im's end.

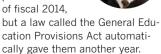


#### Sept. 30

- Healthy, Hunger-Free Child Act expires. The law gave the Agriculture Department authority to set nutrition standards for vending machine and a la carte foods served on school campuses, not just federally subsidized lunches and breakfasts sold in cafeterias.
- · Federal funding for Children's Health Insurance Program expires. Roughly 8 million children receive coverage through CHIP, which was designed for kids whose families earn too much to qualify for Medicaid but too little to afford private insurance.

#### Oct. 1

- Start of fiscal 2016. Congress must pass new appropriations, with a signature from the president, or the federal government shuts down.
- Authorization expires for most higher education programs; they technically expired at the end of fiscal 2014,



 Authorization expires for the Federal Aviation Administration.

# Fresh Faces

New Members of the 114th Congress

#### **ALASKA**

#### Dan Sullivan, R

Election: Defeated Sen. Mark Begich, D

Residence: Anchorage

Born: Nov. 13, 1964; Fairview Park, Ohio

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Julie Fate Sullivan; three children

Education: Harvard U., A.B. 1987 (economics); U. of Birmingham (England), M.A. 1988; Georgetown U., M.S.F.S. 1993, J.D. 1993 Military: Marine Corps 1993-97; Marine Corps Reserve 1997-present

Career: White House aide; lawyer; author

Political highlights: U.S. State Department assistant secretary for economic and business affairs, 2006-09; Alaska attorney general, 2009-10; Alaska Department of Natural Resources commissioner, 2010-13

Sullivan is well-versed in a range of topics on the Senate's agenda: He has foreign policy credentials, served as Alaska's attorney general and has recent experience regulating Alaska's expanse of natural resources. Although Sullivan has extensive executive branch experience at the state and federal levels, he is new to legislating.

Energy policy would likely drive Sullivan. Not only does he have experience in the field as onetime head of the state Department of Natural Resources, but oil and gas in particular have a distinct importance to Alaska. In the Bush administration State Department, he worked on international energy policy, Alaska's natural gas pipeline, and oil and gas pipeline projects in other regions of the world.

The EPA and environmental regulations are particular targets for Sullivan, who touts a record of challenging "the Obama administration every step of the way" on regulatory policy.

He also takes on the White House on national security and foreign policy. In an appearance at a local chamber of commerce in September 2014, he said: "We have gotten to the point where our friends no longer trust us and our adversaries no longer fear us in the international world. We have been a country that's been exhibiting weakness, and weakness in my view is provocative."

Veterans' affairs is another likely issue for Sullivan's portfolio. He joined the Marine Corps after earning two graduate degrees from Georgetown University, and he switched to the Marine Corps Reserve after four years of active duty. Sullivan was activated overseas three times while in the reserves, including deployments to provide strategic analysis for commanders and on an anti-terror task force.

Alaska's several major military bases are home to tens of thousands of service members. His "promises delivered" pledge addresses VA backlogs, preventative care, access to health care for veterans living in remote areas, re-evaluations of combat zone designations and programs to provide incentives for hiring veterans.

Sullivan didn't move to Alaska until after leaving active duty, and despite his service in Alaska government, his residence history comes up as opponents have called him an outsider. Sullivan met his wife, an Alaska Native, when they were both in D.C. – he was at Georgetown, she was working for former Republican Sen. Ted Stevens.

#### **ARKANSAS**

#### **Tom Cotton, R**

Election: Defeated Sen. Mark Pryor, D

Residence: Dardanelle

Born: May 13, 1977; Dardanelle, Ark.

Religion: Methodist Family: Wife, Anna Cotton

Education: Harvard U., A.B. 1998 (government); Claremont Graduate University, attended 1998-99; Harvard U., J.D. 2002

Military: Army 2004-09

Career: Management consultant; lawyer Political highlights: U.S. House, 2013-present



Cotton's arrival will give the Senate another conservative firebrand, a "rock star" to both the tea party and the establishment GOP, who has vowed to oppose President Barack Obama and already has pushed back against major Senate proposals.

In opposing a 2013 Senate-passed immigration package, he argued that the House shouldn't even negotiate because of what he characterized as putting enforcement behind legalization of illegal immigration. He voted against a compromise farm bill that he said didn't go far enough to overhaul the food stamp program - putting him at odds with the rest of the Arkansas delegation and its agriculture-oriented constituency.

"Arkansans need a senator who will stand with them and stand up to Barack Obama," he said when announcing his run, "a senator who will say 'no more' to the crony capitalism, the giveaways, the reckless spending, the unfair taxes, the job-killing regulations, and the concentration of unaccountable, unconstitutional power in Washington."

Beyond emphasizing how he would vote against the president, the Harvard-educated Iraq and Afghanistan veteran has given scant details of his potential Senate agenda. Most of his measures in the House were limited in scope, but Cotton did win approval of an amendment to the fiscal 2015 defense authorization bill that would block Guantánamo Bay detainees from being sent to any foreign country. Critics called the amendment unconstitutional; Cotton did not respond, although making known his opposition to laws he considers unconstitutional is a staple of his legislative persona.

While popular with the tea party, he splits from the domestically focused movement with his hawkish positions on national security.

His service on the House Financial Services and Foreign Affairs committees could bleed over into his Senate focus, although his background in the courtroom and on the battlefield could point toward posts on the Judiciary or Armed Services panels.

He has embraced criticism that he has moved too fast from the House to the Senate, saying he agrees with those who call him a "young man in a hurry" because the nation's problems are dire and need speedy fixes.

#### COLORADO

#### Cory Gardner, R

Election: Defeated Sen. Mark Udall, D

Residence: Yuma

Born: Aug. 22. 1974: Yuma, Colo. Religion: Lutheran - Missouri Synod Family: Wife, Jaime Gardner; two children

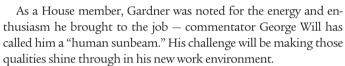
Education: Colorado State U., B.A. 1997 (political science); U.

of Colorado, J.D. 2001

Career: Lawyer; congressional aide; agricultural advocacy organization spokesman;

farm equipment parts dealer

Political highlights: Colo. House, 2005-10; U.S. House, 2011-present



Gardner is probably best understood as a GOP loyalist, though he shies away from a "conservative" label. He worked well with party leaders in the House, contributed to campaign operations and rarely broke with a majority of his conference on contested votes.

But he has softened his positions on issues that divide Colorado. Gardner is against abortion, but advocates making birth control pills available over-the-counter; he seems willing to allow a path to legal status for illegal immigrants already in the country; and he hasn't threatened the state's experiment with legalized marijuana.

Gardner thinks of himself as a "practical" and "approachable" legislator, and he has been part of efforts to create a smootheroperating Congress. He participated in the "No Labels" movement, met regularly with a bipartisan House working group and sought out Democratic partners on less-contentious issues, such as energy efficiency. Those activities could augur his behavior in the Senate.

Many of his biggest policy interests come right out of the Western playbook. Gardner focuses on loosening federal regulations and speeding up permitting, particularly in the energy sector. "Colorado has the potential to be this great energy wheelhouse for the country," he says, "whether it's renewable or it's traditional." He supports the tax credit for wind energy production - a policy that benefits employers in his state but has been opposed by conservatives. He also wants more water storage projects in his state.

Gardner's defeat of Mark Udall left Colorado with no senator on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee — he could be a good fit there, or on the Environment and Public Works Committee.

He'd also be a natural for the Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee, if his Democratic counterpart Michael Bennet opts to move elsewhere. Gardner hails from the rural part of the state — an antiques buff, he lives in the home his great-grandparents owned and is trying to restore it to its likely state from the early 1900s. His family operates a farm implement dealership and he was once the communications director for the National Corn Growers Association. He sat on the state House's agriculture panel before coming to Congress.

Gardner will be among the youngest members of the Senate in the 114th Congress, beating out the chamber's current youngest, Connecticut Democrat Christopher S. Murphy, by about a year.

#### **GEORGIA**

#### David Perdue, R

Election: Defeated Michelle Nunn, D, to succeed Sen. Saxby

Chambliss, R, who retired Residence: Sea Island

Born: Dec. 10. 1949: Macon. Ga.

Religion: Methodist

Family: Wife, Bonnie Perdue; two children

Education: Georgia Institute of Technology, B.I.E. 1972, M.S. 1976 (operations

Career: Export company owner; retail chain executive; management consultant

Political highlights: No previous office



As a businessman who earned a reputation as a "turnaround specialist" atop companies like Reebok and Dollar General, Perdue isn't giving himself much time to turn around Washington: He favors term limits for senators, and has pledged to serve a maximum of two terms.

While Perdue has sought to establish his conservative bona fides, he also labeled himself an outsider and stated a willingness to reach across the aisle. Perdue has said he will be committed to working with Democrats on solutions in the Senate, "but the solutions they are offering up there are failing."

And he is not your traditional "outsider" even if he is new to politics. His cousin is former Gov. Sonny Perdue, still a popular figure in Georgia and who campaigned on his behalf. A wealthy resident of a posh Sea Island mansion who invested millions in his own campaign and earned recognition as a corporate executive, Perdue has touted his humble roots on a family farm.

Perdue traces his interest in elective office to the national debt, and he has spoken extensively on economic issues he wants to tackle in Washington: a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution, repeal of the 2010 health care law and an overhaul of the tax code.

Supporting the "fair tax" system for the tax code aligns him with some of the more hard-line fiscally conservative members of his party, and he has vowed not to support any tax increases.

And on most subjects down the line – gun rights, immigration, education, abortion, same-sex marriage - his positions put him in the middle-to-right segment of his party.

But he has said he opposes repeal of the Dodd-Frank financial regulatory law that served as Congress' response to the 2008 market crash. "My experience in business, good and bad, has prepared me to focus on the economic crisis and not the noise around it," he told the Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

He also will have to reconcile his conservative stances with the parochial interests of his state.

In a nod to the farming interests across Georgia, Perdue has said he would seek a spot on the Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee.

Yet he also stated opposition to the 2013 farm bill on the grounds that it didn't do enough to cut back on the food stamp program. At the same time, he's pledged to defend Robins Air Force base from future cuts, as well as to seek out new missions for the state's military bases.

#### **IOWA**

#### Joni Ernst, R

Election: Defeated Rep. Bruce Braley, D, to succeed

Sen. Tom Harkin. D. who retired

Residence: Red Oak

Born: July 1, 1970; Red Oak, Iowa

Religion: Lutheran

Family: Husband, Gail Ernst; three children

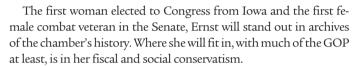
Education: Iowa State U., B.A. 1992 (psychology); Columbus College, M.P.A. 1995

Military: Army Reserve 1992-2001; Iowa National Guard 2001-present

Career: County emergency management office director; homemaker; job training

program coordinator; human resources assistant

Political highlights: Montgomery County auditor, 2005-11; Iowa Senate, 2011-present



Ernst opposes abortion; she introduced bills in the state Senate establishing a cause of civil action against a doctor who provides an abortion and proposing an amendment to the state Constitution recognizing life at the time of conception. She also strongly supports gun owners' rights and has backed measures to expand them.

Fundamental tenets of small-government policy — lower taxes, fewer federal regulations, increased government efficiency — and fiscal discipline — a balanced-budget amendment, less spending — set the outline for her approach: "I believe the free-enterprise economy is the greatest job creation machine ever imagined, but only if government gets out of the way." As targets for cuts, she has suggested eliminating the Department of Education and the EPA.

The only provision for spending that continually meets her standards is any money in support of the armed services or veterans. She said in a debate that she would not have backed the budget deal negotiated by Republican Rep. Paul D. Ryan and Democratic Sen. Patty Murray in late 2013 because of spending increases offset by a change in benefits for veterans (a change later reversed). "As a servicewoman I will protect and fight to protect our servicemen and servicewomen," Ernst said. "I certainly won't take away those benefits and that pay for those servicemembers."

Ernst has also called for changes in Social Security and Medicare in order to maintain the programs. She has given indications that she would be willing to work with Democrats on ways to overhaul them "so America not only keeps its promise to today's seniors but is also able to guarantee a safety net is available for our children and grandchildren."

In general, Ernst's plan "to grow our way out of" the federal debt includes repealing the 2010 health care overhaul, although she doesn't advocate a specific plan for replacing any of its measures, and lowering taxes "on hardworking families now while working to scrap the tax code and make it fairer, flatter and simpler."

As debates about the debt limit come up, Ernst could be a tough sell. She has previously said, "We can operate our government. We do not need to raise the debt ceiling. We have to cut spending. We have to put in order a balanced-budget amendment, and we have to grow our economy."



#### **Bill Cassidy, R**

Election: Opposes Sen. Mary L. Landrieu, D

Residence: Baton Rouge

Born: Sept. 28, 1957; Highland Park, III.

**Religion:** Christian

Family: Wife, Laura Layden Cassidy; three children Education: Louisiana State U., B.S. 1979 (biochemistry), M.D.

Career: Physician

Political highlights: La. Senate, 2006-08; U.S. House, 2009-present



Cassidy would almost certainly bring his legislative agenda with him across the Capitol. He's spent three terms in the House working on health care and energy policy; Cassidy is a doctor and represents a state that's dependent on the oil and gas industry.

His health care designs go beyond a simple demand to repeal the 2010 overhaul, though he has been at the front of many such efforts. Cassidy has laid out a multistep approach that emphasizes health savings accounts and efforts he sees as driving down costs. Restructuring Medicaid is another major goal of his.

Other health-related issues that Cassidy promotes include treatment of veterans with traumatic brain injury, specifically through a program that would allow flexibility in choosing facilities.

The House Energy and Commerce Health Subcommittee has given Cassidy a platform to push these ideas, and working with colleagues in the GOP Doctors Caucus has given him allies.

He also has worked with Democrats — including former Rep. Pete Stark and Rep. Julia Brownley, both of California – to improve public school programs for children diagnosed with dyslexia. His daughter is dyslexic, and Cassidy and his wife founded a charter school. Cassidy also backs expanded school choice options such as vouchers and charter schools.

Energy and Commerce has been a prime assignment for his support of the Keystone XL pipeline, increased offshore drilling, development of natural gas as fuel and the Republicans' all-of-the-above energy strategy.

Taking a standard tack that expanded energy production boosts the economy, Cassidy told a Fox Business anchor in May 2014: "My family moved to Baton Rouge in 1958. My dad, rolling between jobs, went down there to serve those working in petrochemical plants. My dad, who never went to college, has a son who's running for the Senate. This is the power of those jobs to create a better prosperity."

Sharing the generally socially conservative perspective of many of his constituents, Cassidy opposes abortion rights. "I believe in the culture of life and will always advocate for and defend those who cannot defend themselves, the unborn."

And sharing the generally outdoorsman inclinations of his constituents, Cassidy has a top score from the NRA and vows to strongly support gun owners' rights. "As the Sportsman's Paradise, Bill will fight to ensure that Louisiana will not surrender its right to practice these traditions, nor will it surrender the right of its citizens to defend themselves," his campaign literature said.

#### **MICHIGAN**

#### **Gary Peters, D**

Election: Defeated Terri Lynn Land, R, to succeed Sen. Carl

Levin, D. who retired

Residence: Bloomfield Township Born: Dec. 1, 1958; Pontiac, Mich.

Religion: Episcopalian

Family: Wife, Colleen Ochoa Peters; three children

Education: Alma College, B.A. 1980 (political science); U. of Detroit, M.B.A. 1984;

Wayne State U., J.D. 1989; Michigan State U., M.A. 2007 (philosophy)

Military: Naval Reserve 1993-2000; Navy Reserve 2001-05 Career: College instructor; investment firm branch executive

Political highlights: Democratic nominee for Mich. Senate, 1990; Rochester Hills City Council, 1991-93; Mich. Senate, 1995-2002; Democratic nominee for Mich. attorney general, 2002; Mich. Lottery Bureau commissioner, 2003-07; U.S. House, 2009-pres-

Peters has spent six years in the House focused on job growth and economic development in Detroit, and he will keep the state's most populous city front and center as he moves to the Senate. Despite decades of population and economic decline, Detroit could re-emerge as a trade and transportation hub, Peters says.

One project he has pushed is a high-speed rail corridor linking Chicago to Toronto, including a new connection across the Detroit River from Detroit to Windsor, Ontario. He is proud of having worked to get federal funding for a customs center in Port Huron, which many backers see as a significant step in the multipart development project.

Because it's Michigan, nearly every issue on Peters' agenda comes back to manufacturing; and because of his background in financial services, the ones that don't tend to relate to mortgages and the housing market.

"Without a strong and vibrant auto industry, a country simply can't have ... a vibrant manufacturing sector," Peters says. "And I'm a passionate believer that if you don't actually make something, you can't be a strong country."

Peters still touts his vote in favor of the 2009 "cash for clunkers" trade-in program, and his support of the auto industry includes an emphasis on technological innovation and a willingness to offer research-and-development tax credits and eliminate some regulations on businesses. He also supports requirements for U.S. companies to report the geographic location of employees and linking tax benefits to the hiring of workers in the United States.

He also promotes innovation in agricultural production, a key sector across Michigan. And he supports organized labor and opposes free trade agreements that he views as detrimental to the auto industry.

Although Peters has supported Democratic cap-and-trade carbon emissions legislation — often a no-no in states that rely on factories and refineries, like the oil refineries near Detroit — he prefers offering incentives for development of technology to reduce carbon output overall. While he acknowledges the impact of carbon emissions on global climate change, Peters will take on the EPA when standards for carbon emission reductions will have what he says is an outsized impact on Michigan compared to nearby states.

In general, however, the environment plays as big a role in his plan for Michigan. Regulations designed to protect the Great Lakes watershed - from industrial pollution as well as invasive species - and banning oil-and-gas drilling in the Great Lakes are big issues for him.



#### Steve Daines, R

Election: Defeated Amanda Curtis, D, to succeed Sen. John

Walsh, D, who retired Residence: Bozeman

Born: Aug. 20, 1962; Van Nuys, Calif.

**Religion:** Presbyterian

Family: Wife, Cindy Daines; four children

Education: Montana State U., B.S. 1984 (chemical engineering)

Career: Software company executive; construction company project manager; supply

chain operations manager

Political highlights: Republican nominee for lieutenant governor, 2008; U.S. House,

2013-present



Daines put a lot of miles on his pickup truck while campaigning across Montana – first for the House in 2012, then for the Senate in 2014. During that quick skip from one chamber to the other, while representing the same constituents, he also got a lot of mileage out of the constant refrain of "more jobs, less government."

In that sense, he is very much a mainstream Republican. "We've got to find ways to make government look more like the way we run things in the private sector," he said in 2013.

His own business career spanned several industries. As a manager for Procter & Gamble, Daines spent six years in China. (He speaks a little Cantonese.) He eventually returned to Montana and worked for his family's construction company; finally, he was a sales and customer service executive for a pioneering cloud-computing company in Bozeman.

During his brief legislative career, Daines has focused on policy areas directly tied to Montana employment sectors. "I'd like to see the states have more control over energy and timber policies," he said. "In a nutshell, that would be the direction I'd wanna head."

As a member of the House Natural Resources Committee, Daines opposed many proposed environmental regulations affecting the coal industry and supported increased timber harvests on federal lands. He maintains that economic activity doesn't have to spoil his state's natural beauty. Daines is an avid outdoorsman. "I was fly fishing in Montana back in the late '60s and '70s, before Brad Pitt came and ruined it for the rest of us," he said.

Given Montana's size and relative isolation, Daines is sure to weigh in as Congress considers a long-term highway bill in the 114th Congress. "I believe there is a proper role for the federal government to continue to ensure that we invest in infrastructure," he said — but he pans the idea of raising the federal gas tax as a means to fund projects.

Montanans tend to have a libertarian streak, though, and Daines seems to be no exception. As a House member, he spoke out against the NSA's domestic surveillance programs. He also touts his resistance to committing any more American troops to Iraq or funding combat activities.

Daines has limited foreign policy experience, but he believes his time spent in China gives him a valuable perspective: "It helps me be better equipped and educated, in terms of thinking of the challenges we face as a country, and how we win in the long-term global markets." Max Baucus, the Democrat who once held Daines' Senate seat, is currently the U.S. envoy to China.

#### **NEBRASKA**

#### Ben Sasse, R

Pronounced: SASS

**Election:** Defeated Dave Domina. D. to succeed Sen. Mike

Johanns, R. who retired Residence: Fremont

Born: Feb. 22, 1972; Plainview, Neb. Religion: Confessional evangelical Family: Wife, Melissa Sasse; three children

Education: Harvard U., A.B. 1994 (government); St. John's College (Md.), M.A. 1998 (liberal studies); Yale U., Ph.D. 2004 (history)

Career: University president; professor; U.S. Health and Human Services Department aide; U.S. Homeland Security Department aide; congressional aide; U.S. Justice Department aide; management consultant

Political highlights: U.S. Health and Human Services Department assistant secretary for planning and evaluation, 2007-09

Long before becoming the youngest senator elected from his state in a century, Sasse was labeled the favorite newcomer of 2014 by many leaders of his party's anti-establishment, libertarian and socially conservative wings.

The Weekly Standard wrote an effusive profile even before his candidacy was certain, and the National Review put Sasse on its cover soon after. He cruised to victory in the Republican primary - tantamount to election in today's Nebraska — with the help of virtually all the major tea party groups, Sens. Ted Cruz of Texas and Mike Lee of Utah, and Rep. Paul D. Ryan of Wisconsin.

His background is far from that of an outsider, however, and his analytic approach to policy discussions suggests he may be more of a savvy pragmatist than conservatives expect.

He led a fiscal turnaround during his five years as president of Midland University, a Lutheran liberal arts college in his hometown of Fremont. Before that Sasse worked at prominent business consulting and venture capital firms; taught at Yale, the University of Texas and the school for House pages; was chief of staff to Republican Rep. Jeff Fortenberry; and worked in the George W. Bush administration.

While many conservatives talk about health care only in terms of repealing the 2010 overhaul, Sasse has a 24-page white paper detailing a comprehensive replacement. Its most provocative ideas include ending tax preferences for employer-paid insurance, permitting states to curb Medicaid benefits, raising the Medicare eligibility age and giving seniors a fixed annual amount to spend on either government or private coverage.

His disdain for the health care law also reflects his social views. Sasse vows to be "a champion of the unborn" in the Senate, starting with expanding religious exemptions to the health care law's mandates. He flatly opposes gay marriage, all gun control and any path to legitimacy for illegal immigrants. His prescription for economic growth is widespread but unspecified environmental and business deregulation. He says spending should be cut so dramatically that the national debt begins to shrink.

His positioning on defense and foreign policy is more ambivalent. "Restoring America's credibility means strengthening our alliances, deterring our enemies, and leading the world from the front," he has said, at the same time adding: "We should approach national security with a healthy skepticism of foreign entanglements, only engaging when it is in our vital national interest. Once the decision has been made to engage, we should act with overwhelming force."

#### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Thom Tillis, R

Election: Defeated Sen. Kay Hagan, D

Residence: Huntersville

Born: Aug. 30, 1960; Jacksonville, Fla.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Susan Tillis; two children

Education: U. of Maryland, University College, B.S. 1997

(technology management)

Career: Financial services and business strategies consultant; computer hardware company information technology manager; medical device manufacturing company

research manager; computer systems analyst

Political highlights: Cornelius Board of Commissioners, 2003-05; N.C. House,

2007-present (speaker, 2011-present)



As speaker of the North Carolina House, Tillis led a significant conservative shift in that body and attempted to dramatically cut taxes and to strike down dozens of regulations - efforts he hopes to continue in the Senate.

Current tax and regulatory codes are "broken," according to Tillis, whose campaign site called "regulatory reform his signature crusade." He pushed for a 2013 change to the state tax code, which among other elements implemented a flat income tax, lowered corporate tax rates, expanded the scope of the sales tax and did not renew the earned income tax credit.

Touting a record of having passed a balanced budget every year he was speaker, Tillis will likely push to have the same record as a

His overall conservative fiscal policy is matched by his social conservatism. Tills has backed: a ban on gay marriage, anti-abortion laws, repealing the 2010 health care overhaul and requiring drug testing for welfare recipients. Welfare programs are a source of particular concern for Tillis, who has identified distinctions between providing assistance to the chronically ill and to the poor.

Tillis opposes federal gun and ammunition bans as well as federal registration requirements for the transfer of firearms between

An advocate for charter schools and scholarship programs for low-income students, Tillis cites teachers' salary measures he worked on in the state House.

Changes to immigration laws should come only after Congress has fully secured the border, he says. And that goal will require boosting the number of personnel at the border and the use of technology.

Another area with national security implications for Tillis is energy production. In a call for energy independence, he supports opening the Keystone XL pipeline and expanding offshore drilling.

With a background in financial services analysis, he says he would be interested in serving on the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee; the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee; and the Finance Committee. He spent three decades advising large corporations and banks.

Understanding the legislative process — and how party leaders generally have to balance priorities from across the conference and across the Capitol — is one thing; but Tillis will join the Senate near the bottom of seniority after having led several conservative charges in Raleigh.

#### **OKLAHOMA**

#### James Lankford, R

Election: Defeated Connie Johnson, D, in a special election to succeed Sen. Tom Coburn, R, who will resign

Residence: Oklahoma City Born: March 4, 1968; Dallas, Texas

Religion: Baptist

Family: Wife, Cindy Lankford; two children

Education: U. of Texas, B.S.Ed. 1990 (secondary education-history); Southwestern

Baptist Theological Seminary, M.Div. 1994 (biblical languages)

Career: Religious youth camp director Political highlights: U.S. House 2011-present



Lankford had never held office before his two terms in the House, but he jumped at the chance to succeed Republican Sen. Tom Coburn, who announced an early departure from the Senate in time for Oklahoma to hold a special election for the 114th Congress.

He has chaired the House GOP's policy operations in the 113th Congress, leading the effort to design a coherent small-government agenda. As Lankford has stuck close to his leadership while voting, he also keeps in mind the bigger picture of party loyalty. "I keep Reagan's 11th Commandment that I don't run down other Republicans."

Emphasizing to leaders the importance of bringing major legislation through committees, rather than closed-door negotiations, Lankford points out that "process is a very big deal ... People have to be heard. People were elected here to be legislators, not just voters. And so they have to be involved in the process."

It's likely that Lankford will pick up the same legislative priorities from his time on the Oversight and Government Reform Committee and the Budget Committee — he is particularly focused on passing a budget, addressing elements of the 2010 financial regulatory overhaul law he finds problematic, and energy policy. Natural gas is an important facet of the economy in Oklahoma.

Federal regulations generally, and EPA regulations specifically, are top themes in Lankford's portfolio. And rather than relying on talking points, he studies the minutiae. "I see myself as more of a student, that I love to get down into the weeds of different problems and try to go through that. I don't mind messaging, but I'm going to default back to the research side of things."

In his big-picture vision of the federal government, Lankford would like to see universal term limits. "I'm a little more radical than some on this, I actually believe the executive branch has term limits, both the other branches should as well." But, understanding that seniority and experience-based insights are important, he won't limit himself without a full overhaul.

Faith defined Lankford's early life and his career — he led the Falls Creek Baptist youth camp, which accommodates as many as 51,000 visitors annually – and it informs his social conservatism. He opposes abortion, same-sex marriage and restrictions on gun owners' rights.

Replacing a well-known figure, especially one who shares a similar perspective on policy, might lead another new senator to emulate his predecessor. But Lankford recognizes, "There's only one Dr. Coburn. And there's not going to be another one ... all I can do is step in and say this is what I'm passionate about and I'm going to do the work."

#### SOUTH DAKOTA

#### Michael Rounds, R

Election: Defeated Rick Weiland, D, and Larry Pressler, I, to succeed Sen. Tim Johnson, D, who retired

Residence: Fort Pierre

Born: Oct. 24, 1954; Huron, S.D. Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Jean Rounds; four children

**Education:** South Dakota State U., B.S. 1977 (political science)

Career: Insurance and real estate executive; insurance agent; campaign aide Political highlights: S.D. Senate, 1991-2000 (majority leader, 1995-2000); governor,



Rounds focuses on policies he sees as having a direct impact on South Dakota, such as increasing domestic energy production and paring down federal regulations. A former two-term governor, he is familiar with the range of issues on which state and federal authorities intersect.

He says he will spend most of his time on economic policy, at least initially. Rounds pegs approval of the Keystone XL pipeline as essential to farmers and ranchers in the state who want to reclaim railroad infrastructure to transport their goods, and he will make it a top priority for his first few months in office.

Rounds is interested in a seat on the Banking panel to work on revisions to the Dodd-Frank financial regulation law, which he says impedes small-town banks in providing loans. He's also interested in the Environment and Public Works Committee and the Armed Services Committee, noting his role as commander-in-chief of the National Guard in South Dakota.

In addition, Rounds wants to resurrect the Regulations From the Executive in Need of Scrutiny Act, which would overhaul the regulatory process and prevent all "major rules" from being implemented unless Congress enacts laws approving them. He also says Congress has ceded too much power to federal agencies and needs to assert its law-writing authority. "We've got to take back that role from unelected bureaucrats. It's Congress's fault for not taking control," he says.

He highlights the importance of the Senate's function in judicial nominations, but says that they will need to "take a hard look" at how the process is currently being handled.

The health care overhaul law needs to be repealed on a sectionby-section basis, Rounds says, pointing specifically to the medical device tax, the Independent Payment Advisory Board and the 30-hour work week threshold. He has concerns about changes to Medicare proposed in the House-passed budgets in recent years. Abortion is a health care topic on which Rounds has taken a strong stance — he opposes it — and he anticipates the issue playing out at the state level.

He says he would have supported authority for the administration to provide weapons and training to fight the Islamic State, commonly called ISIS, but that long-term strategy is paramount. "I really think we should not be taken by surprise as those things come up," he says.

On immigration, Rounds sees potential for progress as long as border security is addressed first. He says illegal immigrants will eventually need to self-identify and then "get in the back of the line" to apply for citizenship.

#### WEST VIRGINIA

#### **Shelley Moore Capito, R**

Pronounced: CAP-ih-toe

Election: Defeated Natalie Tennant, D, to succeed Sen. Jay

Rockefeller, D. who retired Residence: Charleston

Born: Nov. 26, 1953; Glen Dale, W.Va.

Religion: Presbyterian

Family: Husband, Charles L. Capito Jr.; three children

Education: Duke U., B.S. 1975 (zoology); U. of Virginia, M.Ed. 1976 (counselor educa-

Career: University system information center director; college career counselor

Political highlights: W.Va. House, 1997-2001; U.S. House, 2001-present

Capito knows exactly how Washington works, having spent the past 14 years as a member of the House. She also has West Virginia politics in her blood as the daughter of former Gov. Arch A. Moore Jr. She is the first woman of either party to represent the state in the Senate and the first Republican in more than a half-century.

Even-keeled with a friendly demeanor and moderate voting record, she wants to take her time understanding the dynamics of the chamber and its rules before making waves.

Capito built up a portfolio in banking, financial regulation and financial markets in the state House and the U.S. House. Heading into the Senate, she cites her top three issues as energy, health care and congressional civility.

She has a good relationship with Democratic Sen. Joe Manchin III, and she was an early member of the House Civility Caucus.

On health care, she advocates measures to improve competition in services. And she wants to "keep what works, because some of it does work," in the 2010 health care overhaul — in particular, she notes that the law's expansion of Medicaid helps people in the more poverty-stricken areas of the state. But Capito says lawmakers should look at additional options, like selling insurance across state lines.

Where she really gets fired up is with coal. As she has in the House, Capito will be aggressive in challenging the EPA and what she perceives as unfairness in the Obama administration's approach toward coal. Capito backs an "all of the above" energy plan: "That's a jobs issue for me here. It is a wealth builder for our state in terms of being able to use our natural resources."

