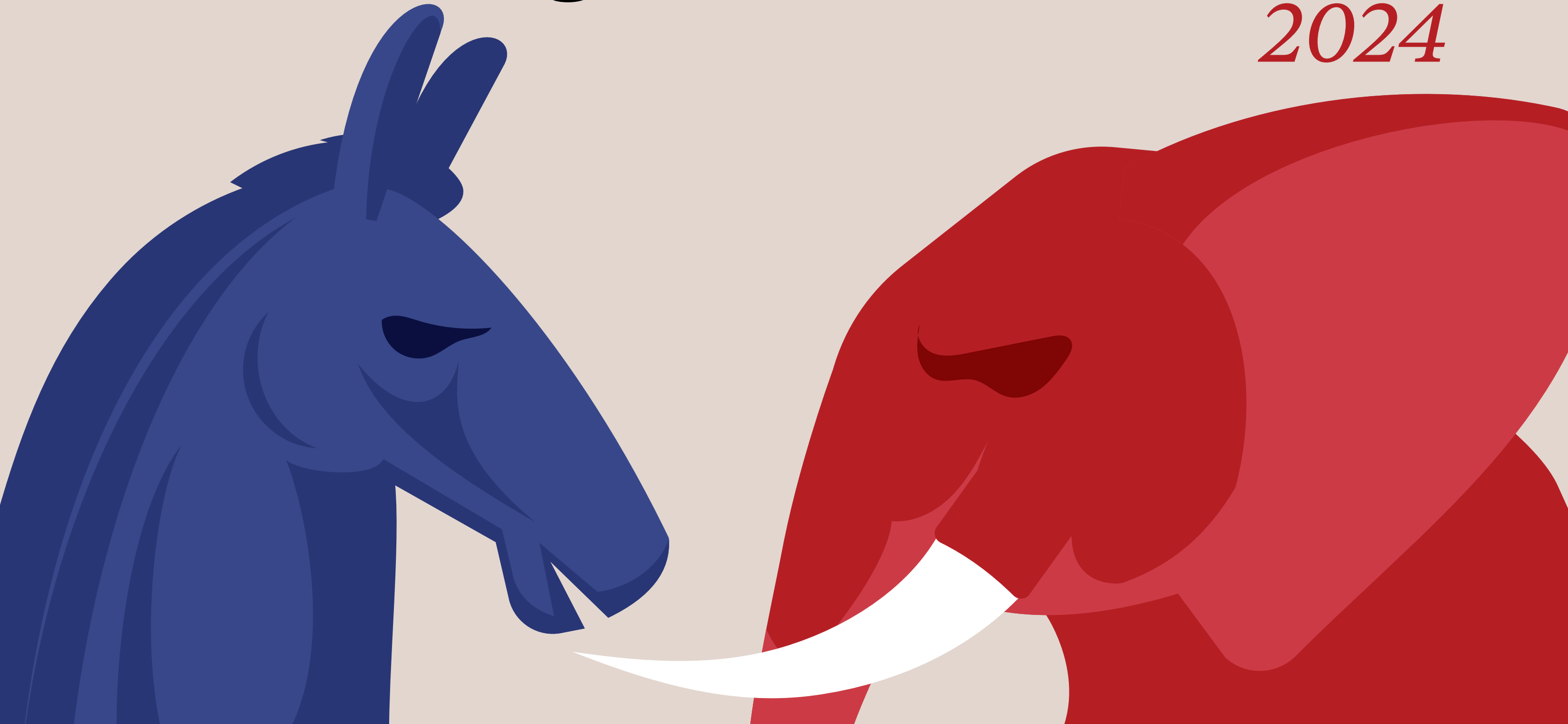


Hogan
Lovells

Election Impact and Congressional Outlook *2024*



Election Results & Highlights

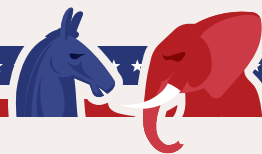
Former President Donald Trump has achieved a resounding and historic political comeback, reclaiming the White House four years after his 2020 defeat to President Joe Biden. Now set to serve as the 45th and 47th President, Trump surpassed his 2016 performance by sweeping all seven swing states and becoming the first Republican President in 20 years to win the popular vote.

The Republican “red wave” extended beyond the presidential race after flipping the Senate and holding their narrow majority in the House of Representatives. This will position President Trump and Republican lawmakers with sizeable opportunities to advance top priorities such as tax reform, deregulation, energy policy, and border security. Additionally, a Republican trifecta will allow Senate Republicans to take advantage of that chamber’s budget reconciliation process, enabling them to pass fiscal measures like tax cuts, entitlement reforms, and spending bills with a simple majority, rather than the usually needed 60 votes under the filibuster.

If Republicans can maintain party unity, they have a rare opportunity to enact sweeping, high-stakes legislative packages that could significantly impact businesses and stakeholders across multiple sectors. We have prepared a comprehensive report summarizing the 2024 election results, their implications,

and what to expect in the upcoming lame-duck session. This report previews Trump administration policy priorities, potential nominees for top cabinet positions, and the legislative outlook for the 119th Congress, including anticipated changes in committees and caucus leadership.

Our Hogan Lovells Government Relations team, alongside our firm's extensive regulatory teams, has strong bipartisan ties with congressional leaders and the incoming Trump administration. Please contact us if you have questions about how these Executive and Legislative Branch changes may affect your business.



Election Highlights

Exit polls reflect a historic election with unusual results

Percentage of Americans who identify with or lean towards the Republican party.

48%

Up by 1 points from 2022.

Percentage of Americans who identify with or lean towards the Democratic party.

49%

Up by 3 points from 2022.

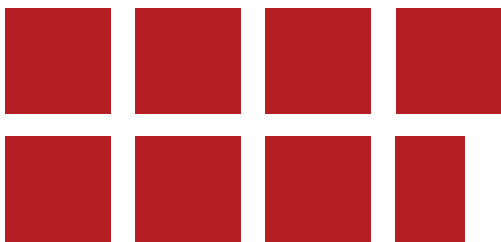


We anticipate a broad array of Executive Orders, regulatory reforms, and legislation (principally through Budgetary reconciliation that cannot be filibustered) aimed at curbing inflation and ensuring robust economic growth.”

Senator Norm Coleman

“The 2024 elections provided a convincing mandate for Republicans, giving them a unified government and raising expectations for delivering on their campaign promises. With high stakes, Republicans are likely to act swiftly to implement their agenda before the off-year gubernatorial races in Virginia and New Jersey signal the start of the next political cycle.”

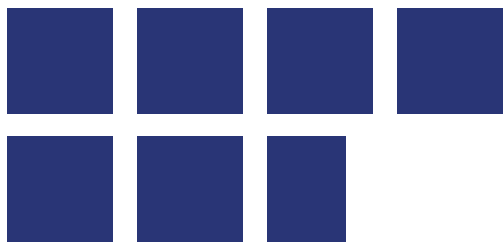
Ivan Zapien



+\$7.6 billion

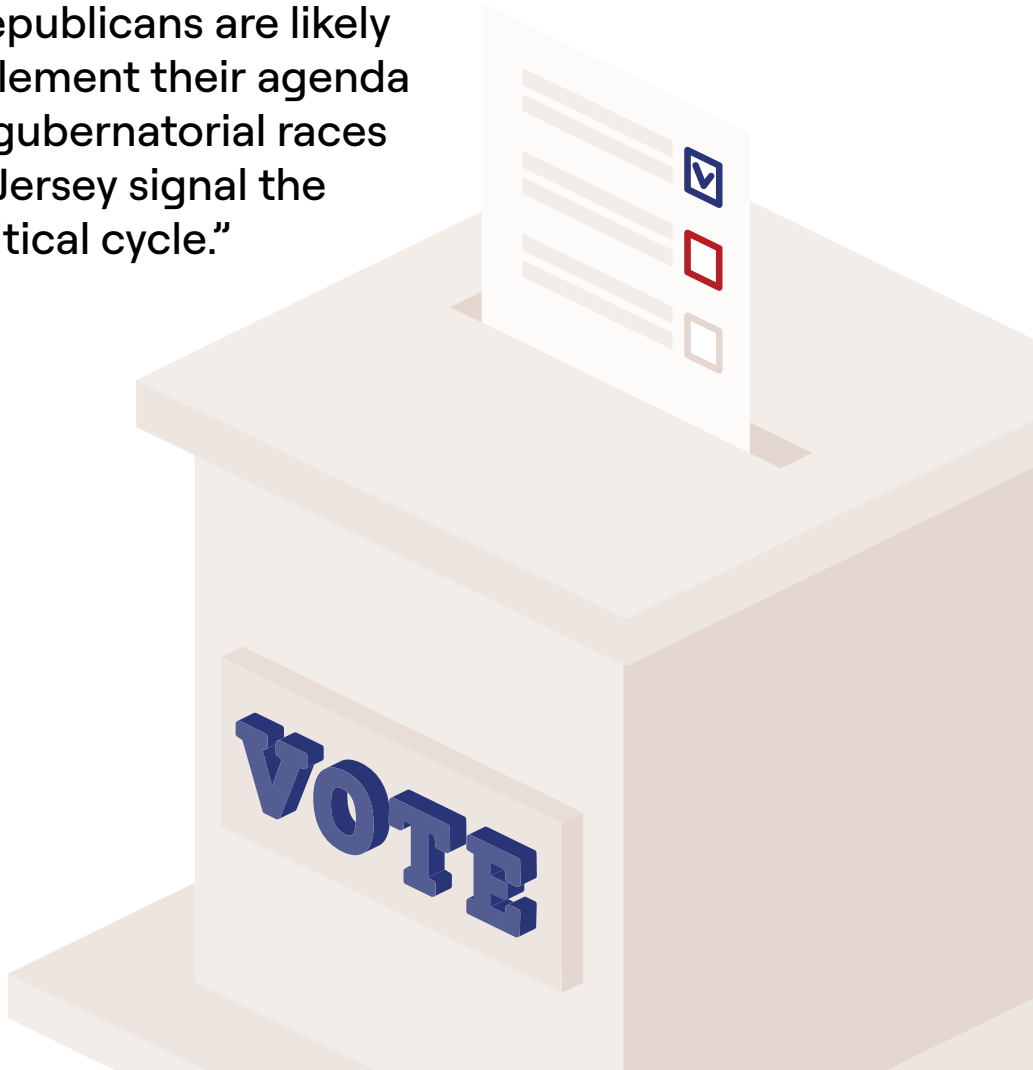
for Republican president and Congressional races

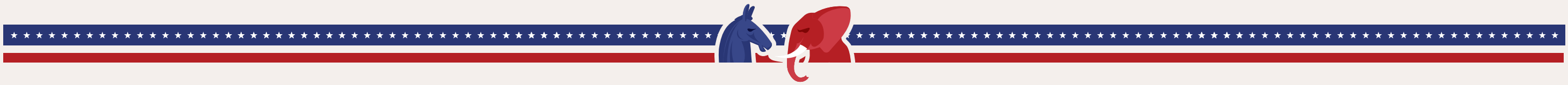
When Congressional races are factored in, the total cost of 2024 campaigns was \$15.9 billion, slightly less than the \$16.7 billion spent in 2020. This year’s race was the second most expensive presidential election since 1998, only narrowly losing to the 2020 election.



+\$6.7 billion

for Democrat president and Congressional races





Lame Duck Session

What to expect?

The 118th Congress returns on November 12 to complete its post-election legislative session, known as the “lame duck” session. Lawmakers usually look to wrap up any remaining agenda items before the new congressional session starts on January 3. Minus the week they will be out for Thanksgiving, legislators will have only about five weeks to pass “must pass” items, such as FY25 Appropriations and reauthorization of the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA).

Since Republicans have secured the majority control in both the House and Senate in the upcoming 119th Congress, they will

gain greater leverage to shape the negotiations and influence the political strategy surrounding these key bills.

Additionally, a list of “will-do” items likely includes nominations, disaster aid, and other programs set to expire by year-end. It is anticipated that Congress will extend many of these programs, such as healthcare extenders and the Farm Bill, through the FY25 appropriations bills or a Continuing Resolution. While other bipartisan priorities may be considered, the scope of additional items remains limited due to the already packed schedule and leadership elections.

FY2025 Appropriations | Must Pass

Expires December 20

Before the elections, President Biden signed a continuing resolution (CR) to fund the government through December 20, 2024. As of now, the House has passed only four of the twelve appropriations bills, and the Senate has yet to pass any, leaving substantial work to still be done. Negotiations are further complicated by disagreements between the House and Senate on topline spending allocations. With only five weeks remaining to address these critical issues and reach a consensus on spending priorities, passing a full appropriations package before year-end is increasingly unlikely.

The recent election results have also shifted the political dynamics surrounding government funding. House Republican leaders are awaiting guidance from President-elect Trump on the path forward. Trump may choose to pursue a full-year funding package to allow Republicans to focus on his first 100 days agenda without ongoing funding distractions. This approach is preferred by several Democrat and Republican appropriators and a bipartisan group of defense hawks and Pentagon officials, who argue that the Department of Defense cannot adequately operate under a CR given rising global threats from China, Iran, and Russia.

However, with Republicans set to control the White House and both chambers in the next Congress, the more probable course is an extension of the CR into 2025. This would allow Republicans to shape the FY25 budget and avoid locking in any Democrats budget priorities. Another possible approach could involve passing a series of “minibuses” for select appropriations alongside a CR for other spending. Speaker Mike Johnson is reportedly considering a CR extension into March 2025, potentially paired with a disaster relief package. The CR would like include funding extensions for programs set to expire at year-end. Bipartisan support will still be required to pass any CR, given the current Democratic control of the Senate and White House.

For public and private stakeholders reliant on federal appropriations, a CR presents challenges. Funding would remain at FY24 levels, preventing any increases for critical programs and specific allocations that stakeholders have advocated for. Additionally, directives and legislative initiatives included in appropriations reports and congressionally directed funding for community project would be excluded from the CR, limiting the scope and impact of funding for various programs.

National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) | Must pass

Expires December 20

Congress is set to resume work on the FY25 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), marking its 63rd consecutive year of passage. The bill is currently in conference as House and Senate negotiators work to reconcile differences in spending levels and policy provisions between the two versions. NDAA leaders are focused on keeping the bill “clean” by avoiding unrelated amendments that could delay progress. However, both parties may attempt to attach last-minute priorities, particularly Democratic Senators who will

lose their majority in the upcoming session. Additionally, congressional leaders are considering attaching provisions related to artificial intelligence and China-focused measures, including the BIOSECURE Act, which enjoys strong bipartisan support and backing from House Republican leadership. Negotiators expect to release the finalized bill in the last week of November, with a House vote anticipated in the first week of December and Senate passage in the second week of December.

Farm Bill | Will likely extend

Expires December 20

Budget constraints and competing interests have stalled negotiations, and it's likely that Congress will extend the current bill once again rather than agree on an update. The 2018 Farm Bill extension has already expired, and without new legislation, key agricultural programs face potential disruption. Given the a short legislative calendar and lack of progress on a new Farm Bill, it will like be extended again into 2025.

Nominations | Will do

The Senate will have some downtime while the House works on government funding negotiations. Senate Democrats will likely focus confirming as many of President Joe Biden's outstanding judicial nominations as they can. President-elect Trump has already directed Senate Republicans should refuse to approve any judges in the coming weeks before they take power on January 3, though Democrats still have control of the Senate majority and floor until that time.

