



November 4, 2020

The Day After the 2020 Elections

Post-Election Analysis and Outlook

Friends and Colleagues –

An election that was thought by many pollsters to be all but over for Republicans turned out quite differently Tuesday, as races in key states remain too close to call. Regardless of the ultimate outcome, hopes of an electoral mandate and sweeping legislative change will now be tempered.

Post-Election Day, we can now see the impact of changes to state election laws in the face of the coronavirus pandemic. Over 100 million Americans voted early or absentee or by mail this year, exercising their fundamental rights in what we now know will be the deciding factor in this election.

Should we see a unified Democratic government, it will turn to the comprehensive legislative roadmap House Democrats have drawn over the past two years. We should also expect to see efforts at enacting significant changes to the laws with which we elect our representatives in Washington.

Should we see a Biden presidency and a Republican hold in the Senate, Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY), who crafted three major bipartisan economic deals with then-Vice President Joe Biden during the Obama administration, will now be well positioned to replicate that model if Biden and congressional Democrats focus on legislative outcomes. After four years of conflict and confrontation, with the Senate Republican majority primarily focused on reshaping the federal judiciary, the stage will soon be set either for continued conflict or for compromise legislation on COVID-19 relief, infrastructure, trade and health care. However, sharp ideological differences will continue to persist and only an exceedingly narrow sliver of common ground will be found beyond a few issues. In a divided government scenario, we can expect some Trump-era priorities, such as an aggressive posture toward China and efforts to in-source manufacturing jobs and to reorient certain industrial and pharmaceutical supply chains to continue for Republicans, and past concern about debt and deficits to resurface. But with the Republican drive to fill the courts effectively over next month under this scenario, new areas of potential compromise and legislative entrepreneurialism among lawmakers of both parties will quickly emerge.

A Democratic administration will still seek to advance major policy, beginning with legislation on a COVID-19 bill that also addresses health priorities and provides economic stability measures, followed by a major infrastructure and economic stimulus bill that will include some climate provisions and a call for passage of drug pricing legislation. We should also expect a push for legislation to address modernization of the Voting Rights Act,

along with provisions that focus on gerrymandering and political contributions. A Republican administration would continue to focus on reopening the economy, targeted COVID-relief, bilateral trade deals, immigration enforcement, an ever-elusive infrastructure package and the drive to fill judicial vacancies with conservatives.

We remain as confident as ever in our firm's ability to navigate any new environment, however it formalizes, and the opportunities it will present.