She opposes EPA regulation of greenhouse gases and implementation of any EPA regulations without extensive analysis of the economic impact of compliance.

In the House, her work on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee gave her some oversight over enforcement of the Clean Water Act, which affects mountaintop removal mining; in the Senate, she could find a seat on the Environment and Public Works Committee.

While energy pushes a lot of policy in West Virginia, there are other sectors Capito will need to look out for, and the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee could be a good platform transportation congestion and securing research and development funding for higher education institutions and federal contractors are pressing concerns for the Eastern Panhandle, which she represented in the House, and near Morgantown.



#### ALABAMA (6)

#### **Gary Palmer, R**

Election: Defeated Avery Vise, D, to succeed Rep.

Spencer Bachus, R, who retired Residence: Birmingham

Born: May 14, 1954; Hackleburg, Ala.

Religion: Christian

Family: Wife, Ann Palmer; three children

Education: Northwest Alabama Junior College, attended 1972-74; U. of Alabama, B.S. 1977 (operations manage-

Career: Think tank executive; industrial engineer Political highlights: No previous office

Ready to represent one of the most Republican House districts, Palmer displays no rough edges and no eccentricities. He's a solid, smooth conservative with exten-



sive private sector experience who says Jesus Christ and George Washington are his inspirational figures.

Palmer, who ran a think tank for decades, comes to Congress with a set of policy goals ranging from funding Social Security and Medicare with increased energy production out of oil shales and from the continental shelf to improved access to quality education.

"Open up our energy resources and set aside a portion of those royalties to make sure that Social Security is paid for, for everybody over age 50 or 55" and use that revenue to give Congress the time and political running room to reform the entitlement programs for younger people, Palmer says.

At the state level, he pushed a tax credit scholarship, linking dropout rates to incarceration rates. "Over 60 percent of our prison population are high school dropouts, regardless of race or gender," he says. The tax credit "creates a huge potential for a major improvement in the education outcome for students who, just by the virtue of the zip code they're living in, are confined to schools that are literally not [merely] dropout factories but inmate factories."

And regarding the influx of minors entering the United States illegally, he says, "We have to take care of the immediate needs they have. But I think we have to hold those nations accountable for how they treat their own citizens." Palmer strongly opposes "amnesty" for people already in the country illegally.

#### ARIZONA (2) TOO CLOSE TO CALL

#### Martha E. McSally, R

Election: Opposed Rep. Ron Barber, D

Residence: Tucson

Born: March 22, 1966; Warwick, R.I.

Religion: Christian Family: Single

Education: U.S. Air Force Academy, B.S. 1988 (biology);

Harvard U., M.P.P. 1990 Military: Air Force 1988-2010

Career: College instructor; Air Force officer

Political highlights: Sought Republican nomination for U.S. House (special election), 2012; Republican

nominee for U.S. House, 2012

McSally nearly beat Rep. Ron Barber in 2012, but if she's proved anything in her career it's that she's persistent - she fought the Air Force for the oppor-



tunity to be a fighter pilot, she fought the Defense Department over uniform requirements for female service members in the Middle East, and she rejected her party's platform position restricting women from serving in ground combat roles.

While combat leadership experience, knowledge of international affairs and national security issues, and thousands of jobs at military bases in her district would make the Armed Services or Foreign Affairs committees logical spots, McSally says her focus will be where her constituents most want it.

And she thinks that might be economic policy. McSally points out that even as she would work on passing and balancing budgets and reducing the regulations applicable to small businesses, she'd likely remain a go-to resource on national security topics.

Taking on the label Republican feminist, McSally also thinks her perspective on women's issues resonates. She notes that most women's veterans groups seek out Democratic advocates, "so I have been reaching out to the women and the men in our party and said this should be our issue."

McSally also supports equal pay policies. "I would write it differently than it's currently being written up, but we've got to address some of these things. Some of them are cultural, and you can't legislate them. But others are structural, so we have to make sure women can compete fairly and stop pretending that it's not still a problem, because it is."

#### ARIZONA (7)

#### Ruben Gallego, D

Election: Defeated Joe Cobb, Libertarian, to succeed

Rep. Ed Pastor, D, who retired

Residence: Phoenix

Born: Nov. 20, 1979; Chicago, III. Religion: Roman Catholic Family: Wife, Kate Gallego

Education: Harvard U., A.B. 2004 (government) Military: Marine Corps Reserve 2000-06

Career: Communications and public affairs consultant;

city council aide

Political highlights: Ariz. House, 2011-14 (assistant

minority leader, 2012-14)

Gallego says he has one big issue that he wants to address as a congressman - ensuring that other Americans get the same access to education that he credits with



helping him lift his family out of poverty.

He also says his family's background gives him personal insight into the immigration debate certain to continue into the 114th Congress.

The son of immigrants from Mexico and Colombia who was raised by a single mother, Gallego says he plans to focus on finding ways to make higher education more affordable, concentrating on the costs of public and private universities as well as access to student loans.

"I'm the first person from my family to go to college and all my sisters went to college," he says. "It's something that helped us get into the middle class and climb out of poverty. And I feel right now the cost of college is climbing so fast and so high that it's becoming an impossible dream for a lot of families."

Coming from a state House run by Republicans, Gallego said his strategy for working in the minority consists of finding consensus when possible and getting tough when

"I've always worked in the minority party," he said. "The way we did it was to focus on the common-ground things that needed to get done."

A former Marine, Gallego's tenure at the state level has included work on veterans' health care, tuition programs and Medicaid expansion.

He'll retain at least some close ties to Phoenix politics — his wife sits on the city council.

#### ARKANSAS (2)

Election: Defeated Patrick Henry Hays, D, to succeed Rep. Tim Griffin, R, who ran for other office

Residence: Little Rock

Born: Dec. 5, 1956; Little Rock, Ark.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Martha Hill; two children Education: Vanderbilt U., B.S. 1979 (economics) Career: Bank executive; White House aide; U.S. Treasury

Department aide; congressional aide Political highlights: No previous office

It's unsurprising that Hill has strong views about the central Arkansas economy, or that securities and federal fiscal policy are points of interest for him. And it's



unsurprising that he's a fiscal conservative.

A career in financial analysis led him from a regional banking powerhouse to the Senate Banking Committee, the Treasury Department and a job in the White House. Hill also advised former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee on his 2008 presidential campaign. He settled back in Arkansas, running an investment and private equity bank and taking part in local civic organizations.

Though Hill had never sought office before winning his House seat, he comes to Washington with a pragmatic understanding of the difficulties in passing sweeping legislation. On the topics he cares most about, he'd be willing to work on incremental changes to narrow portions of policy.

Tax and regulatory policies are particular targets for Hill. He has previously advocated lower taxes and elimination of the capital gains tax. Hill is also in favor of a balancedbudget constitutional amendment and a version of a presidential line-item veto.

Accountability in government agency programs fits in with Hill's vision of a smaller federal government with markedly reduced spending levels. And it relates directly to his positions on Social Security and Medicare, which he thinks can be strengthened by reducing waste, fraud and abuse.

Hill may never have run for office before, but he got his start in politics as a preteen riding his bike for Winthrop Rockefeller's successful gubernatorial campaign.

#### ARKANSAS (4)

#### Bruce Westerman, R

Election: Defeated James Lee Witt, D, to succeed Rep.

Tom Cotton, R, who ran for other office

Residence: Hot Springs

Born: Nov. 18, 1967; Hot Springs, Ark.

Religion: Southern Baptist

Family: Wife, Sharon Westerman; four children Education: U. of Arkansas, B.S. 1990 (biological and agricultural engineering); Yale U., M.F. 2001

Career: Agricultural engineer

Political highlights: Fountain Lake Board of Education, 2006-10; Ark. House, 2011-present (minority leader,

2012; majority leader, 2013-present)

Known around Arkansas for leading the first GOP majority in the state House since Reconstruction, Westerman has a good grasp on how to frame issues and no hesi-



tation about stepping in front of the camera.

He's willing to take charge on party agenda items, and Westerman also tries to bring tea party and establishment Republicans together on as many issues as he can. In the House, he'll have far less sway over the party's priorities than he did back home, and he knows he might not get his choice of committee assignment: Energy and Commerce.

Westerman would be able to look out for the local oil and natural gas interests from the Energy panel, but his district's reliance on timber and farming and his own background in management of agricultural plants and forest resources, makes the Natural Resources Committee another good fit.

Regardless of his committee assignments, Westerman is certain to call for reductions in federal government regulations. Based on his experience in the state legislature, he thinks too much money comes back to states with requirements from the federal government and in too many areas the feds create "hassles." According to Westerman, those hassles impede energy production, increase uncertainty in the provision of health care and unduly complicate the tax code.

Residents of the sprawling rural district put topics like food stamps, broadband connectivity, and farm products and exports high among Westerman's priorities. The Future Farmers of America creed has stuck with Westerman since he won an award as a teenager for reciting it.



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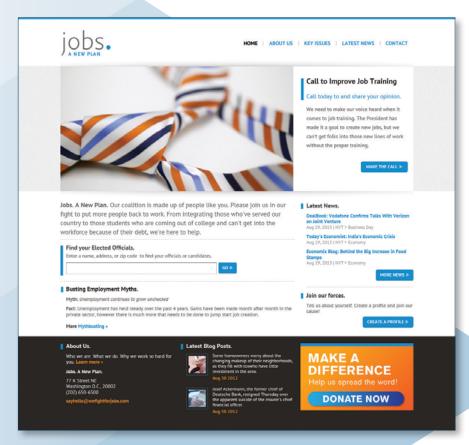
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#### CALIFORNIA (11)

#### Mark DeSaulnier, D

Pronounced: de-SAWN-yay

Election: Defeated Tue Phan, R, to succeed Rep. George

Miller, D, who retired Residence: Concord

Born: March 31, 1952; Lowell, Mass.

Religion: Roman Catholic Family: Divorced; two children

**Education:** College of the Holy Cross, B.A. 1974 (history) Career: Restaurateur; bartender; hotel doorman and clerk;

trucking company warehouse worker

Political highlights: Concord Planning Commission, 1988-90; Concord City Council, 1991-94; Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors, 1994-2006; Calif. Air Resources Board, 1997-2006; Calif. Assembly, 2006-08; Calif. Senate, 2008-present; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House (special election), 2009

A long tenure in local and statewide elected and civic positions, some of which he served in while a Republican, and a career in hospitality have given DeSaulnier a thick



portfolio on transportation, environmental and small-business issues.

And early on he took the advice of his predecessor in the House, Democratic Rep. George Miller, "that I should pick something I really enjoy working on personally so I can get through the things I might not enjoy so much. So disadvantaged communities has been a big part of that for me."

In the state Senate, DeSaulnier founded the bicameral and bipartisan Ending Poverty and Inequality in California (EPIC) Caucus, oriented toward determining a focus for investing in anti-poverty and economic-opportunity programs. The Financial Services Committee is one spot from which DeSaulnier thinks he could work on maintaining financial sector regulations, encouraging targeted anti-poverty activity by investors and dealing with the "real crisis" in affordable housing.

He ties his anti-poverty work to efforts to strengthen the middle class and facilitate movement into it — calling the current policy environment "transformative" regarding economic growth, income inequality and the functioning of democracy — and also to education policy, which he backs as "a long-term answer to both poverty and middle-class shortcomings and also employers getting people they can pay a good wage to."

DeSaulnier's past as a Republican doesn't stop him from describing himself as "very much a progressive."

#### CALIFORNIA (25)

#### Steve Knight, R

**Election:** Defeated Tony Strickland, R, to succeed Rep.

Howard "Buck" McKeon, R, who retired

Residence: Lancaster

Born: Dec. 17, 1966; Edwards Air Force Base, Calif.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Lily Knight; two children

Education: Antelope Valley College, A.A. 2006 (adminis-

tration of justice)

Military: Army 1985-87; Army Reserve 1987-93

Career: Police officer

Political highlights: Palmdale City Council, 2005-08; Calif. Assembly, 2008-12; Calif. Senate, 2012-present

A state legislator and veteran, Knight will launch his House career after chairing the Defense and Aerospace Committee in the California Senate and serving



on the governor's advisory military council.

Knight's state-level legislative work included bills supporting the aerospace industry and veterans' services. Those interests are in part driven by the region's specialized manufacturing sector - several major aerospace companies and defense contractors have operations in the district — and proximity to the nearby Edwards Air Force Base, where he was born.

As the son of an Air Force test pilot and with the personal experience of a several-year stint in the Army, Knight sees the Armed Services Committee as a prime assignment. The governor's council studied the Defense Department's plans for Base Realignment and Closure Commissions; Knight says about a future BRAC round, "I think that that would be one of the issues where I would take a leadership role like I have in California."

Knight also sees the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee as a spot where he could look out for the future development of the rapidly growing Antelope Valley.

He also served on the Public Safety Committee in the Senate, a fitting slot for a former police officer. "No matter if it's a local or a federal issue, everyone wants a safer community and a safer place for businesses to be and their kids to go to school."

Among his methods for communicating with constituents — in whom, as a native of the area, he expresses much pride – is the "Knight Vision" newsletter.

#### CALIFORNIA (31)

#### Pete Aguilar, D

Election: Defeated Paul Chabot, R, to succeed Rep.

Gary G. Miller, R, who retired

Residence: Redlands

Born: June 19, 1979; Fontana, Calif.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Alisha Aguilar; two children

Education: U. of Redlands, B.S. 2001 (government &

political science)

Career: Public affairs firm owner; credit union govern-

ment affairs executive; gubernatorial aide

Political highlights: Redlands City Council, 2006-present; Democratic candidate for U.S. House, 2012

Aguilar portrays himself as a reasonable, pragmatic problem-solver who will work to get federal money to spur economic growth in his high-poverty district. He



comes across not as an ideological crusader or gadfly but as a locally focused lawmaker who simply wants to get the most money he can out of Washington for his district.

His major goal for the Inland Empire is transportation and infrastructure — including projects to boost warehousing, logistics and cargo transportation sectors, which Aguilar sees as prime areas to promote local economic development. And despite flattening revenues from the gas tax, he thinks there are ways to revamp the federal tax code to remove what he sees are incentives for companies to invest abroad.

Poverty is a huge issue in the district, and federal assistance for water infrastructure and Community Development Block Grants will be high on Aguilar's agenda. His role, he says, is "taking advantage of those [federal programs], making sure that those opportunities have an advocate and a voice in Congress. Somebody sounding the bell."

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given his political background, Aguilar cites two former mayors in Congress as role models: Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein – "a role model for those of us who start in local government" - and Republican Rep. Paul Cook, a retired Marine Corps colonel from the neighboring 8th District. Aguilar called Cook "a decorated war veteran, someone who has fought for our country, and someone who I will disagree with very frequently, but someone who I can learn from, as well."

#### CALIFORNIA (33)

#### Ted Lieu, D

Pronounced: LOO

Election: Defeated Elan Carr, R, to succeed Rep. Henry A.

Waxman, D, who retired Residence: Torrance Born: March 29, 1969; Taipei,

Religion: Roman Catholic Family: Wife, Betty Chim; two children

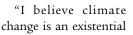
Education: Stanford U., A.B. 1991 (political science), B.S. 1991 (computer science); Georgetown U., J.D. 1994

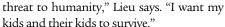
Military: Air Force 1995-99; Air Force Reserve 2000-present

Career: Lawyer

Political highlights: Torrance City Council, 2002-05; Calif. Assembly, 2005-10; sought Democratic nomination for Calif. attorney general, 2010; Calif. Senate, 2011-present

Representing Los Angeles glitz and ritzy enclaves down the coast, Lieu will be a reliably liberal vote in the House.





He will push for measures to encourage alternative energy use and raise the minimum wage. Lieu will also defend Social Security, Medicare and the 2010 health care overhaul. On Middle East policy, Lieu says he backs a two-state solution in Israel and believes Israel has "the absolute right to self-defense."

Lieu says he also wants to get involved in education policy to boost high-paying, hightech manufacturing jobs.

"We're never going to compete in America in very low-wage manufacturing jobs or lowwage jobs in general," he says. "We're not going to compete in America making socks. Vietnam is always going to beat us doing that."

He has his eye on the Judiciary Committee, which would give the Taiwan-born Lieu a front-seat on immigration policy. Noting some of California's recent legislation regarding those in the U.S. illegally, Lieu clarifies that "to do immigration reform right, you can't do it state by state."

It would also allow Lieu to work on intellectual property rights, a huge priority for his Hollywood-orbit constituents.

Though he will come to Capitol Hill with experience as an elected official, he says he won't come with a closed mind. "I try to be accessible. I always look at an issue by gathering as many facts as I can, and I always try to have an open mind," he says.

#### CALIFORNIA (35)

#### Norma J. Torres, D

Election: Defeated Christina Gagnier, D, to succeed Rep. Gloria Negrete McLeod, D, who ran for other office

Residence: Pomona

Born: April 23, 1965; Escuintla, Republic of Guatemala

Religion: Roman Catholic

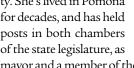
Family: Husband, Louis Torres; three children Education: Mount San Antonio College, attended 1999-00; Rio Hondo College, attended; National Labor College, B.A. 2012 (labor studies)

Career: Emergency dispatcher; plumbing supplies

company sales representative

Political highlights: Pomona City Council, 2000-2006; mayor of Pomona, 2006-08; Calif. Assembly, 2008-13; Calif. Senate, 2013-present

The state, local and personal define Torres' service to her community. She's lived in Pomona for decades, and has held posts in both chambers



mayor and a member of the city council, and as a 911 dispatcher for the Los Angeles Police Department.

Although she will be joining the minority party in Congress, Torres sees a lot of similarities between work she has done in the Assembly and what she hopes to accomplish in the House. She and her colleagues dealt with budget shortfalls and legislative gridlock "by working on issues that were about our communities and focusing on community issues, fighting for our communities versus fighting for our party."

Torres had success at the state level with getting anti-corruption measures passed into law, and she championed some efforts to address affordable housing needs and the foreclosure crisis. She also pushed through modernizations of emergency call services for cellphone users and worked on patient privacy issues related to 911 calls.

Describing the transition between working at the dispatch center — for years she had graveyard shifts taking calls and days working in city hall – and joining the Assembly, Torres pointed out an unusual symmetry: "I went from working four floors underground with no windows to the state Capitol, four floors above ground, still with no windows."

Immigration overhaul will be a personal issue for Torres, who was born in Guatemala and moved to California as a child. She strongly supports efforts to protect children who seek asylum.

#### CALIFORNIA (45)

#### Mimi Walters, R

Election: Defeated Drew E. Leavens, D, to succeed Rep. John Campbell, R, who retired

Residence: Laguna Niguel

Born: May 14, 1962; Pasadena, Calif.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Husband, David Walters; four children Education: U. of California, Los Angeles, B.A. 1984

(political science)

Career: Investment bank executive; shipping company

sales representative

Political highlights: Laguna Niguel City Council, 1997-2004; Calif. Assembly, 2004-08; Calif. Senate, 2008-present; Republican nominee for Calif. treasurer, 2010

After 10 years in the California legislature, Walters is looking forward to being in the majority.

"One thing I've learned is that you can't



advance your agenda or goals if you're in the minority." And she wants to try to push through some of the work she couldn't find traction on in the Assembly and state Senate, particularly where she sees opportunity to encourage job growth.

She was a vocal opponent of state regulations that she viewed as making California uncompetitive in attracting and keeping businesses. "We make it difficult with the permitting process. I want to make sure that doesn't happen when I get to Congress."

Regarding national issues, dependency on foreign energy sources is a big-ticket item for Walters. "America has enough energy here within our borders, but misguided government policies and environmental extremism prevent us from using those resources." She also blasts the 2010 health care overhaul as resulting in less affordable care, and says "we need to completely reform it."

With nearly two decades in public service at the local and state levels and a background in finance, Walters served on the state Senate's Appropriations and Budget panels. She also had a seat on the Public Employment and Retirement Committee, putting workforce issues on her agenda. Combating human trafficking is another of her priorities.

Walters describes herself as a textbook conservative: "I believe in limited government. I believe that people who work hard should be able to keep their money. I believe in lower taxes."

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#### COLORADO (4)

#### Ken Buck, R

Election: Defeated Vic Meyers, D, to succeed Rep. Cory Gardner, R. who ran for other office

Residence: Windsor

Born: Feb. 16, 1959; Ossining, N.Y.

Religion: Christian

Family: Wife, Perry Buck; two children

Education: Princeton U., A.B. 1981 (politics); U. of

Wyoming, J.D. 1985

Career: Construction company business adviser; federal

prosecutor; congressional aide; lawyer

Political highlights: Assistant U.S. attorney, 1990-2002; Weld County district attorney, 2005-present; Republican nominee for U.S. Senate, 2010

With a prosecutor's poise, Buck deftly directs questions about thorny policy questions back to the foundations of his platform. He comes to Congress with aspira-



tions of shrinking the influence of the federal government, streamlining federal regulations and hammering out an ironclad deficit reduction plan.

Spending cuts and a balanced-budget amendment fit in with his fiscal conservatism, and he cites serious room for improvement in the arenas of guest worker programs, banking and environmental regulations.

Buck would like to see lawmakers address border security, and some of his concerns about illegal immigration revolve around minors migrating to the U.S. from Central America. Enforcement of existing visa and employment regulations take a top priority for Buck, and he backs expansion of visa programs for high-skilled workers.

"The effects of Dodd-Frank [financial regulations] are just too overwhelming for small community banks to deal with," he argues, and "the burdens of the EPA have become overbearing." Federal lands management and wildfire prevention and response are perennial topics in Colorado, and Buck backs state control over lands within its borders.

Like many conservative Republicans, Buck, who has been open about his own recent experience with cancer, is committed to undoing the 2010 health care overhaul. "I now see that the threat is real and that it needs to be dealt with," he says.

His primary goal regarding U.S. relations with the Middle East is "making sure we don't have a safe haven for terrorists."

#### FLORIDA (2)

#### Gwen Graham, D

**Election:** Defeated Rep. Steve Southerland II, R

Residence: Tallahassee Born: Jan. 31, 1963; Miami, Fla.

Religion: Episcopalian Family: Husband. Steve Hurm: three children

Education: U. of North Carolina, B.A. 1984 (political

science); American U., J.D. 1988

Career: School district employee relations director;

lawyer; homemaker

Political highlights: No previous office

Graham, who worked for the local school system as a negotiator between employees and management, will be looking to reach out to residents in her largely



conservative district as well as to new colleagues in the House.

She adheres to the party's platform planks of a minimum wage increase, closing the gender pay gap and eliminating corporate tax breaks. But local concerns, including economic growth and veterans issues, likely will rise to the top of her agenda.

She's also interested in job training and vocational programs. There need to be options for those leaving the military, including from her district's Tyndall Air Force Base, to transition into the civilian workforce, she says.

While in the House, Graham plans to continue what she calls "work days," where she shadows employees at various jobs around her district, from barbershops to food trucks.

Expressing an interest in the Natural Resources Committee, Graham will keep an eye on water rights and on the oyster bays. Large forests, parks and waterways take up a lot of the footprint of the district, and there are many farms outside its population centers.

Public-private partnerships are one option for infrastructure development, and Graham would take a spot on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee with a view toward boosting overall employment.

Describing her family as "very engaged in public service" may undersell her name recognition in the Florida panhandle -Graham's father was a governor and threeterm U.S. senator, and her mother was wellknown as an adviser of his.

#### FLORIDA (26)

#### Carlos Curbelo, R

**Election:** Defeated Rep. Joe Garcia, D

Residence: Kendall

Born: March 1, 1980; Miami, Fla. Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife. Cecilia Lowell: two children

Education: U. of Miami, B.B.A. 2002 (political science).

M.P.A. 2011

Career: Public affairs and media relations firm owner;

congressional state director

Political highlights: Miami-Dade County School Board,

2010-present

After four years on the Miami-Dade County School Board, Curbelo is preparing a legislative agenda that would continue his work on education beyond K-12 and beyond Miami.



Curbelo would like to see a strong conservative movement in higher education policy, and he plans to push for an accountability system and to address students' debt and employment prospects post-graduation.

"Taxpayers aren't getting a good return on investment for the billions of federal dollars in funding provided to higher education every year," Curbelo says.

With aspirations of an eventual seat on the Ways and Means Committee, Curbelo's broader fiscal approach favors changes to the tax code that would eliminate what he identifies as costly loopholes and establish lower and flatter rates for individuals and a lower corporate tax rate.

"Our convoluted, oppressive tax code is a major inhibitor to growth and opportunity in our country," Curbelo said.

Beyond education and tax policy, Curbelo has his eye on a spot on Transportation and Infrastructure. He points to serious infrastructure and transportation needs in South Florida and said that one of his priorities on the panel would be ensuring that the region gets its "fair share of federal funding."

Foreign policy - regarding relations in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, as well as with Cuba - is a big issue for Curbelo.

Before joining the school board, Curbelo founded a media relations and lobbying firm. He also worked for former Republican Sen. George LeMieux.

#### GEORGIA (1)

#### E.L. "Buddy" Carter, R

Election: Defeated Brian Reese, D, to succeed Rep. Jack Kingston, R. who ran for other office

Residence: Pooler

Born: Sept. 6, 1957: Port Wentworth, Ga.

Religion: Methodist

Family: Wife, Amy Carter; three children

Education: Young Harris College, A.S. 1977; U. of Geor-

gia, B.S. 1980 (pharmacy)

Career: Pharmacy owner; pharmacist

Political highlights: Pooler Planning and Zoning Commission, 1989-93; Pooler City Council, 1994-95; mayor of Pooler, 1996-2004; Ga. House, 2005-09; Ga. Senate,

Holding city and statewide offices, Carter prided himself on a full commitment to cutting spending. He replaces an appropriator, Rep. Jack Kingston — but one who



was among the most fiscally conservative members of the panel. Carter looks to be a budget hawk in Kingston's mold.

"The economic issue of our time is the national debt," Carter says. In the state Senate, he voted in favor of reduced spending and opposed tax increases. He considers a "fair tax," championed by Georgia Republican colleague Rep. Rob Woodall, or a flat tax system preferable to the current code, and Carter backs a balanced-budget amendment.

As for many residents of the coastal southeast, waterways and cargo capability are important to Carter. He supports deepening the ports at Savannah and Brunswick; the longtime goal of politicians and businesses in the region is to attract larger ships, including those that will be coming through an expanded Panama Canal by early 2016.

In addition to his conservative stances on fiscal matters, Carter is emphatic in his position on immigration: he puts border security first and opposes any path to citizenship for those in the United States illegally.

His career as a pharmacist gives Carter insight into several areas of health care. He's particularly concerned about making available tax deductions for families with individual insurance plans. Regarding the 2010 health care overhaul: "Too many conservative politicians remained quiet and chose to sit on the sidelines rather than fight President Obama. That's not Buddy Carter's style."

#### GEORGIA (10)

#### Jody Hice, R

Election: Defeated Ken Dious, D, to succeed Rep. Paul Broun, R. who ran for other office

Residence: Monroe

Born: April 22, 1960: Atlanta, Ga. Religion: Southern Baptist

Family: Wife, Dee Dee Hice; two children

Education: Asbury College, B.A. 1982 (bible); Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, M.Div. 1986;

Luther Rice U., D.Min. 1988

Career: Pastor; religious broadcasting nonprofit founder Political highlights: Sought Republican nomination for

U.S. House, 2010

Hice swells the ranks of pastors in Congress, and he's not shy about his social conservatism or about his tea party credentials. He calls himself a "constitutional



conservative," and he backs a "fair tax" and a balanced-budget amendment.

Issues of government spending and transparency have Hice targeting the Oversight and Government Reform Committee. Hice. who has hosted a conservative talk radio show, also looks at the Judiciary Committee's jurisdiction over the First Amendment and other constitutional issues.

He became locally famous during a pulpitfreedom event in 2008, supporting the right of religious leaders to endorse political candidates. Before that, he had fought against removal of a Ten Commandments display from a county courthouse.

His calls for "regaining control" of the government include repealing the 2010 health care overhaul, cutting federal spending, repealing the federal income tax, abolishing the IRS and fighting against an immigration policy that "reward[s] illegal behavior with amnesty."

Border security comes first for Hice. "Our tradition is that we are a nation of immigrants, but we must not allow the pressure of illegal immigrants and their political supporters to subvert the rule of law. We must secure our borders and do so now."

Vocal about his socially conservative stands, Hice opposes abortion rights and same-sex marriage. A proponent of gun owners' rights, Hice's campaign site featured a free gun giveaway for a "His & Hers Concealed Carry Combination."

#### GEORGIA (11)

#### **Barry Loudermilk, R**

**Election:** Unopposed to succeed Rep. Phil Gingrey, R,

who ran for other office Residence: Cartersville

Born: Dec. 22, 1963: Riverdale, Ga.

Religion: Baptist

Family: Wife, Desiree Loudermilk; three children Education: Community College of the Air Force, A.A.S. 1987 (telecommunications technology); Wayland Baptist U., B.S. 1992 (occupational education and business)

Military: Air Force 1984-92

Career: Information technology systems executive;

construction worker

Political highlights: Bartow County Republican Party chairman, 2001-04; Ga. House, 2005-11; Ga. Senate, 2011-13

Saying his aim is nothing less than to "stop Washington's big government nightmare," Loudermilk should blend easily into the bloc of libertarian, confronta-



tional conservatives who have held sway over the House for the past four years.

Though he's been a county Republican chairman and spent most of the past decade as a state legislator, Loudermilk comes off much like a prototypical anti-establishment member of the tea party class of 2010.

He would repeal the 2010 health care law and oppose any form of legalization as part of an immigration overhaul. An oftenstated priority is protecting individual rights "to free speech, to carry a Bible, to pray at a football game, to purchase and carry a gun or to keep your personal communications private."

He favors mandating balanced budgets, turning over many federal functions to the states, abolishing the IRS and replacing the current tax code with a simpler system to bring in less revenue.

But he also says Congress should help interstate commerce by improving highways, ports and airports. He has not said how he would pay for those projects, but he wants to become the first Georgian on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee

To Hill veterans, one clue about Loudermilk's ideology and mettle was the biggest obstacle he conquered to get to Congress: a comeback bid by Bob Barr, one of the most combative House Republicans of the 1990s and the Libertarian presidential nominee in 2008.

#### GEORGIA (12)

#### Rick Allen, R

Election: Defeated Rep. John Barrow, D

Residence: Augusta

Born: Nov. 11, 1951; Augusta, Ga.

Religion: Methodist

Family: Wife, Robin Allen; four children

**Education:** Auburn U., B.S. 1973 (building construction) Career: Construction company owner; construction

company project manager

Political highlights: Sought Republican nomination for

U.S. House, 2012

Allen may not be the first to have suggested the idea of term limits for members of Congress, but he's serious enough about it to lead by example. The Augusta



businessman has self-imposed a four-term limit and thinks other legislators should be held to the same standard.

"I don't think our forefathers had in mind career politicians . . . and now it's a career," Allen says. "Anytime you get into a career and you're trying to keep your job, I don't think you can make the right decisions. Particularly when you've got a problem — a big problem you've got to fix."

He sees the slowly recovering American economy as a big problem comprising smaller ones: the 2010 health care overhaul, the Dodd-Frank financial regulatory overhaul, irresponsible spending and a burdensome tax code. All of these issues contribute, he says, to an environment that is inhospitable to the kind of private sector growth needed throughout the 12th District. And, "whatever's good for our district is good for the nation."

Taking on federal regulations will be the first step for him. "I know that Dodd-Frank is the worst piece of legislation for our banking industry. It's killing our banks. And that's the reason we can't get capital to our farmers and to our businesses," he says.

Likely to follow the party line on major legislation, Allen is confident in his abilities to work with House GOP leadership. But "that doesn't mean I'm going to give in to everything. I've got my values and I've got my boundaries, and I'm not going to go past that line, but frankly I think there's a lot of work that needs to be done."