Health Extenders | Will likely extend

Expires December 31

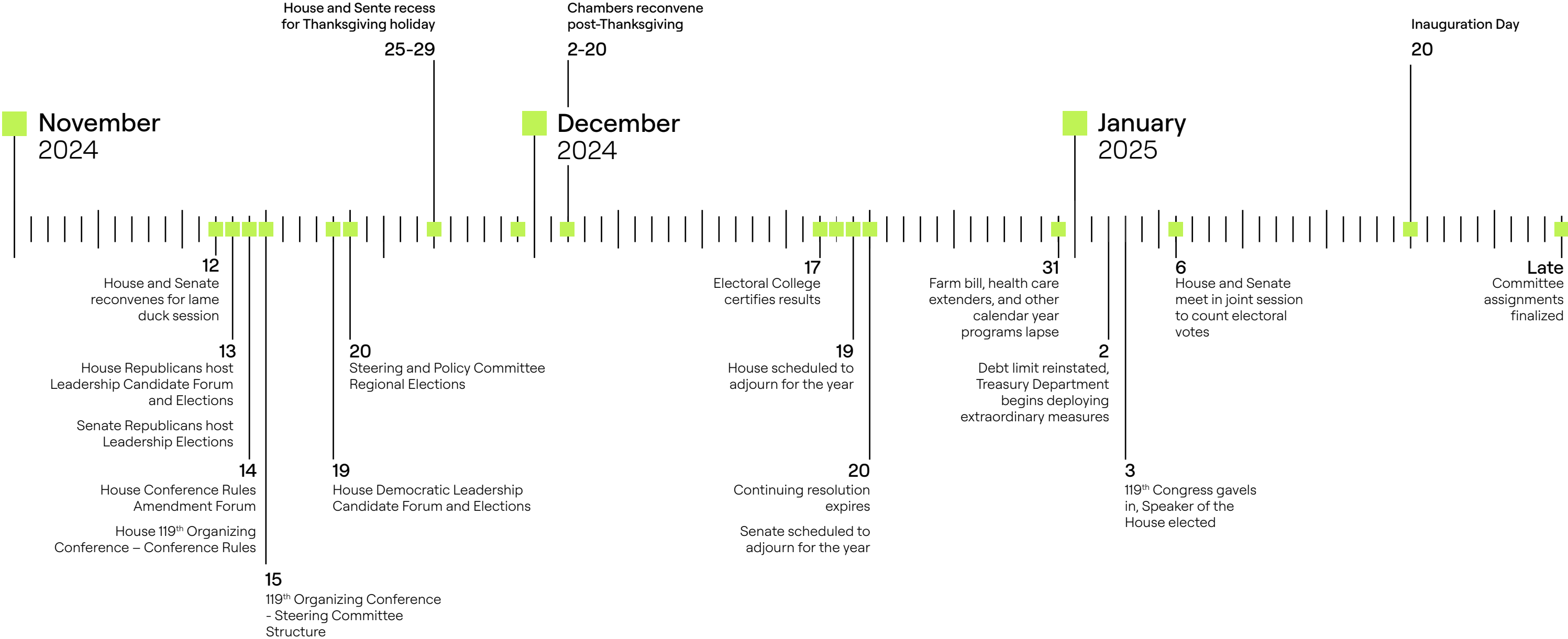
Both parties are prioritizing passing extenders on the several Medicare and other health programs are set to expire on December 31. Some of these programs include Medicare Inpatient Prospective Payment System (IPPS), Medicaid Disproportionate Share Hospital (DSH) allotment reduction delay, Medicare-dependent hospital (MDH) program, the Acute Hospital Care at Home waivers, Medicare physician fee schedule adjustments. Also the temporary telehealth flexibilities and waivers for acute hospital care at home, installed during COVID-19 are set to expire are also at the end of the year. The fate of these bills being extended during a lame duck is dependent on whether Republicans will be willing to negotiate with Democrats on a deal for many of these.

Disaster Aid | Will likely to pass

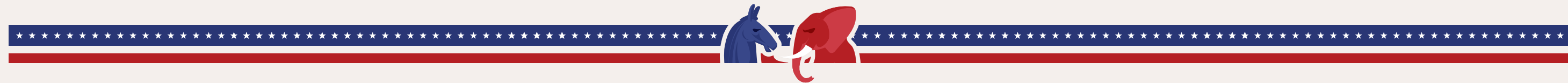
In the aftermath of hurricanes Helene and Milton, legislators are considering immediate disaster relief measures due to the pressing financial needs of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which is rapidly depleting its funds despite a recent \$20 billion allocation. Additionally, the Small Business Administration's (SBA) disaster loan fund ran out of money last month, prompting concerns that replenishment cannot be postponed. Lawmakers are discussing a potential \$50-65 billion relief package, which could be passed under emergency designation to bypass offset requirements.

Options under consideration include advancing SBA funding separately through a suspension of the rules, though no final decision has been reached. An independent, larger disaster relief package is also being explored, potentially separate from any continuing resolution (CR). Furthermore, the National Flood Insurance Program, temporarily extended under the current CR, faces a funding expiration on November 20. Lawmakers could extend this program either within a broader disaster aid package or through the CR.

Lame Duck | Session Timeline



*Late November | Senate Democratic Leadership Elections have not yet been announced

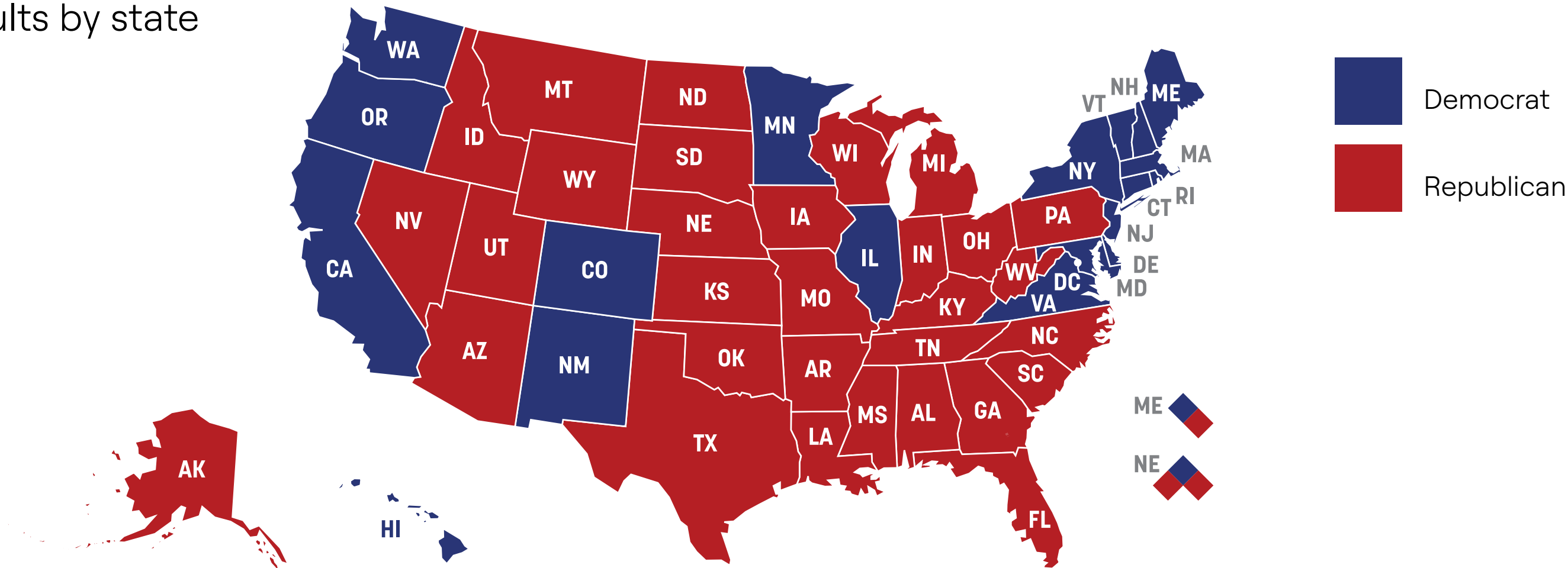


President

Former President Donald Trump’s election night victory over Vice President Kamala Harris exceeded expectations, with Trump outperforming poll predictions both nationally and across all seven key battleground states. The most significant shifts occurred in the “blue wall” states—Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania—where pre-election polls had shown effective ties. Trump, however, led in all three, resulting in an average swing of 1.7 points in his favor from pre-election projections.

Trump secured 312 electoral votes to Harris’s 226 and made history by winning the popular vote—the first Republican to do so in 20 years. His appeal also extended into traditionally Democratic or former swing states. Throughout his campaign, Trump emphasized issues like border security, tariffs, inflation, and crime related to illegal immigration—topics that clearly resonated with American voters. Exit polls revealed Trump made notable gains among Hispanic and Black voters, showing broader demographic appeal compared to previous elections.

Results by state



226 Harris

270 for win

Trump 312

Trump's "Day One" Promises Actions

Immigration

- Begin a large-scale deportation operation
- Terminate Biden's "open border" policies
- Reinstate the travel ban for specific countries
- Attempt to end birthright citizenship for children of undocumented immigrants (faces significant legal challenges)

Tariffs

- Impose tariffs on imported goods, particularly those from China

Education

- Cut federal funding for schools teaching "critical race theory" and "transgender issues"
- End funding for schools with vaccine or mask mandates (requires congressional approval)

Energy

- Repeal what he describes as Biden's "electric vehicle mandate"
- Block California's waiver request to ban gas cars
- Roll back climate and environmental policies
- Open the Arctic wilderness to oil drilling
- Halt windmill projects, including offshore wind

Transgender and Gender Issues

- Ban transgender women from competing in women's sports
- Enact a national ban on gender-affirming surgeries for minors
- Direct federal agencies to cease promoting gender transition at any age
- Roll back Title IX protections regarding discrimination for transgender students

Reshaping the federal government

- Firing potentially thousands of federal employees to rid the government of "corrupt bureaucrats"
- Crackdown on government officials who leak to reporters

Judicial

- Pardons for those who were arrested for their role in the January 6 insurrection at the Capitol
- Fire Jack Smith, the special counsel who has been prosecuting two federal cases against him

Foreign Policy

- Return to "America First" foreign policy
- Apply diplomatic pressure to end Russia's invasion of Ukraine

* Many of these promises would face legal, logistical, and legislative hurdles. However, some executive orders from Biden's term could be swiftly rescinded as Trump has pledged to reverse policies tied to immigration, energy, and social issues through executive actions.

2024: A Historic Election and a Huge Political Comeback

In an unprecedented presidential race marked by numerous unexpected developments, national polling remained steady, positioning Donald Trump and Kamala Harris in a tight, frequently deadlocked contest, with results consistently within the margin of error.

[Polls to show history can be found here.](#)



Potential Trump administration officials and cabinet members

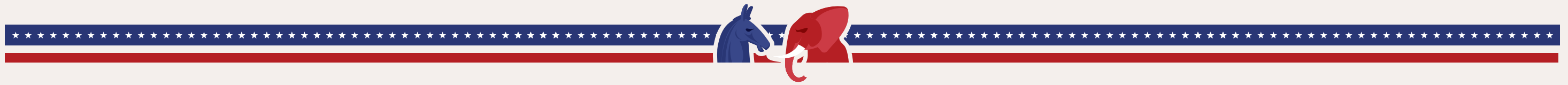
Position	Those being considered	Announced
Attorney General	Matt Gaetz Congressman from Florida	<div></div>
Deputy Attorney General	Todd Blanche Former Federal Prosecutor, Trump defense attorney	<div></div>
Principal Associate Deputy Attorney General	Emil Bove Former Federal Prosecutor, Trump defense attorney	<div></div>
Agriculture Secretary	Sid Miller Texas agriculture commissioner	
	Kip Tom Co-chair of the Farmers and Ranchers for Trump	
	Ted McKinney former USDA undersecretary for trade and foreign agricultural affairs, leads nonpartisan group of all 50 state agriculture chiefs	
	Charles Herbster CEO and President of Carico Farms, Herbster Angus Farms and the Conklin Company	
	Mike Conaway Former Congressman from Texas, former House Ag Chair	
Ambassador to Israel	Mike Huckabee Former Governor of Arkansas	<div></div>
Ambassador to the U.N.	Elise Stefanik Congresswoman from New York and Republican Conference Chair	<div></div>
Border Czar	Tom Homan Former acting ICE Chief	<div></div>
Chief of Staff	Susie Wiles A Trump campaign senior adviser	<div></div>

Position	Those being considered	Announced
Chiefs of Staff	Stephen Miller Deputy chief of staff for policy	<div></div>
	James Blair Deputy chief of staff for legislative, political, and public affairs - Trump campaign political director	<div></div>
	Taylor Budowich Deputy chief of staff of communications and personnel - Staff for Trump Campaign	<div></div>
	Dan Scavino Deputy chief of staff - Close Trump adviser	<div></div>
CIA Director	John Ratcliffe Former congressman from Texas, served as the director of national intelligence in Trump administration	
Commerce Secretary	Robert Lighthizer Former USTR	
	Linda McMahon former head of Small Business Administration	
	Bill Hagerty Tennessean Senate	
Department of Government Efficiency	Elon Musk Musk will work with Vivek Ramaswamy to cut size of government	<div></div>
Defense Secretary	Pete Hegseth Fox News host and veteran of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan	
Director Of National Intelligence	Tulsi Gabbard Former United States Representative	<div></div>
Education Secretary	Betsy DeVos Former Education Secretary	
	Ryan Walters Superintendent of Oklahoma’s state schools	
	Glenn Youngkin Virginia governor	
	Tiffany Justice Florida school board member, cofounder of Moms For Liberty	
EPA Administrator	Lee Zeldin Attorney and former Congressman from New York	<div></div>

Position	Those being considered	Announced
Energy Secretary	Mark Menezes Served in DOE’s leadership in Trump administration and President and CEO of the US Energy Association	
	Paul Dabbar Former under secretary for Science in the Trump administration, CEO and co-founder of Bohr Quantum Technology	
	Dan Brouillette Former Secretary of Energy in Trump administration, president and CEO of the Edison Electric Institute	
FTC Chair	Melissa Holyoak A Republican FTC Commissioner	
	Andrew Ferguson A Republican FTC Commissioner	
	Makan Delrahim assistant attorney general for the DOJ Antitrust Section	
	Mark Meador former DOJ lawyer	
	Todd Zywicki George Mason University law professor	
	Alexander Okuliar Trump DOJ alum	
FCC Chair	Brendan Carr Republican FCC chairman	
HHS Secretary	Robert F. Kennedy Jr. Former presidential candidate, anti-vaccine activist	<div></div>
Homeland Security	Kristi Noem Governor of South Dakota	<div></div>
Housing and Urban Development Secretary	Ben Carson Former HUD Secretary	
	Tim Scott Senator of South Carolina	
	Brian Montgomery Deputy secretary of HUD and Federal Housing Administration commissioner	
Interior Secretary	Doug Burgum Governor of North Dakota	<div></div>
Labor Secretary	Patrick Pizzella former deputy Labor Secretary, mayor of Pinehurst NC	
	Brian Slater Virginia Labor Secretary, former assistant secretary of Labor	

Position	Those being considered	Announced
National Security Posts	Kash Patel House staffer	
	Keith Kellogg Retired lieutenant general and former Chief of Staff to the National Security Council	
	Mike Pompeo Former CIA Director and Secretary of State	
National Security Adviser	Mike Waltz Congressman from Florida	<div></div>
Secretary of State	Marco Rubio Florida Senator	<div></div>
Solicitor General	D. John Sauer Former solicitor general of Missouri, Trump defense attorney	<div></div>
Transportation Secretary	Garret Graves Congressman from Louisiana	
	Sam Graves Congressman from Missouri	
Transition Team	Howard Lutnick In charge of personnel	<div></div>
	Linda McMahon Overseeing policy	<div></div>
Treasury Secretary	Robert Lighthizer Former USTR	
	Scott Bessent CEO of Key Square Capital Management	
	Howard Lutnick CEO Cantor Fitzgerald	
	Larry Kudlow Former Director of the National Economic Council of the U.S.	
	Jay Clayton Wall Street and Corporate lawyer and former chair of the SEC	
	Bill Hagerty Tennessee Senator	

Position	Those being considered	Announced
United States Trade Representative	Bill Hagerty Senator from Tennessee	
	Robert Lighthizer Former USTR during the Trump administration	
	Jamieson Greer Chief of Staff at USTR during Trump administration, Partner at King and Spalding	
	Jeffrey Gerrish Former deputy USTR for Asia, Europe, the Middle East and Industrial Competitiveness	
Veterans Affairs Secretary	Doug Collins Former Congressman from Georgia, Trump attorney	<div></div>
White House Counsel	Bill McGinley Cabinet secretary during Trump administration	
White House Legislative Affairs Operation	Ben Howard From Duberstein Group	
	James Braid Deputy chief of staff to Vance in the Senate	



The results of the 2024 election underscore America’s deep divisions, with nearly half of the country voting against the prevailing party. While Republicans achieved a sweeping victory, capturing both popular and electoral votes, the underlying discontent that drove voters toward change remains potent. If Republicans fail to deliver tangible improvements, the electorate’s restlessness suggests they could face another shift in two years.