Brian McKeon



Brian McGuire



Nadeam Elshami



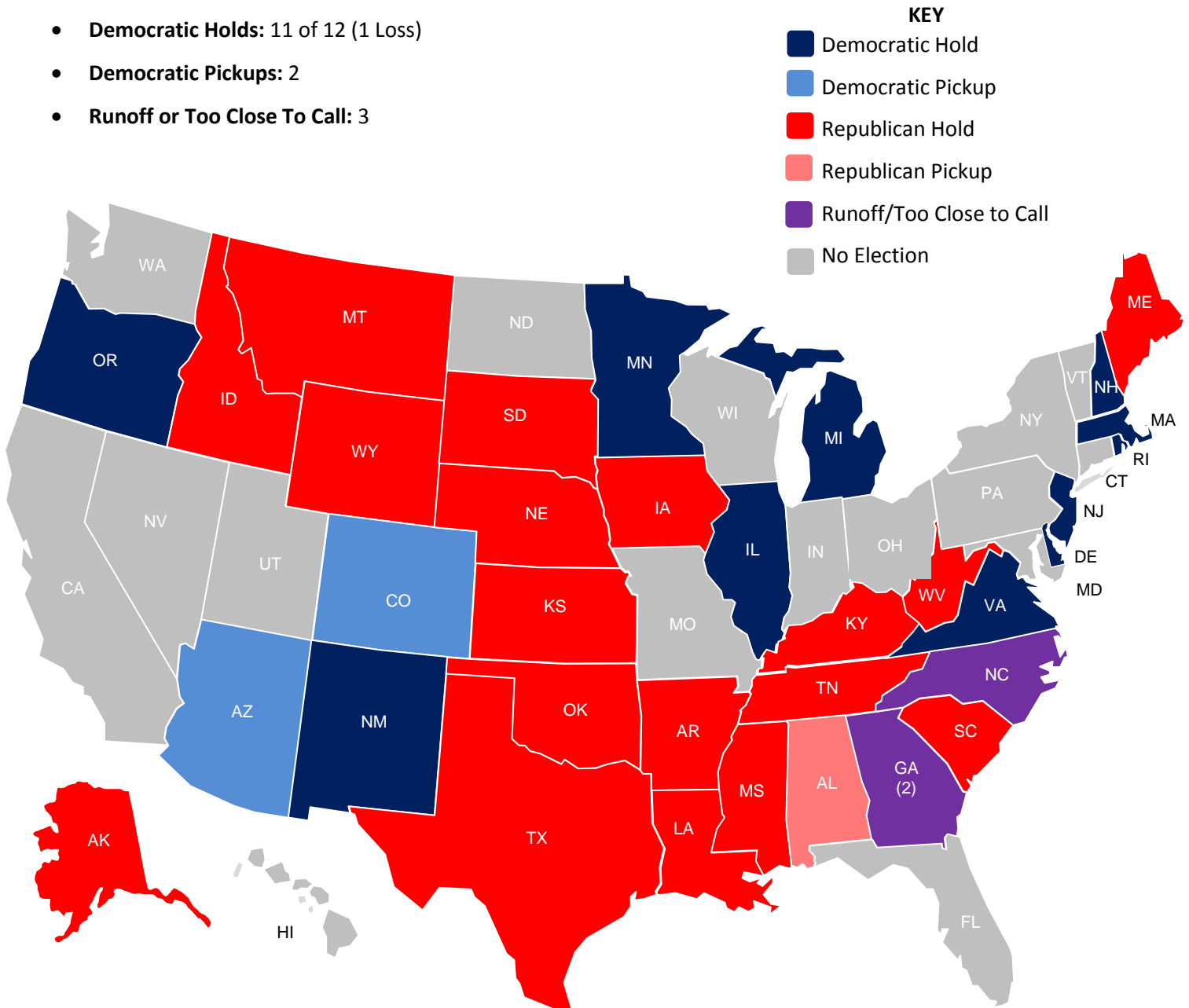
Senate Election Results

Results as of 5:00 p.m. on Nov. 9, 2020

Current Results: 49 Republicans – 48 Democrats

**Results for Alaska have not been announced, but Republicans are favored to win.*

- **Republican Holds:** 18 of 23 (3 Too Close; 2 Losses)
- **Republican Pickups:** 1
- **Democratic Holds:** 11 of 12 (1 Loss)
- **Democratic Pickups:** 2
- **Runoff or Too Close To Call:** 3



Incumbent Democratic Holds: Chris Coons (D-DE), Dick Durbin (D-IL), Ed Markey (D-MA), Gary Peters (D-MI), Tina Smith (D-MN), Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH), Cory Booker (D-NJ), Jeff Merkley (D-OR), Jack Reed (D-RI), Mark Warner (D-VA)

Democratic Hold (New Member): Ben Ray Lujan (D-NM)

Arizona (Democratic Pickup): Mark Kelly (D) defeats Martha McSally (R) - 51.2% to 48.7%

Colorado (Democratic Pickup): John Hickenlooper (D) defeats Cory Gardner (R) - 53.4% to 44.4%

Georgia (Race Heads to Runoff on Jan. 5)

David Perdue (R) leads Jon Ossoff (D) – 49.7% to 47.9%

Georgia (Race Heads to Runoff on Jan. 5)

Raphael Warnock (D) leads Kelly Loeffler (R) - 32.9% to 25.9%

North Carolina (Too Close to Call)

Thom Tillis (R) leads Cal Cunningham (D) - 48.7% to 47.0%

Incumbent Republican Holds: Dan Sullivan (R-AK), Tom Cotton (R-AR), Joni Ernst (R-IA), Jim Risch (R-ID), Mitch McConnell (R-KY), Bill Cassidy (R-LA), Susan Collins (R-ME), Cindy Hyde-Smith (R-MS), Steve Daines (R-MT), Ben Sasse (R-NE), Jim Inhofe (R-OK), Lindsey Graham (R-SC), Mike Rounds (R-SD), John Cornyn (R-TX), Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV)

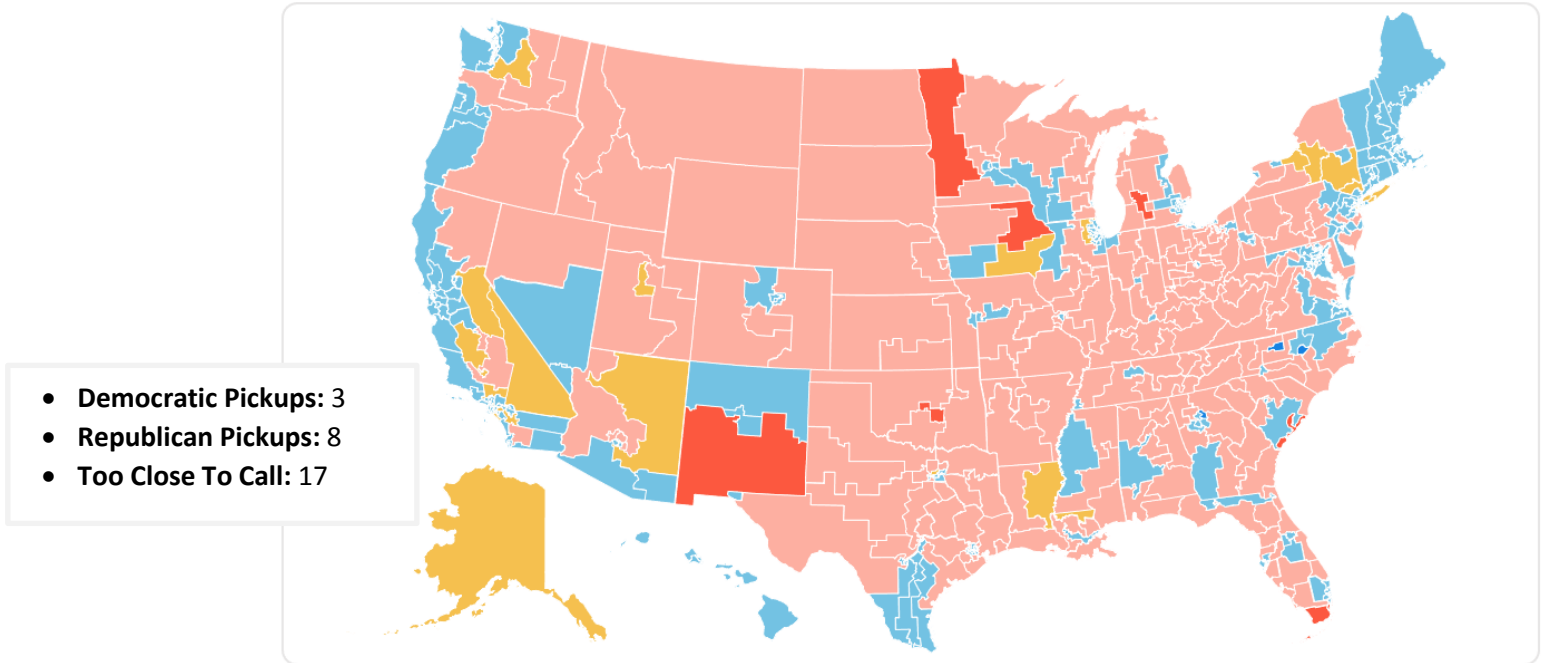
Republican Holds (New Members): Roger Marshall (R-KS), Bill Hagerty (R-TN), Cynthia Lummis (R-WY)