#### HAWAII (1)

#### Mark Takai, D

Pronounced: tuh-KAI

Election: Defeated Charles K. Djou, R, to succeed Rep. Colleen Hanabusa, D. who ran for other office

Born: July 1, 1967: Honolulu, Hawaii

Religion: Christian

Family: Wife, Sami Taki; two children

Education: U. of Hawaii, B.A. 1990 (political science),

M.P.H. 1993

Military: Hawaii National Guard 1999-present Career: State public health program aide Political highlights: Hawaii House, 1994-2012 (vice

speaker, 2005-06)

Takai has already got an ally in the House: Illinois Democrat Tammy Duckworth, with whom he served in the student senate at the University of Hawaii. (It's also where he met his wife, Sami.)



Both Duckworth and Takai are Iraq War veterans; Takai, now a lieutenant colonel, has been a preventive medical officer in the Hawaii National Guard since 1999 and served in Kuwait.

He's kept an eye on veterans issues during his nearly two decades of service in the Hawaii House, where he spent two years as the No. 2 in Democratic leadership.

Takai wants to allow temporary replacements for lawmakers who are called to active duty; he worked with Duckworth on her bill to help military veterans more quickly gain certain licenses and certifications.

In 2012, he was one of the first residents of Hawaii to own a Nissan Leaf electric car, and he has sought more tax credits for electric-vehicle owners. He also had solar panels installed on his Aiea home.

On social issues, Takai is a bit less outspoken than some of his Democratic colleagues. He had been undecided on same-sex marriage until making a statement of support in October 2013.

"Like many people, especially elected officials, [my] feelings on this particular issue have evolved," he told The Honolulu Star-Advertiser. "My evolution just, I think, took some time."

Takai will add to the ranks of athletic members of Congress: He's a two-time high school All-American swimmer in the 100-yard breaststroke.

#### ILLINOIS (10)

#### Robert Dold, R

Election: Defeated Rep. Brad Schneider, D

Residence: Kenilworth

Born: June 23, 1969; Evanston, III.

Religion: Christian

Family: Wife, Danielle Dold; three children

Education: Denison U., B.A. 1991 (political science): Indiana U., J.D. 1996; Northwestern U., M.B.A. 2000

Career: Pest control company owner; Internet data storage company manager; congressional aide; White House aide

Political highlights: U.S. House, 2011-13; defeated for

re-election to U.S. House, 2012

Fiscal restraint and moderate social conservatism defined Dold's one term in the House as part of a freshman GOP class otherwise largely known for ardent antigovernment inclinations.



On the Financial Services Committee in the 112th Congress, he scrutinized new regulations from the 2010 financial overhaul. He said at the time, "I am not one of the guys who is going to say that we don't need regulations. We need regulations. We need to have smart regulations." Dold still carries with him concern for small businesses; he ran a pest control company for a decade.

Having already worked with some of the Republicans he'll be joining in the 114th Congress, and with an eye toward finding common ground with Democratic colleagues, Dold hopes to take on a significant reworking of the tax code and reduction of the national debt.

He is not a hard-liner on immigration. Dold backs women's access to contraceptives, raising the minimum wage and environmental preservation programs.

A repeated call to view all federal policy through a "21st-century lens" includes emphasizing science, technology, engineering and mathematics education and early childhood education. Another priority is reformulating a trajectory for health care after what he calls "an entrenched political exercise in which you're either 'for' or 'against' the Affordable Care Act" — which he voted to repeal in 2012, along with the entire GOP conference.

In the 112th, Dold backed free-trade agreements and reauthorization of the Export-Import Bank.



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#### ILLINOIS (12)

#### Mike Bost, R

Pronounced: BOST (like "cost") Election: Defeated Rep. Bill Enyart, D

Residence: Murphysboro

Born: Dec. 30, 1960; Murphysboro, III.

Religion: Southern Baptist

Family: Wife. Tracy Bost: three children **Education:** Murphysboro H.S., graduated 1979

Military: Marine Corps 1979-82

Career: Beauty salon owner; firefighter; trucking com-

pany dispatcher

Political highlights: Jackson County Board, 1984-88; Murphysboro treasurer, 1989-92; Republican nominee for III. House, 1992; Murphysboro Township Board of Trustees, 1993-97; III. House, 1995-present

Local and state elected official is a common background for members of Congress, but firefighter, truck driver and beauty shop owner isn't. Bost has all of the above.



He has spent most of his life in southern Illinois – the time away was during a few years in the Marine Corps after high school — and Bost will be looking out for the farmers and the small-business owners in his district. He touts a record of backing statelevel measures to address farmers' property and equipment tax concerns, and he would be able to push some of the same ideas from the Agriculture Committee in the House.

In the state House, Bost also was one sponsor of a comprehensive bill to expand and regulate hydraulic fracturing, the practice of shooting high-pressure fluid into the ground to recover oil and natural gas deposits. His support for fracking is based on the potential for both energy independence and job growth, especially in a region struggling with the long-term decline of the manufacturing sector.

He supports reduced federal spending, saying that "for too long, legislators went to Washington with a focus of 'how much to spend' instead of 'what to cut.' "

But Bost's categories of what could be cut do not include defense funding — he pledges to look out for Scott Air Force Base, which accounts for thousands of jobs in his district.

Bost supports gun owners' rights, and he strongly backed legislation permitting the concealed carrying of firearms statewide and precluding local ordinances that provide for additional restrictions on or registration of gun ownership.

#### IOWA (1)

#### Rod Blum, R

Pronounced: like "PLUM"

**Election:** Defeated Pat Murphy, D, to succeed Rep. Bruce Braley, D, who ran for the Senate

Residence: Dubuque

Born: April 26, 1955; Dubuque, Iowa

Religion: Episcopalian

Family: Wife, Karen Blum: six children

Education: Loras College, B.A. 1977 (business administration and finance); Dubuque U., M.B.A. 1989

Career: Software development company owner; software developer

Political highlights: Sought Republican nomination to U.S. House 2012

Limited government, self-reliance and personal responsibility, and a disciplined approach to achieve a balanced federal budget are at the center of Blum's vision.



Reducing federal spending by 1 percent each year for six years is Blum's favored way to achieve a balanced budget - and he thinks after the successive cuts get it there, the budget should stay balanced via a constitutional amendment. Whether the cuts are across the board or from specific programs is up for debate — one Blum says he'll be willing to have with anyone, regardless of party.

But striking funds for federal programs in general won't be a problem for Blum, who views most government activity as antithetical to the Constitution's precepts: "Unsustainable" spending will happen when the government puts itself forward as "the provider for nearly every conceivable human need." In reference to social welfare programs, Blum says he "despise[s] subjecting our fellow citizens to the soft bigotry of low expectations."

Blum's libertarian streak includes opposition to the NSA's data collection activities. But he takes a socially conservative stance on abortion rights, and says about the Medicare advisory board and health care decisions for the elderly that he is "100 percent pro-life from conception to the cradle to the grave."

He's a software entrepreneur who has never held elected office and doesn't value the idea of anyone making politics into a career. He will push for term limits, but won't "disadvantage" his district by pledging one for himself without his colleagues and future opponents also being subject to a limit.

#### IOWA (3)

#### **David Young, R**

Election: Defeated Staci Appel, D, to succeed Rep. Tom Latham, R. who retired

Residence: Van Meter

Born: May 11, 1968: Des Moines, Iowa

Religion: Lutheran Family: Single

Education: Buena Vista College, attended 1986-87;

Drake U., B.A. 1991 (English)

Career: Congressional aide; conservative media analy-

sis organization fundraiser; bank loan clerk Political highlights: No previous office

Young wants to be a "guardian and watchdog for the taxpayer," exercising oversight of federal spending.

He wants to serve on the Ways and Means or



Energy and Commerce committees, and the Oversight panel is an appealing assignment as well. But Young says he comes into the House "knowing that you can use that oversight from whatever committee you're on."

Young served as chief of staff to Sen. Charles E. Grassley, and he says his time as a staffer means he understands the rules of the game, including the complicated relationship between the executive and legislative branches.

"You may be an expert on policy, but if you don't know the rules you're kind of left out of the game," he says.

Although he admires his old boss and his own predecessor, Republican Rep. Tom Latham, Young is not trying to emulate anyone. "I'm just going to be me," he says. "I'm a happy warrior. I may not be as animated as some, but I am firm and passionate and ready to take on the issues."

Coming from Iowa, where agriculture and ethanol are important economic drivers, Young says energy policy needs attention, to make sure "renewable fuels are not left out of the equation" and to ensure that "the EPA isn't overstepping its bounds."

Young has seen congressional gridlock firsthand, but he says he hopes Congress will deal with the federal debt and entitlement program solvency. He says both parties need to "come to the table as honest brokers" to sort that out. And Young wants a spot at that table.

#### LOUISIANA (5) RUNOFF

#### James "Jamie" Mayo, D

Election: Advanced to runoff to succeed Rep. Vance McAllister, R, who was defeated in open primary

Residence: Monroe

Born: March 30, 1957; Mer Rouge, La.

Religion: Baptist

Family: Wife, Angela Mayo; two children

Education: Northeast Louisiana U., B.A. 1979 (business

administration)

Career: Insurance agent

Political Highlights: Democratic candidate for Monroe City Council, 1992; Monroe City Council, 1995-2001; mayor of Monroe, 2001-present; Democratic candidate

for U.S. House (special election), 2013

#### Ralph Abraham, R

Election: Advanced to runoff to succeed Rep. Vance McAllister, R, who was defeated in open primary

Residence: Mangham

Born: Sept. 16, 1954; Monroe, La.

Religion: Baptist

Family: Wife, Dianne Abraham; three children Education: Louisiana State U., D.V.M. 1980, M.D. 1994

Military Service: Army, 1986-89 Career: Physician; veterinarian Political Highlights: No previous office

Mayo touts his fiscal successes as the mayor of Monroe, and for nearly two decades in public office he has been pushing an agenda that links education policy to tackling unemployment.



One position Mayo sees for himself in the House is as a champion for the poor residents in his district.

"They just need help, and they can get that help with someone who is determined, who is committed and that can bring that bacon home," he said.

The 5th District has the lowest median household income in the state; the residents of northeast Louisiana could benefit from federal programs to expand broadband service in rural areas, as well as an expansion of Medicaid under the 2010 health care law.

"When you pay taxes, there should be a return," Mayo told the Monroe News-Star. "Our people are not getting the services they've earned by paying their own taxes." He points to regional development in the last decade to highlight the "big picture" successes of government investment.

Budget surpluses, a commitment to economic development and a generally fiscally conservative outlook define Mayo's executive track record. He says that he will back a balanced-budget amendment to the Con-

Mayo also tends to emphasize his fiscal record over his party affiliation. "I'm an independent-thinking Democrat who isn't a fan of the extreme right or left," he has said. And holding views too far off a centrist position, he says, will threaten future economic growth.

Stethoscopes and altimeters, animals and people - Abraham knows how to deal with them all. He is trained as a veterinarian, pilot and doctor.



He wants to add "legislator" to his résumé, although he insists it would be a short-term volunteer gig. He favors term limits, and he says citizens "should not pay a penny for representation" - he pledges to donate his congressional salary to charity.

Abraham hopes to "keep as much of the federal government out of our lives as possible," adding wryly, "as Louisianians we're quite capable of taking care of ourselves." He also believes that Americans already pay more than their "fair share" of taxes.

Abraham, a family practitioner, sees bureaucracy as a major obstacle to providing health care; he has cited his own frustrations with getting insurers to approve prescriptions and treatments for his patients. He does not want Louisiana to expand its Medicaid program under the 2010 health care overhaul.

He calls that law a "failure," but he says the Republican House's "all-or-nothing approach" to repealing it has also failed. He will support a piecemeal replacement of every element of the law, and he says there are other ways to improve health care, such as expanding the use of accountable care organizations. "You don't have to be a rocket scientist — I'm certainly not one — to know what works," he said.

He's not a rocket scientist, but his background is varied — in addition to his health care work, he has experience farming and in the military.

#### LOUISIANA (6) RUNOFF

#### **Edwin W. Edwards, D**

Election: Advanced to runoff to succeed Rep. Bill Cassidy, R, who ran for other office

**Residence:** Gonzales

Born: Aug. 7, 1927; Marksville, La. Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife. Trina Edwards: five children Education: Louisiana State U., L.L.B. 1949 Military: Navy Air Corps, 1945-46

Career: Lawver

Political highlights: Crowley City Council, 1954-62; La. Senate, 1964-65; U.S. House, 1965-72; governor, 1972-80; La. Supreme Court, 1980; governor, 1984-88, 1992-96

Making the runoff in this open but solidly Republican district will likely provide the coda for one of the most extraordinarily checkered and colorful careers in



modern American politics. That's evidenced by some of the ways in which Edwards would stand out in the House if he scores an upset.

At 87, he'd have nine years on the oldest person ever sworn in for the first time (Chicago Democrat James Bowler in 1953). He represented Cajun country in Congress from 1965 to 1972 - 42 years is a decade more than the longest gap between periods of service, a record held by Minnesota Democrat Rick Nolan. Edwards would also be the only member who had been a governor in three different decades, ever hosted a reality TV show about his family —"The Governor's Wife" lasted just three weeks on A&E – and ever been elected after spending eight-and-ahalf years in federal prison. (In 2000 he was convicted of extortion in connection with the distribution of casino licenses.)

It's impossible to quantify whether he'd set records for the member with the most gambling debt or the biggest repertoire of ribald jokes - although he's signaled willingness to try on both counts.

Edwards ran as a Blue Dog Democrat: fiscally conservative, socially tolerant, skeptical of the 2010 health care law but supportive of its Medicaid expansion, in favor of both enhanced civil rights protections and a robust oil and gas industry. But, unlike many moderates in his party, he has been upfront about not voting for President Barack Obama in 2008. Why? "Where I was at the time there were no voting machines."

#### Garret Graves, R

Election: Advanced to runoff to succeed Rep. Bill Cassidy, R, who ran for other office

Residence: Baton Rouge

Born: Jan. 31, 1972; Baton Rouge, La.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Carissa Graves; three children

Education: Alabama U., attended 1990-91; Louisiana Tech U., attended 1993-95; American U., attended 1996

Career: State coastal affairs agency director; congressional aide; civil engineering and construction company employee; mountaineering and outdoor education

Political highlights: No previous office

Tied into Louisiana politics from the governor's mansion to the halls of Congress, Graves will aim to represent the state's energy sector and join the Republican push to cut government spending.



Graves worked for Democratic Sen. John B. Breaux and Republican Rep. Billy Tauzin, and after his Hill career he was picked by Republican Gov. Bobby Jindal to run the state's coastal affairs department.

The low-lying 6th District has a lot of coastal concerns, such as restoration and preparing for hurricanes. Levees and infrastructure for flood control are a major issue. Graves says many decisions should be handled by the state and local communities, "to eliminate wasteful and time-consuming federal studies."

Reducing the effect of the federal government in general is important to Graves. He proclaims that "bureaucracy stifles innovation," and he will push for lower taxes and fewer regulations as a means of encouraging small-business growth. He says there are too many federal agencies — Graves takes particular aim at the Education Department and the Housing and Urban Development Department.

And he also rejects federal action on social issues. Graves opposes abortion, same-sex marriage and restrictions on gun owners' rights.

Oil and gas are huge in Louisiana, and Graves says "misguided policy decisions have handcuffed our ability to create thousands of jobs here at home and have instead created job growth in other countries." He backs the Keystone XL pipeline and offshore drilling.

#### MAINE (2)

#### **Bruce Poliquin, R**

Election: Defeated Emily Cain, D, to succeed Rep. Michael H. Michaud, D, who ran for other office

Residence: Oakland

Born: Nov. 1, 1953; Waterville, Maine

Religion: Roman Catholic Family: Widowed; one child

Education: Harvard U., A.B. 1976 (economics) Career: Real estate company owner; pension invest-

ment management firm adviser

Political highlights: Sought Republican nomination for governor, 2010; Maine treasurer, 2011-12; sought Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, 2012

Poliquin preaches fiscal discipline, a position derived from a career in investment banking and real estate development and a stint as Maine's treasurer.



Citing decades' worth of local businesses closing, Poliquin looks to an overhaul of the tax code. And he says that lower tax rates and reduced federal spending would benefit the national economy as well as local companies. Poliquin is concerned about how to keep young residents in Maine and employed.

The sprawling 2nd District is largely rural; energy resources, heating oil and electricity rates are big issues for individuals and businesses. Poliquin's term as treasurer included a push to expand natural gas pipelines. He supports increased production of natural gas nationally and use of nuclear power and hydropower plants locally.

In addition to an interest in the Financial Services Committee, Poliquin would take a spot on the Veterans' Affairs Committee because "the VA obviously has some real problems that need to be fixed." He also considers himself and his district a natural fit for the Small Business Committee — he says most of the businesses in the district employ fewer than 20 people.

Taking a generally socially conservative stance, Poliquin opposes abortion rights, strongly supports gun owners' rights and would like to shrink federal welfare programs: "We need to make sure that we save our public assistance programs for our families who really need it. . . . We need to make sure that we help our families become independent and live better lives and not trap them in poverty and government programs."

#### MASSACHUSETTS (6)

#### Seth W. Moulton, D

Election: Defeated Richard Tisei, R, to succeed Rep. John F. Tierney, D, who was defeated in a primary

Residence: Salem

Born: Oct. 24, 1978; Salem, Mass.

Religion: Christian Family: Single

Education: Harvard U., A.B. 2001, M.B.A. 2011, M.P.P.

2011

Military: Marine Corps 2002-08

Career: Health care services management consultant;

high-speed rail company executive Political highlights: No previous office

Combat experience and progressive politics fuel Moulton's drive to serve veterans' health and mental health needs: "We need to fundamentally reform the VA to



create a 21st-century system for 21st-century veterans."

His background as a native of northeastern Massachusetts puts unemployment, local school performance and federal investment in innovation high on Moulton's list of policy issues. And those issues are linked in his plan to ensure a well-trained workforce, overhaul tax policy to simplify the tax code and improve his district's transportation infrastructure.

His interest in transportation goes beyond repairing roads and bridges; he worked for a year on high-speed rail development in Texas and hopes to extend and introduce green technology to commuter rail service in the metropolitan Boston area.

He strongly supports federal marriage equality, as well as equal pay for women and abortion rights. Moulton's plan for early education pushes universal pre-K programs "to ensure every child enters kindergarten with the same preparation," and he pledges to take a personal role in tracking and assisting struggling schools in his district.

A college mentor supported Moulton's decision to join the Marines, and after serving multiple tours of duty in Iraq, Moulton went back to Harvard to earn two graduate degrees. He is 36 and had never run for public office before defeating an incumbent in a primary – in fact, Moulton says, "I'm not cynical about our ability to have true leadership in Congress."

#### MICHIGAN (4)

#### John Moolenaar, R

Election: Defeated Jeff Holmes, D, to succeed Rep.

Dave Camp, R, who retired Residence: Midland

Born: May 8, 1961; Midland, Mich.

Religion: Christian

Family: Wife, Amy Moolenaar; six children Education: Hope College, B.A. 1983 (chemistry); Har-

vard U., M.P.A. 1989

Career: Charter school administrator; business development director; chemist; state legislative aide

Political highlights: Sought Republican nomination for Mich. Senate, 1990; Midland City Council, 1997-2000; Mich. House, 2003-09; Mich. Senate, 2011-present

A fiscal hawk who was vice chairman of the Appropriations Committee in the state Senate, Moolenaar could find himself at odds with GOP leadership in the House, espe-



cially as votes regarding the debt limit loom.

And he is leaving his options open: "I'm going to be fighting for significant reforms for our spending problems and want to move the ball forward significantly on that front before the raising of the debt ceiling, but at the end of the day we need to pay our bills."

As he pledges to work to reduce the federal debt, Moolenaar expresses concern about "ways to keep our commitment to our veterans and also prioritize national security within an overall framework of recognizing that we have a spending problem."

Military and veterans issues have been important to Moolenaar personally as well as politically: Two of his sons have a military background.

His classic fiscal conservatism includes pledges to take on overhauls of tax and regulatory policy. He replaces Republican Rep. Dave Camp, who proposed significant changes from the helm of the Ways and Means Committee, and Moolenaar sees the need for a new structure "to make our country more attractive to investment."

Moolenaar will also look out for the many constituents in his largely rural district who rely on agriculture. A broad immigration overhaul is not likely on his list of priorities, but he's open to discussing visa options for seasonal workers. "But I think before you talk about reforms you need to have confidence that the borders are secure and that we aren't offering amnesty," he said.

#### MICHIGAN (8)

## Mike Bishop, R

**Election:** Defeated Eric Schertzing, D, to succeed Rep. Mike Rogers, R, who retired

Residence: Rochester

Born: March 18, 1967; Almont, Mich.

Religion: Congregationalist

Family: Wife, Cristina Bishop: three children

Education: Michigan State U., attended 1985-86; U. of Michigan, B.A. 1989 (history); Detroit College of Law, J.D. 1993

Career: Lawyer; real estate company owner

Political highlights: Republican nominee for U. of Michigan Board of Regents, 1996; Mich. House, 1999-2003; Mich. Senate, 2003-11 (majority leader, 2007-11); Republican nomination for Mich. attorney general, 2010; Republican nominee for Oakland County prosecutor, 2012

A lifelong Michigander, Bishop says his career in law and business and his experience as a state legislator have prepared him to take principled stances on the role of the federal government.



"I can clearly identify good public policy from bad."

Bishop's key priorities are federal spending, debt and budgeting. He also supports a flat-tax system. He worked in a state legislature that has a balanced-budget requirement, "which was always my backstop. You know we can't be like the federal government, kick it down the road."

And he says the current federal debt situation "is a crisis that eclipses everything else."

He sees value in a "hands off" approach to government, especially regarding activity that can be classified as commercial. "I believe in the yellow pages test that if you look in the yellow pages and the private sector provides that service, the government shouldn't be involved in it or [should] at least rethink their position on it."

And that philosophy suits him well, as he would like to repeal the 2010 health care overhaul.

"Obamacare didn't do what it was supposed to do. [It] was supposed to address the cost of health care, and all it did was decide who's going to pay for it. And that just created a far bigger problem."

Bishop's background as a lawyer and in the financial sector might be a good fit right away for either the Judiciary Committee or the Financial Services Committee; he hopes eventually to join the Energy and Commerce or Ways and Means committees.

## MICHIGAN (11)

## **Dave Trott, R**

Election: Defeated Bobby McKenzie, D, to succeed Rep. Kerry Bentivolio, R who was defeated in a primary

**Residence:** Birmingham

Born: Oct. 16, 1960: Birmingham, Mich.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Kathleen "Kappy" Trott; three children

Education: U. of Michigan, B.A. 1981 (political science &

communication); Duke U., J.D. 1985

**Career:** Lawyer; property title insurance firm owner;

congressional aide

Political highlights: Bingham Farms Village Council, 1989-91; Mich. State Building Authority Board of Trustees. 2011-present

Relatively private and proud of his relationships with business competitors, Trott will burst into the House ready to take on the federal budget and regulatory policy.



He anticipates translating his 30 years' experience in the private sector into forging relationships with colleagues in the Capitol.

"I know Washington is a lot different," he says, but he will stick with his personality and leadership style in running a real estate finance law firm: "Even my competitors consider me someone that works with integrity and honesty and is able to work with people."

His first order of business will be to work on a measure from the 113th Congress that would require agencies to report on and analyze the impact of proposed rules. The scope of government regulations in general is a major concern for Trott, who opposes the 2010 health care and financial regulatory overhaul laws.

Regarding the health care law, repealing the Affordable Care Act is "the best scenario because I just don't have any confidence that the government can manage one-sixth of our economy." He expects the long-term effects of the law to be "an unmitigated mess of bureaucracy."

Trott says his background in real estate and his interest in finance and banking would be a good fit on the Financial Services Committee.

He remembers fondly a stint working for Rep. William S. Broomfield, the longtime Republican who represented part of Trott's suburban Detroit district: "I went to [Foreign Affairs] committee meetings with the congressman, which was fascinating to me."

#### MICHIGAN (12)

## **Debbie Dingell, D**

Election: Defeated Terry Bowman, R, to succeed Rep. John D. Dingell, D, who retired

Residence: Dearborn

Born: Nov. 23, 1953: Detroit, Mich. Religion: Roman Catholic Family: Husband, John D. Dingell

Education: Georgetown U., B.S.F.S. 1992, M.A. 1998

(liberal studies)

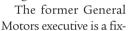
Career: Nonprofit executive; lobbyist; college student

services assistant

Political highlights: Wayne State. U. Board of Gover-

nors, 2007-present

Few freshman lawmakers have spent as much time close to power and influence as Dingell.





ture in Michigan and Washington politics, a member of the Democratic National Committee, chairwoman of the Wayne State University Board of Governors and is married to the longest-serving member of Congress in history, Democratic Rep. John D. Dingell, whom she will succeed in representing the 12th District.

"I'm proud to be Mrs. John Dingell, but I very much have my own accomplishments," she told People magazine in 1986, five years after the two wed.

A descendant of an owner of Fisher Body, a company that helped frame the Detroit auto industry, and a lobbyist for GM when the two met in 1977, she stopped lobbying after their engagement, when he was the Energy and Commerce Committee chairman.

She stayed at GM until taking a buyout in 2009. Dingell stayed active in policy discussions through her positions as president of D2 Strategies and chairwoman of the Manufacturing Initiative of the American Automotive Policy Council.

Asked what committee assignments interest her, she demurred, wary of what it might look like to advocate for a plum assignment given her relationships and work history.

"I think that's a unique question for a person like me," she said. "I'm going to work hard with the Democratic leadership" to find an appropriate slot. "I want everyone to know how hard I work."

#### MICHIGAN (14)

## **Brenda Lawrence, D**

Election: Defeated Christina Barr, R, to succeed Rep. Gary Peters, D, who ran for other office

Residence: Southfield

Born: Oct. 18, 1954; Detroit, Mich.

Religion: Christian

Family: Husband, McArthur Lawrence; two children **Education:** U. of Detroit, attended 1971-72; Central Michigan U., B.S. 2005 (public administration)

Career: Postal service human resources investigator;

letter carrier

Political highlights: Southfield School Board of Education, 1992-96; Southfield City Council, 1996-00; mayor of Southfield, 2002-present; Democratic nominee for Oakland County executive, 2008; Democratic nominee for lieutenant governor, 2010; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 2012

A liberal Democrat, Lawrence has years of experience with issues common to mayors running large suburbs in metropolitan areas as well as with issues common to



southeastern Michigan in particular.

Lawrence has been in a congressional committee hearing room before, testifying as a representative of the nation's mayors regarding the foreclosure crisis and also speaking about the auto industry. She also worked with Mayors Against Illegal Guns to curb gun violence.

Her concerns about major infrastructure projects for her region go beyond understanding the impact of property tax revenue, the need for mass transit and encouraging businesses to move to the area; she is focused on protecting water supplies from environmental hazards. Lawrence would "love" to join the Transportation panel.

She also could end up on the Education and the Workforce Committee. Starting with service on the local school board, Lawrence has pushed the idea that "education is key to fight poverty." She advocates post-secondary models that push opportunities other than four-year colleges. "We need to embrace vocational education as a way to build our economy and create jobs."

Lawrence also looks ahead to major debates about immigration policy. Recognizing the ethnic diversity in the Detroit area and known in Southfield for having worked across race and religion lines to form coalitions — she pledges that "how we are making a pathway to citizenship in America is going to be important to me, because that's my constituency."

## MINNESOTA (6)

## Tom Emmer, R

Election: Defeated Joe Perske, D, to succeed Rep.

Michele Bachmann, R. who retired

Residence: Delano

Born: March 3, 1961: South Bend, Ind.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Jacquie Emmer; seven children Education: Boston College, attended 1979-80; U. of Alaska, B.A. 1984 (political science); William Mitchell

College of Law, J.D. 1988 Career: Lobbyist; lawyer

Political highlights: Independence City Council, 1995-2002; Delano City Council, 2003-04; Minn. House, 2005-11; Republican nominee for governor, 2010

Staunchly conservative. Emmer is confident and voluble with a big personality. In a state with a well-established moderate wing of the GOP, he replaces another



conservative Republican known for strong statements about the role of the federal government, Michele Bachmann.

As both a state representative and gubernatorial candidate, Emmer backed a constitutional amendment designed to exempt Minnesota from federal laws until actively approved by a supermajority of state legislators. His goal is "making government a resource — not a restraint — for individuals and businesses."

After losing the 2010 race for governor, Emmer spent several years hosting a local morning radio show. It gave him an audience for his views on politics and current events.

Emmer holds unwaveringly to socially conservative stances on gun owners' rights, gay marriage and abortion. He says economic issues will be his primary focus in the House and pledges to restrict government activity, cut taxes and reduce federal spending.

He served briefly in a leadership post in the Minnesota House - he stepped down and later lost a bid for GOP caucus leader - and his committee memberships during his tenure included the Governmental Operations, Reform, Technology and Elections Committee and the Finance Committee.

Professionally he's hung out his own shingle as a lawyer, and he's served on local city councils and in the Minnesota House. Personally he relishes time he's spent on the ice - he played hockey in college and as an amateur.

## MONTANA (AL)

## Ryan Zinke, R

Election: Defeated John Lewis, D, to succeed Rep. Steve

Daines, R. who ran for other office

Residence: Whitefish

Born: Nov. 1, 1961: Bozeman, Mont. Religion: Lutheran - Missouri Synod Family: Wife, Lolita Zinke; three children

Education: U. of Oregon, B.S. 1984 (geology); National U., M.B.A. 1991; U. of San Diego, M.S. 2003 (global

leadership)

Military: Navy 1985-2008

Career: Navy officer; technology consulting company

owner

Political highlights: Mont. Senate, 2009-11; sought Republican nomination for lieutenant governor, 2012

None of his colleagues will have shared his path to Congress, but Zinke will have no trouble fitting in as a member of the Republican conference team. Division I



football and a career as a Navy SEAL gave Zinke a well-tested perspective on how he likes to get things done.

"If at times that team calls for leading from the front on issues of merit, I will certainly do that. If at times it calls for pushing the group from behind, that is fine, too. To me it is less about the individual and more about purpose," he says.

For Zinke, the purpose is very clearly to shrink the size of the federal government to what he views as the scope originally intended by the Constitution.

"I understand that, as a freshman, influence is limited. [But] my goal is to move the needle."

Supporting a balanced budget amendment, Zinke emphasizes accountability measures for federal agencies.

Representing Montana, Zinke will target natural resources policy and transportation issues. Trained as a geologist, he hopes to offer insight to coal, oil and natural gas development. Renewable energy sources and hydro- and biofuel options are part of Zinke's plan for energy policy, but he strongly opposes any industry subsidies.

The Armed Services Committee would also be an obvious fit for Zinke in the House.

A native Montanan who grew up with a strong hunting tradition, Zinke opposes federal gun ownership and purchase registries and strongly supports expanded gun owners' rights.

## NEBRASKA (2)

## **Brad Ashford, D**

Election: Defeated Rep. Lee Terry, R

Residence: Omaha

Born: Nov. 10, 1949; Omaha, Neb.

**Religion:** Lutheran

Family: Wife, Ann Ferlic; three children

Education: Gustavus Adolphus College, attended 1967-68; Colgate U., B.A. 1971 (history); Creighton U., J.D. 1974

Career: Lawyer

Political highlights: Neb. Commission of Industrial Relations, 1984-86; Neb. Legislature, 1987-94; sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 1994; Neb. Legislature, 2007-present; independent candidate for mayor of Omaha, 2013

Ashford, who has switched parties more than once in his political career, touts his "independent" and "pragmatist" views. In early 2014 he told the Omaha



World-Herald that he "borrow[s] from both parties on issues." He was a Democrat in the mid-1980s, then a Republican during most of his two stints in the Nebraska legislature before running for mayor of Omaha as an independent in 2010 and then winning his U.S. House seat as a Democrat.

