

**Senate Committee Musical Chairs  
In Anticipation of the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress**

January 10, 2023

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## Overview

### **Current Margins in the Senate**

- The midterm elections were held on November 8. All 34 incumbents won reelection. Democrats maintained their majority.
- The 118th Congress will begin with 51 Democrats, including two Independents who caucus with Democrats – Sens. Angus King (I-ME) and Bernie Sanders (I-VT) – and one Independent who is likely to vote often with Democrats – Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (I-AZ) – as well as 49 Republicans.
- Reelected and newly elected Members will begin their six-year terms on January 3.
- On January 3, six new Members will be joining the Senate. This includes two Democrats – Sens.-Elect Peter Welch (D-VT) and John Fetterman (D-PA) – and four Republicans – Sens.-Elect Katie Britt (R-AL), Eric Schmitt (R-MO), Ted Budd (R-NC), JD Vance (R-OH), and Markwayne Mullin (R-OK).

### **Democratic Leadership**

- **President Pro Tempore:** Sen. Patty Murray (D-WA) will serve as President Pro Tempore, succeeding outgoing Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT).
- **Leadership: Majority Leader** Chuck Schumer (D-NY), **Majority Whip** Dick Durbin (D-IL), and **Chief Deputy Majority Whip** Jeff Merkley (D-OR) will continue in their positions. Sen. Murray's previous **Assistant Leader** position will be eliminated.
- **Democratic Caucus: Vice Chairs** Elizabeth Warren (D-MA), and Mark Warner (D-VA), and **Secretary** Tammy Baldwin (D-WI) will continue to serve in their current positions. Sen. Brian Schatz (D-HI) will serve as **Deputy Chair**.
- **Democratic Policy & Communications Committee (DPCC): DPCC Chair** Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) will ascend to the number three Democratic Leadership position while retaining the same position title. **DPCC Vice Chairs** Joe Manchin (D-WV) and Cory Booker (D-NJ) will continue to serve in these roles.
- **Democratic Steering & Outreach Committee (DSOC): Steering Chair** Amy Klobuchar (D-MN) will ascend to the number four Democratic leadership position while retaining the same title. **Steering Vice Chairwoman** Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) will continue her position in the next Congress. **Outreach Chair** Bernie Sanders (I-VT) and **Outreach Vice Chairwoman** Catherine Cortez Masto (D-NV) will continue to serve in these roles.
- **Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC):** Sen. Gary Peters (D-MI) will continue in this role.

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## Republican Leadership

- **Leadership:** Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) and Minority Whip John Thune (R-SD) will continue to serve in these roles in the 118th Congress.
- **Republican Conference (SRC):** SRC Chair John Barrasso (R-WY) will remain in this position. Sen. Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV) will become SRC Vice Chair.
- **Republican Policy Committee (RPC):** 117th Congress SRC Vice Chair Joni Ernst (R-IA) will become RPC Chair.
- **National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC):** Sen. Steve Daines (R-MT) will succeed Sen. Rick Scott (R-FL) as NRSC Chair in the 118th Congress.

## General Rules Pertaining to Committee Leadership

- Generally, decisions on Senate committee leadership are based on seniority, but there can be some surprises.
- The Senate categorizes committees into three groups: A Committees, B Committees, and C Committees.
- Both the Democratic and Republican Conferences have limitations on committee and subcommittee membership based on how a committee is characterized.
- Committee leadership rules are also impacted by further distinctions between A Committees as Super A Committees.
- A Committees include Agriculture; Appropriations; Armed Services; Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; Commerce, Science, and Transportation; Energy and Natural Resources; Environment and Public Works (EPW); Finance; Foreign Relations; Intelligence; Judiciary; Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions (HELP); and Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs (HSGAC).
- Both the Democratic and Republican Conferences designate Appropriations, Armed Services, and Finance as Super A Committees. The Republican Conference also designates Foreign Relations as a Super A Committee.
- Senators are generally not assigned to more than one Super A Committee by their respective party conference, though there are some exceptions.
- Generally, a Senator is not permitted to serve on more than two A Committees.
- B committees include Aging; Budget; Joint Economic; Rules; Small Business; and Veterans' Affairs.
- C committees include Ethics; Indian Affairs; and Joint Taxation.

## Republican Conference Rules on Committee Leadership

- **Full Committees:** Senators are not bound by committee seniority when selecting a chair. However, Republican Senators can use seniority to bump sitting chairs/ranking members

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when control of the Senate switches parties. If there are multiple candidates for a position, a vote is conducted by secret written ballot.