Alabama (Republican Pickup): Tommy Tuberville (R) defeats Doug Jones (D) - 60.1% to 39.7%

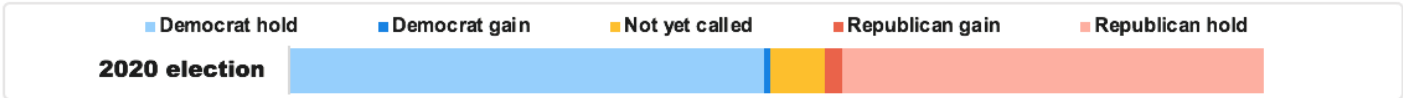
House Election Results

Results as of 5:00 p.m. on Nov. 9, 2020

Current Results:



- **Democratic Pickups:** 3
- **Republican Pickups:** 8
- **Too Close To Call:** 17



Democratic Pickups

NC-02 (Open): Ross def. Swain
NC-06 (Open): Manning def. Haywood
GA-07 (Open): Bourdeaux def. McCormick

Republican Pickups

FL-26: Gimenez def. Murcarsel-Powell
FL-27: Salazar def. Shalala
IA-01: Hinson def. Finkenauer
OK-05: Bice def. Horn
MI-03 (Open): Meijer def. Scholten
MN-07: Fischbach def. Peterson
NM-02: Herrell def. Torres Small
SC-01: Mace def. Cunningham

Democratic Holds (New Members)

CA-53 (Open): Jacobs def. Gomez
GA-05 (Open): Williams def. Stanton-King
HI-02 (Open): Kahele def. Akana
IL-03 (Open): Newman def. Fricilone
IN-01 (Open): Mrvan def. Leyva
MA-04 (Open): Auchincloss def. Hall
MO-01 (Open): Bush def. Rogers
NM-03 (Open): Fernandez def. Johnson
NY-15 (Open): Torres def. Delices
NY-16 (Open): Bowman def. McManus
NY-17 (Open): Jones def. Schulman
WA-10 (Open): Strickland def. Doglio

Too Close to Call/Runoff

CA-08: Obernolte (R) leads Bubser (D) 54.2% to 45.8%
CA-21: Valadao (R) leads Cox (D) 51.8% to 48.2%
CA-25: Garcia (R) leads Smith (D) 50.1% to 49.9%
CA-34: Gomez (D) leads Kim (D) 52.9% to 47.1%
CA-39: Kim (R) leads Cisneros (D) 50.5% to 49.5%
CA-42: Calvert (R) leads O'Mara (D) 55.8% to 44.2%
CA-48: Steel (R) leads Rouda (D) 50.9% to 49.1%
IL-14: Underwood (D) leads Oberweis (R) 50.1% to 49.9%
IA-02: (Open): Hart (D) ties Miller-Meeks (R) 50.0% to 50.0%

NY-03: Santos (R) leads Suozzi (D) 50.5% to 49.0%
NY-11: Malliotakis (R) leads Rose (D) 57.9% to 42.1%
NY-18: Maloney (D) leads Farley (R) 51.0% to 48.1%
NY-19: Delgado (D) leads Van De Water (R) 50.3% to 47.7%
NY-22: Tenney (R) leads Brindisi (D) 54.5% to 43.4%
NY-24: Katko (R) leads Balter (D) 58.5% to 37.8% at 45%
TX-24: Van Duyne (R) leads Valenzuela (D) 48.8% to 47.5%
UT-04: McAdams (D) leads Owens (R) 47.5% to 47.5%

Republican Holds (New Members)