He may have changed which column his name appeared in, but Ashford has a signature issue from his tenure as a state senator: prison overcrowding. Most recently, Ashford served as chairman of the Judiciary Committee and called for a special session to address criminal and administrative issues with the state's Department of Correctional Services.

He also has taken an outspoken position on gay rights, particularly in marriage and anti-discrimination contexts. He favored a statewide referendum on a constitutional ban and was open to debates regarding an option for civil unions, but he supports same-sex marriage. He also supports equal-pay measures.

Among other issues he's taken on while serving as a legislator, a comprehensive federal immigration overhaul has gotten most of the headlines. Ashford also backs abortion rights generally but has voted for some restrictions, and he supports Medicaid expansion but says he would have voted against the 2010 health care overhaul.

Outside of his legislative work, Ashford is a lawyer and has experience with housing and labor policy.

#### NEVADA (04)

## Cresent Hardy, R

Election: Defeated Rep. Steven Horsford, D

Residence: Mesquite

Born: June 23, 1957; St. George, Utah

Religion: Mormon

Family: Wife, Peri Hardy; four children Education: Dixie College, attended 1975-76

Career: Contracting company owner; city public works

director; construction worker

Political highlights: Virgin Valley Water District Board of Directors, 1990-96; Mesquite City Council, 1997-2002;

Nev. Assembly, 2011-present

Hardy points to his experience running a contracting company as the foundation for his fiscally conservative values of small government and self-reliance.



A hunter and fisherman, he says growing up in a farming community instilled in him a work ethic he applies to business dealings. He believes Washington should live within its means and supports low taxes and a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution.

Beyond essential services - like national defense, infrastructure and helping only the most needy citizens — Hardy says the federal government should leave most functions to states and localities.

But even state government should serve a limited role, he says. "My roots go back to taking care of your family, your own, your neighbors," he told the Las Vegas Review-Journal in 2010 ahead of joining the Nevada Assembly. "I think we give up a lot of freedom when we start building a government to take care of everything for us."

This year, Hardy even said he agreed with Mitt Romney's controversial 2012 comment that 47 percent of Americans would vote for President Barack Obama no matter what, because they were dependent on government.

"Can I say that without getting in trouble?" Hardy said, drawing the ire of critics. "The 47 percent is true. It's bigger now."

On other issues, Hardy touts his work on meeting infrastructure needs, including on storm drain and flood control projects and a wastewater treatment facility. He says he was even himself a worker on widening the canyon road for Hoover Dam.

#### **NEW HAMPSHIRE (1)**

## Frank Guinta, R

Pronounced: GIN (sounds like "grin")-ta Election: Defeated Rep. Carol Shea-Porter, D

Residence: Manchester Born: Sept. 26, 1970; Edison, N.J. Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Morgan Guinta; two children

Education: Assumption College, B.A. 1993 (political science & philosophy); Franklin Pierce Law Center, M.I.P. 2000 Career: Political and business strategy consultant; campaign and congressional district aide; insurance and risk management consultant; insurance claims manager

Political Highlights: N.H. House, 2000-02; Manchester Board of Mayor and Aldermen, 2002-06; mayor of Manchester, 2006-10; U.S. House, 2011-13; defeated for

re-election to U.S. House, 2012

Guinta plans on using his experience from a one-term stint in the House to ensure he gets in on conversations about the economy.



He's willing to join any committee the Republican leadership assigns

him — "I want to serve where the conference thinks I can be most helpful" - and Guinta will likely continue his record of voting with a majority of his GOP colleagues. A return to the Financial Services panel

would fit his background in insurance and his support of a tax code overhaul. In his first trip to the House, Guinta argued in favor of replacing the current tax code with a flat tax, but acknowledged that such a drastic change was unlikely to get immediate traction.

Coming back, "understanding how Congress works, my approach probably would be smaller - pieces of legislation as opposed to one large piece of legislation."

On the topic of inversions, he calls out the corporate tax code for not being competitive internationally.

Before switching to Financial Services toward the end of the 112th Congress, Guinta had served on the Budget Committee as well as the Oversight and Government Reform Committee and its subcommittee dealing with TARP and financial services.

One specific area where he thinks he could partner with Democrats is on mental health issues. Guinta would like to work on identifying challenges that could have a federallevel solution, and says that Democratic Rep. Tim Ryan of Ohio — the two of them served on the Budget Committee together and both attended the same law school - would be a potential ally in that cause.

## **NEW JERSEY (1)**

## **Donald Norcross, D**

Election: Defeated Garry W. Cobb, R, to succeed Rep.

Robert E. Andrews, D. who resigned

Residence: Camden

Born: Dec. 13, 1958: Camden, N.J.

Religion: Lutheran

Family: Wife, Andrea Doran; three children Education: Camden Community College, A.S. 1979

(criminal justice)

Career: Union representative; electrician

Political highlights: N.J. Assembly, 2010; N.J. Senate,

2010-present

Norcross considers his transition to Congress the next step in a lifelong history of representing others — he says speaking for constituents is just like giving a voice to workers.



He spent the majority of his professional life in organized labor — he describes himself as an "electrician with a tie" — and prioritizes workers' issues. Norcross wants to see a federal minimum wage increase, and cites the New Jersey minimum wage law, which ties wages to inflation rates, as a potential guide.

In the state Senate, Norcross sponsored several bills related to veterans, including measures to provide incentives for employers to hire former service members and in-state tuition at New Jersey schools to veterans.

Making college more affordable is another of Norcross' goals, as is a general emphasis on education. "It shouldn't matter what ZIP code you were born into for the quality of your education."

Access is also a big theme in his approach to health care. He supports the 2010 overhaul, recognizing that "there are clearly fixes that need to be made to Obamacare so that those seeking medical help have the opportunity to have it no matter where they live."

Several House committees' portfolios could fit in well with his experience. He'd be "honored" to serve on the Veterans Affairs Committee, and he could continue some of his military affairs work from the state Senate on the Armed Services panel. The Transportation Committee would be a prime assignment for his infrastructure-heavy district. And he says as an electrician, he could find room on the Energy Committee.

## NEW JERSEY (3)

## Tom MacArthur, R

Election: Defeated Aimee Belgard, D, to succeed Rep.

Jon Runvan, R. who retired Residence: Toms River

Born: Oct. 16, 1960: Hebron, Conn.

Religion: Episcopalian

Family: Wife, Debbie MacArthur; three children (one

deceased)

**Education:** Hofstra U., B.A. 1982 (history) Career: Insurance company executive

Political highlights: Randolph Township Council,

Taking a measured and moderate approach to issues like health care, immigration and federal spending, MacArthur lets his various life experiences guide him.



He and his wife spent years caring for one of their children, a daughter born with a congenital brain malformation. MacArthur says her health struggles and eventual death at age 11 "was a terrible experience. But it also shaped me a great deal and I believe we can balance conservative, common-sense, market-based principles and compassion for people who need it in times of help."

MacArthur sees a role for the federal government in the provision of health care, but the 2010 overhaul is not it — he does not believe in a "one-size-fits-all government health care program." A career in the insurance industry has left him with a vision of interstate sale of insurance, employer pooling, tort reform and state programs for the uninsured.

Local needs, with which MacArthur gained familiarity on the town council, will likely take top billing. Infrastructure projects — for roads, power plants and rail lines — are another area where he sees the need for federal involvement. And he will look out for Joint Base McGuire-Dix-Lakehurst and the tens of thousands of military and civilian jobs affiliated with it, as well as push for a new veterans' hospital, flexibility in care for veterans and an overhaul of the VA system.

Given the base's importance to the district, MacArthur's goal is the Armed Services Committee. The Natural Resources panel would position him well to support recreational and commercial fishing interests in the area and influence conservation policy.

## NEW JERSEY (12)

## **Bonnie Watson Coleman, D**

Election: Defeated Alieta Eck, R, to succeed Rep Rush

D. Holt, D. who retired **Residence:** Ewing Township Born: Feb. 6, 1945; Camden, N.J.

Religion: Baptist

Family: Husband, William Coleman; one child, two

stepchildren

Education: Rutgers U., attended; Thomas Edison State

College, B.A. 1958 (social sciences & history) Career: State civil rights office director

Political highlights: N.J. Assembly, 1998-present (majority leader, 2006-09, 2014); N.J. Democratic Party

chairwoman, 2002-06

The first black woman to represent New Jersey, Watson Coleman has a long history of holding political office and had a career working for state government agencies.



She comes to the House from the state Assembly, in a seat once held by her father and where she has served in party leadership positions for nearly a decade.

Her approach to politics is straightforward: "I am an activist legislator."

She will join the Congressional Black Caucus, the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues and the Congressional Progressive Caucus in order to make sure "that we don't lose the fights and battles that we've already won, whether or not it was women's access to health care and birth control, whether or not it's voting rights, rights to affordable education for minorities and for women."

Watson Coleman has her sights on the Education and the Workforce Committee. Labor unions and public education policy are important to the working-class constituents in her district; and her positions on social issues fit in well with its liberal communities, especially those around Princeton University. Her Assembly seat and her House district have significant overlap.

Her district also takes in the state Capitol, which aligns neatly with Watson Coleman's attention to "fair governance" and pushing the role of government in improving the quality of life for the poor and the elderly.

Her father, whom she says was "more of a public servant than a politician," expected Watson Coleman or one of her brothers to follow him to the Assembly. "And we all said 'noooo,' but, famous last words."

#### NEW YORK (1)

## Lee Zeldin, R

**Election:** Defeated Rep. Timothy H. Bishop, D

Residence: Shirley

Born: Jan. 30, 1980; East Meadow, N.Y.

Religion: Jewish

Family: Wife, Diana Zeldin; two children

Education: State U. of New York, Albany, B.A. 2001 (political science); Albany Law School, J.D. 2003

Military: Army 2003-07; Army Reserve 2007-present Career: Lawyer; regional transportation and infrastruc-

ture agency lawyer; military prosecutor

Political highlights: Republican nominee for U.S. House,

2008; N.Y. Senate, 2011-present

Zeldin has his eye on the "fiscal insanity that is plaguing Congress" and espouses both Republican priorities and the need for the parties to collaborate in a divided government.



Partisan rhetoric prevents anything productive from getting done in Washington, he says. He notes that he's conservative but knows it's "vitally important" to work with people from the other party when you share power.

He opposes the 2010 health care law, though there are components he supports, and says he thinks Republicans have to advance their own solutions - a discussion he says he wants to be part of. For the most part, he says, the law has been a failure.

It's also "pretty outrageous" that Congress has only passed one federal budget since 2007, and Zeldin pushes for accountability measures to ensure budgets every year. Funding the government through continuing resolutions is not healthy, he says.

Zeldin took up veterans' issues in the state legislature and thinks the federal government could be doing more for veterans' mental health needs and decreasing the backlog of disability claims.

He also plans to speak up on foreign policy. He wants to protect the United States' relationship with Israel and says the U.S. should work to improve relationships with its allies rather than "sacrificing" them to try to be friends with countries that "hate us."

A spot on one of the budget or tax policy panels would be a preference, though he mentions interest in Oversight, Armed Services and Energy and Commerce.

#### NEW YORK (4)

## Kathleen Rice, D

Election: Defeated Bruce Blakeman, R, to succeed Rep.

Carolyn McCarthy, D, who retired

Residence: Garden City

Born: Feb. 15, 1965; Manhattan, N.Y.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Single

Education: Catholic U. of America, B.A. 1987 (English);

Touro Law Center, J.D. 1991 Career: County prosecutor

Political highlights: Assistant U.S. attorney, 1999-2005; Nassau County district attorney, 2006-present; sought Democratic nomination for N.Y. attorney general, 2010

Rice will likely be a team player in the House Democratic caucus, voting with her colleagues on all of the party's signature issues: raising the minimum wage, expand-



ing access to reproductive health services, closing the gender pay gap and restricting gun access.

With more of a national profile than some of her freshman counterparts, Rice still maintains a focus on her district as she looks toward her congressional to-do list.

Some of Rice's national news coverage while district attorney was due to her crackdown on drunk driving, and she hopes to transfer methods on that issue to a nationwide strategy to curb texting while driving.

She is District Attorney for Nassau County and had also served as prosecutor in Brooklyn and a federal prosecutor out of Philadelphia. Several of Rice's policy priorities are linked to her career in law enforcement – and one in particular she will pick up from her predecessor, Democratic Rep. Carolyn McCarthy: "gun violence is a public health and safety epidemic in our country."

Rice also joins the chorus on addressing college affordability, in part by expanding tuition tax credits. Her "tax relief" plan in general includes extending middle-class tax cuts and increasing child and earned income tax credits. Though she points out that income inequality and rising costs of living are a particular concern for New York residents, Rice wants to raise the federal minimum wage since "pay remains stagnant, and the only thing we see growing is the gap between the wealthy and those our economic recovery is leaving behind."

#### NEW YORK (21)

## Elise Stefanik, R

Pronounced: stef-AH-nick

Election: Defeated Aaron Woolf, D, to succeed Rep. Bill

Owens, D, who retired Residence: Willsboro Born: July 2, 1984; Albany, N.Y. Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Single

Education: Harvard U., A.B. 2006 (government) Career: Plywood company sales director; presidential campaign aide; think tank communications director;

White House aide

Political highlights: No previous office

For a party struggling to integrate age and gender diversity into its ranks, Republicans scored a huge win with the election of Stefanik to succeed retiring Democratic Rep. Bill Owens.



While she'll be the youngest woman in the House of either party, Stefanik already has experience in Washington - she was a White House aide, a staffer for the national Republican Party and a presidential campaign aide.

There is no doubt about her loyalty to the GOP platform, but Stefanik takes a nuanced view on a couple of social policy issues. She backs equal pay for women, and she would be willing to raise the minimum wage if small business interests were involved in negotiating the change. And, regarding Republicans' responses about abortion, she told The New York Times, "it's very important that we have candidates who are respectful when they talk about this issue and that they talk about it in a humane way."

Like many young politicians of both parties, Stefanik is a strong proponent of improved transparency in government operations, and she sees online outreach and accountability measures as important functions of a congressional office.

Outside of politics and public policy, her expertise lies mainly in her experience with her parents' plywood distribution company and she would fit in on the Small Business Committee. The Agriculture and Veterans Affairs panels would let her look out for her constituents - her district is a sprawling rural expanse of forests and mountains; and Fort Drum, near Watertown, hosts tens of thousands of military personnel.

#### NEW YORK (24)

## John Katko, R

Election: Defeated Rep. Dan Maffei, D

Residence: Camillus

Born: Nov. 9, 1962; Syracuse, N.Y. Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Robin Katko; three children

Education: Niagara U., B.A. 1984 (political science);

Syracuse U., J.D. 1988

Career: Federal prosecutor; lawyer Political highlights: No previous office

As a federal prosecutor, Katko took on organized crime and drug trafficking. In the House, he's going to take up the cause of the central New York economy.



Repealing the medical device tax is important to local manufacturers and will be his first priority in Washington. That agenda item will also fit in with Katko's larger efforts to assess the whole of the 2010 health care overhaul.

He says tax rates and an overabundance of federal regulations impede economic growth, and Katko is concerned the tax environment discourages companies from bringing overseas profits back to the U.S.

Katko's fiscal conservatism includes aiming at reduced federal spending overall as well as enforcement of spending caps, and his plan for the budget is to "reform" the process. He also opposes raising the minimum wage — he told the Syracuse Post-Standard, "I would rather give individuals in that tax bracket a tax incentive to work (such as a tax rebate)." He also opposes a federal paycheck fairness law, but is strident in his belief in equal pay - his preference, perhaps fitting for a prosecutor, is in stronger enforcement of existing laws.

He also backs enforcement of existing laws without expanding regulations when it comes to gun owners' rights. Katko, who is looking for a spot on the Judiciary Committee, vows to oppose any restriction on the purchase of legal firearms and ammunition, would like to see incentives to improve gun safety by gun owners and rejects the efficacy and constitutionality of federal firearms bans or registries.

#### NORTH CAROLINA (6)

## Mark Walker, R

Election: Defeated Laura Field, D, to succeed Rep. Howard Coble, R. who retired

Residence: Summerfield Born: May 20, 1969: Dothan, Ala.

Religion: Baptist

Family: Wife, Kelly Walker; three children

Education: Trinity Baptist College, attended 1987-88; Houston Community College, attended 1990; Piedmont Baptist College, B.A. 1999 (biblical studies)

Career: Pastor; car salesman

Political highlights: No previous office

Walker plans to align with conservatives in the House intent on trimming federal spending and reshaping entitlement programs.



He is a preacher's son

who spent time in the business world before becoming a Baptist minister. Walker had never sought elected office before winning his House seat; he says the 2012 GOP presidential nominating contest inspired him to craft a message of limited government and self-reliance and to run for Congress.

Citing his experience working in innercity and international ministries, he thinks Congress should scrutinize social welfare programs for low-income people. He believes the programs are detrimental to the poor and create a culture of dependency, particularly for Hispanics and black Americans.

His vision for overall fiscal health includes a balanced budget amendment and either a "fair tax" or flat tax system. Among his plans for shrinking the federal government's outlays, he says foreign aid should be limited to "people in need - refugees, widows, and orphans — and countries that share our commitment to democracy, like Israel."

Looking out for the rural counties in the northern part of his district and the highways, freight rail lines and airport around Greensboro, the Transportation and Agriculture panels would be a good fit for Walker. He is also interested in the Oversight and Government Reform Committee.

Walker says his religious beliefs will influence his approach to governing, although he adds, "My oath is not to a denomination. It is to the Constitution. I'm not going as a pastor but as a representative."

## NORTH CAROLINA (7)

## **David Rouzer, R**

Election: Defeated Jonathan Barfield Jr., D, to succeed

Rep. Mike McIntyre, D, who retired Residence: McGee's Crossroads

Born: Feb. 16, 1972; 2nd General Hospital (Army), Landstuhl. Germany

Religion: Southern Baptist

Family: Single

Education: North Carolina State U., B.A. 1994 (chemistry), B.S. 1994 (agricultural business management),

B.S. 1994 (agricultural economics)

**Career:** Government affairs and marketing consulting company owner; U.S. Agriculture Department administrator; congressional aide; university administrator; political action committee coordinator

Political highlights: Sought Republican nomination for N.C. Agriculture Department commissioner, 2000; N.C. Senate, 2009-13; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 2012

Rouzer has more than a decade of experience working for senators and the Agriculture Department, as well as a network of connections within his state delega-



tion and that lead back to some members of the House GOP leadership. Knowledge of institutional traditions and the legislative process, especially the snags common across the Capitol, will put Rouzer out ahead of many of his freshman colleagues.

It will also help him go after items on his district-first agenda. Rouzer would like to land on the Agriculture Committee and the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee so he can look out for southeastern North Carolina farmers, the waterways around Wilmington and local tourism.

On a national scale, getting immigration policy right is important to Rouzer. "The real problem is that we have a legal immigration problem that has led to our illegal immigration problem ... we need to have a simple and easy way for our employers to get labor they need when they need it." He supports expanded guest worker visa programs for agricultural laborers as well as for high-tech workers.

He will also certainly maintain some of his focus on regulatory overhaul from four years in the state Senate. Rouzer had success at the state level with legislation about administrative procedure — his concerns at the federal level include EPA rules as well as regulations that have an impact on small businesses.

About his approach to legislating, "philosophically, I'm very conservative, but I'm also very practical. You can't get from Point A to Z overnight."

## NORTH CAROLINA (12)

## Alma Adams, D

Election: Defeated Vince Coakley, R, to succeed Rep.

Melvin Watt. D. who resigned Residence: Greenshoro

Born: May 27, 1946: High Point, N.C.

Religion: Baptist

Family: Divorced; two children

Education: North Carolina A&T U., B.S. 1969 (art education), M.S. 1972 (art education); Ohio State U., Ph.D.

1981 (art education)

Career: Professor; artist; teacher

Political highlights: Greensboro City Board of Education, 1984-86; Greensboro City Council, 1987-94; N.C.

House, 1994-present

A liberal Democrat who calls herself the kind of legislator who works hard to master an issue and then is "relentless" in pushing it forward, Adams is invested in higher



education access and affordability.

Historically black colleges and universities are of particular interest to Adams, who graduated from North Carolina A&T State University and was a professor at Bennett College for decades.

The Education and Workforce Committee would serve that interest, as well as fitting in well with her support of a higher federal minimum wage — a proposed \$10.10 would be a place to start, but Adams thinks a living wage would require eventually getting closer to \$18 per hour — and her efforts to address a gender-based pay gap. Unemployment and economic stagnation are problems for the residents of her district.

Support for abortion rights and voting rights will take up room in her portfolio, too.

One characteristic of a teacher she has sought to retain in 30 years in elected office has been that of facilitator — she believes that stakeholders, including colleagues, constituents and lobbyists, can inform a legislator's position. "As an educator, I know how helpful it is to study and the pitfalls when you don't, when you're not prepared."

She already has a network of connections to members of the North Carolina Democratic delegation and the Congressional Black Caucus; she says she admires the style of California's Maxine Waters and the District's Eleanor Holmes Norton.

Adams hopes to continue with her collage art while in D.C.

#### OKLAHOMA (5)

## Steve Russell, R

Election: Defeated Al McAffrey, D, to succeed Rep. James Lankford, R. who ran for other office

Residence: Oklahoma City

Born: May 25, 1963; Oklahoma City, Okla.

**Religion:** Southern Baptist

Family: Wife, Cindy Russell; five children Education: Ouachita Baptist U., B.A. 1985 (public

Military: Army 1985-2006

Career: Army officer; motivational speaker; gun store

Political highlights: Okla. Senate, 2009-13

There's no mistaking Russell's background he wrote a book about his combat experience; he talks about the impact on foreign and defense policy and on veterans'



services of having fewer former service members in Congress; and he exudes a straitlaced demeanor — and there will be no mistaking his voting record once he's in the House.

His legislative priorities fall in line with the Republican leadership agenda. He has a typical view of the 2010 health care overhaul, which he would like to see repealed and replaced, and of energy policy, fiscal policy and national security. He has seen what he views as "a multitude of errors in foreign policy" over the past several years.

The federal deficit comes up regarding the defense budget and continuing sequestration cuts. His state's military installations are important, as is general readiness. "You can't [eliminate the deficit] by reducing the military, and you weaken our country when you reduce our armed forces to the size of any peer competitor or any tin pot tyrant trying to make a move in the world."

Energy and federal lands are a big deal in Oklahoma. Russell argues for expanded drilling projects and the Keystone XL pipeline. "I think we could see a percentage of anything that would be produced on federal land go directly against the deficit."

He strongly opposes most EPA regulations, but counts energy policy as one potential area for bipartisan cooperation.

Gun owners' rights are a particular concern for Russell, who opened a small rifle manufacturing business after serving one term in the state legislature.

#### PENNSYLVANIA (6)

## Ryan Costello, R

Election: Defeated Manan Trivedi, D, to succeed Rep.

Jim Gerlach, R. who retired Residence: West Chester

Born: Sept. 7, 1976: Phoenixville, Pa.

**Religion:** Presbyterian

Family: Wife, Christine Costello; one child

Education: Ursinus College, B.A. 1999 (politics); Vil-

Ianova U., J.D. 2002 Career: Lawyer

Political highlights: East Vincent Township Board of Supervisors, 2002-07; Chester County recorder of deeds, 2008-11; Chester County Board of Commission-

Costello's constituents are used to being represented in the House by a moderate Republican. The youngest member of the Pennsylvania delegation by more than



a decade, Costello replaces the retiring Rep. Jim Gerlach and pledges to work with any of his new colleagues on education policy, federal spending and changes to the tax code.

Costello was born, raised and educated in southeastern Pennsylvania, and the region will stay on his agenda in the House. Like many local Republicans, Costello, whose law practice focused on land use and real estate, emphasizes preservation of the area's rural heritage. He backs environmental standards to protect undeveloped and agricultural land.

A lawyer by trade, Costello served in local and county elected positions. As county chairman, he worked with a balanced budget - a goal he'd like to see achieved at the federal level. He supports low tax rates and increased efficiency in government agencies. Federal debt is a problem for economic and social progress and for national security, he says.

The small business environment is a frequent topic for Costello, particularly regarding what he sees as an overly complicated tax code and the potential for increasing levels of federal regulation. "Restoring confidence and stability in our economy requires a new direction: cutting red tape, simplifying our tax code and replacing the health care law."

Costello, whose parents were schoolteachers, formulates a plan for education policy that targets technology. And his views on immigration encompass overhauls of visa programs to allow high-tech learners to join the workforce.

## PENNSYLVANIA (13)

## **Brendan F. Boyle, D**

Election: Defeated Carson Dee Adcock, R, to succeed Rep. Allyson Y. Schwartz, D, who ran for other office

Residence: Philadelphia

Born: Feb. 6, 1977; Philadelphia, Pa.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Jennifer Boyle; one child

Education: U. of Notre Dame, B.A. 1999 (government);

Harvard U., M.P.P. 2005 (2005)

Career: Information technology consulting company

Political highlights: Democratic nominee for Pa. House,

2004, 2006; Pa. House, 2009-present

Boyle draws on his roots as the son of a janitor and a school crossing guard to advocate policies he thinks will bolster the "American Dream." including improving the



affordability of higher education.

"We are pricing out kids from working families, middle-class families, lower income families. And it's completely unfair. It's not consistent with building America as a meritocracy. And it also is very unwise if we're going to be competitive globally in this century."

He is heavily influenced by being a firstgeneration American – and the first member of his family to go to college - and is concerned about the state of the middle class. Those concerns also find their way into his views on tax policy and access to elementary and secondary education.

Strong support of a tax overhaul to change income tax rates as well as the incentives that he says encourage companies to move abroad and lay off U.S. workers meshes well with Boyle's call to boost funding for infrastructure projects. He is bothered that other countries outpace the U.S. in transportation investments; at a time when federal spending has been stigmatized, he says, he wants to be a voice explaining why that funding is necessary.

A "pragmatic idealist," Boyle recognizes that compromise is sometimes necessary. He wants to be part of a new class of members who recognize that government must work and show that it can.

He is interested in foreign affairs but would like to serve on the House Financial Services and Transportation and Infrastructure committees.

#### TEXAS (4)

## John Ratcliffe, R

Election: Defeated Rep. Ralph M. Hall, R, in a primary election

Residence: Heath

Born: Oct. 20, 1965; Mount Prospect, III.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Michele Ratcliffe; two children

Education: U. of Notre Dame, B.A. 1987 (government and international studies); Southern Methodist U., J.D.

Career: Lawyer; federal prosecutor

Political highlights: Heath Board of Adjustment, 1997-98; Heath Planning and Zoning Commission, 1998-2001; Heath City Council, 2001-04; mayor of Heath, 2004-12

A former mayor, federal prosecutor and anti-terrorism official, the tea-party-backed Ratcliffe says his primary defeat of longtime Rep. Ralph M. Hall is not a



mandate to be a "bomb thrower" in the House — he wants to be seen as a "thoughtful conservative."

He also wants to take on a policy agenda geared toward what he identifies as the issues for the next generation. Federal debt and spending are at the top of that list. Touting his leadership of Heath, Texas - especially his record of not raising taxes - Ratcliffe emphasizes the need to have a balanced budget. Regarding the trajectories for federal entitlement programs, he says "we're really not in a position well to meet those needs."

Immigration will likely play a large role in his policy agenda. Border security in particular relates to his background in anti-terrorism efforts, and enforcement of immigration laws for those already in the country illegally has been a big part of Ratcliffe's portfolio.

Like many other Republicans, Ratcliffe strongly opposes much of the work done by the EPA, saying it is "not just regulating, but is legislating. And where it is regulating, its regulations are overreaching."

He supports an all-of-the-above energy policy, but not one backed by subsidies or federal requirements.

Ratcliffe took the opportunity of an uncontested general election to use some of his time this summer to meet with dozens of members of the House GOP conference for advice on the administrative and fundraising details most of his freshman colleagues won't have experience with.

## **TEXAS (23)**

## Will Hurd, R

Election: Defeated Rep. Pete Gallego, D

Residence: Helotes

Born: Aug. 19, 1977; San Antonio, Texas

**Religion:** Christian Family: Single

**Education:** Texas A&M U., B.S. 2000 (computer science)

**Career:** Cybersecurity risk management consultant;

CIA agent

Political highlights: Sought Republican nomination for

U.S. House, 2010

Addressing his drive to serve in the House, Hurd says some of his own interactions with Congress while he was in the CIA left him "shocked by the caliber of our elected of-



ficials." And he says, "the organization as a whole has gotten such a bad reputation ... because of a lack of leadership."

Hurd plans to use his CIA background to tackle foreign policy, energy, border security and cybersecurity issues, all while holding himself to a "gold standard" in constituent relations.

He is confident he will be able to make an immediate impact in the House, and his idealism and ambition show in his optimism about quickly moving to the front on the topics he finds most pressing for his district and the nation. Most of the work Hurd would like to do would be addressed from the Select Intelligence Committee and the Energy and Commerce Committee.

The energy sector is a big issue in the sprawling southwest Texas district, as is immigration. Border security takes top billing for him - he'd like to see more use of intelligence in combating trafficking and tracking those crossing the border illegally, but also sees room for flexibility in management of high-volume entry points — and he opposes any path to legalization for those in the country illegally. But Hurd does not want to stymie trade, especially as he anticipates increased energy production in Mexico.

Calls for a simpler tax code, a balanced federal budget and fewer federal regulations match up with many of his new GOP colleagues, but he says he's willing to work with Democrats.

#### **TEXAS (36)**

## Brian Babin, R

Election: Defeated Michael K. Cole, D, to succeed Rep. Steve Stockman, R. who ran for other office

Residence: Woodville

Born: March 23, 1948: Port Arthur, Texas.

Religion: Southern Baptist

Family: Wife, Roxanne Babin; five children

Education: U. of Texas, attended 1967-69; Lamar U., B.S. 1973 (biology); U. of Texas, D.D.S. 1976

Military: Texas National Guard 1969-71; Army Reserve 1971-75; Air Force 1976-79

Career: Dentist

Political highlights: Woodville City Council, 1981-82, 1984-89; Historical Commission, 1989-95; Woodville School Board, 1992-95; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1996, 1998

As a dentist and longtime resident of southeastern Texas, Babin hits his stride when discussing health care and border security. He spent more than three decades



serving in a number of local and state positions, and he says this background gives him a broad understanding of policy.

Babin is highly critical of the 2010 health care overhaul and plans to be part of any effort he can to repeal it and make the health care system more market-based.

"I know any time the government gets involved, setting prices, setting fees, mandating this, mandating that, you're going to have problems," he says.

He also frequently invokes a responsibility to future generations when calling for a balanced budget and claiming the federal government has surrendered control of the border to the extent that "we have no clue who's out there and what they have in mind."

While he's interested in the Ways and Means Committee, he said Science, Space, and Technology would be a fitting assignment, with Johnson Space Center in his district. As a veteran and father to a former Navy SEAL, he also identified the Armed Services Committee as a potential posting.

Babin served in the Texas Air National Guard and the Army Reserve, then attended dental school and spent three years as an Air Force dental officer. He settled in Woodville, opened a private practice and raised his five children.

He spent eight years in city government and has been appointed to state boards dealing with issues ranging from dentistry to water authority.

#### **UTAH (4)**

## Mia Love, R

Election: Defeated Doug Owens, D, to succeed Rep. Jim

Matheson, D, who retired Residence: Saratoga Springs Born: Dec. 6, 1975; Brooklyn, N.Y.