Trump’s Appeal to Working-Class Hispanic and Black Voters

Trump expanded his reach among traditionally Democratic-leaning groups, including Latino men and working-class voters across racial lines. His campaign’s rhetoric on job creation, opposition to elite-driven policies, and emphasis on national pride resonated with working-class Americans who felt disconnected from the Democratic message. Winning 45% of Latinos and 55% of Latino men—records for a Republican candidate—demonstrated Trump’s success in building a multiracial, working-class coalition, challenging Democrats’ historic advantage with these voters. Trump made gains among Black voters in North Carolina’s rural counties, flipping some counties and making headway in other majority-Black regions, signaling weakened Democratic support. His traction in both minority-dense and suburban areas in the Sun Belt and Midwest counties with substantial minority populations contributed to a sweeping victory across seven swing states, solidifying his popular vote win.

Shift in Male Voter Demographics and Perceived Gender Divide

Dissatisfied male voters, particularly young men, shifted from the Democratic Party toward Trump. While Democrats anticipated strong female support to counterbalance this, they underestimated the impact of male voters feeling overlooked. Many men, especially working-class and non-college-educated men, felt left behind and that societal advancements neglected their needs—sentiments the GOP leveraged by positioning Trump as a leader who acknowledged their struggles. Trump’s campaign strategically engaged male-centric media, such as Joe Rogan’s podcast, providing him a platform to address these issues directly. Democrats debated whether Harris should also appear in similar forums but ultimately chose to generally not, fearing it would alienate their base. This missed opportunity to counter Trump’s narrative among key demographic groups likely broadened Trump’s base and undercut Democratic dominance in this demographic.

Diminished Democratic Margins in Key Bellwether and Urban Centers

Major urban areas previously delivering decisive Democratic margins, such as Detroit and Northern Virginia, saw reduced Democratic turnout or support. This trend extended to college counties, where Trump closed the gap, reducing Democratic advantages. Philadelphia, traditionally a Democratic stronghold, yielded only a modest margin for Kamala Harris, significantly below the target set by local Democratic leaders, which contributed to the Democrats’ weakened standing in Pennsylvania.

Economic Concerns and Inflation

The post-pandemic economic climate, marked by inflation and concerns over the cost of living, led voters to turn right, mirroring trends in other Western democracies. The economic difficulties faced by many Americans in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly rising inflation and the cost of essential goods, created a sense of frustration with the Democratic administration’s handling of these issues. Many voters felt that policies from the Biden-Harris administration, including high federal spending, had exacerbated, rather than alleviated, inflation, leading to increased living costs and economic instability. Additionally, Democratic focus on social and environmental issues sometimes overshadowed immediate economic concerns, leaving many voters feeling that the party was out of touch with the financial struggles impacting their daily lives. This perception drove a significant portion of the electorate to seek stability and change, which the Trump campaign capitalized on by promising targeted economic relief and a focus on reducing inflation.

Biden’s Delay in Stepping Aside Prevented Harris Time to Separate Herself From an Unpopular Administration

Many Democratic insiders argue that Biden’s delay in stepping aside cost Harris precious time to build her own campaign narrative and infrastructure. Delayed action by Biden in stepping aside prevented Harris from forming a clear agenda distinct from Biden’s policies, leading to dissatisfaction among voters seeking more decisive action on economic issues. Her reluctance to diverge sharply from Biden’s platform made it challenging to appeal to voters eager for change, ultimately constraining her ability to establish herself as an independent leader with fresh solutions.

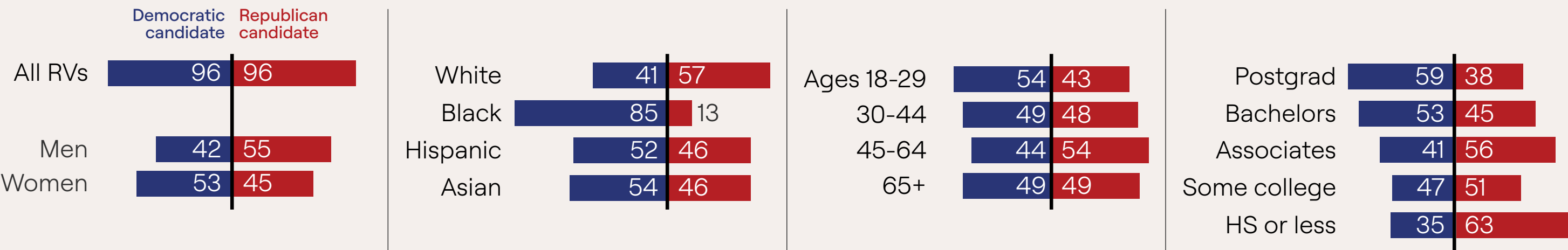
Republicans’ Success in Mobilizing Key Issues

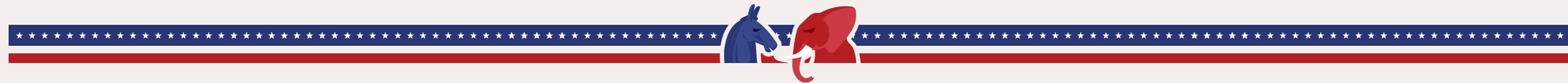
The GOP effectively framed immigration and inflation as failures of the Democratic administration, emphasizing Trump’s ability to deliver “law and order” on immigration and relief on inflation. Harris’s campaign struggled to counter these narratives convincingly, with Republican messaging portraying Trump as more capable of addressing economic and security concerns. This strong positioning on core voter issues drew undecided and swing voters toward Trump.

Trump’s Stronger, More Disciplined Campaign

Trump’s 2024 campaign, with its structured approach that minimized internal drama and maximized strategic cohesion, was markedly more organized and focused than his previous runs. His team implemented a professional campaign operation that allowed Trump to maintain his outsider image while staying on message. This organized approach, combined with a direct focus on voter concerns, allowed the Trump campaign to present a more credible and effective image than in 2016 or 2020, capturing broader support.

Wide age, racial and ethnic, educational difference in voters’ midterm preferences



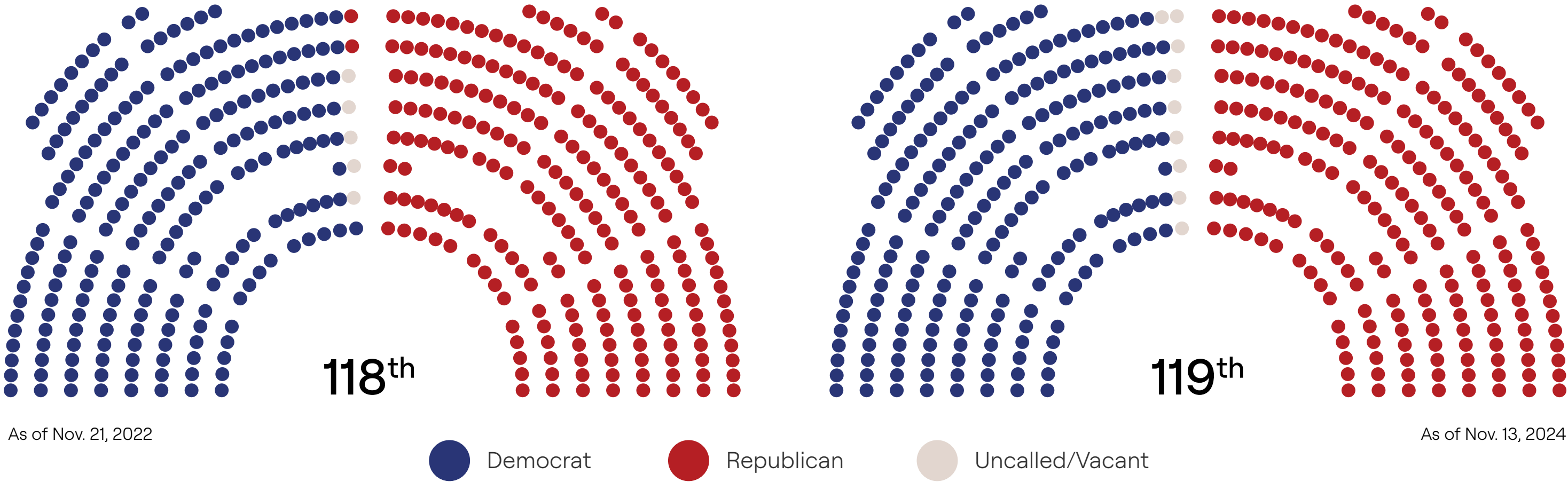


House

After waiting a week until enough races were called, House Republicans won the majority on Nov. 13 with a 218 - 208 lead and 9 more races to call. The GOP victory delivers the highly sought-after political trifecta, granting Republicans control of the executive branch and both chambers of Congress—a powerful position to advance priorities like tax cuts and their “America First” agenda.

Leading up to the election, neither party had a decisive edge, and both expected modest gains if they achieved a House majority. The results reveal that redistricting provided no clear advantage to either side. New Southern districts aimed at empowering Black voters were offset by GOP-led gerrymandering in North Carolina and a modest Democratic redraw in New York.

Republicans adopted a strategic approach by prioritizing strong candidate recruitment and backing primary challengers with strong general election potential, closely coordinating their efforts with Trump’s campaign. Democrats, in contrast, focused on robust fundraising and abortion rights, relying on repeat challengers from 2022 in hopes that their existing voter recognition and campaign infrastructure would enhance their competitiveness.



208 Democrats

218 for majority

Republicans 218

Competitive house seats that have flipped to become a pickup

State	Incumbent	Defeated	Winner
AL-02		<div></div> Dobson (R)	<div></div> Figures (D)
CA-27	<div></div>	<div></div> Garcia (R)	<div></div> Whitesides (D)
CO-08	<div></div>	<div></div> Caraveo (D)	<div></div> Evans (R)
LA-06		<div></div> Guillory (R)	<div></div> Fields (D)
MI-07		<div></div> Hertel (D)	<div></div> Barrett (R)
NC-6		<div></div> Hayes (D)	<div></div> McDowell (R)
NC-13		<div></div> Pierce (D)	<div></div> Knott (R)
NC-14		<div></div> Genant (D)	<div></div> Moore (R)
NY-04	<div></div>	<div></div> D’Esposito (R)	<div></div> Gillen (D)
NY-19	<div></div>	<div></div> Molinaro (R)	<div></div> Riley (D)
NY-22	<div></div>	<div></div> Williams (R)	<div></div> Mannion (D)
PA-07	<div></div>	<div></div> Wild (D)	<div></div> Mackenzie (R)
PA-08	<div></div>	<div></div> Cartwright (D)	<div></div> Bresnahan (R)

Total pick ups per party

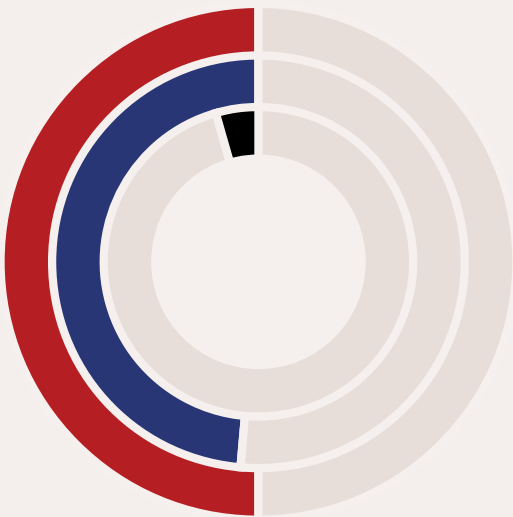
Democrats picked up 6 seats



Republicans picked up 7 seats

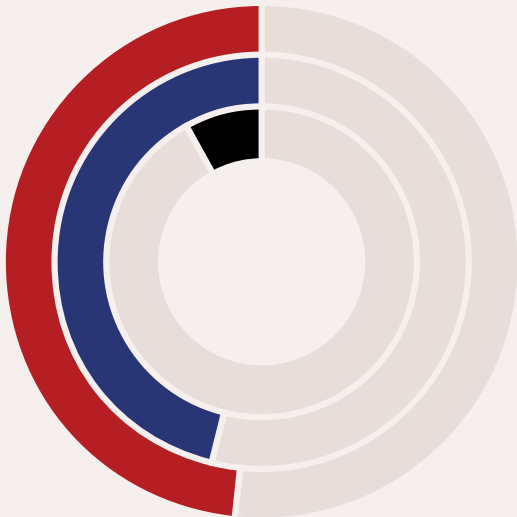


House seats by party



221 GOP
214 DEM
5 Uncalled

118th Congress As of Nov. 21, 2022

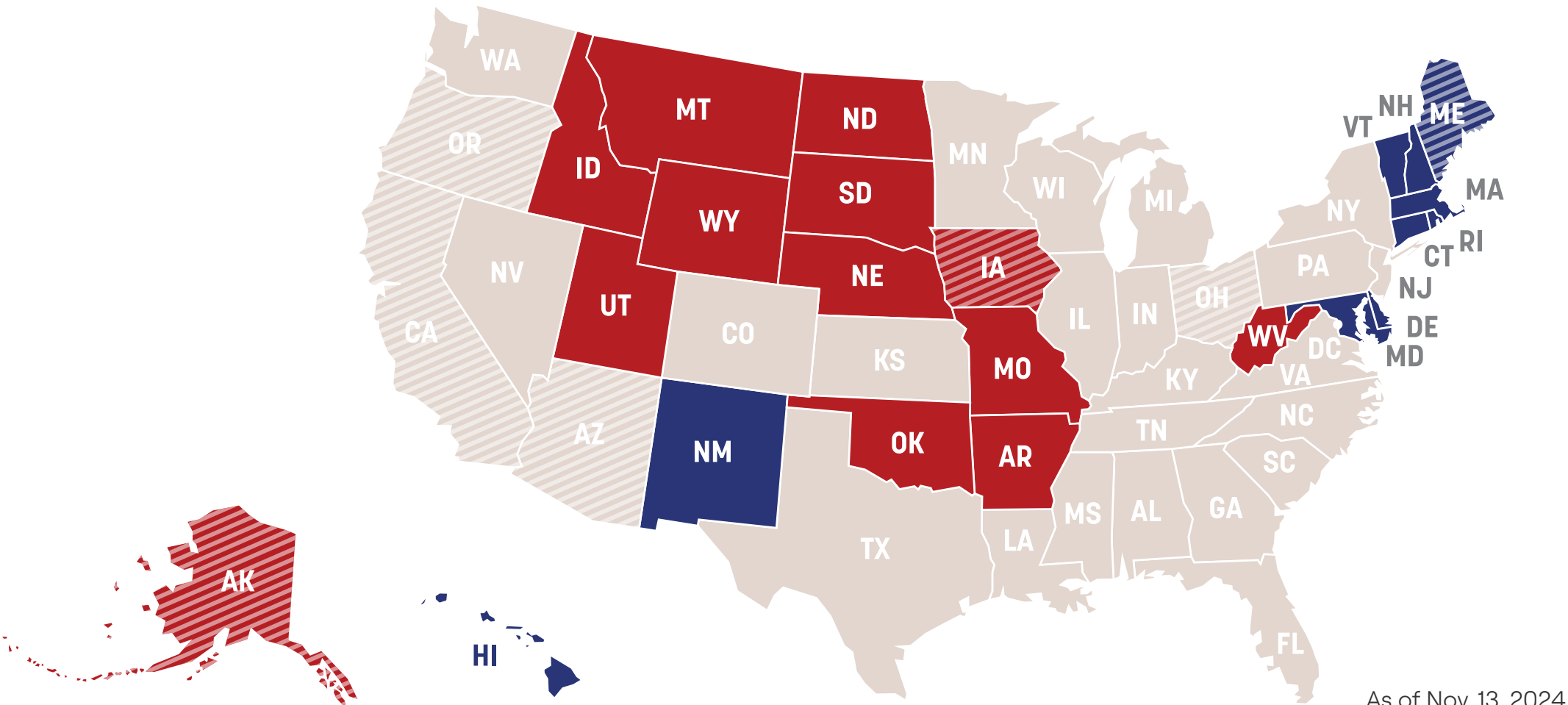


218 GOP
208 DEM
9 Uncalled

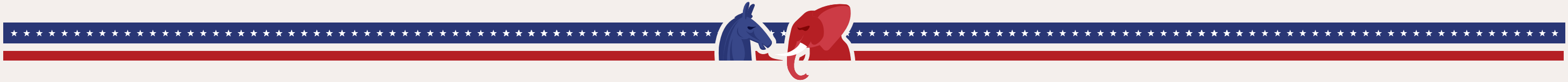
119th Congress As of Nov. 13, 2024

Results by state

- Democrat
- Democrat (waiting)
- Republican
- Republican (waiting)
- Both
- Both (waiting)



As of Nov. 13, 2024

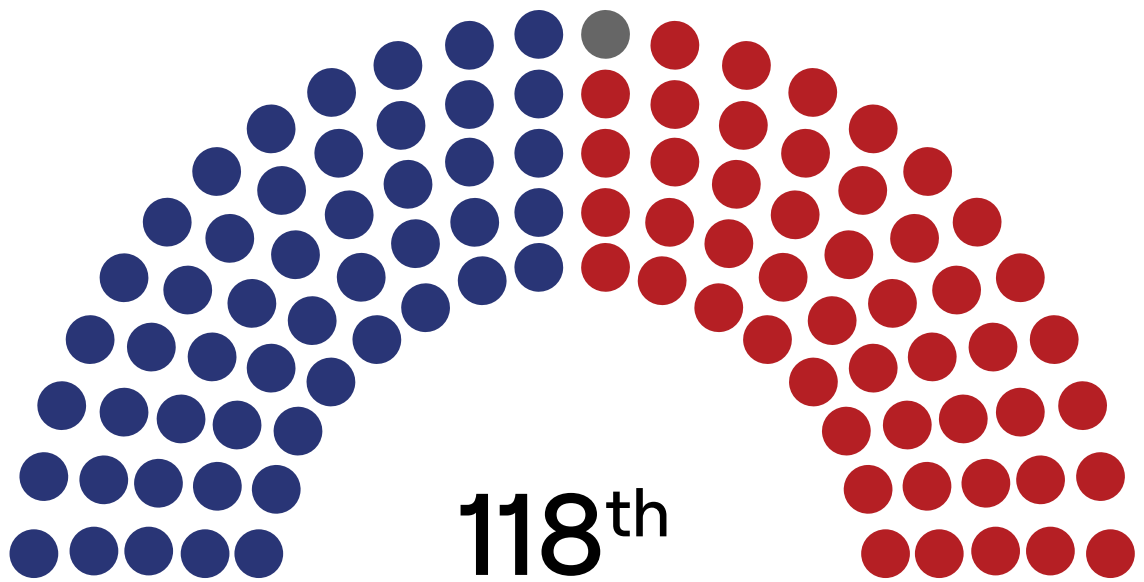


Senate

Republicans have wrestled back control of the Senate with a 53-47 margin, setting the stage for a more assertive legislative agenda as we wait for the final results in the swing state of PA. The GOP’s current 4-seat gain positions Republicans to wield considerable power in shaping the judiciary and navigating high-stakes policy battles.