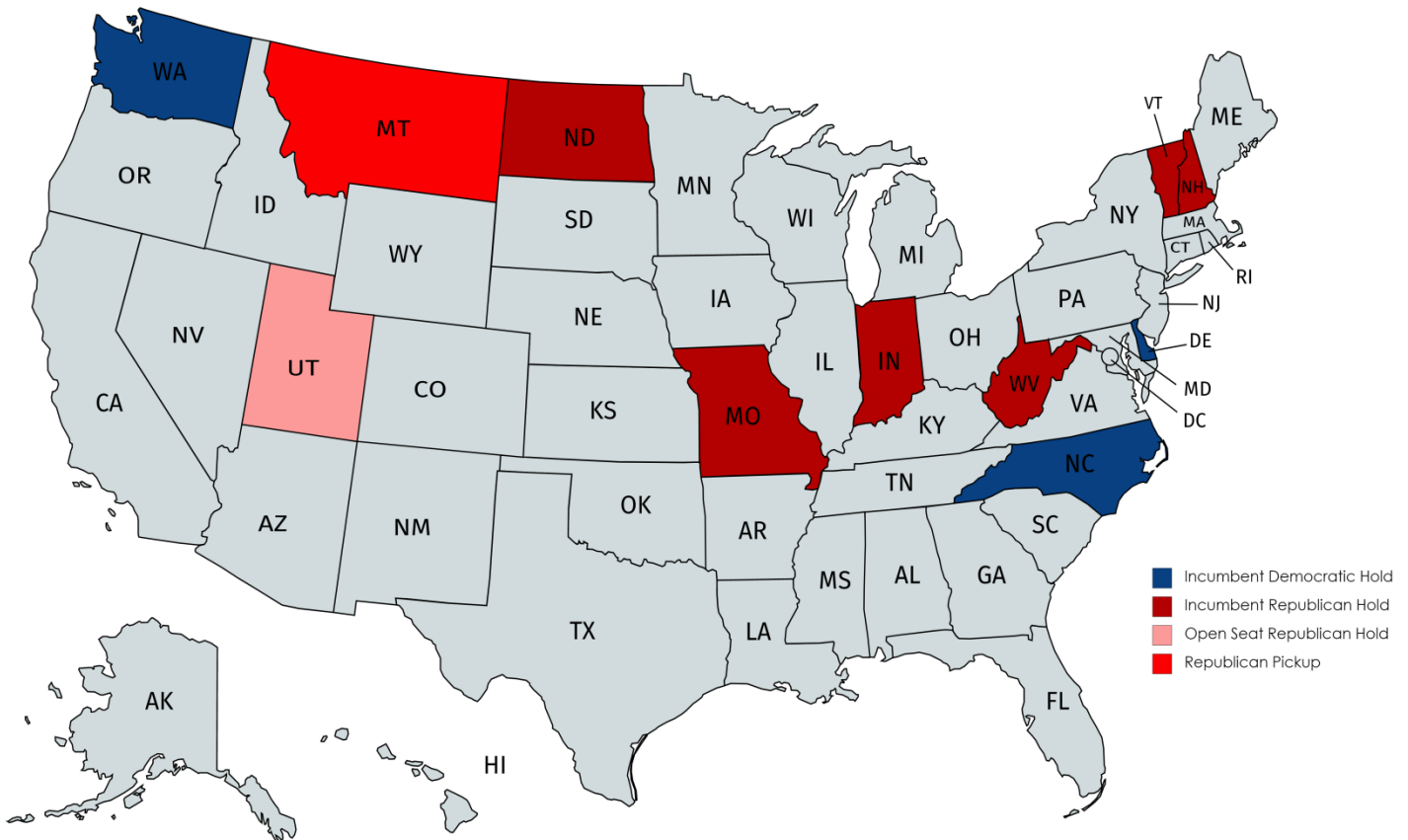
AL-01 (Open): Carl def. Averhart
AL-02 (Open): Moore def. Harvey-Hall
CO-03 (Open): Boebert def. Mitsch Bush
CA-50 (Open): Issa def. Campa-Najjar
FL-03 (Open): Cammack def. Christensen
FL-15 (Open): Franklin def. Cohn
FL-19 (Open): Donalds def. Banyai
GA-09 (Open): Clyde def. Pandey
GA-14 (Open): Greene wins uncontested
IL-15 (Open): Miller def. Weaver
IA-04 (Open): Feenstra def. Scholten
KS-01 (Open): Mann def. Barnett
KS-02 (Open): LaTurner def. De La Isla
MI-10 (Open): McClain def. Bizon
MT-AL (Open): Rosendale def. Williams

NC-11 (Open): Cawthorne def. Davis
NY-02 (Open): Garbarino def. Gordon
OR-02 (Open): Bentz def. Spencer
TN-01 (Open): Harshbarger def. Walsingham
TX-4 (Open): Fallon def. Foster
TX-11 (Open): Pfluger def. Hogg
TX-13 (Open): Jackson def. Trujillo
TX-17 (Open): Sessions def. Kennedy
TX-22 (Open): Nehls def. Kulkarni
TX-23 (Open): Gonzales def. Ortiz Jones
UT-01 (Open): Moore def. Parry
VA-05 (Open): Good def. Webb
WI-05 (Open): Fitzgerald def. Palzewicz
WI-07 (Open): Tiffany def. Zunker

Gubernatorial Election Results

Results as of 5:00 p.m. on Nov. 9, 2020

Projected Results:



Incumbent Democratic Holds: Delaware (John Carney), North Carolina (Roy Cooper), Washington (Jay Inslee),

(Republican Pickup): Greg Gianforte (Montana)

Republican Holds (New Members): Utah (Spencer Cox)

Incumbent Republican Holds: Indiana (Eric Holcomb), Missouri (Mike Parson), New Hampshire (Chris Sununu), North Dakota (Doug Burgum), Vermont (Phil Scott) West Virginia (Jim Justice)

Looking Forward: Lame Duck

Key Dates/Weeks to Remember for the Lame Duck Session and January 2021

Lame Duck	Schedule, Key Dates, and Deadlines
November 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senate reconvenes for Lame Duck session
November 12–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> House reconvenes for Lame Duck session (November 12) House New Member Orientation, 1st session (November 12-14) Republican Reception (November 15) Progressive Caucus Retreat (November 15) Republican Conference Organizing Meeting (November 16 and 18) Democratic Caucus Meetings (November 17-18) Republican Conference Leadership Elections (November 17)
November 23–27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> House and Senate in Recess for Thanksgiving Break
November 30–December 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> House New Member Orientation (2nd session)
December 5–11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> LA-05 runoff (December 5) House Republican-only policy orientation (December 7-11) States must resolve court disputes over election results and finalize certifications (December 8) Continuing resolution expires (December 11) Health extenders expire (December 11) House adjourns (December 11)
December 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Electoral College certifies results
December 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senate adjourns
January 2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 117th Congress start date (January 3) Georgia Senate runoff (January 5) Congress counts electoral votes (January 6) Inauguration Day (January 20) Committee assignments finalized (expected by late January)

Legislative Priorities During the Lame Duck

Presidency. Joe Biden and Kamala Harris have been declared the winners of the election. However, ballot counting continues in a few battleground states such as North Carolina, which extended the date by which they will accept mail-in ballots, so we can expect their final tallies to be confirmed later this month. Several states continue to deal with lawsuits targeting their election and result certification procedures, and President Trump’s reelection campaign has filed legal challenges in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Georgia and Nevada. While the lawsuits do not affect a material number of ballots in any of the states, the court battles could slow the process by which states certify their election results. Below is a table with ballot counting deadlines for key states.