Religion: Mormon

Family: Husband, Jason Love; three children **Education:** U. of Hartford, B.F.A. 1997 (music theater) Career: Homemaker; computer services company

employee; flight attendant

Political highlights: Saratoga Springs City Council, 2004-10; mayor of Saratoga Springs, 2010-14; Republi-

can nominee for U.S. House, 2012

Love won a seat in the House on her second try, and she will become the first black Republican woman to serve in Congress. But she's not new to politics, and she's not new to the spotlight.



In 2012, Love spoke at the Republican National Convention. That spring, the Saratoga Springs mayor had dominated the state GOP convention selecting a candidate to challenge Democratic Rep. Jim Matheson; he squeaked by narrowly in 2012, but opted to retire and Love was a shoo-in for 2014.

The daughter of Haitian immigrants, Love was raised Catholic in Norwalk, Conn., before going to college with dreams of performing on Broadway. Shortly after graduating, she followed her sister into the Mormon faith, was hired as a flight attendant for Continental Airlines and moved to Utah.

She stayed in Utah and got involved with her community, ending up in the mayor's office after two terms on the city council -Love was the first black female mayor in the state's history. A focus on local control and decision-making guides her political outlook, and she says she believes that "there is so much more accountability at a local level."

Once in the House, she hopes eventually to find a way onto the Energy and Commerce Committee, and has also expressed interest in the Financial Services and Ways and Means panels. Prioritizing education policy and replacing the 2010 health care law, she may find other perches for working on legislation.

Love also has said she would consider joining the Congressional Black Caucus, which has only ever had one Republican member.

#### VIRGINIA (7)

## **Dave Brat, R**

Election: Defeated John K. "Jack" Trammell, D, to suc-

ceed Rep. Eric Cantor, R, who resigned

Residence: Glen Allen

Born: July 27, 1964; Dearborn, Mich.

**Religion:** Presbyterian

Family: Wife, Laura Brat; two children

Education: Hope College, B.A. 1986 (business administration); Princeton Theological Seminary, M.Div. 1990;

American U., Ph.D. 1995 (economics) Career: Professor; management consultant Political highlights: No previous office

Brat delivered this cycle's most surprising intraparty defeat, becoming the first person ever to oust the sitting House majority leader in an election. An economics



professor from a small school two and a half hours from Capitol Hill, he is opposed to what he calls "the power party ... the money party" - painting all politicians with the same brush.

He has an anti-establishment approach to policy and politics, and his biggest focus is removing the federal government from all but the narrowest areas of activity. Brat takes expected stances against the 2010 health care overhaul and in favor of reduced federal spending, and he supports a secure border and opposes any legislation that would provide opportunities to provide citizenship to immigrants who are in the U.S. illegally. At a campaign event in June, he called "amnesty ... the key pivotal issue of the day."

His academic work includes topics in economic methodology and theory as well as ethics, an area he studied while in seminary. He is particularly focused on the intersection of capitalism and Christianity, and he adheres strictly to free-market economics. His libertarian leanings also include opposing NSA data collection and the indefinite detention of American citizens.

He's not new to Washington - he got interested in politics while a graduate student in the District - and he even tried his hand at politics in 2011, failing to secure a state House nomination at a party convention. But before he has set any specific policy agenda, Brat has vowed to limit himself to six terms in Congress.

## VIRGINIA (8)

## Don Beyer, D

Election: Defeated Micah Edmond, R, to succeed Rep.

James P. Moran, D. who retired

Residence: Alexandria

Born: June 20, 1950; Trieste, Free Territory of Trieste

Religion: Episcopalian

Family: Wife, Megan Carroll Beyer; four children Education: Williams College, B.A. 1972 (economics) Career: Car dealership owner; Boy Scouts of America regional manager; national park information assistant Political highlights: Lieutenant governor, 1990-98;

Democratic nominee for governor, 1997; U.S. ambassador to Switzerland and Liechtenstein, 2009-13

A veteran of Virginia politics, Beyer has the personal and political connections to feel at home in the Capitol. And he's got a personality and leadership style suited to



either working with the details or taking a big-picture lead on issues important to his suburban Washington district.

Beyer will be a reliable Democratic vote and won't be combative or prone to gaffes. He hopes eventually to end up on the Energy and Commerce or Ways and Means committees, but has the savvy to understand that it might be a bit of wait before he gets there. An even-keeled nature and his past political experience might land Beyer on conference committees or with opportunities to negotiate contentious bills.

He says his first priority is climate change, working to find "efficient, bipartisan ways to affect climate change, and, little by little, moving it away from being a Democrat or Republican issue."

Gun control, particularly expanding background check regulations, and changing policies for family and medical leave are also high on his to-do list.

He pledges to be a voice for the many federal workers he'll represent. "Especially in the 30 years that we decided that government is the source of all problems, it hasn't been fun to be a federal worker, and it often shows up in things like, 'Well, freeze their pay' or 'Let's close down the government."

In addition to running successful car dealerships - Beyer will almost certainly be one of the wealthiest members of the 114th Congress — he has volunteered for charitable organizations and political campaigns.

#### VIRGINIA (10)

## Barbara Comstock, R

Election: Defeated John Foust, D, to succeed Rep. Frank R. Wolf, R, who retired

Residence: McLean

Born: June 30, 1959; Springfield, Mass.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Husband, Chip Comstock; three children Education: Middlebury College, B.A. 1981 (political sci-

ence); Georgetown U., J.D. 1986

Career: Public affairs firm owner; lobbyist; lawyer; U.S. Justice Department public affairs official; presidential campaign aide; congressional aide; homemaker Political highlights: Va. House, 2010-present

Comstock promises to be a conservative voice, especially on tax and fiscal policy.

A tax overhaul will be her first order of business. She opposes any tax



increases, even for transportation and infrastructure projects beneficial to her densely populated Northern Virginia district. In the Virginia House of Delegates, Comstock signed the Americans for Tax Reform pledge, a promise to never vote for a tax increase – a position at odds with the stance of longtime Republican Rep. Frank R. Wolf, whom she replaces.

With a background as a Wolf aide, in the Justice Department and as a lobbyist, Comstock has a wide breadth of understanding, and she has a history of digging deep into issues. She was also an investigator for the House Government Reform Committee during the Clinton administration and headed up the research team for the Republican National Committee during the 2000 presidential election. (Rep. Tim Griffin of Arkansas worked with her in both capacities.)

She strongly supports "right to work" laws, and claims that the National Labor Relations Board and regulations set by the EPA hinder economic growth. Comstock supports expanded offshore drilling, including oil exploration off the Virginia coast.

On immigration, she will join Republicans who prioritize border security. During a September 2014 debate, she emphasized the need for legislation - as opposed to executive action - and also suggested, "Fed-Ex can track packages coming in here all of the time, we can track people who are coming into the country and we can do that right."

## WASHINGTON (4)

## Dan Newhouse, R

Election: Defeated Clint Didier, R, to succeed Rep. Doc

Hastings, R, who retired Residence: Sunnyside

Born: July 10, 1955; Yakima, Wash.

Religion: Presbyterian

Family: Wife, Carol Newhouse; two children

Education: Washington State U., B.S. 1977 (agricultural

economics)

Career: Farmer; national fraternity assistant Political highlights: Wash. House, 2003-09; Wash. Department of Agriculture director, 2009-13

Newhouse worked under a Democratic administration as the state's director of agriculture. He says he eschews labels and is "willing to work with anybody who has a



good idea," but he would fit in with many of his Republican colleagues in the House.

He supports the GOP's plan to balance the budget within 10 years and a constitutional balanced-budget amendment. In general, "I will insist that we live within our means and respect every penny of the public's money."

Immigration would be another priority. Many farms in his vast district - which is covered by hops and fruit orchards — rely on migrant workers. He says immigration and border security policies aren't working; his goal would be a system that works efficiently for people coming into the U.S. as well as it works for businesses hiring employees.

"For undocumented workers already here, we need a long-term solution, not blanket amnesty. I would support a plan to allow undocumented workers with no serious criminal record to apply for legal status, learn English, pay taxes and a penalty and then go to the back of the line and work toward citizenship."

Other farm-related issues he'd take up are water resources, federal lands policy and species protection regulations. Agriculture is as important to Newhouse personally as it is to the district - his family operates a 600-acre farm.

Before serving in the state cabinet, Newhouse spent eight years in the state House. He supports repeal of the 2010 health care overhaul, opposes abortion rights and backs gun owners' rights.

#### WEST VIRGINIA (2)

## Alex X. Mooney, R

Election: Defeated Nick Casey, D Residence: Charles Town Born: June 7, 1971; Washington, D.C.

Religion: Roman Catholic

Family: Wife, Grace Gonzalez Mooney; two children **Education:** Dartmouth College, B.A. 1993 (philosophy)

Career: Public affairs firm owner: conservative journalism training nonprofit executive; conservative public policy nonprofit analyst; congressional aide

Political highlights: Republican nominee for N.H. House, 1992; Md. Senate, 1999-2011; defeated for reelection to Md. Senate, 2010

Politics has always been the goal, and the path has wound through several states. Mooney has been interested in civic participation since childhood and was active



in campus groups at Dartmouth; he ran unsuccessfully for a seat in the New Hampshire House and later served for a more than a decade in the Maryland Senate and also as the state's Republican Party chairman.

He comes to Congress from West Virginia, still touting the same socially and fiscally conservative priorities that earned him a reputation as a willing combatant in partisan debates in Annapolis. Mooney's success representing a conservative anti-abortion, pro-gun owners' rights, anti-EPA platform has superseded his status as a newcomer to coal country. Among the federal regulations that Mooney hopes to reduce or eliminate including the entirety of the 2010 health care overhaul – are environmental regulations on coal production.

Mooney has sought out tea party support during his transition across the Potomac. A strong supporter of a balanced budget amendment, Mooney also pledges to oppose tax increases, which he says "are just an excuse for the spending addicts in Washington to spend more of your hard-earned money."

His views on immigration policy are shaped in part by his mother's and in-laws' experiences; they all emigrated from Cuba. Rejecting any federal plan for "amnesty" for those already in the country illegally, Mooney also pushed several bills in the Maryland Senate aimed at prohibiting the Motor Vehicle Administration from issuing driver's licenses to illegal immigrants.

## WEST VIRGINIA (3)

## **Evan Jenkins, R**

Election: Defeated Rep. Nick J. Rahall II, D

**Residence:** Huntington

Born: Sept. 12, 1960; Huntington, W.Va.

**Religion:** Presbyterian

Family: Wife, Elizabeth Jenkins; three children Education: U. of Florida, B.S. 1983 (marketing): Sam-

ford U., J.D. 1987

Career: State physicians association executive; lawyer Political highlights: W. Va. House, 1995-2001 (served as a Democrat); candidate for W.Va. Supreme Court of Appeals, 2000; W.Va. Senate, 2003-present (served as a

Democrat, 2003-13)

Coal will always fuel debates in the rural and economically struggling 3rd District, and Jenkins has taken up the issue full bore.



"My passion and my

efforts in Congress will be to be a strong, consistent and committed voice to making sure that coal is an important part of an allof-the-above energy strategy," he says.

He calls out President Barack Obama for what he calls a "war on coal," which Jenkins says has devastated his district. He is familiar with the needs of his constituents, having served in the state legislature for two decades.

Jenkins strongly opposes the 2010 health care overhaul, citing his time with the state's medical professionals' association as providing particular insight. "West Virginians have bristled at the idea of Washington dictating the type of coverage that must be purchased and then turning around and imposing a fee or a penalty if you don't purchase what the government tells you to."

Party affiliation in West Virginia does not always match up with national platforms, but Jenkins successfully linked the man he defeated, the long-serving Democratic Rep. Nick J. Rahall II, to Obama.

And Jenkins touts an independent record in the state legislature: "I pride myself on being a problem solver and a consensus builder and having an earnest willingness to work across party lines with individuals willing to roll up their sleeves and solve tough problems."

His emphasis on that self-identified bipartisanship makes sense: Jenkins served in both the state House and Senate as a Democrat.

## WISCONSIN (6)

## Glenn Grothman, R

Election: Defeated Mark Harris, D, to succeed Rep. Tom Petri, R. who retired

Residence: Campbellsport Born: July 3, 1955; Milwaukee, Wis.

Religion: Lutheran Family: Single

Education: U. of Wisconsin, B.B.A. 1977 (accounting),

J.D. 1983 Career: Lawyer

Political highlights: Wis. Assembly, 1993-2005; Wis.

Senate, 2005-present

Trying to stick with a basic platform of being a small-government guy, Grothman hopes to continue in the House work he did on the state Senate's Budget Committee.



His view on taxes (cut them across the board), government spending (cut it, too), federal debt (eliminate it) and the number of federal jobs (shrink it) are in line with most conservative Republicans.

Union activists who challenged Republican Gov. Scott Walker's administration in 2011 were described as "a bunch of slobs" by Grothman in an interview with MSNBC; he also dismissed the protesters as "college students and hangers-on having a party."

Among Grothman's nonfiscal related legislation in the Senate was a bill to classify nonmarital parenting environments as a factor in designating child abuse or neglect. He strongly opposes same-sex marriage.

Welfare programs need a serious overhaul, according to Grothman, and he wants education policy driven by local leaders. He will push school choice measures like tax credits for parents sending students to private school. Overall, Grothman derides "federal laws and never-ending regulations that preempt reforms on the state level."

One target of his in the Senate was a state law restricting work weeks from extending a full seven days without a break — Grothman told the Huffington Post in January 2014 that the rule was a "little goofy" and removed the opportunity for people who wanted to work more hours. (It's possible Grothman, who remembers having wanted to work overtime while in college, will be surprised by the congressional schedule.)

# Departures from Senate Committees

## **Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry**

Debbie Stabenow, Mich., Chairwoman Patrick J. Leahv. Vt.

Tom Harkin, Iowa Sherrod Brown, Ohio Amy Klobuchar, Minn. Michael Bennet, Colo. Kirsten Gillibrand, N.Y. Joe Donnelly, Ind. Heidi Heitkamp, N.D. Bob Casey, Pa.

## Democrats (9)

Thad Cochran, Miss., Ranking Member Mitch McConnell, Ky. Pat Roberts, Kan. Saxby Chambliss, Ga. John Boozman, Ark. John Hoeven, N.D. Mike Johanns, Neb.

Charles E. Grassley, Iowa

John Thune, S.D.

## John Walsh, Mont

## **Appropriations**

## Democrats (16)

Barbara A. Mikulski, Md., Chairwoman Patrick J. Leahy, Vt. Tom Harkin, Iowa Patty Murray, Wash. Dianne Feinstein, Calif. Richard J. Durbin, III.

## Tim Johnson, S.D.

Mary L. Landrieu, La. Jack Reed, R.I.

## Mark Pryor, Ark.

Jon Tester, Mont. Tom Udall, N.M. Jeanne Shaheen, N.H. Jeff Merkley, Ore. Mark Begich, Alaska Chris Coons, Del.

## Republicans (14)

Richard C. Shelby, Ala. - Ranking Member Thad Cochran, Miss. Mitch McConnell, Ky. Lamar Alexander, Tenn. Susan Collins, Maine Lisa Murkowski. Alaska Lindsey Graham, S.C. Mark S. Kirk. III. Dan Coats, Ind. Roy Blunt, Mo. Jerry Moran, Kan. John Hoeven, N.D. Mike Johanns, Neb.

John Boozman, Ark.

## **Armed Services**

## Democrats (14)

Carl Levin, Mich., Chairman Jack Reed, R.I. Bill Nelson, Fla. Claire McCaskill, Mo.

## Mark Udall, Colo.

Kay Hagan, N.C. Joe Manchin III, W.Va. Jeanne Shaheen, N.H. Kirsten Gillibrand, N.Y. Richard Blumenthal, Conn. Joe Donnelly, Ind. Mazie K. Hirono, Hawaii Tim Kaine, Va.

Angus King, Maine (I)

## Republicans (12)

James M. Inhofe, Okla., Ranking Member John McCain, Ariz. Jeff Sessions, Ala.

#### Saxby Chambliss, Ga.

Roger Wicker, Miss. Kelly Ayotte, N.H. Deb Fischer, Neb. Lindsey Graham, S.C. David Vitter, La. Roy Blunt, Mo. Mike Lee, Utah Ted Cruz, Texas

## **Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs**

#### Democrats (12)

Tim Johnson, S.D.,

## Chairman

Jack Reed, R.I.

Charles E. Schumer, N.Y. Robert Menendez, N.J. Sherrod Brown, Ohio Jon Tester, Mont. Mark Warner, Va. Jeff Merkley, Ore.

#### Kay Hagan, N.C.

Joe Manchin III, W.Va. Elizabeth Warren, Mass. Heidi Heitkamp, N.D.

## Republicans (10)

Michael D. Crapo, Idaho, Ranking Member Richard C. Shelby, Ala. Bob Corker, Tenn. David Vitter, La.

#### Mike Johanns, Neb.

Patrick J. Toomev. Pa. Mark S. Kirk, III. Jerry Moran, Kan. Tom Coburn, Okla. Dean Heller, Nev.

## **Budget**

## Democrats (12)

Patty Murray, Wash., Chairwoman Ron Wyden, Ore. Bill Nelson, Fla. Debbie Stabenow, Mich. Bernard Sanders, Vt. (I) Sheldon Whitehouse, R.I. Mark Warner, Va. Jeff Merkley, Ore. Chris Coons, Del. Tammy Baldwin, Wis. Tim Kaine, Va. Angus King, Maine (I).

## Republicans (10)

Jeff Sessions, Ala., Ranking Member Charles E. Grassley, Iowa Michael B. Enzi, Wvo. Michael D. Crapo, Idaho Lindsey Graham, S.C. Rob Portman, Ohio Patrick J. Toomey, Pa. Ron Johnson, Wis. Kelly Avotte, N.H. Roger Wicker, Miss.

## **Commerce, Science & Transportation**

## **Democrats (13)** Jay Rockefeller, W.Va.,

Chairman Barbara Boxer, Calif. Bill Nelson, Fla. Maria Cantwell, Wash. Mark Pryor, Ark. Claire McCaskill, Mo. Amy Klobuchar, Minn. Mark Begich, Alaska

Richard Blumenthal, Conn. Brian Schatz, Hawaii Edward J. Markey, Mass.

Corv Booker, N.J. John Walsh, Mont.

## Republicans (11)

John Thune, S.D., Ranking Member Roger Wicker, Miss. Roy Blunt, Mo. Marco Rubio, Fla. Kelly Ayotte, N.H. Dean Heller, Nev. Dan Coats, Ind. Tim Scott, S.C. Ted Cruz, Texas Deb Fischer, Neb. Ron Johnson, Wis.

**NOTE:** These pages account for incumbent retirements and any electoral losses called by 12:30 p.m. Nov. 5.

## **Energy and Natural Resources**

#### Democrats (12)

Mary L. Landrieu, La., Chairwoman Ron Wyden, Ore. Tim Johnson, S.D.

Maria Cantwell, Wash. Bernard Sanders, Vt. (I) Debbie Stabenow, Mich. Mark Udall, Colo.

Al Franken, Minn. Joe Manchin III, W.Va. Brian Schatz, Hawaii Martin Heinrich, N.M. Tammy Baldwin, Wis.

## Republicans (10)

Lisa Murkowski, Alaska Ranking Member John Barrasso, Wyo. Jim Risch, Idaho Mike Lee, Utah Dean Heller, Nev. Jeff Flake, Ariz. Tim Scott, S.C. Lamar Alexander, Tenn. Rob Portman, Ohio John Hoeven, N.D.

## **Environment & Public Works**

#### Democrats (10)

Barbara Boxer, Calif., Chairwoman Thomas R. Carper, Del. Benjamin L. Cardin, Md. Bernard Sanders, Vt. (1) Sheldon Whitehouse, R.I. Tom Udall, N.M. Jeff Merkley, Ore. Kirsten Gillibrand, N.Y. Cory Booker, N.J. Edward J. Markey, Mass.

## Republicans (8)

David Vitter, La.. Ranking Member James M. Inhofe, Okla. John Barrasso, Wvo. Jeff Sessions, Ala. Michael D. Crapo, Idaho Roger Wicker, Miss. John Boozman, Ark. Deb Fischer, Neb.

## **Finance**

## Democrats (13)

Ron Wyden, Ore.. Chairman

## Jay Rockefeller, W.Va.

Charles E. Schumer, N.Y. Debbie Stabenow, Mich. Maria Cantwell, Wash. Bill Nelson, Fla. Robert Menendez, N.J. Thomas R. Carper, Del. Benjamin L. Cardin, Md. Sherrod Brown, Ohio Michael Bennet, Colo. Bob Casey, Pa. Mark Warner, Va.

#### Republicans (11)

Orrin G. Hatch. Utah. Ranking Member Charles E. Grassley, Iowa Michael D. Crapo, Idaho Pat Roberts, Kan. Michael B. Enzi, Wyo. John Cornyn, Texas John Thune, S.D. Richard M. Burr, N.C. Johnny Isakson, Ga. Rob Portman, Ohio Patrick J. Toomey, Pa.

## Foreign Relations

#### Democrats (10)

Robert Menendez, N.J.. Chairman Barbara Boxer, Calif. Benjamin L. Cardin, Md. Jeanne Shaheen, N.H. Chris Coons, Del. Richard J. Durbin, III. Tom Udall, N.M. Christopher S. Murphy, Conn. Tim Kaine, Va. Edward J. Markey, Mass.

## Republicans (8)

Bob Corker, Tenn., Ranking Member Jim Risch, Idaho Marco Rubio, Fla. Ron Johnson, Wis. Jeff Flake, Ariz. John McCain, Ariz. John Barrasso, Wvo. Rand Paul, Ky.

## Health, Education, Labor & Pensions

#### Democrats (12)

Tom Harkin, Iowa - Chairman

Barbara A. Mikulski, Md. Patty Murray, Wash. Bernard Sanders, Vt. (1)

Bob Casey, Pa. Kay Hagan, N.C. Al Franken, Minn. Michael Bennet, Colo. Sheldon Whitehouse, R.I. Tammy Baldwin, Wis. Christopher S. Murphy, Conn. Elizabeth Warren, Mass.

## Republicans (10)

Lamar Alexander, Tenn., Ranking Member Michael B. Enzi, Wyo. Richard M. Burr. N.C. Johnny Isakson, Ga. Rand Paul, Kv. Orrin G. Hatch, Utah Pat Roberts, Kan. Lisa Murkowski, Alaska Mark S. Kirk, III. Tim Scott, S.C.

# Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs

## Democrats (9)

Thomas R. Carper, Del., Chairman Carl Levin, Mich. Mark Pryor, Ark. Mary L. Landrieu, La. Claire McCaskill, Mo. Jon Tester, Mont. Mark Begich, Alaska

Tammy Baldwin, Wis. Heidi Heitkamp, N.D.

## Republicans (8)

## Tom Coburn, Okla., Ranking Member

John McCain, Ariz. Ron Johnson, Wis. Rob Portman, Ohio Rand Paul, Ky. Michael B. Enzi, Wyo.

Kelly Ayotte, N.H.

## **Indian Affairs**

#### Democrats (8)

Jon Tester, Mont., Chairman

## Tim Johnson, S.D.

Maria Cantwell, Wash. Tom Udall, N.M. Al Franken, Minn. Mark Begich, Alaska Brian Schatz, Hawaii Heidi Heitkamp, N.D.

## Republicans (6)

John Barrasso, Wyo., Vice Chairman John McCain, Ariz. Lisa Murkowski, Alaska John Hoeven, N.D. Michael D. Crapo, Idaho Deb Fischer, Neb.

## **Judiciary**

## Democrats (10)

Patrick J. Leahy, Vt., Chairman Dianne Feinstein, Calif. Charles E. Schumer, N.Y. Richard J. Durbin, III. Sheldon Whitehouse, R.I. Amy Klobuchar, Minn. Al Franken, Minn. Chris Coons, Del. Richard Blumenthal, Conn. Mazie K. Hirono, Hawaii

## Republicans (8)

Charles E. Grassley, Iowa, Ranking Member Orrin G. Hatch, Utah Jeff Sessions, Ala. Lindsey Graham, S.C. John Cornyn, Texas Mike Lee. Utah Ted Cruz, Texas Jeff Flake, Ariz.

## **Rules & Administration**

## Democrats (10)

Charles E. Schumer, N.Y., Chairman Dianne Feinstein, Calif. Richard J. Durbin, III. Mark Pryor, Ark. Tom Udall, N.M. Mark Warner, Va. Patrick J. Leahy, Vt.

Amy Klobuchar, Minn. Angus King, Maine (I) John Walsh, Mont.

## Republicans (8)

Pat Roberts, Kan., Ranking Member Mitch McConnell, Ky. Thad Cochran, Miss. Saxby Chambliss, Ga.

Lamar Alexander, Tenn. Richard C. Shelby, Ala. Roy Blunt, Mo. Ted Cruz, Texas

## Select Ethics

#### Democrats (3)

Barbara Boxer, Calif... Chairwoman Mark Pryor, Ark. Sherrod Brown, Ohio

#### Republicans (3)

Johnny Isakson, Ga., Vice Chairman Pat Roberts, Kan. Jim Risch, Idaho

## Select Intelligence

#### Democrats (8)

Dianne Feinstein, Calif... Chairwoman

## Jay Rockefeller, W.Va.

Ron Wyden, Ore.

Barbara A. Mikulski, Md.

#### Mark Udall, Colo.

Mark Warner, Va. Martin Heinrich, N.M.

Angus King, Maine (I)

#### Republicans (7)

Saxby Chambliss, Ga.,

#### Vice Chairman

Richard M. Burr, N.C. lim Risch Idaho Dan Coats, Ind. Marco Rubio, Fla. Susan Collins, Maine Tom Coburn, Okla.

## Small Business & Entrepreneurship

#### Democrats (10)

Maria Cantwell, Wash... Chairwoman Carl Levin, Mich. Mary L. Landrieu, La.

# Mark Pryor, Ark.

Benjamin L. Cardin, Md. Jeanne Shaheen, N.H. Kay Hagan, N.C. Heidi Heitkamp, N.D. Edward J. Markey, Mass.

## Republicans (8)

Jim Risch, Idaho, Ranking Member David Vitter, La. Marco Rubio, Fla. Rand Paul, Kv. Tim Scott, S.C. Deb Fischer, Neb. Michael B. Enzi, Wyo. Ron Johnson, Wis.

## **Special Aging**

## Democrats (11)

Cory Booker, N.J.

Bill Nelson, Fla. - Chairman Bob Casey, Pa. Claire McCaskill, Mo. Sheldon Whitehouse, R.I. Kirsten Gillibrand, N.Y. Joe Manchin III, W.Va. Richard Blumenthal, Conn. Tammy Baldwin, Wis. Joe Donnelly, Ind. Elizabeth Warren, Mass. John Walsh, Mont.

## Republicans (9)

Susan Collins, Maine - Ranking Member Bob Corker Tenn Orrin G. Hatch, Utah Mark S. Kirk. III. Dean Heller, Nev. Jeff Flake, Ariz. Kelly Avotte, N.H. Tim Scott, S.C. Ted Cruz, Texas

## Veterans' Affairs

## Democrats (8)

Bernard Sanders, Vt., Chairman (I) Jay Rockefeller, W.Va. Patty Murray, Wash.

Sherrod Brown, Ohio Jon Tester, Mont. Mark Begich, Alaska Richard Blumenthal, Conn.

Mazie K. Hirono, Hawaii

## Republicans (6)

Richard M. Burr, N.C., Ranking Member Johnny Isakson, Ga. Mike Johanns, Neb. Jerry Moran, Kan.

John Boozman, Ark. Dean Heller, Nev.

# **Departures from House Committees**

## **Agriculture**

#### Republicans (25)

Frank D. Lucas, Okla., Chairman Robert W. Goodlatte, Va. Steve King, Iowa Randy Neugebauer, Texas Mike D. Rogers, Ala. K. Michael Conaway, Texas Glenn Thompson, Pa. Bob Gibbs, Ohio Austin Scott, Ga. Scott Tipton, Colo. Rick Crawford, Ark. Scott DesJarlais, Tenn. Chris Gibson, N.Y. Vicky Hartzler, Mo. Reid Ribble, Wis. Kristi Noem, S.D. Dan Benishek, Mich. Jeff Denham, Calif. Stephen Fincher, Tenn. Doug LaMalfa, Calif. Richard Hudson, N.C. Rodney Davis, III. Chris Collins, N.Y. Ted Yoho, Fla.

## Democrats (21)

Collin C. Peterson, Minn. -Ranking Member Mike MeIntyre, N.C. David Scott, Ga. Jim Costa, Calif. Tim Walz, Minn. Kurt Schrader, Ore. Marcia L. Fudge, Ohio Jim McGovern, Mass. Suzan DelBene, Wash. Gloria Negrete McLeod, Calif. Filemon Vela, Texas Michelle Lujan Grisham, N.M. Ann McLane Kuster, N.H. Rick Nolan, Minn.

Pete Gallego, Texas

Bill Enyart, III. Juan C. Vargas, Calif. Cheri Bustos, III. Sean Patrick Maloney, N.Y. Joe Courtney, Conn. John Garamendi, Calif.

## **Appropriations**

## Republicans (29)

Vance McAllister, La.

Harold Rogers, Ky., Chairman Frank R. Wolf, Va. Jack Kingston, Ga. Rodney Frelinghuysen, N.J. Tom Latham, Iowa Robert B. Aderholt, Ala. Kay Granger, Texas Mike Simpson, Idaho John Culberson, Texas Ander Crenshaw, Fla. John Carter, Texas Ken Calvert, Calif. Tom Cole, Okla. Mario Diaz-Balart, Fla.

Charlie Dent, Pa.

Tom Graves, Ga.

Kevin Yoder, Kan.

Tom Rooney, Fla.

Steve Womack, Ark,

Alan Nunnelee, Miss.

Jeff Fortenberry, Neb.

## Democrats (22)

Nita M. Lowey, N.Y. - Ranking

Member Marcy Kaptur, Ohio Peter J. Visclosky, Ind. José E. Serrano, N.Y. Rosa DeLauro, Conn. James P. Moran, Va. Ed Pastor, Ariz. David E. Price, N.C. Lucille Roybal-Allard, Calif. Sam Farr, Calif. Chaka Fattah, Pa. Sanford D. Bishop Jr., Ga. Barbara Lee, Calif. Adam B. Schiff, Calif. Michael M. Honda, Calif. Betty McCollum, Minn. Tim Ryan, Ohio Debbie Wasserman Schultz, Fla. Henry Cuellar, Texas Chellie Pingree, Maine Mike Quigley, III.

Appropriations, continued

## Republicans (29)

Chuck Fleischmann, Tenn. Jaime Herrera Beutler, Wash. David Joyce, Ohio David Valadao, Calif. Andy Harris, Md. Martha Roby, Ala. Mark Amodei, Nev. Chris Stewart, Utah

## Democrats (22)

Bill Owens, N.Y.

## **Armed Services**

#### Republicans (34)

Howard "Buck" McKeon, Calif. **Chairman** 

Mac Thornberry, Texas Walter B. Jones, N.C. J. Randy Forbes, Va. Jeff Miller, Fla. Joe Wilson, S.C. Frank A. LoBiondo, N.J. Rob Bishop, Utah Michael R. Turner, Ohio John Kline, Minn. Mike D. Rogers, Ala. Trent Franks, Ariz. Bill Shuster, Pa. K. Michael Conaway, Texas Doug Lamborn, Colo. Rob Wittman, Va. Duncan Hunter, Calif. John Fleming, La. Mike Coffman, Colo. Scott Rigell, Va. Chris Gibson, N.Y. Vicky Hartzler, Mo. Joe Heck, Nev.

Jon Runyan, N.J.

Austin Scott, Ga. Steven M. Palazzo, Miss. Mo Brooks, Ala. Rich Nugent, Fla. Kristi Noem, S.D. Paul Cook, Calif. Jim Bridenstine, Okla. Brad Wenstrup, Ohio Jackie Walorski, Ind. Bradley Byrne, Ala.