The 2024 election map was particularly favorable to Republicans, who only had to defend 11 Senate seats, largely in secure states. Meanwhile, Democrats were on defense, fighting to hold onto multiple toss-up seats in swing states where polling had shown razor-thin margins. The GOP’s strategy of chipping away at Democratic strongholds paid off, shifting several “lean Democrat” races into the toss-up column as Election Day approached. Democrats braced for losses, knowing that Senator Joe Manchin’s retirement had essentially gifted Republicans his West Virginia seat—and the one-vote edge they needed to flip the Senate. The new emerging question became how large the GOP majority might be, and whether Democrats could counter with surprising pick-ups in red states like Texas and Florida, where there had been some unexpected momentum.

Republicans have flipped Ohio and Montana, ousting veteran Democratic incumbents Sen. Sherrod Brown (D-OH) and Sen. Jon Tester (D-MT). Democratic women senators fought to defend their seats, narrowly holding onto Michigan, Nevada, and Wisconsin. Pennsylvania Democratic Senator Bob Casey has not conceded his race, which has been called by the Associated Press, but other news outlets have yet to follow suit. The state continues to count an estimated 100,000 outstanding ballots while his opponent holds a roughly 40,000-vote lead.

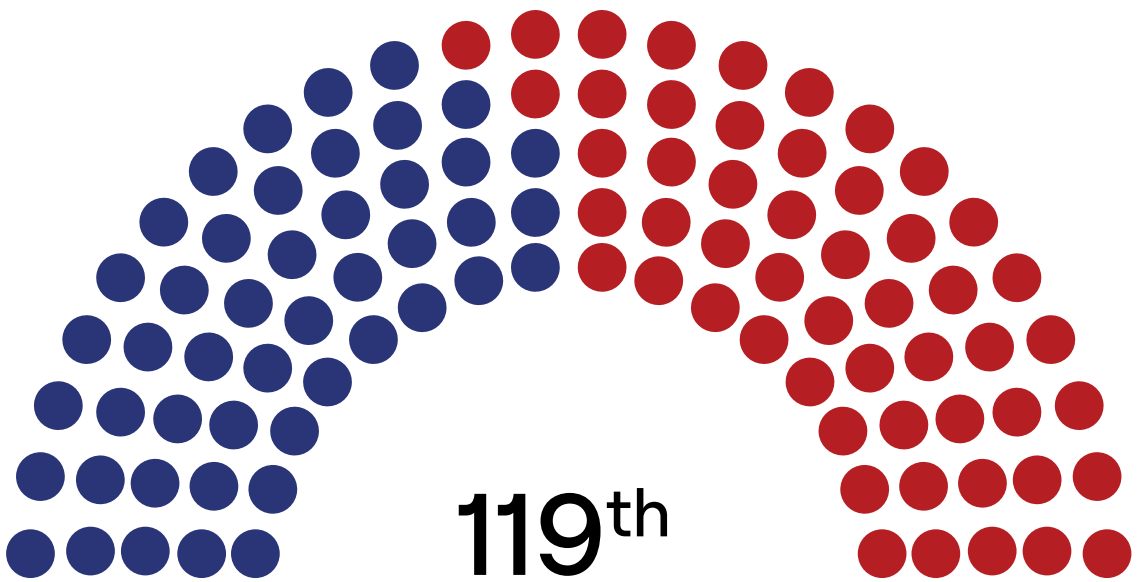


118th

As of Nov. 21, 2022

- Democrat
- Republican
- Uncalled/Vacant

50-49-1 majority with three independents (King, Manchin, and Sanders) caucusing with Democrats and Sinema not caucusing with either party.



119th

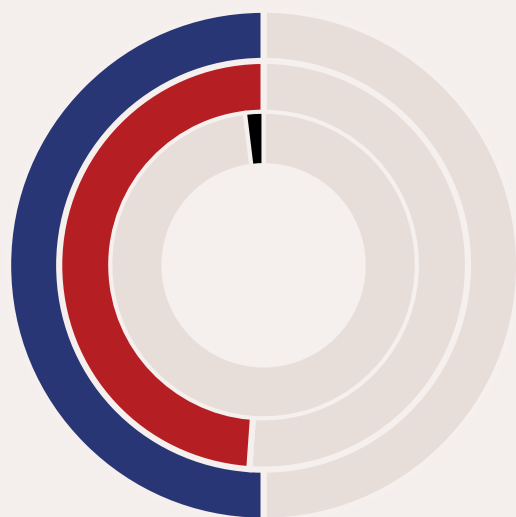
47 Democrats

Republicans 53

51 for majority

As of Nov. 12, 2024

Senate seats by party



118th Congress

50 DEM
49 GOP
1 Uncalled

The two Independent senators caucus with the democrats

As of Nov. 21, 2022



119th Congress

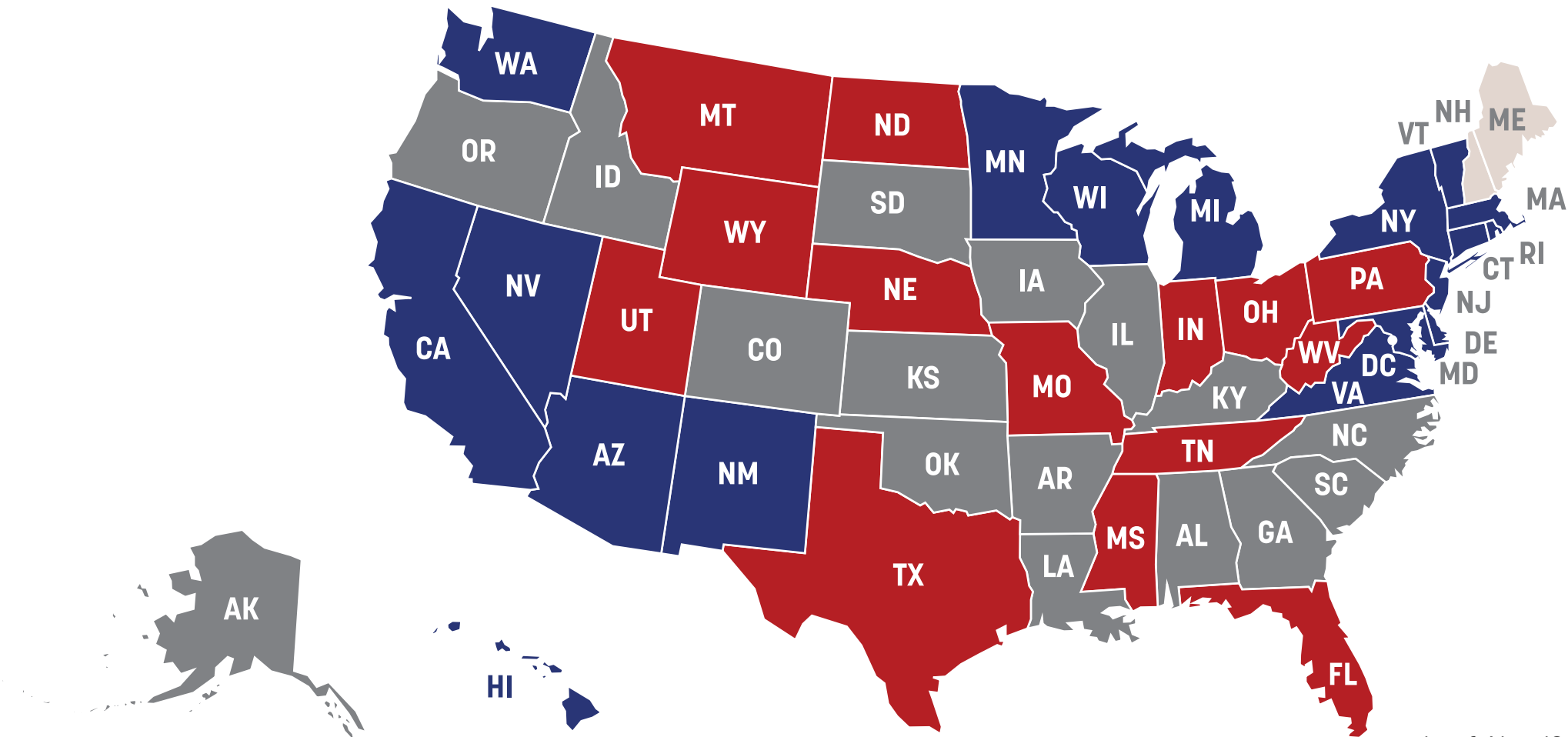
53 GOP
47 DEM

The two Independent senators caucus with the democrats

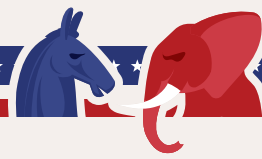
As of Nov. 12, 2024

Results by state

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- No elections



As of Nov. 12, 2024



How Does the 2024 Election Change the Political Dynamics and Legislative Outlook for the 119th Congress?

A Republican trifecta will unlock Budget Reconciliation and CRA tools leading to significant policy changes

A Republican-controlled House, Senate, and White House will allow the GOP to enact its major policy priorities quickly and potentially with fewer compromises. Without the need to negotiate extensively with Democrats, Republicans could push forward major bills on priority issues like tax reform, deregulation, budgetary restraint, judiciary appointments, border security, and healthcare. Furthermore, a trifecta will allow Republicans to use budget reconciliation, a prized procedural tool, to effectively move fiscal policies in the Senate with a simple majority, bypassing the Senate's usual 60-vote threshold and need to work with the minority party. Historically, this method has been used for deficit reduction and enables targeted tax cuts and spending increases. Having these advantages of unified control will allow Republicans to reshape federal policy in line with conservative principles and make lasting changes to the legislative and regulatory landscape.

Republicans are also expected to use the Congressional Review Act (CRA) to overturn recent Biden-era regulations, particularly those finalized after August 1, 2024, falling within the CRA's "lookback" period. Members must introduce a joint resolution of disapproval, and Congress must take action on it within certain time periods to take advantage of the fast track procedures. After being passed in both chambers, it is sent to the President, who can choose to sign the joint resolution or veto it. Congress can override that veto with a two-thirds vote.

The 119th Congress will face dual fiscal cliffs that will lead to intense debates and lobbying efforts

In 2025 the United States faces two major fiscal challenges: the expiration of key provisions in the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) and the need to raise the debt ceiling. If Congress and the President do not act, the expiration of

TCJA provisions will result in significant tax increases for many Americans, affecting lower individual tax rates, the increased standard deduction, child tax credits, and small business income deductions, among others.

Simultaneously, the federal debt limit, suspended until January 2, 2025, under the Fiscal Responsibility Act, will be reinstated. The government can temporarily operate through "extraordinary measures" to avoid default, but a long-term solution will be needed by mid-2025. These combined issues present an opportunity for comprehensive tax reform and potential changes in federal spending but will likely lead to intense debates and economic uncertainty as policymakers negotiate and stakeholders across many sectors engage in efforts to influence the legislation.

Republicans' modest majorities have their pros and cons

Republicans' 4-seat margin in the Senate will provide a significant advantage in advancing their legislative agenda and shaping the Senate's operation. While this is still a modest majority, it still provides significant advantages that weren't afforded the two previous Senate leaders who dealt with the greater challenges of having tied or razor-thin majorities. The new majority leader and the caucus will have greater flexibility with larger majority committees and will not always be reliant on every single member when navigating intra-party divisions or absentee senators. This will pad the Senate majority in situations that might arise when more moderate Republicans, such as Senators Susan Collins (R-ME) or Lisa Murkowski (R-AK), choose to hold up legislation in exchange for significant modifications or concessions.

Conversely, the slim margins in the House will require Republicans to maintain unity within the party, which would be essential, as narrow margins or internal disagreements could still hinder progress on certain initiatives. It is especially important for GOP leaders to maintain near-total unity in both chambers to pass a reconciliation bill. Slimmer margins also make majorities

more vulnerable to members' absenteeism due to medical emergencies, travel, and vacancies or even trigger a temporary flip in control to Democrats. Also, any lawmakers who might want to make the jump to working within the administration will have to consider how their move will impact the party's majority or if a special election in their district might be too competitive.

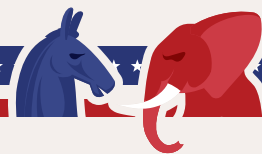
One thing is not like the other, Trump transition 2.0 is different

This transition for Trump marks a stark contrast from his previous term. Trump is now seasoned in knowing how the White House and the Hill work and strategically choosing those around him. It is clear that the people on his transition team have been earnest and working for a great deal of time on how best to execute and deliver the wave of executive orders that will be unleashed in January. Their choices in staff and announced nominees show that picking from within Trump's trusted Republican MAGA circles and demonstrating unwavering loyalty are the two checkmarks needed at the top of the vetting list.

Unlike last time, this transition is moving at warp speed so the Trump administration can hit the ground running when Trump is inaugurated to deliver his ambitious "Day One" agenda with maximum impact. Trump has let out a steady string of announced nominees and personnel appointments, with many overseeing his top priority issues being designated as "czars." They will maintain close contact with the President while exerting their influence across agencies to advance his agenda.