State	Deadline
Georgia	November 3 (did not extend deadline)
Michigan	November 17
Nevada	November 10
North Carolina	November 12
Pennsylvania	November 6
Wisconsin	November 3 (did not extend deadline)

All states must observe two important deadlines to appoint and send their electors to the Electoral College. On Dec. 8, states must resolve any court disputes over the election results and finalize their certifications. The Electoral College convenes on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December to cast the deciding votes on who will become president and vice president (Dec. 14). It is unlikely that states will miss these important deadlines, but if they do, we will find ourselves in uncharted territory; there is no legal precedent for the potentiality that states miss the deadline to send their electors to vote, so the issue would have to be resolved by Congress or the Supreme Court.

House and Senate. On the House side, Democrats have retained their majority. Control of the Senate is 49-48, with the race in North Carolina not yet called. It is expected that Sen. Thom Tillis (NC) will retain his seat. With both Georgia Senate races headed into a special election on Jan. 5, the balance of the Senate will not be final until the New Year. Incumbent Sen. Kelly Loeffler will face off against Democrat Raphael Warnock and incumbent Sen. David Perdue will face off against Democrat Jon Ossoff. Democrats would need to pick up both Georgia seats to tie control of the Senate. Republicans are currently favored to control the Senate by a narrow margin.

Lame Duck Legislative Agenda. Given that the election has resulted in a divided government, Congress is expected to focus on must-pass legislation during the Lame Duck session. While Congress will likely agree to a second continuing resolution (CR) to fund the government and pass the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), no other action is expected. A few possibilities for the Lame Duck session are discussed below:

- **NDAA.** The National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) is the fundamental national security legislative vehicle Congress passes every year (as it has since 1961), and the fiscal year (FY) 2021 NDAA will be no different. Leaders of the House and Senate Armed Services committees have strived to keep the bill free of controversial provisions. The exact timing of passage is unclear, but it is expected to happen in the first half of December.

- **Appropriations and Health Extenders.** Congress will also agree to an appropriations package, in the form of an omnibus spending bill or second continuing resolution (CR), though a CR through the beginning of 2021 is more likely. Government funding is set to expire on Dec. 11. Members are expected to attach health extenders, which also expire on Dec. 11, to the final funding vehicle. This includes funding for time-limited programs, such as community health centers, juvenile diabetes programs and safety net hospitals. Congress is likely to push to get the health extenders paid for, but no additional health pieces—such as a Federal Medical Assistance Percentages (FMAP) increase and delays to provider fee schedule cuts—will be added.
- **COVID-19 Stimulus Package.** Prior to the election, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) indicated that he would like to push consideration of a stimulus bill to January 2021. He has since reversed course, indicating that he would like to see a relief bill before the end of the year. Assuming President Trump loses the election as is currently expected, he will no longer be the primary negotiator for the Republican party. Instead, McConnell will take over the reins and negotiate a deal with House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), with the Biden campaign likely weighing in.

Looking Forward: Leadership

Neither Republican nor Democratic Senate leadership is expected to change, as none of the senators have reached their term limits, are retiring or expected to seek other positions. Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) has said he will remain in the top Republican position in either the majority or minority, and his deputies have agreed. If Democrats take control of the Senate, then Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-NY) will serve as majority leader with Sen. Dick Durbin (D-IL) serving as majority whip.



Majority/Minority Leader
Mitch McConnell (R-KY)



Majority/Minority Whip
John Thune (R-SD)



GOP Conference Chair
John Barrasso (R-WY)



GOP Policy Committee Chair
Roy Blunt (R-MO)



Majority/Minority Leader
Chuck Schumer (D-NY)



Majority/Minority Whip
Dick Durbin (D-IL)



Assistant Democratic Leader
Patty Murray (D-WA)



Dem Policy Committee Chair
Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)

The top spots in House Democratic leadership will largely remain the same since Reps. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), Steny Hoyer (D-MD), James Clyburn (D-SC) and Hakeem Jeffries (D-NY) are all running unopposed. Reps. David Cicilline (D-RI), Katherine Clark (D-MA) and Tony Cardenas (D-CA) are running for the position of the assistant to the speaker, which was left vacant by Rep. Ben Ray Lujan (D-NM).

There are likewise no expected changes to House Republican leadership; all incumbents have announced their intent to run again, and at this point, it looks like they are unopposed. We expect Reps. Tom Emmer (R-MN) and Liz Cheney (R-WY) to remain in their roles, in addition to Reps. Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) and Steve Scalise (R-LA).