## Democrats (28)

Adam Smith, Wash. -Ranking Member Loretta Sanchez, Calif. Mike McIntvre. N.C. Robert A. Brady, Pa. Susan A. Davis, Calif. Jim Langevin, R.I. Rick Larsen, Wash. Jim Cooper, Tenn.

Madeleine Z. Bordallo, Guam Joe Courtney, Conn. Dave Loebsack, Iowa Niki Tsongas, Mass. John Garamendi, Calif. Hank Johnson, Ga.

## Colleen Hanabusa, Hawaii

Jackie Speier, Calif. Ron Barber, Ariz. André Carson, Ind. Carol Shea Porter, N.H. Dan Maffei, N.Y. Derek Kilmer, Wash. Joaquin Castro, Texas Tammy Duckworth, III. Scott Peters, Calif. Bill Enyart, III. Pete Gallego, Texas Marc Veasey, Texas Tulsi Gabbard, Hawaii

**NOTE**: These pages account for incumbent retirements and any electoral losses called by 12:30 p.m. Nov. 5.

## **Budget**

## Republicans (22)

Paul D. Ryan, Wis., Chairman

Scott Garrett, N.J.

## John Campbell, Calif.

Ken Calvert, Calif.

Tom Cole, Okla, Tom Price, Ga.

Tom McClintock, Calif.

#### James Lankford, Okla.

Diane Black, Tenn.

Reid Ribble, Wis.

Bill Flores, Texas

Todd Rokita, Ind.

Rob Woodall, Ga.

Marsha Blackburn, Tenn.

Alan Nunnelee, Miss.

Scott Rigell, Va.

Vicky Hartzler, Mo.

Vicky Hartzler, Mo.

Jackie Walorski, Ind.

Tom Rice, S.C.

Roger Williams, Texas

Sean P. Duffy, Wis.

Vacancy

#### Democrats (17)

Chris Van Hollen, Md., Ranking Member John Yarmuth, Ky. Bill Pascrell Jr., N.J. Tim Ryan, Ohio Gwen Moore, Wis. Kathy Castor, Fla. Jim McDermott, Wash. Barbara Lee, Calif. Hakeem Jeffries, N.Y. Mark Pocan, Wis. Michelle Luian Grisham, N.M. Jared Huffman, Calif.

Tony Cárdenas, Calif. Earl Blumenauer, Ore. Kurt Schrader, Ore. Lloyd Doggett, Texas Dan Kildee, Mich.

## **Education & the Workforce**

## Republicans (23)

John Kline, Minn.,

Chairman

Tom Petri, Wis.

#### Howard "Buck" McKeon, Calif.

Joe Wilson, S.C.

Virginia Foxx, N.C.

Tom Price, Ga.

Kenny Marchant, Texas

Duncan Hunter, Calif.

Phil Roe, Tenn.

Glenn Thompson, Pa.

Tim Walberg, Mich.

Matt Salmon, Ariz.

Brett Guthrie, Ky.

Scott DesJarlais, Tenn. Todd Rokita, Ind.

Larry Bucshon, Ind.

Lou Barletta, Pa.

Joe Heck, Nev.

Mike Kelly, Pa.

Susan W. Brooks, Ind.

Richard Hudson, N.C.

Luke Messer, Ind.

Bradley Byrne, Ala

## Democrats (18)

George Miller, Calif.,

Ranking Member

Robert C. Scott, Va.

Rubén Hinojosa, Texas

Carolyn McCarthy, N.Y.

John F. Tierney, Mass.

Rush D. Holt, N.J.

Susan A. Davis, Calif.

Raúl M. Grijalva, Ariz.

Timothy H. Bishop, N.Y.

Dave Loebsack, Iowa Joe Courtney, Conn.

Marcia L. Fudge, Ohio

Jared Polis, Colo.

Gregorio Kilili Camacho Sablan, N.

Marianas

Frederica S. Wilson, Fla.

Suzanne Bonamici, Ore.

Mark Pocan, Wis.

Mark Takano, Calif.

## **Energy & Commerce**

## Republicans (30)

Fred Upton, Mich.,

Chairman

#### Ralph M. Hall, Texas

Joe L. Barton, Texas Edward Whitfield, Ky.

John Shimkus, III.

Joe Pitts, Pa.

Greg Walden, Ore.

Lee Terry, Neb.

## Mike Rogers, Mich.

Tim Murphy, Pa.

Michael C. Burgess, Texas

Marsha Blackburn, Tenn.

## Phil Gingrey, Ga.

Steve Scalise, La.

Bob Latta, Ohio

Cathy McMorris Rodgers, Wash.

Gregg Harper, Miss.

Leonard Lance, N.J.

## Bill Cassidy, La.

Brett Guthrie, Ky.

Pete Olson, Texas

David B. McKinley, W.Va.

## Cory Gardner, Colo.

Mike Pompeo, Kan.

Adam Kinzinger, III.

Morgan Griffith, Va.

Gus Bilirakis, Fla.

Bill Johnson, Ohio Billy Long, Mo.

Renee Ellmers, N.C.

#### Democrats (24)

Henry A. Waxman, Calif.,

Ranking Member

#### John D. Dingell, Mich.

Frank Pallone Jr., N.J.

Bobby L. Rush, III.

Anna G. Eshoo, Calif.

Eliot L. Engel, N.Y.

Gene Green. Texas

Diana DeGette, Colo.

Lois Capps, Calif.

Mike Doyle, Pa.

Jan Schakowsky. III.

Jim Matheson, Utah

G.K. Butterfield, N.C.

John Barrow, Ga. Doris Matsui, Calif.

## Donna M.C. Christensen, V.I.

Kathy Castor, Fla.

John Sarbanes, Md.

Jerry McNerney, Calif.

## Bruce Braley, Iowa

Peter Welch, Vt.

Ben Ray Luján, N.M.

Paul Tonko, N.Y. John Yarmuth, Ky.

## **Ethics**

## Republicans (5)

K. Michael Conaway, Texas -Chairman Charlie Dent. Pa. Patrick Meehan, Pa. Trey Gowdy, S.C. Susan W. Brooks, Ind.

## Democrats (5)

Linda T. Sánchez, Calif. -Ranking Member Pedro R. Pierluisi, P.R. Michael E. Capuano, Mass. Yvette D. Clarke, N.Y. Ted Deutch, Fla.

## Financial Services

## Republicans (33)

Jeb Hensarling, Texas - Chairman Spencer Bachus, Ala. Peter T. King, N.Y.

Ed Royce, Calif. Frank D. Lucas, Okla. Gary G. Miller, Calif. Vice Chair-

man Shelley Moore Capito, W.Va.

Scott Garrett, N.J. Randy Neugebauer, Texas Patrick T. McHenry, N.C.

John Campbell, Calif. Michele Bachmann, Minn. Kevin McCarthy, Calif. Steve Pearce, N.M. Bill Posey, Fla. Michael G. Fitzpatrick, Pa. Lynn Westmoreland, Ga. Blaine Luetkemeyer, Mo. Bill Huizenga, Mich. Sean P. Duffy, Wis. Robert Hurt, Va. Steve Stivers, Ohio Stephen Fincher, Tenn. Marlin Stutzman, Ind. Mick Mulvaney, S.C. Randy Hultgren, III. Dennis A. Ross, Fla. Robert Pittenger, N.C. Ann Wagner, Mo.

Andy Barr, Ky.

Tom Cotton, Ark.

Keith Rothfus, Pa.

Luke Messer, Ind.

#### Democrats (28)

Maxine Waters, Calif. - Ranking Member Carolyn B. Maloney, N.Y. Nydia M. Velázquez, N.Y. Brad Sherman, Calif. Gregory W. Meeks, N.Y. Michael E. Capuano, Mass. Rubén Hinojosa, Texas William Lacy Clay, Mo. Carolyn McCarthy, N.Y. Stephen F. Lynch, Mass. David Scott, Ga. Al Green, Texas Emanuel Cleaver II. Mo. Gwen Moore, Wis. Keith Ellison, Minn. Ed Perlmutter, Colo. Jim Himes, Conn. Gary Peters, Mich. John Carney, Del. Terri A. Sewell, Ala. Bill Foster, III. Dan Kildee, Mich. Patrick Murphy, Fla. John Delaney, Md. Kyrsten Sinema, Ariz. Joyce Beatty, Ohio

Denny Heck, Wash.

Steven Horsford, Nev.

## **Foreign Affairs**

#### Republicans (25)

Ed Royce, Calif. - Chairman Christopher H. Smith, N.J. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Fla. Dana Rohrabacher, Calif. Steve Chabot, Ohio Joe Wilson, S.C. Michael McCaul, Texas Ted Poe. Texas Matt Salmon, Ariz. Tom Marino, Pa.

Adam Kinzinger, III. Mo Brooks, Ala.

Jeff Duncan, S.C.

Tom Cotton, Ark. Paul Cook, Calif. George Holding, N.C. Randy Weber, Texas Scott Perry, Pa.

Steve Stockman, Texas

Ron DeSantis, Fla. Doug Collins, Ga. Mark Meadows, N.C. Ted Yoho, Fla. Sean P. Duffy, Wis. Curt Clawson, Fla.

#### Democrats (21)

Eliot L. Engel, N.Y. - Ranking Member Eni F.H. Faleomavaega, A.S. Brad Sherman, Calif. Gregory W. Meeks, N.Y. Albio Sires, N.J. Gerald E. Connolly, Va. Ted Deutch, Fla. Brian Higgins, N.Y. Karen Bass, Calif. William Keating, Mass. David Cicilline, R.I. Alan Grayson, Fla. Juan C. Vargas, Calif. Brad Schneider, III. Joseph P. Kennedy III, Mass. Ami Bera, Calif. Alan Lowenthal, Calif. Grace Meng, N.Y.

# **Homeland Security**

#### Republicans (18)

Michael McCaul. Texas - Chairman Lamar Smith, Texas Peter T. King, N.Y. Mike D. Rogers, Ala. Paul Broun, Ga. Candice S. Miller, Mich. Patrick Meehan, Pa. Jeff Duncan, S.C. Tom Marino, Pa.

Jason Chaffetz, Utah Steven M. Palazzo, Miss. Lou Barletta, Pa.

Richard Hudson, N.C.

Steve Daines, Mont.

Susan W. Brooks. Ind. Scott Perry, Pa. Mark Sanford, S.C. Curt Clawson, Fla.

#### Democrats (14)

Lois Frankel, Fla.

Tulsi Gabbard, Hawaii

Joaquin Castro, Texas

Bennie Thompson, Miss. -Ranking Member Loretta Sanchez, Calif. Sheila Jackson Lee, Texas Yvette D. Clarke, N.Y. Brian Higgins, N.Y. Cedric L. Richmond, La. William Keating, Mass. Ron Barber, Ariz. Donald M. Payne Jr., N.J. Beto O'Rourke, Texas Filemon Vela, Texas Eric Swalwell, Calif. Vacancy Vacancy

## **House Administration**

## Republicans (6)

Candice S. Miller, Mich. - Chairwoman Gregg Harper, Miss.

Phil Gingrey, Ga. Aaron Schock, III. Todd Rokita, Ind. Rich Nugent, Fla.

#### Democrats (3)

Robert A. Brady, Pa. - Ranking Member Zoe Lofgren, Calif. Juan C. Vargas, Calif...

## **Judiciary**

#### Republicans (23)

Robert W. Goodlatte, Va. - Chairman

Jim Sensenbrenner, Wis.

#### Howard Coble, N.C.

Lamar Smith, Texas Steve Chabot, Ohio

Spencer Bachus, Ala. Darrell Issa, Calif. J. Randy Forbes, Va. Steve King, Iowa Trent Franks, Ariz. Louie Gohmert, Texas Jim Jordan, Ohio Ted Poe, Texas Jason Chaffetz, Utah Tom Marino, Pa. Trey Gowdy, S.C. Raúl R. Labrador, Idaho Blake Farenthold, Texas George Holding, N.C. Doug Collins, Ga. Ron DeSantis, Fla. Jason Smith, Mo. Vacancy

## Democrats (17)

John Convers Jr., Mich. - Ranking Member Jerrold Nadler, N.Y. Robert C. Scott, Va. Zoe Lofgren, Calif. Sheila Jackson Lee, Texas Steve Cohen, Tenn. Hank Johnson, Ga. Pedro R. Pierluisi, P.R. Judy Chu, Calif. Ted Deutch, Fla. Luis V. Gutiérrez. III. Karen Bass, Calif. Cedric L. Richmond, La. Suzan DelBene, Wash. Joe Garcia, Fla.

Hakeem Jeffries, N.Y.

David Cicilline, R.I.

## **Natural Resources**

## Republicans (26)

Doc Hastings, Wash. Chairman

Don Young, Alaska Louie Gohmert, Texas Rob Bishop, Utah Doug Lamborn, Colo. Rob Wittman, Va.

Paul Broun, Ga. John Fleming, La. Tom McClintock, Calif. Glenn Thompson, Pa. Cynthia M. Lummis, Wyo. Dan Benishek, Mich. Jeff Duncan, S.C. Scott Tipton, Colo. Paul Gosar, Ariz.

Raúl R. Labrador, Idaho Steve Southerland II. Fla.

Bill Flores, Texas Jon Runyan, N.J.

Markwayne Mullin, Okla.

Steve Daines. Mont. Kevin Cramer, N.D.

Doug LaMalfa, Calif. Jason Smith, Mo.

Vance McAllister, La. Bradley Byrne, Ala.

## Democrats (21)

Peter A. DeFazio, Ore. - Ranking Member

Eni F.H. Faleomavaega, A.S. Frank Pallone Jr., N.J. Grace F. Napolitano, Calif.

Rush D. Holt, N.J.

Raúl M. Grijalva, Ariz. Madeleine Z. Bordallo, Guam

Jim Costa, Calif.

Gregorio Kilili Camacho Sablan, N.

Marianas

Niki Tsongas, Mass. Pedro R. Pierluisi, P.R.

Colleen Hanabusa, Hawaii

Tony Cárdenas, Calif. Jared Huffman, Calif. Raul Ruiz, Calif.

Carol Shea Porter, N.H. Alan Lowenthal, Calif.

Joe Garcia, Fla. Matt Cartwright, Pa. Katherine M. Clark, Mass. Vacancy

## **Oversight & Government Reform**

## Republicans (23)

Darrell Issa, Calif. Chairman John L. Mica, Fla. Michael R. Turner, Ohio John J. Duncan Jr., Tenn. Patrick T. McHenry, N.C. Jim Jordan, Ohio Jason Chaffetz, Utah

Tim Walberg, Mich.

James Lankford, Okla. Justin Amash, Mich. Paul Gosar, Ariz. Patrick Meehan, Pa. Scott DesJarlais, Tenn. Trey Gowdy, S.C. Blake Farenthold, Texas

Doc Hastings, Wash.

Cynthia M. Lummis, Wyo. Rob Woodall, Ga. Thomas Massie, Ky. Doug Collins, Ga. Mark Meadows, N.C.

Kerry Bentivolio, Mich.

Ron DeSantis, Fla.

## Democrats (18)

Elijah E. Cummings, Md. -Ranking Member Carolyn B. Maloney, N.Y. Eleanor Holmes Norton, D.C.

John F. Tierney, Mass.

William Lacy Clay, Mo. Stephen F. Lynch, Mass. Jim Cooper, Tenn. Gerald E. Connolly, Va. Jackie Speier, Calif. Matt Cartwright, Pa. Tammy Duckworth, III.

Robin Kelly, III. Danny K. Davis, III. Peter Welch. Vt. Tony Cárdenas, Calif.

Steven Horsford, Nev.

Michelle Lujan Grisham, N.M. Vacancy

## Rules

## Republicans (9)

Pete Sessions, Texas - Chairman Virginia Foxx, N.C. Rob Bishop, Utah Tom Cole, Okla. Rob Woodall, Ga. Rich Nugent, Fla. Daniel Webster, Fla. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Fla.

Michael C. Burgess, Texas

#### **Democrats (4)**

Louise M. Slaughter, N.Y. - Ranking Member Jim McGovern, Mass. Alcee L. Hastings, Fla. Jared Polis, Colo.

## Science, Space & Technology

#### Republicans (22)

Lamar Smith, Texas - Chairman Jim Sensenbrenner, Wis.

#### Ralph M. Hall, Texas

Dana Rohrabacher, Calif. Frank D. Lucas, Okla. Randy Neugebauer, Texas Michael McCaul, Texas Paul Broun, Ga. Steven M. Palazzo, Miss.

Mo Brooks, Ala. Randy Hultgren, III. Larry Bucshon, Ind. Steve Stockman, Texas Bill Posey, Fla. Cynthia M. Lummis, Wyo. David Schweikert, Ariz. Thomas Massie, Ky. Kevin Cramer, N.D. Jim Bridenstine, Okla.

## Democrats (18)

Ranking Member

Zoe Lofgren, Calif. Daniel Lipinski, III. Donna Edwards, Md. Frederica S. Wilson, Fla. Suzanne Bonamici. Ore. Eric Swalwell, Calif. Dan Maffei, N.Y. Alan Grayson, Fla. Joseph P. Kennedy III, Mass. Scott Peters, Calif. Derek Kilmer, Wash. Ami Bera, Calif. Elizabeth Esty, Conn. Marc Veasey, Texas Julia Brownley, Calif. Robin Kelly, III.

Katherine M. Clark, Mass

Eddie Bernice Johnson, Texas -

# Select Benghazi

## Republicans (7)

Randy Weber, Texas Chris Collins, N.Y. Bill Johnson, Ohio

Trey Gowdy, S.C. - Chairman Lynn Westmoreland, Ga. Jim Jordan, Ohio Peter Roskam, III. Mike Pompeo, Kan. Martha Roby, Ala. Susan W. Brooks. Ind.

## **Democrats (5)**

Elijah E. Cummings, Md. - Ranking Member Adam Smith, Wash. Adam B. Schiff, Calif. Linda T. Sánchez, Calif. Tammy Duckworth, III.

## Select Intelligence

#### Republicans (12)

Mike Rogers, Mich. Chairman

Mac Thornberry, Texas Jeff Miller, Fla. K. Michael Conaway, Texas Peter T. King, N.Y.

Frank A. LoBiondo, N.J. Devin Nunes, Calif.

Lynn Westmoreland, Ga.

Michele Bachmann, Minn.

Tom Rooney, Fla. Joe Heck, Nev. Mike Pompeo, Kan.

## Democrats (9)

C.A. Dutch Ruppersberger, Md. -Ranking Member Mike Thompson, Calif. Jan Schakowsky, III. Jim Langevin, R.I. Adam B. Schiff, Calif. Luis V. Gutiérrez, III. Ed Pastor, Ariz. Jim Himes, Conn.

# **Small Business**

## Republicans (14)

Sam Graves, Mo. - Chairman Steve Chabot, Ohio Steve King, Iowa Mike Coffman, Colo. Blaine Luetkemeyer, Mo. Mick Mulvanev, S.C. Scott Tipton, Colo. Jaime Herrera Beutler, Wash. Richard Hanna, N.Y. Tim Huelskamp, Kan. David Schweikert, Ariz. Kerry Bentivolio, Mich.

Chris Collins, N.Y. Tom Rice, S.C.

## Democrats (11)

Terri A. Sewell, Ala.

Nydia M. Velázquez, N.Y. - Ranking Member Kurt Schrader, Ore. Yvette D. Clarke, N.Y. Judy Chu, Calif. Janice Hahn, Calif. Donald M. Payne Jr., N.J. Grace Meng, N.Y. Brad Schneider. III. Ron Barber, Ariz. Ann McLane Kuster, N.H. Patrick Murphy, Fla.

## Transportation and Infrastructure

## Republicans (33)

Bill Shuster, Pa. - Chairman Don Young, Alaska Tom Petri, Wis.

#### Howard Coble, N.C.

John J. Duncan Jr., Tenn. John L. Mica, Fla. Frank A. LoBiondo, N.J. Gary G. Miller, Calif.

Sam Graves, Mo.

## Shelley Moore Capito, W.Va.

Candice S. Miller, Mich. Duncan Hunter, Calif. Rick Crawford, Ark. Lou Barletta, Pa. Blake Farenthold, Texas Larry Bucshon, Ind. Bob Gibbs, Ohio Patrick Meehan, Pa. Richard Hanna, N.Y. Daniel Webster, Fla.

#### Steve Southerland II. Fla.

Jeff Denham, Calif. Reid Ribble, Wis. Thomas Massie, Kv.

#### Steve Daines, Mont.

Tom Rice, S.C. Markwayne Mullin, Okla. Roger Williams, Texas Mark Meadows, N.C. Scott Perry, Pa. Rodney Davis, III. Mark Sanford, S.C. David Jolly, Fla.

#### Democrats (27)

Peter A. DeFazio, Ore.

## Nick J. Rahall II, W.Va. Ranking Member

Eleanor Holmes Norton, D.C.

Jerrold Nadler, N.Y. Corrine Brown, Fla. Eddie Bernice Johnson, Texas Elijah E. Cummings, Md. Rick Larsen, Wash, Michael E. Capuano, Mass. Timothy H. Bishop, N.Y. Michael H. Michaud, Maine Grace F. Napolitano, Calif. Daniel Lipinski, III. Tim Walz, Minn. Steve Cohen, Tenn. Albio Sires, N.J. Donna Edwards, Md. John Garamendi, Calif. André Carson, Ind. Janice Hahn, Calif. Rick Nolan, Minn. Ann Kirkpatrick, Ariz. Dina Titus, Nev. Sean Patrick Maloney, N.Y. Elizabeth Esty, Conn. Lois Frankel, Fla.

## **Veterans' Affairs**

## Republicans (14)

Jeff Miller, Fla. - Chairman Doug Lamborn, Colo. Gus Bilirakis, Fla. Phil Roe, Tenn. Bill Flores, Texas Jeff Denham, Calif. Jon Runyan, N.J. Dan Benishek, Mich.

Tim Huelskamp, Kan. Mike Coffman, Colo. Brad Wenstrup, Ohio

Paul Cook, Calif. Jackie Walorski, Ind.

David Jolly, Fla.

## Democrats (11)

Cheri Bustos, III.

## Michael H. Michaud, Maine

## Ranking Member

Corrine Brown, Fla. Mark Takano, Calif. Julia Brownley, Calif. Dina Titus, Nev. Ann Kirkpatrick, Ariz. Raul Ruiz, Calif.

## Gloria Negrete McLeod, Calif.

Ann McLane Kuster, N.H. Beto O'Rourke, Texas Tim Walz, Minn.

## Ways & Means

## Republicans (23)

#### Dave Camp, Mich. Chairman

Sam Johnson, Texas Kevin Brady, Texas Paul D. Ryan, Wis. Devin Nunes, Calif. Pat Tiberi, Ohio Dave Reichert, Wash. Charles Boustany Jr., La. Peter Roskam, III. Jim Gerlach, Pa. Tom Price, Ga. Vern Buchanan, Fla. Adrian Smith, Neb. Aaron Schock, III. Lynn Jenkins, Kan. Erik Paulsen, Minn.

Kenny Marchant, Texas Diane Black, Tenn. Tom Reed, N.Y.

Todd Young, Ind.

Mike Kelly, Pa. Tim Griffin, Ark.

James B. Renacci, Ohio

#### Democrats (16)

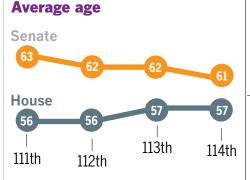
Sander M. Levin, Mich. - Ranking Memher Charles B. Rangel, N.Y. Jim McDermott, Wash. John Lewis, Ga. Richard E. Neal, Mass. Xavier Becerra, Calif. Lloyd Doggett, Texas Mike Thompson, Calif. John B. Larson, Conn. Earl Blumenauer, Ore. Ron Kind, Wis. Bill Pascrell Jr., N.J. Joseph Crowley, N.Y.

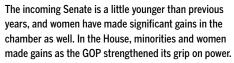
Allyson Y. Schwartz, Pa.

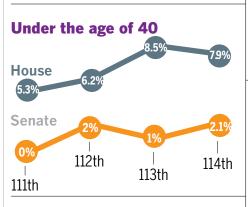
Linda T. Sánchez, Calif.

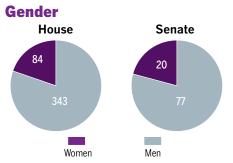
Danny K. Davis, III.

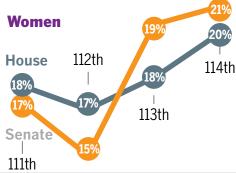
Congress by the Numbers



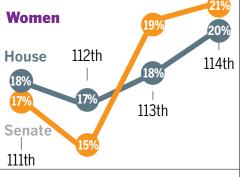


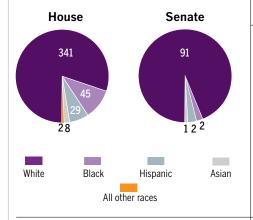






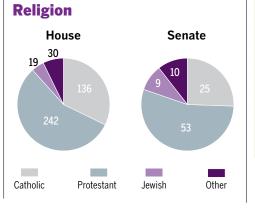
**Minorities** 







Education	n	
House	!	Senate
132	75	72
No degree	Bachelor's or Associate	Advanced degree



## **Occupation**

	HOUSE	SENATE
Public Service/Politics	271	60
Business	231	42
Law	174	60
Eduation	80	25
Real Estate	35	5
Agriculture	25	5
Labor/Blue Collar	21	2
Homemaker	16	5
Medicine/Doctor	18	3
Secretarial	15	2
Journalism	11	5
Health Care	12	
Military	10	1
Technical	7	2
Clergy	7	1
Engineering	7	
Hospitality	6	
Law Enforcement	6	
Artistic/Creative	2	2
Professional Athlete	4	
Science	4	
Actor/Entertainment	1	2
Aeronautics	1	
Miscellaneous	1	
None	3	1

## **Religion and denomination**

	HOUSE	SENATE
Roman Catholic	136	25
Baptist	68	10
Protestant - Unspecified	53	9
Methodist	33	9
Episcopalian	34	4
Presbyterian	21	13
Jewish	19	9
Lutheran	19	7
Mormon	9	7
United Church Of Christ And Congregationalist	6	1
Eastern Orthodox	5	
African Methodist Episcopal	4	
Buddhist	1	1
Christian Scientist	2	
Muslim	2	
Pentecostal	2	
Seventh-Day Adventist	2	
Christian Reformed Church	1	
Hindu	1	
Unspecified	8	2

\*As of November 5, 2014

**Race** 

# Women and Minorities in Congress\*

## **Women in the House**

Alabama: Martha Roby, R; Terri A. Sewell, D Arizona: Ann Kirkpatrick, D; Kyrsten Sinema, D California: Karen Bass, D: Lois Capps, D: Judy Chu, D; Susan A. Davis, D; Anna G. Eshoo, D; Janice Hahn, D; Barbara Lee, D; Zoe Lofgren, D; Doris Matsui, D; Grace F. Napolitano, D; Nancy Pelosi, D; Lucille Roybal-Allard, D; Linda T. Sánchez, D; Loretta Sanchez, D; Jackie Speier, D: Norma J. Torres, D: Mimi Walters, R: Maxine Waters, D

Colorado: Diana DeGette, D

Connecticut: Rosa DeLauro, D; Elizabeth Esty, D

District of Columbia: Eleanor Holmes

Norton, D (Delegate)

Florida: Corrine Brown, D; Kathy Castor, .; Lois Frankel, D; Gwen Graham, D; Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R: Debbie Wasserman Schultz, D: Frederica S. Wilson, D

**Guam:** Madeleine Z. Bordallo, D (Delegate)

Hawaii: Tulsi Gabbard, D

Illinois: Cheri Bustos, D; Tammy Duckworth, D.;

Robin Kelly, D; Jan Schakowsky, D

Indiana: Susan W. Brooks, R; Jackie Walorski, R.

Kansas: Lvnn Jenkins. R Maine: Chellie Pingree, D Maryland: Donna Edwards, D

Massachusetts: Katherine M. Clark. D: Niki

Tsongas, D

Michigan: Debbie Dingell, D; Brenda Lawrence,

D; Candice S. Miller, R Minnesota: Betty McCollum, D

Missouri: Vicky Hartzler, R; Ann Wagner, R

Nevada: Dina Titus, D

New Hampshire: Ann McLane Kuster, D New Jersey: Bonnie Watson Coleman, D New Mexico: Michelle Lujan Grisham, D New York: Yvette D. Clarke, D; Nita M. Lowey, D; Carolyn B. Maloney, D; Grace Meng, D; Kathleen Rice, D; Elise Stefanik, R; Nydia M.

Velazquez, D

North Carolina: Alma Adams, D; Renee

Ellmers, R.; Virginia Foxx, R

Ohio: Joyce Beatty, D; Marcia L. Fudge, D;

Marcy Kaptur, D

Oregon: Suzanne Bonamici, D South Dakota: Kristi Noem, R

Tennessee: Diane Black, R; Marsha Blackburn, R Texas: Kay Granger, R; Sheila Jackson Lee, D;

Eddie Bernice Johnson, D Utah: Mia Love, R

Virgin Islands: Stacey Plaskett, D (Delegate)

Virginia: Barbara Comstock, R

Washington: Suzan DelBene, D.; Jaime Herrera

Beutler, R.; Cathy McMorris Rodgers, R

Wisconsin: Gwen Moore, D Wyoming: Cynthia M. Lummis, R

## Women in the Senate

Alaska: Lisa Murkowski. R

California: Barbara Boxer, D; Dianne Feinstein, D

Hawaii: Mazie K. Hirono. D Iowa: Joni Ernst, R

Louisiana: Mary L. Landrieu, D Maine: Susan Collins. R Maryland: Barbara A. Mikulski, D Massachusetts: Elizabeth Warren, D Michigan: Debbie Stabenow, D Minnesota: Amy Klobuchar, D Missouri: Claire McCaskill, D Nebraska: Deb Fischer, R

New Hampshire: Kelly Ayotte, R; Jeanne

Shaheen, D

New York: Kirsten Gillibrand, D. North Dakota: Heidi Heitkamp, D

Washington: Maria Cantwell, D; Patty Murray, D West Virginia: Shelley Moore Capito, R Wisconsin: Tammy Baldwin, D

## **Blacks in the House**

Alabama: Terri A. Sewell, D

California: Karen Bass, D; Barbara Lee, D;

Maxine Waters. D

District of Columbia: Eleanor Holmes Norton, D Florida: Corrine Brown, D; Alcee L. Hastings, D;

Frederica S. Wilson, D

Georgia: Sanford D. Bishop Jr., D; Hank Johnson, D; John Lewis, D; David Scott, D Illinois: Danny K. Davis, D; Bobby L. Rush, D;

Robin Kelly, D

Indiana: André Carson, D Louisiana: Cedric L. Richmond, D Maryland: Elijah E. Cummings, D; Donna

Edwards. D

Michigan: John Conyers Jr., D; Brenda

Lawrence, D

Minnesota: Keith Ellison, D Mississippi: Bennie Thompson, D Missouri: William Lacy Clay, D; Emanuel

Cleaver II, D

New Jersey: Bonnie Watson Coleman, D;

Donald M. Payne, D Jr.

New York: Charles B. Rangel, D; Gregory W. Meeks, D; Hakeem Jeffries, D; Yvette D.

North Carolina: Alma Adams, D; G.K.