- **Term Limits:** A Republican Senator can serve a cumulative six years as chair, plus six years as ranking member of the same committee.
- **A Committees:** Senators rank their top three preferred A Committee assignments. The rest are composed using the following guidelines: seniority of service on committees, seniority of service in the Senate, limitations on any Senator serving on both the Finance and Appropriations Committees simultaneously, and rules that stipulate that no two Republican Senators from the same state can serve on the same committee.
  - Newly elected Republican Senators are guaranteed their initial A Committee choice. Seniority among the freshman class for selecting committee assignments is determined by prior service in the Senate, prior service in the House, and then prior service as a state governor. This means Sen.-Elect Markwayne Mullin (R-OK) followed by Sen.-Elect Ted Budd (R-NC) will be first to pick. Should outgoing Nebraskan Gov. Pete Ricketts get appointed to retiring Sen. Ben Sasse's (R-NE) seat, he would also have seniority over other freshman Members in committee selection.
- **B Committees:** Republican Senators may keep one B Committee assignment on which they served in the previous Congress.
- **Subcommittees:** Subcommittee chairs/ranking members are determined by their seniority on either the subcommittee or the full committee with exceptions. Waivers can be sought.

## Special Elections

- News broke on October 6 that Sen. Ben Sasse (R-NE) was the sole finalist for University of Florida's presidency. He most recently won re-election in 2020 and will retire from the Senate effective January 8. Nebraska Gov.-Elect Jim Pillen (R) will be responsible for appointing a replacement. Outgoing Nebraska Gov. Pete Ricketts is the favorite to fill the role. Whoever is appointed will serve two years before another special election is held in 2024 to finish out the final two years of this term.

## KEY

Potential Vacancy
Could Lose Spot if Majority Opts for +1 Advantage
Potential Opening Due to Republican Conference Rules

## AGING

DEMOCRATS (7 → 7)	REPUBLICANS (7 → 6)
<b>Robert Casey (PA), Chairman</b>	<b>Mike Braun (IN), Possible Ranking Member</b>
Kirsten Gillibrand (NY)	Tim Scott (SC)
Richard Blumenthal (CT)	Susan Collins (ME)
Elizabeth Warren (MA)	<b>Marco Rubio (FL)</b>
Jacky Rosen (NV)	<b>Rick Scott (FL)</b>
Mark Kelly (AZ)	Mike Lee (UT)
Raphael Warnock (GA)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Agging** Chairman Bob Casey (D-PA) will continue as the committee’s top Democrat. Sen. Mike Braun (R-IN) could become the top Republican. As a note, Sen. Braun has officially launched his gubernatorial campaign in Indiana, meaning a Senate seat will open up in 2024.

**Historical Trends:** Since the 113th Congress, Senate majorities have sought to downsize **Agging**. Over the last five Congresses, the committee has had an average of 16 Members. The ratio has remained with a +1 advantage for the party in power.

**Outlook:** If Democrats give themselves a +1 advantage, no 117th Democratic or Republican Committee Members would be bumped. If all incumbents remain, no seats would be open.

**Additional Rules:** **Agging** is considered a B Committee by both parties, meaning Members generally do not serve on more than one in the category. The 117th Committee had two Democratic and three Republican Members that served on other B Committees. While Democrats’ rules are not public, Republican rules allow Members to retain one B Committee going into the next Congress. It is possible Sen. Tim Scott (SC) will remain, but Sens. Marco Rubio (FL) and Rick Scott (FL) may choose to retain their other B Committees – **Small Business** and **Budget**, respectively – given their seniority. This could potentially open two Republican spots on **Agging**.

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## AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

DEMOCRATS (11 → 11)	REPUBLICANS (11 → 10)
<b>Debbie Stabenow (MI), Chairwoman</b>	<b>John Boozman (AR), Ranking Member</b>
Sherrod Brown (OH)	Mitch McConnell (KY)
Amy Klobuchar (MN)	John Hoeven (ND)
Michael Bennet (CO)	Joni Ernst (IA)
Kirsten Gillibrand (NY)	Cindy Hyde-Smith (MS)
Tina Smith (MN)	Roger Marshall (KS)
Dick Durbin (IL)	Tommy Tuberville (AL)
Cory Booker (NJ)	Chuck Grassley (IA)
Ben Ray Lujan (NM)	<b>John Thune (SD)</b>
Raphael Warnock (GA)	<b>Deb Fischer (NE)</b>
	<b>Mike Braun (IN)</b>