House Speaker
Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)



Majority Leader
Steny Hoyer (D-MD)



Majority Whip
James Clyburn (D-SC)



Asst. Dem Leader
David Cicilline (D-RI), Katherine Clark (D-MA), Tony Cardenas (D-CA)



Dem Caucus Chair
Hakeem Jeffries (D-NY)



Minority Leader
Kevin McCarthy (R-CA)



Minority Whip
Steve Scalise (R-LA)



GOP Conference Chair
Liz Cheney (R-WY)

Senate Committee Leadership Projections

Scenario 1: Republican Majority in the Senate¹

Senate Committee	116th Congress	117th Congress	Brownstein Insights
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry	Chair: Roberts (R-AR) Ranking: Stabenow (D-MI)	Chair: Boozman (R-AR) Ranking: Stabenow (D-MI)	Roberts (R-KS) is retiring and Boozman (R-AR) is next in line to succeed him.
Appropriations	Chair: Shelby (R-AL) Ranking: Leahy (D-VT)	Chair: Shelby (R-AL) Ranking: Leahy (D-VT)	Unlikely to change.
Armed Services	Chair: Inhofe (R-OK) Ranking: Reed (D-RI)	Chair: Inhofe (R-OK) Ranking: Reed (D-RI)	Unlikely to change.

¹ Our analysis takes into account Republican committee rules, which state that a member is not eligible to serve more than six years as chair or ranking member of any standing committee.

Senate Committee	116th Congress	117th Congress	Brownstein Insights
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs	Chair: Crapo (R-ID) Ranking: Brown (D-OH)	Chair: Toomey (R-PA) Ranking: Brown (D-OH)	Crapo (R-ID) is expected to move over to Finance and Toomey (R-PA) is expected to succeed him.
Budget	Chair: Enzi (R-WY) Ranking: Sanders (I-VT)	Chair: Graham (R-SC) /Grassley (R-IA) Ranking: Sanders (I-VT)	Enzi (R-WY) has reached the end of his term limit and is retiring. Grassley (R-IA) has seniority, but he has said he will take over the top spot at Judiciary, effectively switching places with Graham (R-SC).
Commerce, Science, and Transportation	Chair: Wicker (R-MS) Ranking: Cantwell (D-WA)	Chair: Wicker (R-MS) Ranking: Cantwell (D-WA)	Unlikely to change.
Energy and Natural Resources	Chair: Murkowski (R-AK) Ranking: Manchin (D-WV)	Chair: TBD Ranking: Manchin (D-WV)	Murkowski (R-AK) has reached the end of her term limit. Barrasso (R-WY) is next in line and might come over from chair of EPW. If he chooses to continue as chair of EPW, then Risch (R-ID) is next in line to take over, though he is expected to remain as chair of Foreign Relations. This would result in Lee (R-UT) serving as chair of ENR.
Environment and Public Works	Chair: Barrasso (R-WY) Ranking: Carper (D-DE)	Chair: TBD Ranking: Carper (D-DE)	Barrasso (R-WY) must choose between ENR and EPW chair. If he chooses ENR, then Inhofe (R-OK) is next in line. However, Inhofe is already chair of Armed Services. If Inhofe stays at Armed Services, it is likely that Capito (R-WV) would become chair of EPW.

Senate Committee	116th Congress	117th Congress	Brownstein Insights
Finance	Chair: Grassley (R-IA) Ranking: Wyden (D-OR)	Chair: Crapo (R-ID) Ranking: Wyden (D-OR)	Grassley (R-IA) has reached the end of his term limit, and Crapo (R-ID) is expected to succeed him.
Foreign Relations	Chair: Risch (R-ID) Ranking: Menendez (D-NJ)	Chair: Risch (R-ID) Ranking: Menendez (D-NJ)	Unlikely to change.
Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions	Chair: Alexander (R-TN) Ranking: Murray (D-WA)	Chair: Burr (R-NC) Ranking: Murray (D-WA)	Alexander (R-TN) is retiring and Burr (R-NC) is next in line.
Homeland Security and Govt. Affairs	Chair: Johnson (R-WI) Ranking: Peters (D-MI)	Chair: Portman (R-OH) Ranking: Peters (D-MI)	Johnson (R-WI) has reached the end of his term limit, and Portman (R-OH) is next in line.
Judiciary	Chair: Graham (R-SC) Ranking: Feinstein (D-CA)	Chair: Graham (R-SC)/Grassley (R-IA) Ranking: Feinstein (D-CA)	If Grassley (R-IA) moves over to chair Judiciary, Graham (R-SC) would likely take the open position on Budget.
Rules and Administration	Chair: Blunt (R-MO) Ranking: Klobuchar (D-MN)	Chair: Cruz (R-TX) Ranking: Klobuchar (D-MN)	Blunt (R-MO) has reached the end of his term limit and may be succeeded by Cruz (R-TX).
Small Business and Entrepreneurship	Chair: Rubio (R-FL) Ranking: Cardin (D-MD)	Chair: Rubio (R-FL)/TBD Ranking: Cardin (D-MD)	If Rubio (R-FL) becomes chair of Intelligence (where he has been serving as acting chair since Burr (R-NC) stepped down), it is unclear who would take his chair position on Small Business.
Veterans' Affairs	Chair: Moran (R-KS) Ranking: Tester (D-MT)	Chair: Moran (R-KS) Ranking: Tester (D-MT)	Unlikely to change.

Senate Committee	116th Congress	117th Congress	Brownstein Insights
Indian Affairs	Chair: Hoeven (R-ND) Ranking: Udall (D-NM)	Chair: Hoeven (R-ND) Ranking: TBD	Udall (D-NM) is retiring, and it is unclear who would replace him.
Intelligence	Chair: Burr (R-NC) Ranking: Warner (D-VA)	Chair: Rubio (R-FL)/TBD Ranking: Warner (D-VA)	Rubio (R-FL) has been serving as acting chair and may take over the position if he chooses to leave the Small Business Committee.