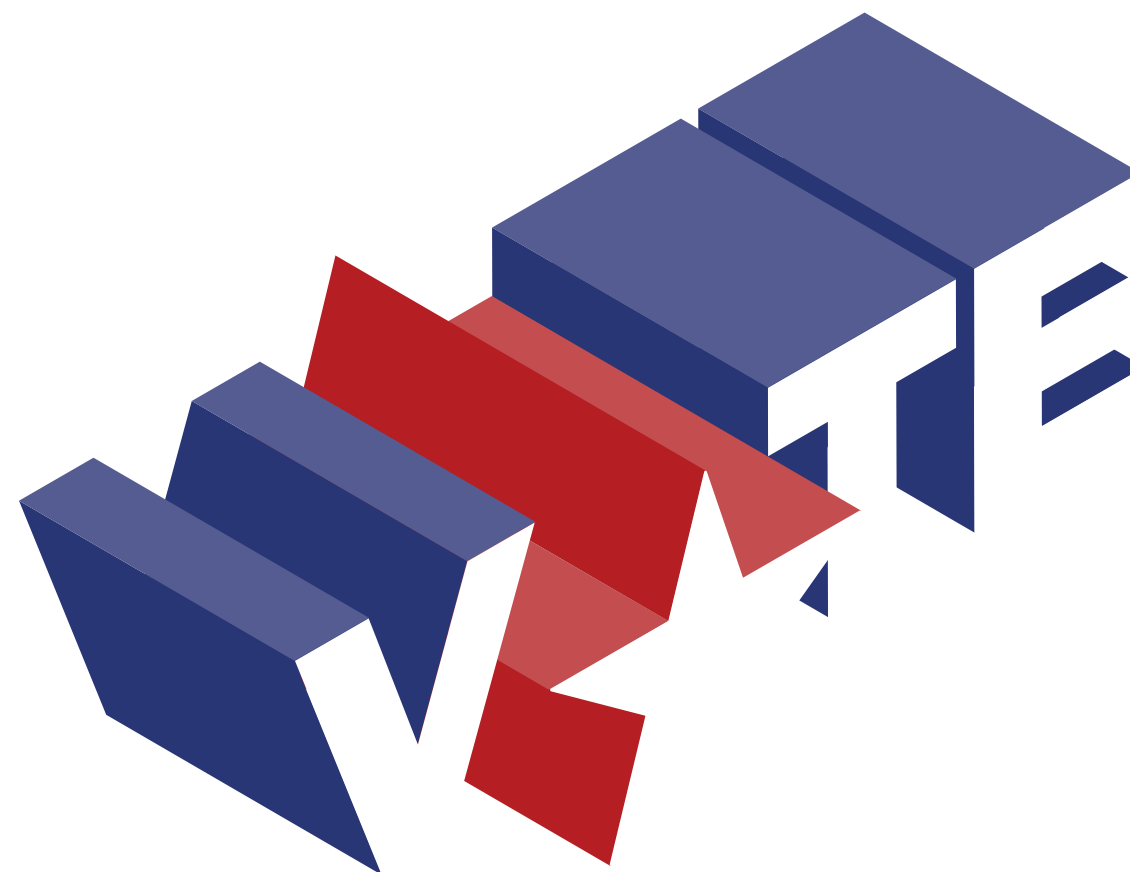
No doubt, this election has only maximized Trump's stronghold over his party by making him one of the most popular Republican presidents in history. With Republicans winning unified control of the House and Senate, Trump's Republican colleagues in Congress will fall even further in line with him and stay there. Trump's word will ultimately be all that matters when making decisions, and it will be in any Republican's best interest to be standing in line with him.





Policy Issues

- ▶ Agriculture
- ▶ Antitrust & Judiciary
- ▶ Budget & Appropriations
- ▶ Congressional Investigations
- ▶ Cryptocurrency
- ▶ Defense & National Security
- ▶ Education
- ▶ Energy & Environment
- ▶ Financial Services
- ▶ Health Care
- ▶ Tax
- ▶ Tech
- ▶ Trade Policy
- ▶ Transportation & Infrastructure



Agriculture



Policy agenda

Very unlikely

Possible

Very likely

Passage of the Farm Bill (If not passed in the lame duck)

Reform FDA

Cuts and reform to conservation programs

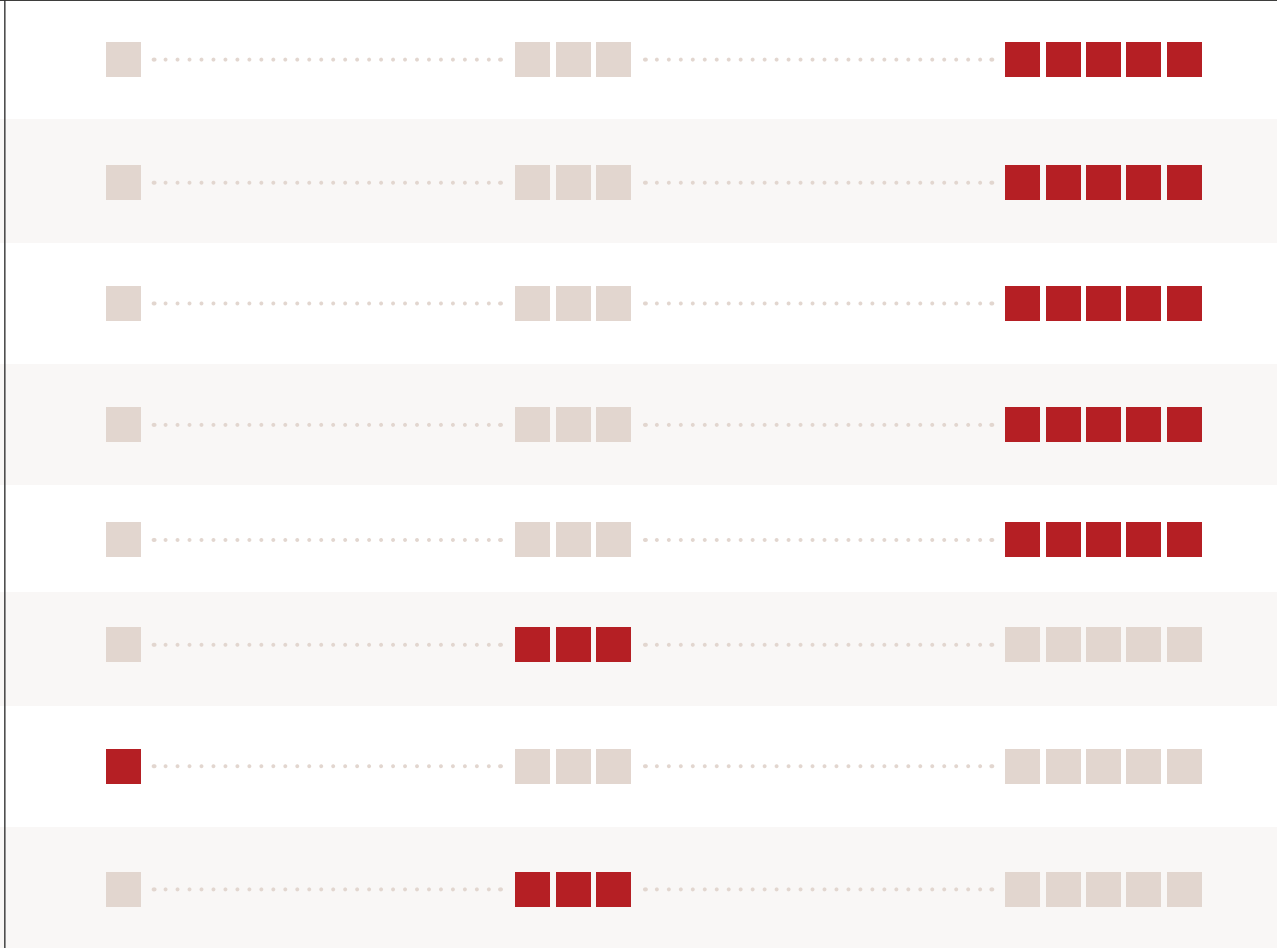
Conservation reforms

Cut and reform nutrition assistance

Crop insurance reforms

Research and development

Increase funding for forest management



Trump Administration Agriculture Executive Outlook

■ Reversal of Climate-Smart Agricultural Initiatives

President-Elect Trump is expected to dismantle climate-related investments and programs such as the Conservation Reserve Program made under the Biden administration, including \$19 billion dedicated to sustainable agriculture practices aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Deregulation and reform will be proposing a focus on productivity over climate considerations in agriculture.

■ Impact on Farm Labor through Immigration Policies

Trump has promised mass deportations, aiming to remove millions of undocumented immigrants, a large portion of whom work in agriculture. This could severely impact the labor force, as approximately 44% of U.S. farmworkers are undocumented. His close allies have suggested eliminating the H-2A visa program, a crucial source of temporary agricultural labor. Large-scale deportations could lead to labor shortages, disrupt farm operations, and potentially collapse the sector if replacements aren't found.

■ Aggressive Trade Policies and Tariffs

Trump's proposed trade strategy includes tariffs of up to 10% on most imports, with even higher tariffs on specific countries like China. His first-term tariff policies, particularly on Chinese goods, led to a substantial decline in U.S. agricultural exports and strained markets for soybeans, corn, and pork, especially in the Midwest. Trump has pledged to use tariffs to protect supply chains and promote U.S. agriculture internationally.

■ Deregulation as a Solution to Agricultural Consolidation

Trump is expected to continue pursuing deregulation to counter agricultural consolidation, a trend many argue has led to higher food prices and reduced market options for smaller producers. Republicans supporting Trump suggest further deregulation could enable smaller and independent farmers to compete against large corporations in a highly consolidated industry.

■ Reforms to FDA and USDA

The Trump administration intends to overhaul parts of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) specifically targeting departments they view as ineffective, such as the FDA's nutrition division, which Trump's health czar Robert Kennedy Jr. claims fails to protect public health, particularly for children.

Antitrust & Judiciary



Republican's and the business community have made no secret about their criticism of the Biden Administration's aggressive antitrust enforcement over the past four years. However, President Trump and J.D. Vance championed a "populist" economic approach on the campaign trail and we do not expect a full reversal on scrutiny over M&A deals, but instead a more measured approach and a focus on more moderate remedies. The level of regulatory oversight is likely to vary by industry, with the pharmaceutical, tech, and agriculture industries potentially receiving more scrutiny than other sectors. The Republican Senate will mean Trump will have his pick of regulators, and we are closely watching his Federal Trade Commission and DOJ Antitrust Division appointments.

Elsewhere, we expect immigration to dominate the House and Senate Judiciary Committee agendas, largely on a partisan basis. While the focus will be on border security and immigration enforcement, the Trump Administration and Congressional Republicans could look to restrict or amend various foreign worker visa programs. Other hot topics in the Judiciary Committees could be patent and IP legislation, as Senator Thom Tillis (R-NC) and Senator Chris Coons (D-DE) have a track record of bipartisan work. President Trump did not focus on IP rights on the campaign trail, but his nominations to the United States Patent and Trademark Office and Federal Circuit over the next two years will be telling. We also expect the Trump Administration to be aggressive in protecting U.S. IP rights, especially with respect to China."

Ches Garrison

Trump Administration Antitrust & Judiciary Executive Outlook

■ Immigration & Border Security

Immigration and border security were at the center of President-Elect Trump's campaign platform, and we expect him to take swift action once in office. We would expect significant executive actions on Day 1 regarding immigration to carry out his campaign promises. These could include declaring a national emergency regarding the border and immigration, allowing him to channel more funds to the border and provide his Administration with more flexibility in carrying out his immigration initiative. To that end, Trump suggested "shutting down the U.S. – Mexico border" on Day 1 and enhancing enforcement efforts and procedures, undertaking a mass enforcement effort to detain and deport undocumented workers in the United States. While the scope, process, and cost of the deportation effort remain unclear, this will be one of President-Elect Trump's top agenda items.

■ Antitrust Merger Rules

We would expect the Trump Administration to take a less hostile and aggressive approach toward challenging mergers, though we do expect increased scrutiny compared to a more "conventional" Republican Administration. We expect the Department of Justice and Federal Trade Commission to rescind and revise the Biden Administration's 2023 Merger Guidelines early in his Administration. Regulatory scrutiny of mergers could differ by sector, with pharma and agriculture receiving heightened attention.

■ Nominations

President-Elect Trump's appointments to key cabinet and agency posts will go a long way to determining his Administration's policies on a host of issues. For antitrust, addition to Attorney General, we are also closely monitoring his selections to the Federal Trade Commission and the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. For intellectual property, we are watching his selections for the Federal Communications Commission, Patent and Trademark Office, and Department of Commerce. Judicial nominations, particularly for the Federal Circuit, are also worth monitoring.

Budget & Appropriations



We expect a Republican-controlled Congress to enact strategic and significant budget cuts across non-defense programs, much of which will be proposed by the President. We expect congressional Republicans to be more loyal and cooperative in the budget process with President-elect Trump in his second term. While overall defense funding will likely see an increase, it will almost assuredly come from cuts to other areas of the federal budget, as well as a shift in resources away from foreign military aid. Funding to Ukraine will likely taper drastically, but we expect at least modest funding for Israel and allied countries in the Indo-Pacific to continue.”

Kolo Rathburn

Policy agenda

Very unlikely



Possible

5555555555

Very likely

Increased funding to support Israel



Increased outsourcing of government activities to commercial sector



Increased overall defense funding



Reorganized budget and funding cuts for FDA and NIH



Significant cuts to Climate research funding



Congressional Investigations



With unified Republican control of the White House and Congress, we can anticipate a robust agenda of congressional investigations targeting the private sector, particularly in areas where Republicans have been most active in recent years and which President Trump emphasized during his campaign.”

Aaron Cutler

“Under Republican control, the 119th Congress is expected to be aggressive in pursuing investigations, targeting a broad range of companies and industries. There is pent-up demand from Senate Republicans who have been waiting for years to take control of the Committees. In the House, on the heels of a very active year of Congressional Investigations, we have seen the playbook and expect Republican Committee leaders to stay the course. No industry is immune.”

Mike Bell

“In the past year, House Republicans have put a spotlight on episodes of alleged antisemitism on college campuses in the wake of Hamas’s terrorist attack against Israel on October 7, 2023. We anticipate that they will continue to scrutinize how institutions of higher ed respond to such allegations and if they are complying with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.”

Ari Fridman

Cryptocurrency



The Trump administration's pro-business policies are expected to foster a favorable environment for cryptocurrency innovation, a sentiment reflected in Bitcoin's recent record highs. The market momentum signals a growing confidence in digital finance as a cornerstone of the future economy."

Chase Kroll

Defense & National Security



The next four years will alter the international community in several ways. Economic nationalism and the unilateralist tendencies of the incoming President, point to a greatly reduced role on the global stage for the United States. What that means for a global system that has been undergirded by American power and the willingness to use it, is anybody's guess. But it calls for creativity and flexibility by business interests used to a more globalized international economy."

Tim Bergreen

Trump Administration Defense Executive Outlook

■ Realignment of Civil Service Roles

Trump's approach may involve a reduction in the civil service workforce, which experienced significant attrition during his first term but has since rebounded under Biden. This realignment would likely focus on shifting departmental priorities in line with conservative goals.

■ Increased Appointment of Political Appointees

Project 2025 recommends increasing the number of political appointees within the State Department, aiming to enhance alignment with the administration's policy objectives and counter perceived ideological resistance within the career diplomatic ranks. He is expected to adopt an adversarial stance toward career officials seen as resistant to conservative policies, focusing on ensuring that State Department personnel align with Trump's foreign policy vision.

■ Maintaining Effective Diplomatic Corps for Policy Implementation

While enhancing political influence, this approach seeks to retain skilled diplomats who are committed to executing the president's foreign policy agenda, aiming for a more streamlined but ideologically aligned department.

■ Strengthening and Modernizing the US Military

Despite previous tensions with Pentagon leadership, Trump remains vocal about strengthening the U.S. military, asserting that global stability is best ensured through American military superiority. He proposes significant investments in defense manufacturing infrastructure, especially to support the Navy. Trump plans to advance military modernization by investing in cutting-edge technologies, with a specific focus on developing a missile defense system akin to the Iron Dome. He also intends to increase the defense budget, continuing the trend from his previous administration, and has committed to raising troop pay.

■ Alliances

President-Elect Trump is expected to press allies to meet their defense commitments and may pursue negotiations with Russia. While he strongly supports Israel, he has expressed a desire for the Israel-Gaza conflict to conclude swiftly. Additionally, he supports Indo-Pacific allies and intends to encourage Taiwan to take a more proactive role in its own defense.

■ Strengthening the Domestic Industrial Base

President-Elect Trump aims to revitalize the U.S. industrial base to stimulate job creation and ensure robust defense production, with an emphasis on domestically manufactured goods.

■ Cybersecurity and protecting critical infrastructure

Protecting critical infrastructure from cyber threats is a top priority for President-Elect Trump, who has committed to raising security standards and strengthening defenses against cyber attacks.

■ End war in Russia and Ukraine

President-Elect Trump has stated that he would end the Russia-Ukraine war on his "first day in office," potentially by reducing U.S. support to Ukraine to encourage a settlement. He warns that continued U.S. involvement could lead to World War III and has criticized NATO, arguing that the United States contributes disproportionately while European allies do not contribute enough.