Butterfield, D

Ohio: Joyce Beatty, D; Marcia L. Fudge, D

Pennsylvania: Chaka Fattah, D South Carolina: James E. Clyburn, D

Texas: Al Green, D; Will Hurd, R; Sheila Jackson Lee, D: Eddie Bernice Johnson, D: Marc

Veasey, D

Utah: Mia Love, R

Virgin Islands: Stacey Plaskett, D (Delegate)

Virginia: Robert C. Scott, D Wisconsin: Gwen Moore, D

## **Blacks in the Senate**

New Jersey: Cory Booker, D South Carolina: Tim Scott. R

## **Hispanics in the House**

Arizona: Raúl M. Grijalva, D; Ruben Gallego, D California: Xavier Becerra, D; Tony Cardenas, D; Grace F. Napolitano, D; Lucille Roybal-Allard, D; Raul Ruiz, D; Linda T. Sanchez, D; Loretta Sanchez, D; Norma J. Torres, D; Juan C. Vargas, D; Florida: Mario Diaz-Balart; Carlos Curbelo, R;

Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R Idaho: Raúl R. Labrador, R Illinois: Luis V. Gutiérrez. D New Jersey: Albio Sires, D

New Mexico: Ben Ray Luján, D; Michelle Lujan

Grisham, D

New York: José E. Serrano, D; Nydia M.

Velázguez, D

**Puerto Rico:** Pedro R. Pierluisi, D (Delegate) Texas: Joaquin Castro, D; Henry Cuellar, D; Bill Flores, R; Rubén Hinojosa, D; Filemon Vela, D

West Virginia: Alex X. Mooney, R Washington: Jaime Herrera Beutler, R

## **Hispanics in the Senate**

Florida: Marco Rubio. R

New Jersey: Robert Menendez, D

Texas: Ted Cruz. R

## **Asians in the House**

California: Judy Chu, D; Ted Lieu, D; Doris Mat-

sui. D: Mark Takano. D Hawaii: Mark Takai. D Illinois: Tammy Duckworth, D New York: Grace Meng, D

Northern Marianas Islands: Gregorio Kilili

Camacho Sablan, D (Delegate)

## Asian in the Senate

Hawaii: Mazie K. Hirono. D

## **American Indians in the House**

Oklahoma: Tom Cole, R; Markwayne Mullin, R

## **Pacific Islander in the House**

Hawaii: Tulsi Gabbard, D

\*As of November 5, 2014

# **Departing Members**\*

of the 113th Congress

# **Defeated in general election**

14 Democrats, 3 Republicans

Name	First elected	Defeated by
Rep. John Barrow, D-Ga. (12)	2004	Rick Allen, R
Rep. Timothy H. Bishop. D-N.Y. (1)	2002	Lee Zeldin, R
Rep. Bill Enyart, D-III. (12)	2012	Mike Bost, R
Del. Eni F.H. Faleomavaega, D-A.S.	1988	Aumua Amata Radewagen, R
Rep. Joe Garcia, D-Fla. (26)	2012	Carlos Curbelo, R
Rep. Pete Gallego, D-Texas (23)	2012	Will Hurd, R
Sen. Kay Hagan, D-N.C.	2008	Thom Tillis, R
Rep. Steven Horsford, D-Nev. (4)	2012	Cresent Hardy, R
Rep. Dan Maffei, D-N.Y. (24)	2008	John Katko, R
Rep. Vance McAllister, R-La. (5)	2013	Lost open primary
Sen. Mark Pryor, D-Ark.	2002	Rep. Tom Cotton, R
Rep. Nick J. Rahall II, D-W.Va. (3)	1976	Evan Jenkins, R
Rep. Brad Schneider, D-III. (10)	2012	Robert Dold, R
Rep. Carol Shea-Porter, D-N.H. (1)	2006	Frank Guinta, R
Rep. Steve Southerland II, R-Fla. (2)	2010	Gwen Graham, D
Rep. Lee Terry, R-Neb. (2)	1998	Brad Ashford, D
Sen. Mark Udall, D-Colo.	2008	Rep. Cory Gardner, R



**OUSTED:** Udall, a six-year incumbent, lost his seat in Colorado's Senate race by 7 percentage points.

## Sought other office 7 Democrats, 11 Republicans

Name	First elected	Result
Rep. Bruce Braley, D-lowa (1)	2006	Lost Senate race
Rep. Paul Broun, R-Ga. (10)	2007	Lost Senate primary
Rep. Shelley Moore Capito, R-W.Va. (2)	2000	Elected to Senate
Rep. Bill Cassidy, R-La. (6)	2008	Advanced to Senate runoff
Del. Donna M.C. Christensen, D-V.I.	1996	Trailing in gubernatorial race
Rep. Tom Cotton, R-Ark. (4)	2012	Elected to Senate
Rep. Steve Daines, R-Mont. (AL)	2012	Elected to Senate
Rep. Cory Gardner, R-Colo. (4)	2010	Elected to Senate
Rep. Phil Gingrey, R-Ga. (11)	2002	Lost Senate primary
Rep. Tim Griffin, R-Ark. (2)	2010	Elected lieutenant governor
Rep. Colleen Hanabusa, D-Hawaii (1)	2010	Lost Senate primary
Rep. Jack Kingston, R-Ga. (1)	1992	Lost Senate primary runoff
Rep. James Lankford, R-Okla. (5)	2010	Elected to Senate
Rep. Michael H. Michaud, D-Maine (2)	2002	Lost gubernatorial race
Rep. Gloria Negrete McLeod, D-Calif. (35)	2012	Trailing in San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors race
Rep. Gary Peters, D-Mich. (14)	2008	Elected to Senate
Rep. Allyson Y. Schwartz, D-Pa. (13)	2004	Lost gubernatorial primary
Rep. Steve Stockman, R-Texas (36)	2012	Lost Senate primary



**ALOHA:** Hanabusa fell short in her Democratic primary challenge to Sen. Brian Schatz.

## Deceased 1 Democrat, 1 Republican

Name	First elected or appointed	Date	Details
Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg, D-N.J.	1982	Died on June 3, 2013	Seat filled by appointment
Rep. C.W. Bill Young, R-Fla.	1970	Died on Oct. 18, 2013	Seat filled by special election

## **Resignations** 6 Democrats, 7 Republicans

Name	First elected or appointed	Effective date	Details
Rep. Rodney Alexander, R-La. (5)	2002	Sept. 27, 2013	Seat filled by special election
Rep. Robert E. Andrews, D-N.J. (1)	1990	Feb. 18, 2014	Seat being filled by special election
Sen. Max Baucus, D-Mont.	1978	Feb. 6, 2014	Became ambassador to China; seat filled by appointment
Rep. Jo Bonner, R-Ala. (1)	2002	Aug. 2, 2013	Seat filled by special election
Rep. Eric Cantor, R-Va. (7)	2000	Aug. 18, 2014	Had been defeated in a primary election June 10, 2014; seat being filled by special election
Sen. Jeff Chiesa, R-N.J.	2013	Oct. 31, 2013	Was appointee; seat filled by special election
Sen. Tom Coburn, R-Okla.	2004	End of 113th Congress	Will resign at end of 113th Congress, though term extends to January 2017; seat being filled by special election
Sen. William "Mo" Cowan, D-Mass.	2013	July 16, 2013	Was appointee; seat filled by special election
Rep. Jo Ann Emerson, R-Mo. (8)	1996	Jan. 22, 2013	Seat filled by special election
Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass.	1984	Feb. 1, 2013	Became secretary of State; seat filled by appointment
Rep. Edward J. Markey, D-Mass. (5)	1976	July 15, 2013	Won Senate special election; seat filled by special election
Rep. Trey Radel, R-Fla. (19)	2012	Jan. 27, 2014	Seat filled by special election
Rep. Melvin Watt, D-N.C. (12)	1992	Jan. 6, 2014	Became Federal Housing Finance Agency director; seat being filled by special election

## Retiring, Senate 5 Democrats, 2 Republicans

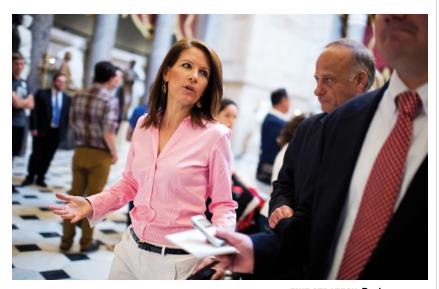
Name	First elected or appointed
Saxby Chambliss, R-Ga.	2002
Tom Harkin, D-Iowa	1984
Mike Johanns, R-Neb.	2008
Tim Johnson, D-S.D.	1996
Carl Levin, D-Mich.	1978
Jay Rockefeller, D-W.Va.	1984
John Walsh, D-Mont.	2014

## Retiring, House 10 Democrats, 14 Republicans

Michele Bachmann, R-Minn. (6)	2006
Spencer Bachus, R-Ala. (6)	1992
Dave Camp, R-Mich. (4)	1990
John Campbell, R-Calif. (45)	2005
Howard Coble, R-N.C. (6)	1984
John D. Dingell, D-Mich. (12)	1955
Jim Gerlach, R-Pa. (6)	2002
Doc Hastings, R-Wash. (4)	1994
Rush D. Holt, D-N.J. (12)	1998
Tom Latham, R-Iowa (3)	1994
Jim Matheson, D-Utah (4)	2000
Carolyn McCarthy, D-N.Y. (4)	1996
Mike McIntyre, D-N.C. (7)	1996
Howard "Buck" McKeon, R-Calif. (25)	1992
Gary G. Miller, R-Calif. (31)	1998
George Miller, D-Calif. (11)	1974
James P. Moran, D-Va. (8)	1990
Bill Owens, D-N.Y. (21)	2009
Ed Pastor, D-Ariz. (7)	1991
Tom Petri, R-Wis. (6)	1979
Mike Rogers, R-Mich. (8)	2000
Jon Runyan, R-N.J. (3)	2010
Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif. (33)	1974
Frank R. Wolf, R-Va. (10)	1980

## Lost campaign for renomination 1 Democrat, 2 Republicans

Name	First elected	Winner of nomination
Rep. Kerry Bentivolio, R-Mich. (11)	2012	David Trott, R
Rep. Ralph M. Hall, R-Texas (4)	1980	John Ratcliffe, R
Rep. John F. Tierney, D-Mass. (6)	1996	Seth Moulton, D





**EXIT STRATEGY:** Bachmann, above, is leaving the House. Cantor, left, already has - he resigned his seat in August, two months after his surprise loss in a Republican primary.

\*As of November 5, 2014

# **Outlook on House Committees**

# Some New Faces, Same Old Fights

Retirements, term limits and election results yield new dynamics on some committees next year

REPUBLICANS SOLIDIFIED their majority in the House, but there are big changes ahead in committee leadership for 114th Congress.

The GOP has instituted rules that limit the tenure of its chairmen to six years. Leaders can grant exceptions, but they allow those sparingly. The rules mean that at least nine committees will have new leaders, including the powerful Armed Services, Budget and Ways and Means panels. Although many of the successors are clear, there are competitive races to head the Select Intelligence Committee and the Oversight and Government Reform panel.

There will be more stability on the other side of the aisle, since Democrats don't have the same system of term limits. But a number of committees will have new ranking members. The toughest battle is between Frank Pallone Jr. of New Jersey and Anna G. Eshoo of California for the ranking slot on Energy and Commerce.



SPENDING PANEL: Harold Rogers, left, has another two years left as chairman of House Appropriations, while it's still unclear which subcommittee John Culberson, R-Texas, will helm next year.

# **Agriculture**

K. MICHAEL CONAWAY, a Texas conservative whom leaders have often tapped for special assignments, is expected to replace outgoing Agriculture Chairman Frank D. Lucas. The Oklahoma Republican plans to remain on the committee but is term-limited as chairman.

Conaway campaigned for the top post even though the committee will not write a new multi-year farm bill before 2017. Oversight will be his focus as he monitors the rules and regulations the Agriculture Department issues to implement the 2014 farm bill (PL 113-79). He has promised to scrutinize the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, which constitutes the largest share of farm bill mandatory funding. The program, formerly known as food stamps, was a point of contention in the farm bill talks for House Republicans, who supported a nearly \$40 billion reduction over 10 years, and a majority of Democrats, who opposed the cut as harmful to the poor. The Senate

Agriculture Committee negotiated a 10-year reduction of \$8.6 billion that may prove to be smaller than projected. The provision is likely to be one element of the SNAP program Conaway reviews.

Conaway is a critic of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission's rule-making for the over-the-counter derivatives market it now polices as part of the Dodd-Frank finan-



cial regulatory law. A certified public accountant, Conaway has pressed the agency to consider the costs on industries affected by new rules. Conaway will have the opportunity to revisit CFTC reauthorization legislation passed by the House in the 113th Congress. Collin C. Peterson of Minnesota will remain the ranking Democrat. - ELLYN FERGUSON

## **Appropriations**

APPROPRIATORS WILL BE FRONT and center as the GOP majority aims to dent the Obama administration's agenda and position itself for the 2016 presidential race.

Republicans will look to continue branding themselves as the party of fiscal responsibility, slashing spending from programs that implement portions of the 2010 health care law, as well as from the EPA's administrative offices. The GOP will also continue to add policy riders to spending bills to limit specific activities and reporting requirements for federal agencies to keep them on a leash.

Sequestration will keep discretionary spending roughly frozen between fiscal 2015 and 2016. Absent a larger deal between Republicans and Democrats, the 114th Congress will see a reprise of many of the spending debates that were fought over the last year.

Chairman Harold Rogers of Kentucky has two more years of tenure under GOP rules. Nita M. Lowey of New York is also expected to remain as ranking Democrat.

A trio of GOP retirements will lead to shuffling among subcommittee chairmen. The chairmanship of the treasured subcommittee that oversees the departments of Justice and Commerce, as well as NASA and other science agencies, is open. The position appears to be Alabama Republican Robert B. Aderholt's for the taking.

The top slots on the Transportation-HUD and Labor-HHS-Education panels are also available. Legislative Branch Subcommittee Chairman Tom Cole, R-Okla., is close to leadership and at one point was said



Rogers

to be interested in Labor-HHS-Education, which oversees nearly one-third of the nondefense discretionary budget.

Kay Granger of Texas is term-limited in her current position atop the State-Foreign Operations Subcommittee. She may seek a waiver from leadership to retain it.

At least four other cardinals are said to want to stick with their current assignments: Rodney Frelinghuysen of New Jersey at Defense; Mike Simpson of Idaho at Energy-Water; John Carter of Texas at Homeland Security; and Ken Calvert of California at Interior-Environment.

Rogers will need to recommend to the House GOP Steering Committee three new subcommittee chairmen. Republican appropriators mostly - but don't always - follow full-committee seniority. Mario Diaz-Balart of Florida, Charlie Dent of Pennsylvania and Tom Graves of Georgia are next in line by that measure.

Democrats are losing veteran appropriators James P. Moran of Virginia and Ed Pastor of Arizona, who are retiring at the end of the current Congress. The two were ranking members on the Interior-Environment and Transportation-HUD subcommittees, respectively. A mix of full and subcommittee seniority will determine which Democratic appropriators will get promotions.

House leaders have signaled they will push for wrapping up fiscal 2015 work in a catchall measure in the remaining weeks of the 113th Congress. Such an approach would stave off a government shutdown and give GOP leaders a clean slate in January. -TAMAR HALLERMAN

## **Armed Services**

A SIGNIFICANT LEADERSHIP SHAKE-UP is in store for this committee in the new Congress, with longtime Chairman Howard "Buck" McKeon set to retire in January.

The California Republican, who has sat atop the committee since 2009, has endorsed Mac Thornberry of Texas to be his successor. That endorsement has helped make Thornberry, a well-regarded panel member who lost two previous bids for the top job, the odds-on favorite.

In his work on the committee, Thornberry has focused on a range of issues, including ensuring that the government has the necessary legal authorities to fill missions as varied as cybersecurity and detaining and prosecuting alleged terrorists.

In recent months, Thornberry has appeared to be preparing for the job by taking a more assertive role both on the committee and as a GOP spokesman on national security issues. But his promotion is not guaranteed, as J. Randy Forbes of Virginia, an ardent Navy champion, is also expected to vie for the job.

Whoever chairs the panel in the 114th Congress will be expected to work closely with his Democratic counterpart, Adam Smith of Washington, to shepherd the annual sweeping defense authorization bill.

While both men are unabashed hawks, the delicate work of drafting a bill that gets broad bipartisan support could come more naturally to Thornberry than Forbes, who tends to be a more politically polarizing figure on the committee.

The promotion of either man would have reverberating effects



Thornberry

among subcommittee leadership slots. Thornberry chairs the Intelligence, Emerging Threats and Capabilities Subcommittee, while Forbes leads the Seapower panel.

Meanwhile, Ohio Republican Michael R. Turner, who chairs the Tactical Air and Land Forces panel, is campaigning to become chairman of the Oversight and Government Reform Committee, which, if it happens, would mean giving up the gavel of his sought-after subcommittee, which oversees most Army and Air Force programs.

In other personnel moves, GOP term limits will force Joe Wilson to step down from his chairmanship of the

Personnel Subcommittee. As one of the most senior Republicans on the full committee, Wilson would likely receive a gavel on another panel. The Personnel panel could go to one of several Republicans on the committee, but one more junior member — Joe Heck of Nevada, a doctor and an Army reservist who was recently confirmed for promotion to brigadier general — could make an interesting play for the slot.

On the Democratic side, the only certain move on the panel's top row is the retirement of Mike McIntyre of North Carolina, opening up the ranking member slot on the Seapower subcommittee, which has oversight of most Navy and Marine Corps programs.

That could prompt a host of leadership shifts, particularly if another subcommittee ranking member – such as Susan A. Davis of California, the top Democrat on the Personnel panel, whose San Diego district is home to many naval interests — campaigns for McIntyre's old job.

- MEGAN SCULLY

## **Budget**

GEORGIA PHYSICIAN TOM PRICE is likely to become the next chairman, providing him with a platform to push changes in the health care system that he has long advocated.

Paul D. Ryan of Wisconsin, the current chairman, is term-limited on the panel and is hoping to succeed retiring Dave Camp of Michigan as the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

As the vice chairman of the Budget Committee for the past two years, Price has worked closely with Ryan and prepared to assume the top spot. Like Ryan, Price bridges

the gap between the House's conservative wing and its leadership. He has served as both chairman of the conservative Republican Study Committee and chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee.

This summer, Price said one of his priorities if he becomes chairman



**Price** 

would be to undo the 2010 health care law.

"We believe it needs to be repealed and replaced with patient-centered health care that allows patients and families and doctors to make medical decisions, and not Washington, D.C.," he said. "So whatever the Budget Committee is able to do to provide that framework and that road map for Congress to have an easier time of getting to the positive solutions that we believe are necessary, that's the direction that we'd like to go."

Scott Garrett of New Jersey is ahead of Price in seniority, and is a budget expert, but he has been more focused

on financial issues in recent years.

Chris Van Hollen, D-Md., is expected to remain as ranking member of the panel, where he has served as the House Democrats' point man on budget issues. - PAUL M. KRAWZAK

## **Education & the Workforce**

THE COMMITTEE WILL SEE A HUGE SHUFFLE as senior members of both parties depart.

Most notably, ranking Democrat George Miller of California is retiring after 40 years on the panel. Virginian Robert C. Scott is set to take Miller's place. Expect Scott to push for many of the same initiatives, including expanding federal preschool programs, raising the minimum wage, ensuring educational equity for minority and lowincome students and reining in college costs.

The brain drain on the committee doesn't stop with Miller. Democrats Carolyn McCarthy, John F. Tierney and Rush D. Holt will be departing, as will Republicans Howard "Buck" McKeon, a former chairman, and Tom Petri.

Current Chairman John Kline, who needs a waiver from the Republican Steering Committee to continue leading the panel for a fourth Congress, likely will run a schedule similar to that of the last few years.



The committee will likely take another stab at reauthorizing the elementary and secondary education law. Kline, R-Minn., may again try to pull out a portion of the bill expanding federal supports for charter schools, an idea with bipartisan backing in the House that has been stopped in the Senate. A more contentious topic will be renewing the child nutrition law that includes the national school lunch and breakfast programs.

Members will also work on reauthorizing the Higher Education Act. Kline started this year by moving small, noncontroversial measures; fights over student loan

refinancing and Education Department regulations are forthcoming.

On labor issues, Kline has said he wants to fix the finances of failing multi-employer pension programs and the panel is likely to continue efforts to block rules by the National Labor Relations Board and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. — CAROLYN PHENICIE

# **Energy & Commerce**

WITH FIRM CONTROL for the third consecutive Congress, Republicans plan to maintain the panel's focus on laws and regulations they'd like to change - namely the 2010 health care overhaul and the EPA's climate change agenda – while also branching out into policy areas where they could find common ground with Democrats.

On energy policy, the committee plans to focus more on electric reliability and affordability, two issues Republicans are increasingly bringing up in debates over the administration's climate action plan. Energy efficiency is an area that could produce bipartisan legislation. Members

also will try to move bills to revamp the 1976 Toxic Substances Control Act and to shift regulation of coal ash from the EPA to the states.

On health care, expect Republicans to continue efforts to amend aspects of the health care law and to keep up oversight, particularly



with the second open-enrollment period ending Feb. 15. Full committee Chairman Fred Upton, R-Mich., and Colorado Democrat Diana DeGette are spearheading an effort to unveil bipartisan legislation early next year to bolster American innovation in discovering, manufacturing and delivering medicines and treatments for diseases.

Meanwhile, the committee will continue work on updating the Communications Act.

Committee Democrats are losing two heavyweights to retirement - former chairmen John D. Dingell of Michigan and Henry A. Waxman of California — and the race

between Frank Pallone Jr. of New Jersey and Anna G. Eshoo of California to serve as ranking Democrat is still too close to call. Both members are expected to tow the leadership line, particularly when it comes to clean energy and advocating for the health care law. - LAUREN GARDNER

## **Financial Services**

THE MIDTERM ELECTIONS do not appear likely to bring significant changes to the committee.

Chairman Jeb Hensarling, the Texas Republican who has taken aim at the Export-Import Bank and the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, is expected to retain the gavel in the 114th Congress. Frank Lucas of Oklahoma is mulling a potential challenge for the top spot, but is unlikely to prevail. That means Hensarling is likely to continue his quests to end the Ex-Im bank, to remake the nation's housing and mortgage industry and to undo many of the regulations stemming from the 2010 Dodd-Frank financial overhaul.

Maxine Waters, a liberal Democrat from California who is the committee's ranking member, has pledged to work against Hensarling on nearly all of those major matters.

For one, she will help lead the charge in support of the Export-Import Bank, whose charter is set to expire on June 30. Hensarling made killing off the credit finance agency a top priority in 2014 and, though he did not oppose a measure attached to a continuing resolution (PL 113-164) giving the bank a temporary reprieve from its September 2014 end date, he has not softened his position. He says ending the bank should be a defining position among conservatives because the export financing agency embodies "crony capitalism."

Hensarling may continue his effort to overhaul the mortgage industry, although a GOP-only bill he pushed through the panel in the 113th never received a floor vote. The measure, which would end Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac and remove the government's backing on the mortgage system, is a controversial proposal that even many House Republicans oppose — as do pivotal industry stakeholders such as real



**NEIGHBORS:** Waters, left, and Hensarling will likely continue sitting next to each other, and opposing each other's policy preferences, at Financial Services.

estate agents and home builders.

Hensarling, though, has the backing of the banking industry in his efforts to rein in and potentially undo portions of the Dodd-Frank law. He may very well pursue legislation to transform the CFPB from a director-led to a commission-run agency, as well as seek to make the bureau's funding subject to the congressional appropriations process, a move that most Democrats oppose because, they argue, it could allow Republicans to starve an agency they don't like.

A few senior members of the panel will not remain for the 114th Congress because they are retiring. Those members include Democrat Carolyn McCarthy of New York and Republicans Gary G. MillerandJohnCampbell,bothofCalifornia.Miller,arealestatedeveloper, was one of only two Republicans to vote against Hensarling's housing finance overhaul and is a voice on the panel that industry stakeholders will miss.

— KATE ACKLEY



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## **Foreign Affairs**

REPUBLICAN ED ROYCE of California will be back in the chairman's chair for his second term, with Eliot L. Engel of New York serving as the committee's ranking Democrat. The two men have worked smoothly together, and are expected to continue their focus on the U.S. role in the Middle East, Ukraine and the Asia-Pacific region.

The committee will focus on Iran's nuclear program. In the event the negotiations for a nuclear accord between Iran and six major powers collapse, the panel is likely to approve tougher economic sanctions against Tehran. If there is a deal, the panel will review its terms and consider

possible implementation and oversight legislation. Regardless of the outcome, Royce intends to move forward with legislation targeting Iran's proxies, such as Hamas and Hezbollah.

With the U.S.-led air campaign against Islamic State militants in Iraq



Royce

and Syria expected to continue into the new year, Royce is likely to hold hearings that would question the administration's strategy. It's unclear how quickly the committee would move consider a resolution authorizing airstrikes.

As one of the most outspoken supporters of relaxing regulations that restrict exports of U.S. oil and natural gas, Royce is likely to continue his practice from the current session and hold more hearings on the diplomatic and economic benefits of such exports. The panel is also expected to continue its work to overhaul the Broadcast Board of Governors, a government-appointed body

which oversees U.S. international broadcasts such as the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe.

No changes among the panel's subcommittee chairmen are expected.

- JONATHAN BRODER

# **Homeland Security**

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP of Texas Republican Michael McCaul, this young committee is expected to continue to gain clout in Congress and grow its public profile.

Since taking the chairmanship two years ago, serving alongside longtime top Democrat Bennie Thompson, D-Miss., McCaul has insisted his panel deserves direct briefings about terrorist threats and attacks.

In the beginning, intelligence officials were reluctant to appease the former federal prosecutor, refusing in 2013 to send an FBI official to testify about the Boston Marathon bombing. But McCaul was able to persuade FBI Director James B. Comey to appear before his panel in September to talk about

the threat Islamic State militants pose to the U.S. homeland. If immigration proposals go anywhere in the next two years, the

committee is expected to be integral to the negotiating process, since McCaul has authored the border security bill that House Republicans



McCaul

want to include as a component of a broader overhaul.

Behind the scenes, the repercussions of a shake-up of panel staff this year may linger. McCaul's new committee staff director dismissed five top policy staffers, including senior advisers on border security and counterterrorism.

While the panel is expected to lead legislative efforts on high-profile issues such as revamping the Secret Service and keeping Islamic State fighters from traveling to the United States, members will also try to enact authorizing legislation for the Homeland Security Department.

Lawmakers from both parties have supported a proposal to require Customs and Border Protection to make public information on migrant deaths and on unaccompanied immigrant children, as well as authorization legislation aimed at ensuring that DHS is regulating chemical facilities like the one that blew up in Texas last year. - JENNIFER SCHOLTES

# **Judiciary**

CHAIRMAN ROBERT W. GOODLATTE will continue his focus on technology policy and intellectual property next year, including copyright laws and trade secret theft.

A top priority for the Virginia Republican will be his bill to overhaul the nation's patent litigation system that passed the House but got mired in Senate politics.

The committee also will play a central role in the oversight of President Barack Obama's last two years in office, including a push to rein in the use of executive orders that could even involve lawsuits against the administration.

Immigration will be a major topic, and it highlights the divide between Goodlatte and the White House on executive action. Goodlatte, an immigration lawyer before coming to Congress, has resisted a comprehensive bill passed by the Senate and supported by Obama. Instead, Goodlatte wants a deliberate, step-by-step approach.



Goodlatte

The committee's unfinished business includes a task force studying over-criminalization in the nation's laws and a bill to overhaul the intelligence-gathering programs of the National Security Agency, including ending the bulk collection of data.

The retirement of Howard Coble of North Carolina leaves an opening for chairman of the Subcommittee on Courts, Intellectual Property and the Internet. The second-ranking member of that panel is Tom Marino of Pennsylvania, but a member with more full-committee seniority could try to claim the spot.

John Conyers Jr. of Michigan is expected to remain the committee's top Democrat, bringing his 50 years of experience in the House, a reputation as one of the most far-left Democrats and a position of respect as a civil rights leader. - TODD RUGER

## Rules

AT LEAST TWO REPUBLICAN SLOTS on the committee will free up if Ileana Ros-Lehtinen of Florida and Rob Bishop of Utah depart for other panels at the end of the year, as their aides have suggested is possible. But few lawmakers will be eager to rush to fill the vacancies on the "Speaker's Committee," with its long hours, lengthy debate sessions and unpredictable schedule. Even its top member admits that serving on the panel is a tough job.

"The hours and amount of work is a real beating," says Chairman Pete Sessions, R-Texas.

Republicans Rich Nugent and Daniel Webster of Florida say they hope to remain on Rules for the 114th Congress, along with Virginia Foxx of North Carolina, Tom Cole of Oklahoma, Rob Woodall of Georgia and Michael C. Burgess of Texas. The panel's ranking Democrat, Louise M. Slaughter of New York, found herself un-



Sessions

expectedly clinging to the narrowest of leads. If she ends up losing, Jim McGovern of Massachusetts might be able to claim the top Democratic spot, but the final decision will be up to Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi of California.

Slaughter has blasted the panel's record-breaking 77 closed rules in the 113th, but Sessions maintains the committee was no more permissive when Slaughter was at its helm. During the 111th, the Democratic-controlled House didn't consider a single bill under an open rule.

Sessions also points out that he encourages members of the minority party to testify at Rules. Prior to back-

ing a closed rule for a contentious resolution to sue President Barack Obama, the panel heard testimonies from four legal scholars about the constitutional limits of the executive branch.

- MELANIE ZANONA

# **Select Intelligence**

WITH CHAIRMAN MIKE ROGERS, R-Mich., retiring at the end of the session to become a talk radio host, the panel is set for new leadership — although it remains unclear who Speaker John A. Boehner will appoint.

Texas' Mac Thornberry would be next in line for chairman, but has said he's "strictly" interested in becoming the Armed Services Committee's leader, leaving the Intelligence panel's top spot open to several candidates. Peter T. King of New York, Jeff Miller of Florida and Devin Nunes of California have all either publicly campaigned for the job or said they'd be honored to take it if selected.

Mike Pompeo of Kansas is also considered to be in the running. Nunes is the likely frontrunner, unless Miller makes a strong push for it.

Ranking Democrat C.A. Dutch Ruppersberger of Maryland says he plans to retain his spot as long as Democratic leaders allow it.

Ruppersberger and Rogers both touted their close relationship,



and panel members say they hope the cordial bipartisan dealings at the leadership level will continue. The next chairman will also have one more key relationship to reestablish — the Senate Intelligence Committee's top Republican, Saxby Chambliss of Georgia, is retiring this year.

The new session could bring a new sense of focus to the committee's work, which could turn more toward Islamist terrorism and risks to the homeland. Members say that, for the past two years, much of their energy has been spent frantically reacting to news stories about the National Security Agency's surveillance activities.

Legislatively, the committee is pushing two bills in the lame duck - a surveillance overhaul that would prohibit mass collection of telephone metadata and a cybersecurity package. If Congress doesn't act, the panel is likely begin again in the new session, since the metadatacollection authority expires in the summer of 2015. - ROB MARGETTA

# **Transportation & Infrastructure**

THE II4TH CONGRESS will be a busy time for the committee, which is slated to take up some major transportation authorizations that have tripped up past Congresses.

The biggest challenge comes in May, when the surface transportation authorization - last extended in July comes up again. Chairman Bill Shuster, R-Pa., has said he wants to work on a multiyear bill that ends the cycle of short-term highway bills, but that will prove difficult.

Funding will be the toughest sticking point. The Highway Trust Fund, which provides much of the federal government's share of transportation dollars, doesn't raise

enough money from the gas tax to cover planned expenses. According to the Congressional Budget Office, outlays will exceed revenues by \$167 billion between 2015 and 2024. To avoid having to top off the trust fund with general fund revenue, Shuster and the committee have



to decide whether they want to find a long-term fix, such as raising the gas tax, or cut infrastructure spending.