Senate Committee Leadership Projections

Scenario 2: Democratic Majority in the Senate²

Senate Committee	116th Congress	117th Congress	Brownstein Insights
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry	Chair: Roberts (R-AR) Ranking: Stabenow (D-MI)	Chair: Stabenow (D-MI) Ranking: Boozman (R-AR)	Roberts (R-KS) is retiring, so Boozman (R-AR) is next in line to succeed him as ranking member.
Appropriations	Chair: Shelby (R-AL) Ranking: Leahy (D-VT)	Chair: Leahy (D-VT) Ranking: Shelby (R-AL)	Unlikely to change.
Armed Services	Chair: Inhofe (R-OK) Ranking: Reed (D-RI)	Chair: Reed (D-RI) Ranking: Inhofe (R-OK)	Unlikely to change.
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs	Chair: Crapo (R-ID) Ranking: Brown (D-OH)	Chair: Brown (D-OH) Ranking: Crapo (R-ID)	Unlikely to change.
Budget	Chair: Enzi (R-WY) Ranking: Sanders (I-VT)	Chair: Sanders (I-VT) Ranking: TBD	Enzi (R-WY) has reached the end of his term limit and is retiring. His successor is unclear.
Commerce, Science, and Transportation	Chair: Wicker (R-MS) Ranking: Cantwell (D-WA)	Chair: Cantwell (D-WA) Ranking: Wicker (R-MS)	Unlikely to change.

² Our analysis takes into account Republican committee rules, which state that a member is not eligible to serve more than six years as chair or ranking member of any standing committee.

Senate Committee	116th Congress	117th Congress	Brownstein Insights
Energy and Natural Resources	Chair: Murkowski (R-AK) Ranking: Manchin (D-WV)	Chair: Manchin (D-WV) Ranking: TBD	Murkowski (R-AK) has reached the end of her term limit. Barrasso (R-WY) is next in line and might come over from EPW. If he chooses to continue on EPW as ranking member of EPW, Risch (R-ID) would be next in line to take over, though he is expected to remain on Foreign Relations as ranking member. This would result in Lee (R-UT) serving as ranking member.
Environment and Public Works	Chair: Barrasso (R-WY) Ranking: Carper (D-DE)	Chair: Carper (D-DE) Ranking: TBD	Barrasso (R-WY) must choose between ENR and EPW. If he chooses the ranking member spot on ENR, then Inhofe (R-OK) is next in line at EPW. However, Inhofe is already chair of Armed Services. If Inhofe stays at Armed Services, it is likely that Capito (R-WV) would become ranking member of EPW.
Finance	Chair: Grassley (R-IA) Ranking: Wyden (D-OR)	Chair: Wyden (D-OR) Ranking: Crapo (R-ID)	Grassley (R-IA) has reached the end of his term limit, and Crapo (R-ID) is the most likely contender for Finance ranking member.
Foreign Relations	Chair: Risch (R-ID) Ranking: Menendez (D-NJ)	Chair: Menendez (D-NJ) Ranking: Risch (R-ID)	Unlikely to change.
Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions	Chair: Alexander (R-TN) Ranking: Murray (D-WA)	Chair: Murray (D-WA) Ranking: Burr (R-NC)	Alexander (R-TN) is retiring, and Burr (R-NC) is next in line.

Senate Committee	116th Congress	117th Congress	Brownstein Insights
Homeland Security and Govt. Affairs	Chair: Johnson (R-WI) Ranking: Peters (D-MI)	Chair: Peters (D-MI) Ranking: Portman (R-OH)	Johnson (R-WI) has reached the end of his term limit, and Portman (R-OH) is next in line to assume the ranking member spot.
Judiciary	Chair: Graham (R-SC) Ranking: Feinstein (D-CA)	Chair: Feinstein (D-CA) Ranking: Graham (R-SC)	Unlikely to change.
Rules and Administration	Chair: Blunt (R-MO) Ranking: Klobuchar (D-MN)	Chair: Klobuchar (D-MN) Ranking: Cruz (R-TX)	Blunt (R-MO) has reached the end of his term limit, and may be succeeded by Cruz (R-TX).
Small Business and Entrepreneurship	Chair: Rubio (R-FL) Ranking: Cardin (D-MD)	Chair: Cardin (D-MD) Ranking: TBD	If Rubio (R-FL) becomes ranking member on Intelligence (where he has been serving as acting chair since Burr (R-NC) stepped down), it is unclear who would take the ranking member position on Small Business.
Veterans' Affairs	Chair: Moran (R-KS) Ranking: Tester (D-MT)	Chair: Tester (D-MT) Ranking: Moran (R-KS)	Unlikely to change.
Indian Affairs	Chair: Hoeven (R-ND) Ranking: Udall (D-NM)	Chair: TBD Ranking: Hoeven (R-ND)	Udall (D-NM) is retiring, and it is unclear who would replace him.
Intelligence	Chair: Burr (R-NC) Ranking: Warner (D-VA)	Chair: Warner (D-VA) Ranking: Rubio (R-FL)	Burr (R-NC) stepped down as Intelligence chair and Rubio (R-FL) has been serving as acting chair. He may assume the ranking member position if he chooses to leave the Small Business Committee.