We caution that bringing about an end to the war will be far more complex than Trump believes, with multiple domestic and international stakeholders weighing in on behalf of Kyiv and the Ukrainians themselves reluctant to cede anything to their aggressor.

Education



Policy agenda	<div><div><div></div></div><div>Very unlikely</div></div> <div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div>Possible</div></div> <div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div>Very likely</div></div>
---------------	--

Trump Administration Education Executive Outlook

■ Elimination of the Department of Education

Following longstanding Republican goals, Trump has stated his intent to dismantle the Department of Education entirely. This proposal aligns with past efforts, dating back to President Reagan, though prior attempts have repeatedly failed in Congress. Instead, the administration may look for ways to reduce the department's influence, favoring state control over education matters.

■ Removal of Perceived Ideological Influence

Trump has committed to removing individuals he deems "radicals, zealots, and Marxists" from the Department of Education. This initiative reflects his broader focus on reducing what he sees as harmful ideological influences within federal agencies.

■ Student Loans

The Trump administration likely emphasizes reversing the Biden Administration's policies on student loan forgiveness, increased regulation, and the enforcement role of the Office of Federal Student Aid (FSA).

■ Workforce Development

The administration is expected to strongly support workforce development programs, emphasizing alternative career paths and apprenticeships.

■ Roll back Title IX protections

The Trump administration has said they would roll back the current version that the Biden administration revised regarding discrimination of transgender students. The incoming administration is likely to support the previous policies, reinforcing due process protections for individuals accused of assault.

■ Reduce or Eliminate Affirmative Action and DEI

The Trump Administration is expected to reduce or eliminate education-focused Affirmative Action and diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives.

■ Expansion of School Choice and Charter Schools

The administration is anticipated to advocate strongly for school choice and the expansion of charter schools within the K-12 education system at the state level.

Energy & Environment



With partisan margins as tight as can be in both the House and Senate, and very different perspectives on climate issues, it will not be easy to move energy/environment legislation in the 118th Congress. This said, there are areas of potential agreement, such as with permitting legislation that promotes domestic energy security, and related to tax incentives where there is the potential for dealmaking, where we could see a bill get to the President's desk."

Jamie Wickett

Policy agenda

Very unlikely

Possible

Very likely

Eliminate restrictions, ease regulation on fossil fuel production and exports



Ease EPA greenhouse gas emissions limits on vehicles



Roll back Biden methane emission restrictions



Roll back EPA Clean Power Plan



Roll back SEC climate risk disclosure rule



Permitting reform to accelerate deployment of energy projects



Accelerate regulatory reviews of nuclear energy projects



Tariffs on imported green energy technologies



Resumed leases on federal lands and waters for offshore drilling



Increased drilling on federal lands



US exits the Paris Agreement



Increased funding electricity infrastructure



Continue subsidies for green energy manufacturing



Roll back clean energy production tax credit



Roll back clean energy investment tax credit



Encourage extension of coal mining operations



Trump Administration Energy Executive Outlook

■ Inflation Reduction Act (IRA)

To offset the cost of extending Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) provisions, GOP lawmakers may push to repeal some IRA tax credits and subsidies related to renewable energy, electric vehicles, and energy efficiency. Some IRA provisions, like the hydrogen, biofuels and carbon sequestration tax credits, may survive due to industry and bipartisan support.

■ Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA)

President-Elect Trump is expected to conduct a thorough review of the IIJA, aiming to scale back and repeal sections he considers excessive. His administration will likely revive executive orders limiting environmental and wildlife law protections to expedite federal infrastructure project approvals.

■ Climate Change and Renewable Energy

President-Elect Trump intends to dismantle Biden's climate and environmental initiatives, especially targeting the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) and EPA regulations on power plants, emissions, and electrification. He also plans to withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord again, reversing Biden's recommitment to the global climate agreement.

■ Increase Fossil Fuels

Trump has promised expanded oil and gas exploration, particularly in areas like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and other federal lands. Under Trump, the Interior Department would likely focus on expanding energy development on federal lands, promoting oil, gas, and mineral extraction, and streamlining permitting processes to prioritize economic benefits over environmental restrictions. A Trump administration might attempt to repeal the Clean Air Act's natural gas tax and freeze royalty rate increases for oil companies.

■ Nuclear Energy

President Trump has broadly supported the nuclear energy industry and often mentioned expanding nuclear reactors during his campaign speeches, saying it was on his "Day One" agenda. However, ally Robert F. Kennedy Jr., whom Trump says will play a key role in his administration, has been critical of nuclear energy and the subsidies going into the industry. During a recent interview, Trump was critical of the size and scale of federal funding needed for large-scale nuclear builds, signaling a possible shift in support.

■ Judicial Strategy to Reshape Environmental Regulations

The recent Supreme Court decision in *Loper Bright* empowers the Trump administration to reinterpret or halt enforcement of environmental regulations, especially those related to the Clean Power Plan and vehicle emissions standards.

■ Critical Minerals

President-Elect Trump intends to renew and broaden prior initiatives related to mining and critical minerals essential for clean technologies, such as solar energy components and lithium batteries, with a particular focus on decreasing U.S. reliance on China.

Financial Services



VOTE



VOTE



The Trump administration's approach to banking policy signals a shift toward deregulation, aiming to unlock greater flexibility and innovation within the financial sector. This environment could pave the way for transformative growth in digital assets and crypto markets, as evidenced by Bitcoin's latest surge to new all-time highs."

Aaron Cutler

Policy agenda	<div><div>Very unlikely</div><div>Possible</div><div>Very likely</div></div>
Ban members of Congress from trading stocks	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Housing finance reform	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Create a regulatory framework for digital assets	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Increased supervision of climate-related financial risks in the financial services industry	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Modify the governing structure, alter the financing, and increase the oversight of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB)	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
CFIUS review of China-related matters and outbound investment mechanisms	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Debt limit if not dealt with during lame-duck	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
SAFE Banking (if not passed during lame duck)	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Oversight of corporate ESG policies and ESG-focused investment	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Republican Appropriations riders blocking implementation of Biden Administration ESG/disclosure rules, including SEC climate disclosure rule	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Antitrust legislation aimed at non-tech sectors (agriculture, pharma) and more general antitrust reform	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Discretionary spending cuts tied to the debt limit extension/increase	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>

Trump Administration Financial Services Executive Outlook

■ Rollback of Dodd-Frank Act Provisions

During President-Elect Trump's previous administration, he signed the Economic Growth, Regulatory Relief, and Consumer Protection Act in 2018, amending parts of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2010. These key changes meant that many regional and community banks faced fewer regulatory requirements, freeing up resources for lending and investment. We expect further efforts to roll back Dodd-Frank provisions during the next Trump Administration.

■ Regulatory Easing

In his first administration, Trump appointed regulators who favored a less aggressive approach toward the financial industry. This shift led to modifications of the Volcker Rule, allowing banks increased flexibility in proprietary trading. Agencies like the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) adopted policies that were considered more industry-friendly, focusing less on stringent oversight and enforcement. We expect the incoming Trump Administration to continue this trend, and a 53-seat Republican majority in the Senate will facilitate the confirmation of business-friendly Trump nominees.

■ Tax Reform

The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017 was a cornerstone of Trump's economic policy. By reducing the corporate tax rate from 35% to 21%, the act significantly increased after-tax earnings for banks and financial institutions. This boost in profitability provided these institutions with additional capital for expansion, lending, and investment activities. The expiration at the end of 2025 of many TCJA provisions will provide an opportunity for additional business-friendly tax measures to be added to an extender bill.

■ SEC's Climate Rule

Republicans are preparing to roll back corporate greenhouse gas emissions reporting requirements and other regulatory initiatives set by the Biden administration's SEC. Trump has repeatedly opposed ESG initiatives, and under his leadership, the SEC aims to begin dismantling climate regulations that were introduced in March, though implementation has already been paused due to legal challenges. He also plans to issue an executive order to limit employer offerings of ESG funds in retirement plans. A Republican-led SEC may also seek to rescind rules affecting hedge fund registrations and short sales, facing ongoing lawsuits from industry groups.

Health Care



They will aim for a paradigm shift in how this country approaches food safety and health; in four short years, though, we can expect major changes in how the U.S. finances research, a novel focus on nutrition, and a roll back of Biden-era regulations.”

Cybil Roehrenbeck

Policy agenda	<div><div>Very unlikely</div><div>Possible</div><div>Very likely</div></div>
Repeal of the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) drug pricing provisions	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Technical amendments to ensure patient access to specialty therapies, and a withdrawal of resources for the agencies defend the IRA in court.	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
NIH reorganization	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Pharmaceutical benefit managers (PBMs) reform	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Affordable Care Act (ACA) repeal	<div><div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Changes to the protections for pre-existing conditions and coverage for young adult family members.	<div><div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Increased policy supporting health savings accounts and value-based care models that yield financial savings.	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Programs to unleash health artificial intelligence (AI) innovation and entrepreneurship	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Domestic production incentives and penalties for off shore manufacturing	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>
Increased efforts around biosecurity and pro-American policies	<div><div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div><div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div></div>

Trump Administration Health Care Executive Outlook

■ Deep FDA Reform

Donald Trump has pledged to appoint Robert Kennedy Jr. as a potential “health czar” to oversee public health agencies, indicating a re-evaluation of food safety and conflicts within the agencies. Kennedy has suggested reorganizing public health agencies by replacing career senior staff and re-prioritizing chronic care.

■ NIH Reorganization

President Trump aims to elevate U.S. scientific and clinical research, potentially through structural changes at NIH that may align with plans proposed by Republican leadership in the House Energy & Commerce Committee during the 118th Congress.

■ Health Technology

The Trump administration is expected to support health technology with an emphasis on American innovation and cost-efficiency. In health AI, a review of recent HHS rules, including those requiring AI developers to report on safety and bias, may occur, with potential rescissions. Broader leeway on health tech coverage decisions and a faster commercialization pace are anticipated, along with progress on cybersecurity.

■ Investigative Commission on Childhood Illnesses

Trump plans to establish a commission of independent experts to investigate the root causes of childhood illnesses, granting Kennedy significant authority to address these issues.

■ Domestic Manufacturing

The Trump administration is expected to support incentives for domestic medical manufacturing while penalizing companies that off-shore operations or rely heavily on imports through tariffs and taxes, building on Congressional efforts to promote local job creation.

■ Biosecurity

With bipartisan support for the BIOSECURE ACT in the 118th Congress, a significant push for biosecurity measures and anti-China regulations in biotech and biopharma is anticipated, likely including restrictions on data transfer and collaboration with foreign partners.

Tax



Historically, year in and year out, regardless of the level of partisan disagreement or tensions, Congress has found a way to move tax legislation. Will the 118th Congress be the exception? No. It will take some real dealmaking to get a majority in the House and 60 votes in the Senate as well as the President's signature, but our view is that we will see some tax legislation move by the end of 2023. This bill will be driven by the fact that both parties have tax priorities they care enough about to be willing to negotiate on the priorities of the opposite party."

Jamie Wickett

Trump Administration Tax Executive Outlook

■ TCJA Renewal and Corporate Tax Reduction

Significant provisions of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA), which introduced \$3.3 trillion in tax reductions under Trump's 2017 law, are set to expire at the close of 2025. This sets the stage for the next Congress to move a major tax bill in 2025 that will extend many of these provisions and modify others, as significant potential tax increases, including a halving of the standard deduction, an increase in all income tax rates, and a reduction of estate tax exemption, loom if this bill is not enacted. Trump supports permanently extending the expiring cuts across all income brackets and adding further reductions. He may also build on its framework by proposing a further reduction of the corporate income tax rate from 21% to 15%, but only for domestic production.

■ Inflation Reduction Act (IRA)

To offset the cost of extending Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) provisions, GOP lawmakers may push to repeal or reduce some IRA tax credits and subsidies related to renewable energy, electric vehicles, and energy efficiency. Some IRA provisions, like the hydrogen, biofuels and carbon sequestration tax credits, may survive due to industry and bipartisan support.

■ SALT and Exemptions

President-Elect Trump has indicated an interest in restoring the unlimited itemized deduction for state and local taxes (SALT). Additionally, he has proposed exempting Social Security benefits, tip income, and overtime pay from income tax. He also aims to introduce a deduction for auto loan interest and a tax credit to support family caregivers. (As Congress goes through the difficult process of drafting a tax bill in 2024, we expect most of these proposals to end up on the cutting room floor.)

■ Reversing IRS Expansion and Funding Increases

Trump's priorities include rolling back the \$80 billion funding boost provided to the IRS under the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), which aims to strengthen enforcement, customer service, and technology modernization. He supports Congressional Republicans' efforts to redirect this funding to other purposes, thereby curtailing the IRS's recent growth.

■ Halting IRS Workforce Expansion

In line with recommendations from Project 2025, Trump would aim to prevent further increases in IRS staffing, potentially reversing the hiring of over 10,000 employees added under the Biden administration. He views this hiring freeze as essential to stopping the agency from becoming more "intrusive" in taxpayers' lives.

■ Reducing IRS Enforcement Focus on High-Income Individuals and Corporations

Trump's approach would likely involve shifting away from the IRS's increased focus on high-income earners and corporations, which was a priority under Biden to increase revenue collection. This shift would reflect a broader effort to reduce perceived burdens on individuals and businesses regarding tax enforcement.



The Trump Administration and Congressional Republicans will have the pen when it comes to tech policy and legislation in the 119th Congress, but tech policy does not always breakdown on strict partisan lines and cooperation with Democrats will be needed for most tech-related legislative efforts. AI will continue to dominate the tech agenda, both in Congress and the Executive Branch, where Trump and Republicans will look to roll back Biden Administration Executive actions, with an eye towards countering China's growing AI industry. We expect Congress to continue with federal data privacy legislation, with Republicans having more leverage on the familiar issues of private rights of action and state law preemption that have stymied negotiations for years. Also look for a renewed focus on Section 230 and regulation of online speech, with Elon Musk having a say in the contours of this policy debate. We also predict a continued focus on broadband and spectrum access expansion with Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX) chairing the Senate Commerce Committee. Finally, issues regarding kids safety online will continue to be of bipartisan interest in 2025 and beyond. In general, we expect tech to remain a hot issue in Washington in the coming years."

Ches Garrison

Policy agenda

Very unlikely

Possible

Very likely

Federal data privacy legislation

AI legislation and regulatory efforts

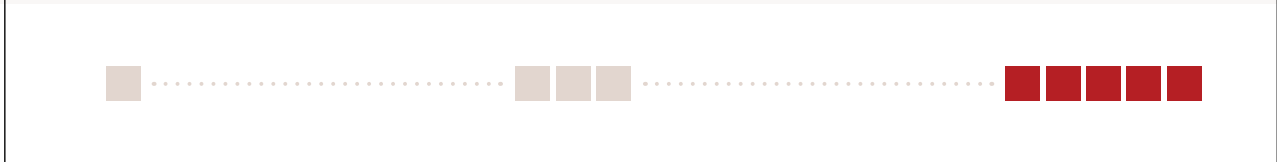
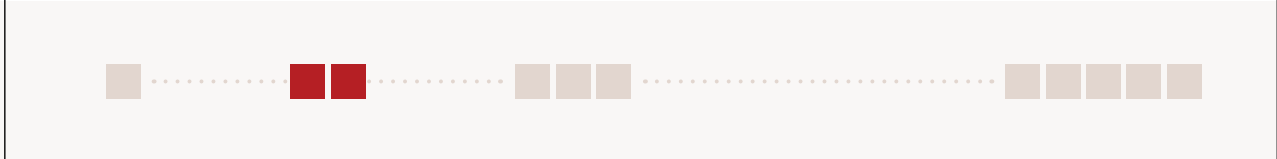
Commercial spectrum access and broadband expansion

Tech-focused competition legislation, such as the Open Apps Market App and the American Innovation and Choice Online Act

Kids online safety legislation and investigations

Investigations on IP and technology theft from China and China competition

Conflict with the EU over digital trade, competition, and content moderation regulations



Trump Administration Tech Executive Outlook

■ AI

President-Elect Trump is expected to scrap the Biden Administration's artificial intelligence executive order and reimplement policies closer to his Administration's 2017 and 2019 orders. President-Elect Trump, Vice President-Elect J.D. Vance, and Republicans have criticized Biden's AI policy as being too focused on "woke" ideology, hindering AI's expansion.

■ Content Moderation

As with AI, expect President-Elect Trump to focus on rescinding any rules and regulations that he feels restrict or hinder conservative speech online. The FCC could play a major role, as there are likely not enough votes in congress to pass comprehensive Section 230 reform legislation.