The committee also will have to reauthorize the Federal Aviation Administration, with the previous one expiring at the end of fiscal 2015. That bill is likely to prove complicated as lawmakers grapple with implementation woes with NextGen, the new air traffic control system.

Now that Nick J. Rahall II, D-W.Va., has lost his re-election fight, Democrats have to anoint a new ranking member. Peter A. DeFazio of Oregon, who will have seniority and is expected to choose the top Democratic spot at

Transportation over his current role at Natural Resources, would inject a strong pro-transit voice. The retirement of Tom Petri, R-Wis., opens up the chairmanship of the Highways and Transit Subcommittee.

- DAVID HARRISON

## **Veterans' Affairs**

THE COMMITTEE'S AGENDA — grounded in extensive oversight of the Department of Veterans Affairs — is not likely to change substantially, but the leadership of the panel is still a bit up in the air.

The current chairman, Jeff Miller of Florida, could stay in his current role, ensuring full continuity. But Miller is also interested taking the gavel of the Intelligence Committee, where he would be second in seniority. That decision is up to Speaker John A. Boehner. If Miller does get Intelligence, the next most senior Republicans on the veterans' panel are Doug Lamborn of Colorado and Floridian Gus Bilirakis.

On the Democratic side of the panel, new leadership is set to emerge with the retirement of ranking member Michael H. Michaud of Maine, who chose to mount an unsuccessful bid for governor instead. Cor-



Miller

rine Brown, also of Florida, has served on the committee since joining the House in 1993 and would be the choice if seniority prevails. Another possible candidate is Tim Walz of Minnesota, whose time with both the Nebraska and Minnesota National Guards makes him the highest ranking enlisted service member ever to serve in Congress.

The panel will be tracking the progress of a veterans' health care access law (PL 113-146) negotiated by Miller and Senate Veterans' Affairs Chairman Bernard Sanders, I-Vt., in response to revelations of lengthy wait times and data manipulation at regional VA

health facilities. Lawmakers may insist on new accountability legislation and will probably renew a push to give the VA secretary authority to recoup bonuses from underperforming VA managers.

- CONNOR O'BRIEN

# **Ways & Means**

AFTER A DIFFICULT SESSION, where the committee was hobbled by unusually high tensions over the IRS targeting controversy, a change at the top might not offer much of a fresh start for the panel.

For one thing, Paul D. Ryan, R-Wis., is expected to succeed retiring chairman Dave Camp of Michigan as chairman next year. Ryan's status as the face of conservative fiscal policy could get in the way of efforts to reach across the aisle. As long as Ryan is considered a potential 2016 contender, the panel might have to wait on bipartisan accomplishments.

When it comes to the IRS, forthcoming Treasury regulations guiding the political activity of tax-exempt groups will also keep the issue in the spotlight in early 2015.

More broadly, Ryan voiced support this fall for Camp's proposal funneling a one-time windfall from overhauling corporate taxes into infrastructure - signaling a potential point of compromise as Congress takes up highway funding early next year. Movement on the Trans-Pacific Partnership is also expected in 2015 and would require Congress to renew Trade Promotion Authority.

Ryan will have to beat back a challenge from Kevin Brady, R-Texas. Both have been on the committee since 2001, with Brady having one



more term of Congress under his belt. Brady could be playing a long game - cementing his status as the next choice should Ryan leave to run for president in 2016. But Brady, a less effective fundraiser, isn't expected to give the former vice presidential candidate much of a run.

Several of the subcommittees are likely to be reshuffled, but it's unclear who will end up leading each panel. Sander M. Levin of Michigan will remain the top Democrat.

The panel also has some unfinished business in the 113th Congress. The renewal of 50-odd expired tax breaks worth more than \$50 billion a year is at the top of the

lame-duck agenda. Although most of the negotiations will take place at the leadership level, the committee will figure heavily into drafting different options. Camp will push to make a handful of business breaks permanent.

A deal retroactively renewing the "extenders" for just one year would put pressure on the committee to move quickly next year on comprehensive tax legislation. Camp's sweeping tax overhaul plan - met with crickets upon its release in February - remains the most detailed on record, and is expected to serve as a template for future talks now that Speaker John A. Boehner, R-Ohio, has said overhauling the tax code will be a priority in the 114th Congress. - KATY O'DONNELL

## **Other Committees**

THE MOST CONTENTIOUS REMAINING RACE could be the one to chair the Oversight and Government Reform Committee. With Darrell Issa of California term-limited, at least four members are actively vying for the gavel: Jason Chaffetz of Utah, Michael R. Turner of Ohio, Jim Jordan of Ohio and John L. Mica of Florida. Chaffetz is making a strong case about his passion for oversight and taking on the Obama administration, but Turner could mount a tough challenge.

Rob Bishop of Utah is widely expected to take over the Natural Resources Committee, with the departure of Doc Hastings of Washington. Don Young of Alaska already served as chairman and Louie Gohmert of Texas, who would be next in line, is backing Bishop.

On the Small Business Committee, with Sam Graves of Missouri term-limited, the natural heir is Steve Chabot of Ohio. Chabot would have seniority, and he held the ranking member spot before he lost re-election in 2008. Still, potential rivals Scott Tipton of Colorado and New Yorkers Richard Hanna and Chris Collins have shown interest.

Lamar Smith of Texas should retain the top spot on the Science, Space and Technology Committee, and Candice S. Miller is expected to remain as chairwoman of House Administration. The next chairman of the Ethics Committee will be appointed directly by the Speaker.

# Outlook on Senate Committees

# Claiming the Spoils Of the Majority

A changing of the guard will elevate some long-serving senators to chairmanships they have long coveted

It's a HEADY MOMENT for Republicans who are ready to claim - or reclaim chairmanships after eight years in the minority.

The succession path is clear in most committees, with veteran senators claiming long-sought prizes. John McCain of Arizona will head the Armed Services Committee, while Thad Cochran of Mississippi will chair Appropriations. Charles E. Grassley of Iowa has waited more than three decades for his chance to lead the Judiciary panel.

Still, there is some uncertainty over who will end up chairing several committees, including Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, Select Intelligence and Veterans' Affairs.

There will also be some new faces among the top Democrats on several panels, including complicated behind-the-scenes jockeying over the ranking member spot on the Budget Committee.



DEFENSE HAWK: McCain, a Navy veteran and former prisoner of war in Vietnam, has been on the Armed Services Committee since 1987, but next year will be his first crack at serving as chairman.

# **Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry**

PAT ROBERTS SURVIVED a bruising re-election to earn a fourth term and is widely expected to claim the committee's gavel.

The Kansas Republican will have the distinction of being a bicameral agriculture chairman, having also served as the leader of the House committee in the 104th Congress, from 1995 to 1996.

As chairman, Roberts will oversee the Agriculture Department's implementation of the 2014 farm bill, which he voted against. He wanted tighter restrictions on the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, formerly known as food stamps, and fewer regulations on farmers. Roberts also objected to the bill's subsidy program.

Roberts will continue to advance GOP concerns about federal regulatory overreach. The panel doesn't have jurisdiction over the EPA, but officials should be prepared to testify repeatedly on agency rules under clean water and air laws that could affect farm operations, agri-business and rural communities. Roberts and other farm-state lawmakers have assailed the EPA's proposed definition of "waters of the United States" as being broad enough to allow regulation of farm ditches. Roberts says legislation is needed to stop final action.

The panel also faces the contentious task of renewing the child nutrition law, which expires in 2015 and will touch off a fight

over nutrition standards for school lunch and breakfast programs.

On the Democratic side, current Chairwoman Debbie Stabenow of Michigan could stay on as ranking member, unless she is persuaded to move to that role on the Budget Committee. In that case, Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota could be in line. - ELLYN FERGUSON



Roberts

## **Appropriations**

THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS Committee will be the new GOP majority's ground zero for checking the Obama administration.

Even before the party swept control of the Senate, Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the GOP leader, vowed to use the 12 annual spending bills for "pushing back against this bureaucracy." He vowed to fold in policy riders targeting President Barack Obama's legacy initiatives such as the 2010 health care law, the Dodd-Frank financial regulatory overhaul and the EPA. "All across the federal government, we're going to go after it," McConnell told

high-level GOP donors in June, describing the aftermath of Republicans winning control of the Senate.

The new Republican majority will also use the committee's purse strings to adjust spending levels and add report language to keep federal agencies in check, not to mention boost the party's platform ahead of the 2016 presidential elections.

With only a slim majority, however, Republicans will need to limit the messaging provisions they include in spending bills in order to win over enough Democrats to secure 60 votes to move such measures.

Veteran appropriator Thad Cochran, R-Miss., is expected to exert his seniority over the committee's current top Republican, Richard C. Shelby of Alabama, in order to chair the panel in the 114th Congress. Cochran served as chairman in the 109th Congress.

Although Cochran is more introverted than the sometimes-feisty Shelby, the switch is not expected to have a dramatic impact on the committee or its work. Both are genteel Southerners who are loyal to



Cochran

leadership, but also work well with Democrats on the committee and are expected to continue the panel's tradition of operating in a bipartisan fashion.

Barbara A. Mikulski of Maryland, who made history as the first female lawmaker to head the committee in either chamber, is expected to stay on as the top Democrat.

The only subcommittee chairmanship that will definitely be up for grabs next year is Financial Services, with the retirement of Mike Johanns, R-Neb. John Hoeven, R-N.D., might try to claim that post, a move that would open up the Legislative Branch chairmanship.

On the other side of the aisle, Democratic appropriators took a beating. Mark Pryor of Arkansas, the outgoing chairman of the Agriculture panel, was trounced, and Mark Begich of Alaska was trailing badly. Mary L. Landrieu of Louisiana, who chairs the Homeland Security panel, faces a steep uphill climb in a Dec. 6 runoff election. And retirements are opening up the top Democratic spots on two panels: Tom Harkin of Iowa at the Labor-HHS-Education Subcommittee and Tim Johnson of South Dakota, at the Military Construction-VA panel. Patty Murray of Washington may slide over from the top Democratic post on Transportation-HUD to take Labor-HHS-Education, but the broader reshuffling is unclear. Democrats could also lose slots on the overall committee due to the GOP takeover.

Meanwhile, Mikulski, Shelby and other top Senate appropriators will angle to negotiate a wrapup fiscal 2015 omnibus in the lame duck, although many conservative Republicans will demand pushing back omnibus talks until the next Congress.

—TAMAR HALLERMAN



## **Armed Services**

UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP of Arizona Republican John McCain, the committee will take aggressive stances against President Barack Obama's national security plans and priorities, potentially creating a roadblock for both the president and the Pentagon.

McCain, the GOP's loudest voice on defense and security issues, has been a persistent and pointed critic of the White House, frequently urging the administration to pursue more hawkish strategies.

In the fight against the Islamic State, for instance, Mc-Cain has blasted Obama for focusing his attention in Syria solely on the terrorist group and not on President Bashar al-Assad's brutal regime. He also has pushed the administration to keep U.S. forces in Afghanistan beyond the end of 2016, arguing that failure to do so puts

McCain will also use his chairmanship to focus attention on another passion: attempting to overhaul how the Pentagon buys its weapons. As a big Pentagon booster, McCain is unlikely to make deep cuts in spending levels, but could be a thorn in the side of program managers.

U.S. security in danger and risks squandering gains made in the country.

McCain has frequently called out defense officials and military leaders on multibillion-dollar weapon systems that fall behind schedule or dramatically exceed cost projections, demonstrating little patience for what has become a routine track record on acquisition programs.

During the 113th Congress, McCain used his post as ranking member of the Seapower Subcommittee to press the Navy to get under



McCain

control two of its biggest programs, the Littoral Combat Ship and the next aircraft carrier.

McCain's promotion will open up the chairmanship of the Seapower panel, which could have a cascading effect of other leadership changes on the committee.

Even as he does battle with the White House and the Pentagon, McCain also will need to reach across the aisle to push through the committee the annual defense authorization bill, which has been enacted every year for more than half a century.

That will mean collaborating with Jack Reed of Rhode Island, the committee's most senior Democrat following the retirement of Carl Levin of Michigan. Reed and McCain, both retired military officers, worked closely together on the Seapower panel, which Reed currently chairs, during the 113th Congress.

Reed, who voted against the Iraq war authorization in 2002 and has backed the planned drawdown of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, will serve as a foil for McCain — and a strong supporter for the White House on operational issues.

As with McCain, Reed's expected ascension to his party's top spot on the committee opens up a subcommittee ranking spot. Mark Udall of Colorado lost his race, opening up the top Democratic spot on the Strategic Forces Subcommittee. And Kay Hagan of North Carolina, the top Democrat on the Emerging Threats and Capabilities panel, was defeated. - MEGAN SCULLY

# **Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs**

WITH REPUBLICANS BACK IN THE MAJORITY, the focus of the committee will change sharply. The Dodd-Frank Act will be under attack, and lawmakers will start from scratch on housing finance policy.

A key change will come at the head of the panel. Michael D. Crapo of Idaho has been the top Republican for the past two years, but Richard C. Shelby, an Alabama Republican, is set to become chairman thanks to his seniority and a game of musical chairs taking place in other panels.

Under Shelby's control, the Dodd-Frank Act (PL 111-203) will be squarely in the cross-hairs. The 2010 financial regulatory overhaul, intended to stave off another financial crisis, was opposed by virtually all Republicans, who loathe the law's myriad regulations and argue it did not end the notion that some banks remain "too big to fail."

While few bills to modify Dodd-Frank advanced under a Democratic majority, a GOP-led Banking Committee is likely to push a slew of measures sought by the financial industry to tweak the law. Some could attract bipartisan support and find their way to President Barack Obama's desk. Proposals that are clearly intended to undermine, rather than fix, the overhaul would likely not get past committee approval.

While the financial industry certainly prefers to have their traditional allies in the GOP in charge, Shelby may also be a thorn in industry's side at times.



Shelby

As something of a prickly populist, Shelby has been known to rail against Wall Street. He is skeptical of increased financial regulation, but also has said the largest financial institutions should hold more capital to ward off financial crises. He voted against the 2008 financial industry rescue package that created the Troubled Asset Relief Program and has repeatedly criticized the Federal Reserve's monetary stimulus policies.

A GOP majority is also likely to hinder Obama's ability to fill the executive branch. Shelby almost singlehandedly derailed previous nominations to serve on the

Fed and the Federal Housing Finance Agency – and that was with Democrats in control.

With sharp divisions between the parties, little movement is expected on housing policy.

Earlier this year, Crapo crafted bipartisan legislation with Chairman Tim Johnson, a South Dakota Democrat, to overhaul the governmentseized mortgage giants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

Shelby voted against the bill, as did other senior Democrats, such as Charles E. Schumer of New York and Sherrod Brown of Ohio, who could become ranking member now that Johnson is retiring. That suggests the long-stalled effort to restructure the housing finance system might be put on pause for another two years.

- BEN WEYL

## **Budget**

AS THE LIKELY NEXT CHAIRMAN, Jeff Sessions will have his work cut out for him in building support among a narrow and potentially divided majority of Republicans for a fiscal 2016 budget resolution - and then trying to reach a compromise with the more conservative House.

In a potentially greater challenge, Sessions and his likely House counterpart, Tom Price, R-Ga., are likely to write reconciliation instructions into their budgets, allowing controversial changes in tax and spending policy to be passed in the Senate with a simple majority. That will require a complicated balancing act to garner support

from both conservatives and moderates in the GOP conference.

In four years as the panel's ranking member, Alabama's Sessions has served as a leading GOP Senate voice on budget issues. He has been a frequent critic of Senate Democrats for only adopting a budget resolu-



Sessions

tion once in the past five years.

Wyoming's Michael B. Enzi is ahead of Sessions in seniority to chair the panel. Enzi hasn't ruled out seeking the post, but has done little to position himself for it.

Patty Murray of Washington, the Budget chairwoman since January 2013, is expected to relinquish the top Democratic spot to succeed retiring Tom Harkin of Iowa atop the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee.

It's unclear who will be the new ranking Democrat. One option is Vermont independent Bernard Sanders, who is next in line after several Democrats who already

lead other panels. Some Democrats worry Sanders is too far to the left and hope to persuade Debbie Stabenow of Michigan, who is ahead of Sanders in seniority, to give up the top Democratic spot on the Agriculture Committee and lead Budget. - PAUL M. KRAWZAK

# **Commerce, Science & Transportation**

THE NEW REPUBLICAN SENATE will almost certainly see John Thune of South Dakota take over at the helm of the Commerce Committee. Thune will replace the committee's former chairman, Democrat Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia, who is retiring at the end of the year.

Under Rockefeller, the committee focused much of its work on consumer protection. Democrat Claire McCaskill of Missouri held a series of hearings on the fatal ignition switch problems at General Motors. The panel also sought answers from retailers that had experienced data breaches endangering customer credit cards and Rockefeller con-

tinued his long-running battle against railroad companies, which he believed had too much power to set the rates they charge cargo shippers.

Thune likely will take a different direction, one targeting what he considers overbearing government regulation of commerce. Topping his list is likely to be the Federal Communications Commission's net



neutrality rules, which forbid Internet companies from blocking access to certain content. The rules, according to Thune, give regulators too much authority over the private sector and reflect an outdated conception of communications. He has said he wants to revisit the Communications Act to bring it up to date. He has also promised to keep a close eye on the FCC.

Thune probably also will take a less antagonistic approach when dealing with railroad companies. He will be faced with a reauthorization of Amtrak, a topic that might cause some long debate in the committee.

On the Democratic side, California's Barbara Boxer has seniority, but is not expected to give up the top spot on the Environment and Public Works Committee. That would clear the way for Bill Nelson of Florida to step up to a position he's made it clear he's interested in.

- DAVID HARRISON

# **Energy & Natural Resources**

IT'S NO SECRET THAT Alaska Republican Lisa Murkowski has coveted the gavel of the committee her father led from the mid-1990s until 2001. She began laying the groundwork in early 2013, unveiling her energy policy blueprint looking ahead to the next decade of domestic energy production and consumption.

Since then, Murkowski has released a series of white papers arguing for federal policies that cohesively promote electric reliability and efficiency and that boost exports of natural gas and oil in an era of abundant supplies. Expect her to expound on those themes as chairwoman.

"I've left a very clear trail," she said in September of her priorities if she were to assume the position.

Murkowski has indicated that she will move smaller, more focused bills rather than a giant policy measure like those from 2005 and 2007



Murkowski

- the last times Congress enacted major energy legislation. Advancing a bill to approve the Keystone XL pipeline is sure to be an early priority, and Murkowski likely will pursue measures to expedite the permitting processes for energy production and its supporting infrastructure.

But Murkowski could decide to back measures that promote financing for and development of clean-energy sources, as well as research into energy storage technologies that could boost deployment of renewables. And she has long advocated for laws to define hydropower as a clean-energy source across government programs.

Meanwhile, committee Democrats, led by Mary L. Landrieu of Louisiana, if she can win a runoff election on Dec. 6, or Maria Cantwell of Washington, likely will push to ensure that Murkowski doesn't give renewables short shrift. - LAUREN GARDNER

## **Environment & Public Works**

GOP MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE will take a much more aggressive stance against the EPA's regulatory agenda with Oklahoma Republican James M. Inhofe back at the helm of the panel, which he last chaired from 2003 until 2007. But the climate skeptic's main priority will be advancing a bipartisan, multiyear transportation reauthorization bill in 2015, a spokeswoman said.

While Inhofe and ranking Democrat Barbara Boxer of California do not often see eye to eye politically — Boxer is a staunch supporter of President Barack Obama's actions on climate change - they have collaborated and

negotiated on infrastructure issues in the past, a history that will likely make the "public works" half of the committee's portfolio the most productive for the committee legislatively. Boxer and Inhofe also have a friendly rapport that has lasted throughout the Democrat's tenure as



Inhofe

chairwoman, and both share a goal of getting a long-term highway bill to the president's desk.

Despite their friendship, neither will budge on longheld views on environmental policy. Expect Inhofe, who penned a book published in 2012 calling global warming a "hoax," to hold a number of hearings on the EPA's regulatory tactics and their impact on businesses. He also will closely scrutinize the agency's authority to limit pollutants such as carbon dioxide and ozone.

Meanwhile, Boxer likely will continue her efforts to make climate change a higher profile issue on Capitol

Hill, just without the gavel in hand. She also may try to leverage her relationship with Inhofe to continue oversight into the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's activities and interactions with Congress, an issue on which she focused intently as chairwoman. - LAUREN GARDNER

## **Finance**

BEFORE ORRIN G. HATCH can take over the committee, it will play a key role in the lame-duck session.

The Internet Tax Freedom Act is set to expire Dec. 11, but it should be extended fairly easily. With Republicans about to assume control, it's unlikely Majority Leader Harry Reid of Nevada will revive his bid to tie the extension to a measure giving states more power to tax online sales.

Addressing the 55 tax breaks that expired at the end of 2013 will be more complicated. The GOP victory makes it more likely that Democrats' preferred two-year package extending nearly all of the more than \$50 billion in breaks

could be replaced by a one-year retroactive extension through 2014, giving Republicans a clean slate in January. Certain widely popular breaks may be made permanent as part of the deal.

Hatch, who proposed an alternative to President Barack Obama's 2010 health care law this year, is expected to focus on health care. The Utah Republican will be able to score one easy victory — a quick repeal of the medical device sales tax that helps pay for it. Democrats joined Republicans on a nonbinding repeal vote, 79-20, in March 2013. But more dramatic revisions are unlikely to get traction under Obama.

Dreams of a tax overhaul, however unlikely, will be revived with a GOP Senate: In recent years, a GOP Finance aide noted, "Every time the



House and Senate have been controlled by Republicans, meaningful tax legislation has been passed ... . That's where we'll put a significant amount of time."

Obama has supported overhauling business taxes and cutting the corporate rate to 28 percent, not far from the GOP's 25 percent target. Republicans have signaled openness to funneling one-time revenue gains from an overhaul into infrastructure improvements. But the gaps between the two are still wide. The White House would eliminate provisions that allow multinationals to defer taxation on foreign earnings, while Republicans support

moving closer to a territorial system that does not tax those earnings.

Movement is expected on the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal in 2015, and Hatch has introduced legislation to renew fast-track authority. Trade Adjustment Assistance expires Dec. 31; Democrats will push for a renewal during the lame duck.

The committee will be busy early next year. The current "doc fix" extension expires at the end of March, and the Highway Trust Fund patch expires in May. Federal funding for the Children's Health Insurance Program expires at the end of the fiscal year on Sept. 30.

Ron Wyden of Oregon will slide over from the chairman post to become the ranking Democrat. - KATY O'DONNELL

## **Others**

THERE IS SOME UNCERTAINTY over who will end up chairing the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee in the next Congress. Jim Risch of Idaho has the first claim, but he might end up atop the Select Intelligence panel. If that happens, David Vitter of Louisiana or Marco Rubio of Florida would be next in line. Maria Cantwell of Washington could remain as the top Democrat on the panel, but she would take that spot on Energy and Natural Resources if Mary L. Landrieu of Louisiana loses her Dec. 6 runoff. Then the ranking spot would fall to Benjamin L. Cardin of Maryland.

The Indian Affairs Committee will likely be led by John Barrasso of Wyoming, who would have been term-limited as ranking member but is eligible for the chairmanship.

Susan Collins of Maine is expected to head the Special Aging Committee, with Bob Casey of Pennsylvania serving as ranking Democrat.

The Rules and Administration panel will likely be led by Roy Blunt of Missouri. Charles E. Schumer of New York is expected to remain the top Democrat.

Familiar faces are expected atop the Ethics Committee, with Johnny Isakson of Georgia chairing it, and Barbara Boxer of California as the ranking Democrat.

## **Foreign Relations**

BOB CORKER OF TENNESSEE will take over the committee in January, with former chairman Robert Menendez of New Jersey slipping into the ranking member's slot. But while the faces of its leadership will switch places, the committee's agenda is unlikely to change very much from its focus on Iran, Ukraine and the Middle East, although the tone could become sharper under Corker's gavel.

Corker, who describes himself as a pragmatist on international affairs, has emerged as a voluble critic of the administration's foreign policy, repeatedly calling both the president's sanctioning of Russia for its aggression in

Ukraine and his reluctant entry into the Syrian civil war "a day late and a dollar short." Corker, joined by other committee Republicans, has been urging the White House to take stronger action in Syria, stiffen sanctions against Russia, and provide lethal weapons to Ukraine.



Corker

Corker and Menendez have clashed at times, but overall they've had a fairly productive relationship, with bipartisan agreement over issues such as Iran sanctions and conditioning U.S. aid to Egypt on its human rights performance. Corker appears determined to shed the committee's reputation as an elite debating society and restore its reputation as an influential voice on foreign policy.

The new chairman's most immediate priority could be consideration of a resolution to authorize the U.S.-led bombing campaign against Islamic State militants.

While most Republicans will remain, the committee will be losing Arizona's John McCain, who is expected to relinquish his place on the panel to chair the Armed Services panel. Marco Rubio of Florida is expected to head the Western Hemisphere subcommittee, where McCain had served as ranking member. — JONATHAN BRODER

# **Health, Education, Labor & Pensions**

REPUBLICANS' SUCCESS AT THE POLLS will take the committee in a new direction in the 114th Congress, particularly when it comes to the 2010 health care law.

While retiring Chairman Tom Harkin of Iowa was a fierce champion of the overhaul, a Republican-led committee likely would spend more time conducting oversight over the law's implementation and moving legislation to repeal and change it.

Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, the current ranking member who is expected to succeed Harkin, has said he wants Republicans "to repair the damage Obamacare has

done and prevent future damage." He is likely to adopt a step-by-step approach, rather than one comprehensive package.

But with President Barack Obama still in the White House to protect his signature law, Alexander could make his greatest mark in the education realm. The Republican is a former education secretary and



Patty Murray of Washington, his expected Democratic counterpart, also has a background in education.

The pair would be tasked with bridging the gaps that stalled past attempts to reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, as well as addressing the law governing the federal student loan system and Pell grants.

On the labor front, Alexander likely would pursue changes to the National Labor Relations Board. He introduced legislation with Minority Leader Mitch McConnell of Kentucky in September to overhaul the board.

While Alexander is expected to take the gavel, the term limits that kept his colleague Michael B. Enzi of Wyoming from serving as ranking member this Congress would not exclude him from the chairmanship next year if he wants the job. Enzi served the six-year maximum as the panel's ranking Republican, but only two as chairman.

- MELISSA ATTIAS

# **Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs**

WITH TOM COBURN OF OKLAHOMA retiring this year and leaving the top GOP spot on the committee, current Chairman Thomas R. Carper of Delaware likely will be handing the gavel to Ron Johnson of Wisconsin.

Arizona's John McCain is expected to pass up his claim on the post as he grabs instead for the Armed Services chairmanship, leaving two of the most mild-mannered senators to lead the Homeland Security panel.

If Johnson and Carper end up in charge, the committee's focus is expected to stay on the governmental affairs side, since Johnson has been serving as ranking Republi-

can on the Financial and Contracting Oversight Subcommittee and Carper always has leaned more toward that area.

That interest is likely to mean less attention to homeland security. There's also concern the panel's oversight work will also diminish in



Johnson

Coburn's absence, although Missouri Democrat Claire McCaskill could fill some of that gap. She has taken the lead in recent years on investigating the prevalence of sexual assault on college campuses, calling into question the National Guard's advertising techniques, and scrutinizing the militarization of local law enforcement.

The Democrats have one vacancy on the panel and Michigan Democrat Carl Levin is retiring this year, but the panel roster could be rebalanced in the next Congress.

A shift in the party breakdown to reflect the Republican majority would likely mean Carper will have to make

concessions to advance an overhaul of the U.S. Postal Service. Johnson and several other panel Republicans have supported Carper's overhaul proposals but have tried to make substantial tweaks, including ones to allow the service to file for bankruptcy. - JENNIFER SCHOLTES

## **Judiciary**

THE COMMITTEE CONTINUES to have one of the busiest policy agendas, with many of the nation's top issues flowing through it.

Unfinished work includes a contentious overhaul of the nation's immigration system, comprehensive changes to patent litigation, and restrictions to the National Security Agency's secret surveillance machine.

A change to GOP control of the Senate will bring dramatic changes in approach to many of the issues, but the committee should have a familiar feel. Most, if not all, of the same committee members will be there.

Iowa Republican Charles E. Grassley is expected to become chairman, a position he has not held in his 34 years on the panel.

Vermont Democrat Patrick J. Leahy, a strong congressional supporter of President Barack Obama, will almost certainly return to a



Grassley

role of ranking Democrat after eight years as chairman.

A number of issues have garnered bipartisan support and are likely to be on the agenda, including bills on digital privacy laws to keep pace with new technologies and changes to the nation's sentencing laws. Senators from both parties support bills that would significantly cut criminal penalties for thousands of federal offenders and save money on prisons.

Disagreements over Obama's judicial picks will play out in a much more hostile committee environment next year, following the Democrats' changes to rules on

filibusters for judicial and executive nominees.

The committee will need to consider a replacement for Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr., who announced his resignation in September pending confirmation of his replacement. - TODD RUGER

# **Select Intelligence**

THE INTELLIGENCE PANEL IS SET to receive a new leader next session, but there's still uncertainty about who would become the top Republican after the retirement of Georgia's Saxby Chambliss.

North Carolina's Richard M. Burr will be the most senior Republican, but he would have to choose between the chairman's seat on Intelligence or Veterans' Affairs. He's remained tight-lipped about his plans, but Chambliss has already made his prediction.

"He will, I'm sure, be the next Republican to either be chairman or vice chairman" on the Intelligence panel, Chambliss said last month, adding later that GOP leaders would have to approve. Jim Risch of Idaho is behind Burr on Intelligence.

Burr is one of the committee's quieter members — he has said he doesn't think business from closed Intelligence meetings should be discussed publicly. When he has spoken to the press, he's tended to



focus on the investigation into the 2012 Benghazi attack.

Committee sources say that its members have a clear agenda for the new session. The panel is likely to reviewing intelligence reports from Iraq and Syria on the group known as Islamic State.

Bipartisan committee leaders said they're worried about the effects of declining budgets on agency operations. Members also have said they'll be watching closely to see if any restrictions placed on domestic surveillance have a negative impact on intelligence capabilities.

One question is whether Congress acts in the lame duck on legislation to ban mass collection of domestic telephone metadata. Chambliss opposed it, and if Congress doesn't act this year, the statutory authority allowing that collection expires next summer.

California's Dianne Feinstein, the current chairwoman, is expected to become the ranking Democrat. - ROB MARGETTA

# **Veterans' Affairs**

ALTHOUGH THE COMMITTEE IS EXPECTED to keep much of its bipartisan tenor, a Republican majority will treat the Department of Veterans Affairs more skeptically and conduct more frequent oversight, as the Republicanled House panel has done.

Richard M. Burr of North Carolina, currently the ranking Republican, could continue on as chairman now that there is a GOP Senate majority. But as the most senior Republican on the Intelligence Committee, Burr has options, and there are some signs he may opt for Intelligence. Should he do so, the Veterans' Affairs gavel would likely pass to Johnny Isakson of Georgia.

On the minority side, former chairman Bernard Sanders, a Vermont independent, is expected to continue to lead Democrats on the panel. Like its House counterpart, the Senate panel will likely prod the



Isakson

VA on changing what has been labeled a "toxic culture" and push Secretary Robert McDonald to show how he has instilled accountability. For Republicans, this likely will mean details on how, or if, McDonald has used his expanded authority under the new veterans health care law to fire senior executives at the VA. The panel likely also will monitor the new law to determine if provisions allowing certain veterans to seek treatment through non-VA providers are having the intended effect of reducing wait times for VA health services.

GOP control also likely will spell an end to efforts, promoted by Sanders, to pass comprehensive — and costly — legislation to expand VA health care, benefits and dental care, especially after reports of lengthy wait times for medical appointments and data manipulation at VA hospitals and clinics. - CONNOR O'BRIEN