House Committee Leadership Projections

**Our analysis takes into account Republican committee rules, which state that a member is not eligible to serve more than six years as chair or ranking member of any standing committee.*

House Committee	116th Congress	117th Congress	Brownstein Insights
Agriculture	Chair: Peterson (D-MN) Ranking: Conaway (R-TX)	Chair: TBD Ranking: Thompson (R-PA)	Peterson (D-MN) lost his reelection bid. He could be succeeded by subcommittee chairs Scott (D-GA), Costa (D-CA) or Fudge (D-OH). Conaway (R-TX) is at the end of his term limit and will retire. He could be succeeded by Thompson (R-PA), Scott (R-GA) or Crawford (R-AR).
Appropriations	Chair: Lowey (D-NY) Ranking: Granger (R-TX)	Chair: TBD Ranking: Granger (R-TX)	Lowey (D-NY) is retiring. Three subcommittee chairs—DeLauro (D-CT), Labor-HHS-Ed, Kaptur (D-OH), Energy and Water, Wasserman Schultz (D-FL), MilCon-VA—are hoping to succeed Lowey. While Kaptur has seniority, DeLauro has an edge on establishment support, and Wasserman-Schultz is finding traction with her call for a new generation of leadership. This is a hotly contested race.
Armed Services	Chair: Smith (D-WA) Ranking: Thornberry (R-TX)	Chair: Smith (D-WA) Ranking: Turner (R-OH)/Rogers (R-AL)	Thornberry (R-TX) is retiring. Rogers (R-AL), who is ranking member for the Homeland Security Committee, and Turner (R-OH), who has said he wants to succeed Thornberry, are competing for the ranking member position.
Budget	Chair: Yarmuth (D-KY) Ranking: Womack (R-AR)	Chair: Yarmuth (D-KY) Ranking: Womack (R-AR)	Unlikely to change.

House Committee	116th Congress	117th Congress	Brownstein Insights
Education and Labor	Chair: Scott (D-VA) Ranking: Foxx (R-NC)	Chair: Scott (D-VA) Ranking: Foxx (R-NC)	Unlikely to change.
Energy and Commerce	Chair: Pallone (D-NJ) Ranking: Walden (R-OR)	Chair: Pallone (D-NJ) Ranking: Burgess (R-TX)	Walden (D-OR) is retiring. Burgess (R-TX) has seniority, but Walden's spot could also be filled by Minority Whip Scalise (R-LA), Latta (R-OH) or McMorris Rodgers (R-WA).
Financial Services	Chair: Waters (D-CA) Ranking: McHenry (R-NC)	Chair: Waters (D-CA) Ranking: McHenry (R-NC)	Unlikely to change.
Foreign Affairs	Chair: Engel (D-NY) Ranking: McCaul (R-TX)	Chair: TBD Ranking: McCaul (R-TX)	Engel's (D-NY) seat is open after he lost his primary election. Sherman (D-CA) has seniority on the committee, but Meeks (D-NY) and Castro (D-TX) are also vying for the spot.
Homeland Security	Chair: Thompson (D-MS) Ranking: Rogers (R-AL)	Chair: Thompson (D-MS) Ranking: Rogers (R-AL)/Katko (R-NY)	If Rogers (R-AL) moves over to the Armed Services Committee as expected, Katko (R-NY) or Higgins (R-LA) could succeed him.
Judiciary	Chair: Nadler (D-NY) Ranking: Jordan (R-OH)	Chair: Nadler (D-NY) Ranking: Jordan (R-OH)	Unlikely to change.
Natural Resources	Chair: Grijalva (D-AZ) Ranking: Bishop (R-UT)	Chair: Grijalva (D-AZ) Ranking: TBD	Bishop (R-UT) has reached the end of his term limit and is retiring. He could be succeeded by Westerman (R-AR), Gosar (R-AZ), or McClintock (R-CA).
Oversight and Government Reform	Chair: Maloney (D-NY) Ranking: Comer (R-KY)	Chair: Maloney (D-NY) Ranking: Comer (R-KY)	Unlikely to change.

House Committee	116th Congress	117th Congress	Brownstein Insights
Rules	Chair: McGovern (D-MA) Ranking: Cole (R-OK)	Chair: McGovern (D-MA) Ranking: Cole (R-OK)	Unlikely to change.
Science, Space, and Technology	Chair: Johnson (D-TX) Ranking: Lucas (R-OK)	Chair: Johnson (D-TX) Ranking: Lucas (R-OK)	Unlikely to change.
Small Business	Chair: Velazquez (D-NY) Ranking: Chabot (R-OH)	Chair: Velazquez (D-NY) Ranking: TBD	Chabot (R-OH) has reached the end of his term limit, and his successor is unclear.
Transportation and Infrastructure	Chair: DeFazio (D-OR) Ranking: S. Graves (R-MO)	Chair: DeFazio (D-OR) Ranking: S. Graves (R-MO)	Unlikely to change.
Veterans' Affairs	Chair: Takano (D-CA) Ranking: Roe (R-TX)	Chair: Takano (D-CA) Ranking: Bilirakis (R-FL)	Roe (R-TX) is retiring and Bilirakis (R-FL) has seniority. However, he could face challenges from Bergman (R-MI) and Bost (R-IL), who have said they are also interested in the position.
Ways and Means	Chair: Neal (D-MA) Ranking: Brady (R-TX)	Chair: Neal (D-MA) Ranking: Brady (R-TX)	Unlikely to change.
Intelligence	Chair: Schiff (D-CA) Ranking: Nunes (R-CA)	Chair: Schiff (D-CA) Ranking: TBD	Nunes (R-CA) is reaching the end of his term limit. He could be succeeded by Turner (R-OH), who currently serves on the Armed Services Committee, or Wenstrup (R-OH). GOP committee leader is not voted on in conference but by the Speaker/Minority Leader.