■ Net Neutrality

The first Trump Administration repealed the Obama Administration's Net Neutrality regulations, though the Biden Administration reimposed the rules in 2024. The Biden Administration's rules are currently being litigated and may be in jeopardy in the post-Chevron era. Regardless of the litigation, we would expect the Trump Administration to again rescind the Biden Net Neutrality regulations and perhaps implement a narrower approach.

■ Broadband & Connectivity

There is bipartisan support on the need to expand broadband access to low-income and rural households. President-Elect Trump and close advisor Elon Musk, however, have been critical of the Broadband, Equity, Access and Deployment Program (BEAD) to expand access to high-speed internet, in favor of satellite broadband. The incoming Trump Administration could look to delay elements of the BEAD Program. President-Elect Trump is also likely to support efforts to expand spectrum access for commercial use.

Trade Policy



When it comes to Washington, there is no trade issue more bipartisan right now than China. I fully expect to see Congress legislate new economic and trade tools to address Chinese unfair trade practices and threats to U.S. national security, particularly when it comes to critical goods and technology. This could include a move to strip China of its PNTR status and lock in Trump's China tariffs, which the Biden Administration maintained and expanded. While I don't see momentum to negotiate a comprehensive FTA again in the near future, it's certainly possible that Congress would give the Administration authority to negotiate critical mineral and other supply chain deals with U.S. trading partners, as an alternative to overdependence on China."

Kelly Ann Shaw

Policy agenda

increase tariffs on imports from China and U.S. imports from the rest of the world

gislation to strip China's PNTR status

gislation aimed to tighten export controls and enforcement

Renegotiated USMCA Trade Agreement in 2026

Select Committee on China continues

sh the administration to negotiate trade deals

gislation requiring the administration to join the CPTPP

legislation requesting that the administration negotiate a trade deal with Taiwan

legislation to restrict, prohibit, or ban high-profile Chinese technology companies

gislation to increase screening of foreign investments by US companies
China (outbound investment screening)

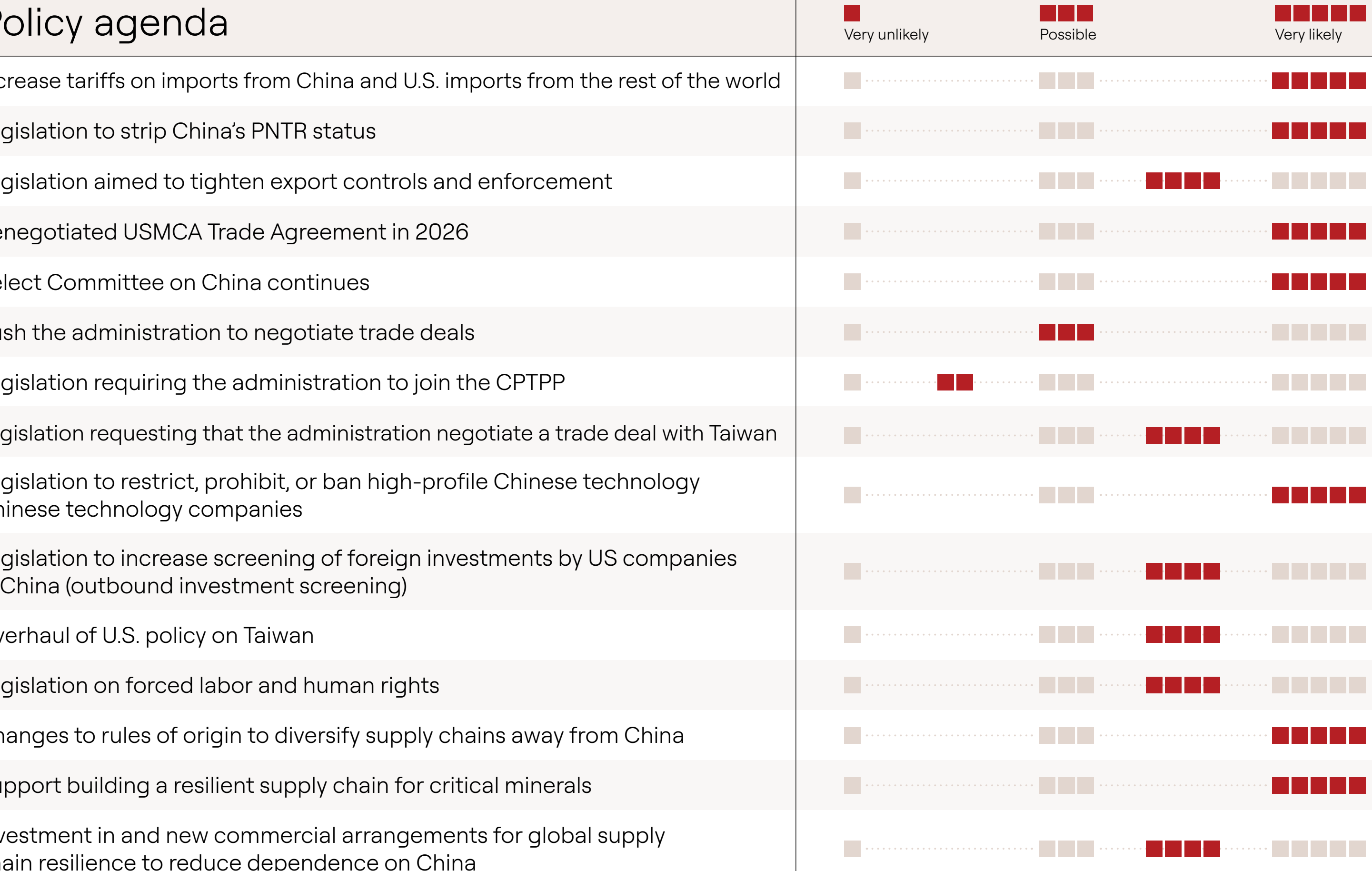
Overhaul of U.S. policy on Taiwan

gislation on forced labor and human rights

changes to rules of origin to diversify supply chains away from China

Support building a resilient supply chain for critical minerals

Investment in and new commercial arrangements for global supply
chain resilience to reduce dependence on China



Policy agenda

Continued high export levels of US oil or gas

New national and economic security tools to protect U.S. technology

US looks to diversify and de-risk divest from China for not having fair market practices

Continued investments in the Indo-Pacific region

11

Very unlikely

11/11/2019

Possible

5555555555

Very likely



Trump Administration Trade Policy Executive Outlook

■ Tariffs

At the top of President-Elect Trump's policy agenda is an aggressive tariff policy aimed at addressing reciprocity for U.S. companies, lowering the U.S. trade deficit, spurring new domestic manufacturing, increasing revenue, and addressing national security concerns. He has consistently emphasized plans to impose tariffs on imported goods, with a particular focus on goods from China, though specific tariff rates have varied in his statements. Trump has proposed a 60% tariff for Chinese imports, including a plan to phase out imports of essential goods from China to reduce dependency. He has also said that he intends to apply a universal 10% to 20% tariff on the \$3 trillion worth of goods imported into the US from every other country in the world.

Trump and his campaign have provided limited details on how they intend to implement this plan. Many trade experts believe he could swiftly utilize existing authority, such as the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, which grants the president broad authority to regulate economic transactions upon declaring a national emergency. Others have suggested that the President could work with Congress to enact legislation authorizing the move. The former president is also not shy when it comes to potential retaliation from trading partners, which the EU, China and others have already signalled would be applied to U.S. exports..

■ Tariffs on EV's from Mexico

Trump has announced plans to impose tariffs on electric vehicles (EVs) manufactured in Mexico, arguing that Chinese EV companies are circumventing U.S. tariffs by manufacturing through Mexico. These could be applied

■ Stripping China's PNTR Status and other China-related legislation

President-Elect Trump has pledged to adopt a tough approach to China, particularly with respect to Chinese unfair trade practices and national security challenges. In addition to the use of tariffs, export controls, and investment screening tools, he could also turn to Congress to implement some of his policies, including legislation to revoke China's Most Favored Nation trade status (PNTR). There are reports that he may be considering attaching trade and tariff measures to the renewal of his Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA). He has also shown support for legislation aimed at achieving economic independence from China and preventing Chinese purchases of American real estate through new investment screening rules, among other national security tools.

■ Renegotiating USMCA

The United States Mexico Canada Agreement (USMCA) is up for review between the three countries in 2026. President Elect-Trump and his economic team are expected to renegotiate significant provisions of the deal, including with respect to automotive imports and steel. Possible changes include changes to the rules of origin around Chinese content.

Transportation & Infrastructure



On the heels of completing the FAA Reauthorization bill in 2024, and with the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA) set to expire at the end of FY 2026, Congress will begin in 2025 to develop the next surface transportation reauthorization bill (aka – the “highway bill”). This will be the next major Superbowl in the transportation space and is likely to include many hearings intended to scrutinize the Biden Administration’s implementation of IIJA.”

Mike Bell

Trump Administration Transportation & Infrastructure Executive Outlook

■ Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA)

President-Elect Trump is expected to conduct a thorough review of the IIJA, aiming to scale back and repeal sections he considers excessive. His administration will likely revive executive orders limiting environmental and wildlife law protections to expedite federal infrastructure project approvals.

■ Inflation Reduction Act (IRA)

To offset the cost of extending Trump's Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) provisions, GOP lawmakers may push to repeal IRA tax credits and subsidies related to renewable energy, electric vehicles, and energy efficiency.

■ Autos

President-Elect Trump is anticipated to reverse the Biden Administration's vehicle emissions standards, which he has described as an EV mandate. Trump said he would halt the GHG performance measure and fuel efficiency standards if elected. He is expected to support policies favoring American automotive jobs and oppose imports of Chinese-made vehicles and foreign manufacturing in Mexico. His administration will likely advocate for tariffs on foreign-made cars to protect the U.S. automotive industry.

■ Public and Private Partnerships

President-Elect Trump supports a more market-driven approach to infrastructure investment, focusing on public-private partnerships and incentivizing local and state governments to take the lead in funding non-federal transportation projects.

■ Rail

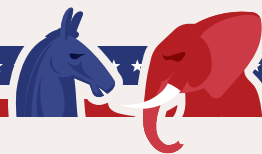
Biden Administration rail policies will likely be rolled back under Trump, with expectations of reduced funding for high-speed rail and a rollback of safety regulations related to hazardous gas transport, crew requirements, and fatigue risk management.

■ Aviation

President-Elect Trump is anticipated to reverse current policies on airline mergers and international aviation, and will likely depart from some Biden Administration environmental and international policies.

■ Drones

The Trump administration will likely continue to support policies aimed at integrating drones into the national air space, with an emphasis on U.S. industry and job creation. Furthermore, he may support policies to reduce dependence on Chinese technology that pose potential national security and espionage concerns.

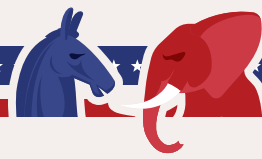


House Leadership

Before the Nov. 13 House Republican Leadership Elections, Speaker Mike Johnson (R-LA), House Majority Leader Steve Scalise (R-LA), and House Majority Whip Tom Emmer (R-MN) sent letters formally requesting support from House Republicans to reelect them to their respective leadership roles. Two days before elections, it was announced that Republican Conference Chair Elise Stefanik (R-NY) would serve in the Trump administration as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, spurring several House Republicans to begin vying for her soon-to-be-vacant position as GOP conference chair. Rep. Lisa McClain (R-MI), currently the conference secretary, and Rep. Kat Cammack (R-FL) have both announced their bids for the role. Chair of the Republican Study Committee Rep. Kevin Hern (R-OK) defeated Alabama Rep. Gary Palmer (R-AL) in the race for the Chair of the Republican Policy Committee.

House Democrats aren't making any major shifts at the top of their caucus leadership, but others down the list are reportedly vying for leadership positions including Rep. Ted Lieu (D-CA), Democratic Caucus vice chairman; Rep. Joe Neguse (D-CO), assistant Democratic leader; and the current Democratic Policy and Communications Committee Chairs: Veronica Escobar (D-TX), Debbie Dingell (D-MI), Lori Trahan (D-MA) and Lauren Underwood (D-IL). Reps. Robin Kelly (D-IL) and Sara Jacobs (D-CA) are also reportedly seeking Democratic leadership spots.



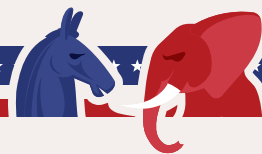


Potential Leadership, Caucus, and Committee Positions

House

Position	118 th Congress	119 th Congress (likely)
Speaker	Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) Mike Johnson (R-LA)	Mike Johnson (R-LA) Must be voted in on Jan. 3
Republican Leader	Steve Scalise (R-LA)	Steve Scalise (R-LA)
Republican Whip	Tom Emmer (R-MN)	Tom Emmer (R-MN)
Republican Conference Chair	Elise Stefanik (R-NY)	Lisa McClain (R-MI)
Republican Conference Vice Chair	Mike Johnson (R-LA)	Mike Johnson (R-LA)
Republican Policy Committee Chair	Gary Palmer (R-CA)	Kevin Hern (R-OK)
NRCC Chair	Richard Hudson (R-NC)	Richard Hudson (R-NC)
Democratic Leader	Hakeem Jeffries (D-NY)	Hakeem Jeffries (D-NY)
Democratic Whip	Katherine Clark (D-MA)	Katherine Clark (D-MA)
Assistant Democratic Leader**	Jim Clyburn (D-SC)	Jim Clyburn (D-SC)
Democratic Caucus Chair	Pete Aguilar (D-CA)	Pete Aguilar (D-CA)
Democratic Caucus Vice Chair	Ted Lieu (D-CA)	Ted Lieu (D-CA)
DCCC Chair	Tony Cárdenas (D-CA) Ami Bera (D-CA)	Tony Cárdenas (D-CA) Ami Bera (D-CA)

** The Assistant Democratic Leader will move to the No. 4 ranking spot in the minority.



House Committee Leaders & Expected Changes

In the House, rules limit GOP members to six consecutive years in a committee's leadership role, no matter if that time was spent as chair or ranking member.

Republicans propose making rule changes that clarify procedures around leadership roles and streamline the internal election process. Proposals include specifying the powers of the Speaker pro tempore if the Speaker's seat becomes vacant. This change allows the Speaker pro tempore to exercise the necessary powers of the Speaker temporarily until a new Speaker is elected, resolving uncertainties that surfaced when Rep. Patrick McHenry took on the temporary role after Speaker Kevin McCarthy's removal in 2023.

Other updates limit speaking times for candidates seeking Republican leadership positions. Another rule now requires that the Chair announce detailed results of each ballot, including votes for each candidate, and provides guidance on handling ties for the lowest vote count. Lastly, a rule change would allow for an extra 10 minutes in Republican Conference meetings to hear updates from the Chair of the National Congressional Committee. These revisions aim to create more efficiency and transparency within House Republican leadership elections.

Three current Republican committee leaders have announced their retirements

- **Energy and Commerce** | Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R- WA)
- **Financial Services** | Patrick McHenry (R- NC)
- **Rules** | Michael Burgess (R-TX)

House Committee	Committee Leaders (118 th)	Likely Committee Leaders (119 th)
Agriculture	<div> <div></div> Glenn Thompson (PA) </div> <div> <div></div> David Scott (GA) </div>	<div> <div></div> Glenn Thompson (PA) </div> <div> <div></div> David Scott (GA) <div> <div></div> Jim Costa (CA) </div> </div>
Appropriations	<div> <div></div> Kay Granger (TX) </div> <div> <div></div> Rosa DeLauro (CT) </div>	<div> <div></div> Tom Cole (OK) </div> <div> <div></div> Rosa DeLauro (CT) </div>
Armed Services	<div> <div></div> Mike Rogers (AL) </div> <div> <div></div> Adam Smith (WA) </div>	<div> <div></div> Mike Rogers (AL) </div> <div> <div></div> Adam Smith (WA) </div>
Budget	<div> <div></div> Jason Smith (MO) </div> <div> <div></div> Hakeem Jeffries (NY) </div>	<div> <div></div> Jodey Arrington (TX) </div> <div> <div></div> Brendan Boyle (PA) </div>
Education & the Workforce	<div> <div></div> Virginia Foxx (NC) </div> <div> <div></div> Bobby Scott (VA) </div>	<div> <div></div> Burgess Owens (UT) <div> <div></div> Joe Wilson (SC) </div> </div> <div> <div></div> Bobby Scott (VA) </div>
Energy & Commerce	<div> <div></div> Cathy McMorris Rodgers (WA)* </div> <div> <div></div> Frank Pallone (NJ) </div>	<div> <div></div> Brett Guthrie (KY) <div> <div></div> Bob Latta (OH) </div> </div> <div> <div></div> Frank Pallone (NJ) </div>
Ethics	<div> <div></div> Michael Guest (MS) </div> <div> <div></div> <i>Susan Wild (D-PA)</i> </div>	<div> <div></div> Michael Guest (MS) </div> <div> <div></div> </div>
Financial Services	<div> <div></div> Patrick McHenry (NC)* </div> <div> <div></div> Maxine Waters (CA) </div>	<div> <div></div> French Hill (AK) <div> <div></div> Bill Huizenga (MI) <div> <div></div> Andy Barr (KY) </div> </div> </div> <div> <div></div> Maxine Waters (CA) </div>
Foreign Affairs	<div> <div></div> Michael McCaul (TX) </div> <div> <div></div> Gregory Meeks (NY) </div>	<div> <div></div> Michael McCaul (TX) <div> <div></div> Ann Wagner (MO) <div> <div></div> Joe Wilson (SC) </div> </div> </div> <div> <div></div> Gregory Meeks (NY) </div>
Homeland Security	<div> <div></div> Dan Crenshaw (TX) </div> <div> <div></div> Bennie Thompson (MS) </div>	<div> <div></div> Mark Green (TN) </div> <div> <div></div> Bennie Thompson (MS) </div>
House Administration	<div> <div></div> Rodney Davis (IL) </div> <div> <div></div> Zoe Lofgren (CA) </div>	<div> <div></div> Bryan Steil (WI) <div> <div></div> Barry Loudermilk (GA) </div> </div> <div> <div></div> Joe Morelle (NY) </div>

* | Retiring *Italics* | Lost race

House Committee	Committee Leaders (118 th)	Likely Committee Leaders (119 th)
Judiciary	<div> <div></div> Jim Jordan (OH) <div></div> Jerry Nadler (NY) </div>	<div> <div></div> Jim Jordan (OH) <div></div> Tom McClintock (CA) <div></div> Darrell Issa (CA) <div></div> Jerry Nadler (NY) </div>
Natural Resources	<div> <div></div> Bruce Westerman (AR) <div></div> Raúl Grijalva (AZ) </div>	<div> <div></div> Bruce Westerman (AR) <div></div> Raúl Grijalva (AZ) </div>
Oversight & Accountability	<div> <div></div> James Comer (KY) <div></div> Stephen Lynch (MA) </div>	<div> <div></div> James Comer (KY) <div></div> Jamie Raskin (MD) </div>
Rules	<div> <div></div> Michael Burgess (TX)* <div></div> Tom Coke (OK) </div>	<div> <div></div> Guy Reschenthaler (PA) <div></div> Michelle Fichbach (MN) <div></div> Jim McGovern (MA) </div>
Science, Space & Technology	<div> <div></div> Frank Lucas (OK) <div></div> Zoe Lofgren (CA) </div>	<div> <div></div> Brian Babin (TX) <div></div> Zoe Lofgren (CA) </div>
Small Business	<div> <div></div> Blaine Luetkemeyer (MO) <div></div> Nydia Velázquez (NY) </div>	<div> <div></div> Roger Williams (TX) <div></div> Nydia Velázquez (NY) </div>
Transportation & Infrastructure	<div> <div></div> Sam Graves (MO) <div></div> Eleanor Holmes Norton (DC) </div>	<div> <div></div> Sam Graves (MO) <div></div> Rick Crawford (AR) <div></div> Jeff Van Drew (NJ) <div></div> Rick Larsen (R-WA-2) </div>
Veterans’ Affairs	<div> <div></div> Mike Bost (IL) <div></div> Mark Takano (CA) </div>	<div> <div></div> Mike Bost (IL) <div></div> Mark Takano (CA) </div>
Ways & Means	<div> <div></div> Vern Buchanan (FL) <div></div> Richard Neal (MA) </div>	<div> <div></div> Jason Smith (MO) <div></div> Richard Neal (MA) </div>

* | Retiring *Italics* | Lost race



Senate Leadership

Republicans are set to take majority control of the upper chamber with a narrow four- to five-seat margin, ushering in leadership changes. Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) is stepping down after leading the Senate Republican Conference since 2007. On November 13, John Thune (R-SD) defeated John Cornyn (R-TX) and Rick Scott (R-FL) to be elected the next Senate Republican Majority Leader. As Republicans prepare to enter a new era with unified control of the White House and Congress, Senator Thune's ascension to Majority Leader will likely moderate the tone for Trump's second term and the GOP's legislative agenda in the Senate.

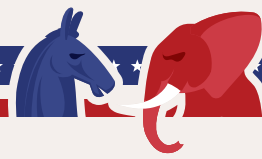
Senator Thune has criticized Trump in the past, but is seasoned and well-regarded by his members. Senator Rick Scott, who was always viewed as an underdog, gained some backing from the GOP's more conservative wing, having demonstrated staunch loyalty to Trump. Prominent Trump allies, including Tucker Carlson and Elon Musk, voiced their support for Scott, with Scott hoping this influence might eventually earn him a late Trump endorsement.

While Trump ultimately refrained from endorsing a candidate during the Senate Republican Conference election, he made clear his expectations that the new majority leader align with his agenda. Trump urged candidates to consider rule changes that would allow him to bypass Senate confirmation votes for certain appointees, specifically by allowing recess appointments. Thune has signaled he is open to allowing Trump to use recess appointments.

A change in leadership style had long appeared on many GOP conference wish lists. All three candidates promised, and Thune will now be expected to deliver, a more transparent leadership style; rules changes to better empower rank-and-file Senators and allow them more input on decisions; and a closer alignment with Trump's priorities.

During the elections, Senator John Barrasso (R-WY) succeeded Thune as Republican Whip. Additional shifts include Senator Tom Cotton (R-AR) beating out Joni Ernst (R-IA) for Republican Conference Chair. Senator Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV) seeking Ernst's position as Policy Committee chair. South Carolina Senator Tim Scott has announced plans to run for chair of the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Senate Democrats have not yet scheduled their leadership elections, though fewer changes are anticipated. Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) and Whip Dick Durbin (D-IL) are expected to retain their roles. Key Democratic leaders who recently won re-election—Vice Conference Chair Elizabeth Warren (D-MA), Steering Committee Chair Amy Klobuchar (D-MN), Outreach Chair Bernie Sanders (I-VT), and Conference Secretary Tammy Baldwin (D-WI)—will continue to shape the party's direction. Senators Klobuchar and Cory Booker (D-NJ) are competing for the chair of the Democratic Policy and Communications Committee (DPCC) following the retirements of Senators Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) and Joe Manchin (I-WV).

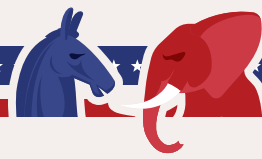


Potential Leadership, Caucus, and Committee Positions

Senate

Position	118 th Congress	119 th Congress (likely)
President Pro-Tempore	Patty Murray (D-CA)	
Majority Leader	Charles E. Schumer (D-NY)	John Thune (R-SD)
Majority Whip	Richard J. Durbin (D-IL)	John Barrasso (R-WY)
Minority Leader	Mitch McConnell* (R-KY)	Charles E. Schumer (D-NY)
Minority Whip	John Thune (R-SD)	Richard J. Durbin (D-IL)
Assistant Democratic Leader	Patty Murray (D-WA)	Patty Murray (D-WA)
Democratic Policy & Comms Chair	Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)	Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)
Democratic Conference Vice Chairs	Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) Mark R. Warner (D-VA)	Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) Mark R. Warner (D-VA)
DSCC Chair	Gary Peters (D-MI)	Gary Peters (D-MI)
Republican Conference Chair	John Barrasso (R-WY)	Tom Cotton (R-AK)
Republican Policy Committee Chair	Joni Ernst (R-IA)	Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV)
Republican Conference Vice Chair	Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV)	James Lankford (R-OK)
NRSC Chair	Steve Daines (R-MT)	Tim Scott (R-NC)

* Senate Republicans held their leadership elections on Nov. 13



Senate Committee Leaders & Expected Changes

Retirements are causing many expected changes: six Democratic Senate committee leaders are either retiring or lost their re-election race.

- **Agriculture** | Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)
- **Banking** | Sherrod Brown (D-OH)
- **Energy** | Joe Manchin (D-WV)
- **Environment** | Tom Carper (D-DE)
- **Foreign Relations** | Benjamin Cardin (D-MD)
- **Veterans Affairs** | Jon Tester (D-MT)

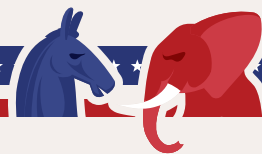


Senate Committee	Committee Leaders (118 th)	Likely Committee Leaders (119 th)
Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry	<div><div></div>Debbie Stabenow (MI)*</div> <div><div></div>John Boozman (AR)</div>	<div><div></div>John Boozman (AR)</div> <div><div></div>Amy Klobuchar (MN) <div></div>Michael Bennet (CO)</div>
Appropriations	<div><div></div>Patty Murray (WA)</div> <div><div></div>Susan Collins (ME)</div>	<div><div></div>Susan Collins (ME) <div></div>Mitch McConnell (KY)</div> <div><div></div>Patty Murray (WA)</div>
Armed Services	<div><div></div>Jack Reed (RI)</div> <div><div></div>Roger Wicker (MS)</div>	<div><div></div>Roger Wicker (MS)</div> <div><div></div>Jack Reed (RI)</div>
Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs	<div><div></div><i>Sherrod Brown (OH)</i></div> <div><div></div>Mike Crapo (ID)</div>	<div><div></div>Tim Scott (SC)</div> <div><div></div>Elizabeth Warren (MA)</div>
Budget	<div><div></div>Bernie Sanders (I-VT)</div> <div><div></div>Charles Grassley (IA)</div>	<div><div></div>Charles Grassley (IA) <div></div>Lindsey Graham (SC)</div> <div><div></div>Sheldon Whitehouse (RI) <div></div>Jeff Merkley (OR)</div>
Commerce, Science & Transportation	<div><div></div>Maria Cantwell (WA)</div> <div><div></div>Roger Wicker (MS)</div>	<div><div></div>Ted Cruz (TX)</div> <div><div></div>Maria Cantwell (WA)</div>
Energy & Natural Resources	<div><div></div>Joe Manchin (WV)*</div> <div><div></div>John Barrasso (WY)</div>	<div><div></div>John Barrasso (WY) <div></div>Mike Lee (UT)</div> <div><div></div>Martin Heinrich (NM)</div>
Environment & Public Works	<div><div></div>Tom Carper (DE)*</div> <div><div></div>Shelley Moore Capito (WV)</div>	<div><div></div>Shelley Moore Capito (WV)</div> <div><div></div>Sheldon Whitehouse (RI) <div></div>Jeff Merkley (OR)</div>
Finance	<div><div></div>Ron Wyden (OR)</div> <div><div></div>Mike Crapo (ID)</div>	<div><div></div>Mike Crapo (ID)</div> <div><div></div>Ron Wyden (OR)</div>
Foreign Relations	<div><div></div>Bob Menendez (NJ)</div> <div><div></div>Jim Risch (ID)</div>	<div><div></div>Jim Risch (ID)</div> <div><div></div>Jeanne Shaheen (NH)</div>
Health, Education, Labor & Pensions	<div><div></div>Patty Murray (WA)</div> <div><div></div>Rand Paul (KY)</div>	<div><div></div>Bill Cassidy (LA) <div></div>Susan Collins (ME)</div> <div><div></div>Bernie Sanders (I-VT)</div>


* | Retiring *Italics* | Lost race

Senate Committee	Committee Leaders (118 th)	Likely Committee Leaders (119 th)
Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs	<div><div></div> Gary Peters (MI)</div> <div><div></div> Ron Johnson (WS)</div>	<div><div></div> Rand Paul (KY)</div> <div><div></div> Gary Peters (MI)</div>
Indian Affairs	<div><div></div> Brian Schatz (HI)</div> <div><div></div> Lisa Murkowski (AK)</div>	<div><div></div> Lisa Murkowski (AK)</div> <div><div></div> Brian Schatz (HI)</div>
Intelligence	<div><div></div> Mark Warner (VA)</div> <div><div></div> Marco Rubio (FL)</div>	<div><div></div> Tim Cotton (AR)</div> <div><div></div> Mark Warner (VA)</div>
Judiciary	<div><div></div> Dick Durbin (Ill.)</div> <div><div></div> Lindsey Graham (SC)</div>	<div><div></div> Lindsey Graham (SC) Chuck Grassley (IA)</div> <div><div></div> Dick Durbin (Ill.)</div>
Rules & Administration	<div><div></div> Amy Klobuchar (MN.)</div> <div><div></div> Ted Cruz (TX)</div>	<div><div></div> Deb Fischer (NE)</div> <div><div></div> Amy Klobuchar (MN) Alex Padilla (CA)</div>
Small Business & Entrepreneurship	<div><div></div> Ben Cardin (MD)*</div> <div><div></div> Rand Paul (KY)</div>	<div><div></div> Joni Ernst (IA)</div> <div><div></div> Ed Markey (MA)</div>
Veterans’ Affairs	<div><div></div> <i>Jon Tester (MT)</i></div> <div><div></div> Jerry Moran (KS)</div>	<div><div></div> Jerry Moran (KS) Mike Rounds (SD)</div> <div><div></div> Richard Blumenthal (CT)</div>

* | Retiring *Italics* | Lost race



Contacts

 Click titles or headshots for more information



Aaron Cutler
Head Of Government
Relations and
Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.



Michael J. Bell
Partner
Washington, D.C.



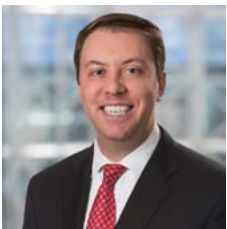
Tim Bergreen
Partner
Washington, D.C.



Hon. Neil Chatterjee
Senior Advisor
Washington, D.C.



Senator Norm Coleman
Senior Counsel
Washington, D.C.
and Minneapolis



Ari Fridman
Counsel
Washington, D.C.



Ches Garrison
Counsel
Washington, D.C.



H.P. Goldfield
Senior International
Affairs Advisor
Washington, D.C.



Chase Kroll
Director of Strategic
Communications
Washington, D.C.



Charles Kolo Rathburn
Associate
Washington, D.C.



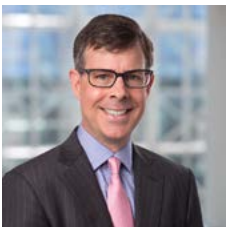
Cybil Roehrenbeck
Partner
Washington, D.C.



Hon. Kelly Ann Shaw
Partner
Washington, D.C.



Jared R. Wessel
Partner
Washington, D.C.



James M. Wickett
Partner
Washington, D.C.



Ivan Zapien
Partner
Washington, D.C.



Shelley Castle
Legislative Specialist
Washington, D.C.

Alicante	
Amsterdam	
Baltimore	
Beijing	Mexico City
Berlin	Miami
Birmingham	Milan
Boston	Minneapolis
Brussels	Monterrey
Budapest*	Munich
Colorado Springs	New York
Denver	Northern Virginia
Dubai	Paris
Dublin	Philadelphia
Dusseldorf	Riyadh
Frankfurt	Rome
Hamburg	San Francisco
Hanoi	São Paulo
Ho Chi Minh City	Shanghai
Hong Kong	Shanghai FTZ*
Houston	Silicon Valley
Jakarta*	Singapore
Johannesburg	Sydney
London	Tokyo
Los Angeles	Warsaw
Louisville	Washington, D.C.
Luxembourg	
Madrid	*Our associated offices

www.hoganlovells.com

“Hogan Lovells” or the “firm” is an international legal practice that includes Hogan Lovells International LLP, Hogan Lovells US LLP and their affiliated businesses.

The word “partner” is used to describe a partner or member of Hogan Lovells International LLP, Hogan Lovells US LLP or any of their affiliated entities or any employee or consultant with equivalent standing. Certain individuals, who are designated as partners, but who are not members of Hogan Lovells International LLP, do not hold qualifications equivalent to members.

For more information about Hogan Lovells, the partners and their qualifications, see www.hoganlovells.com.

Where case studies are included, results achieved do not guarantee similar outcomes for other clients. Attorney advertising. Images of people may feature current or former lawyers and employees at Hogan Lovells or models not connected with the firm.