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry** Chairwoman Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) and Ranking Member John Boozman (R-AR) will remain the top Democrat and the top Republican on the **Agriculture** Committee.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have largely kept the size and ratio of **Agriculture** the same. When Senate Democrats had a similarly slim majority in the 110th Congress, the committee had the same number of Democrats, but one less Republican. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress – the 113th Congress – the committee had the same number of Democrats, but two fewer Republicans, giving the committee a total of 20 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats give themselves a +1 advantage, there would be at least one vacancy on the Democratic side. On the Republican side, Sen. Mike Braun (R-IN) could get bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **Agriculture** is considered an A Committee by both parties, meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category. All 117th Committee Members except for two Republicans served on three or more A Committees. Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is difficult to determine which 117th Members, if any, will stay or vacate. For Republicans, Members must rank their top three A Committees and are not guaranteed their third pick. Given that Sens. John Hoeven (R-ND), Joni Ernst (R-IA), Cindy Hyde-Smith (R-MS), and Roger Marshall (R-KS) are in **Agriculture** subcommittee top spots, they are unlikely to rank this

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committee third. On the other hand, Sens. John Thune (R-SD) and Deb Fischer (R-NE) may rank **Agriculture** as their third pick. This could open two Republican spots for freshmen Members.

In addition, Republican Conference rules state that no two Members from the same state and party can serve on the same committee. Sens. Ernst (R-IA) and Chuck Grassley (R-IA) are from the same state. The Conference may waive this.

**Subcommittee Leadership: Agriculture** will likely have at least one subcommittee leadership vacancy. Per Senate Rules regarding **Agriculture**, Members must bid by seniority for subcommittee assignments. If Sen. Braun gets bumped, there could be a vacant top Republican spot on **Food and Nutrition, Specialty Crops, Organics & Research**. He may have to give up the top spot anyway since he is likely to become ranking member on **Aging** and will only be permitted to keep one of his subcommittee ranking member spots.

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## APPROPRIATIONS

DEMOCRATS (15 → 15)	REPUBLICANS (15 → 14)
<b>Patty Murray (WA), Chairwoman</b>	<b>Susan Collins (ME), Ranking Member</b>
Dianne Feinstein (CA)	Mitch McConnell (KY)
Dick Durbin (IL)	Lisa Murkowski (AK)
Jack Reed (RI)	Lindsey Graham (SC)
Jon Tester (MT)	Jerry Moran (KS)
Jeanne Shaheen (NH)	John Hoeven (ND)
Jeff Merkley (OR)	John Boozman (AR)
Chris Coons (DE)	Shelley Moore Capito (WV)
Brian Schatz (HI)	John Kennedy (LA)
Tammy Baldwin (WI)	Cindy Hyde-Smith (MS)
Chris Murphy (CT)	Mike Braun (IN)
Joe Manchin (WV)	Bill Hagerty (TN)
Chris Van Hollen (MD)	Marco Rubio (FL)
Martin Heinrich (NM)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** Sen. Patty Murray (D-WA) will succeed retiring **Appropriations** Chair Patrick Leahy (D-VT), meaning she will vacate her spot as the top Democrat on **HELP**. Sen. Susan Collins (R-ME) will succeed outgoing Ranking Member Richard Shelby (R-AL).

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have kept the size of **Appropriations** generally the same with a 1-2 seat advantage. When Senate Democrats had a similarly slim majority in the 110th Congress, the committee had the same number of Democrats, but one less Republican. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress – the 113th Congress -- the committee had one more Democrat, and one less Republican, with a total of 30 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats stick to a similar size as the 117th Committee but with a +1 advantage, no 117th Committee Members would be bumped, and there could be at least one vacancy on each side. Further, no Republican Members would be bumped if Democrats gave themselves a +2 advantage, but there would be an additional open seat on the Democratic side. Sens. James Risch (R-ID) and Mike Lee (R-UT) are reportedly favorites to take the vacant GOP seat, though Sen. Risch would have to seek a waiver as he is expected to continue in the top GOP spot on **Foreign Relations**. Sen. Lee would likely have to give up one of his other A Committees.

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**Additional Rules: Appropriations** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members except for one Democrat and one Republican served on three A Committees. As stated previously, Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is unclear which, Members, if any, will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third. That being said, it is unlikely any Republican Members will rank **Appropriations** in the third category given how desirable the committee is.

The committee also falls within the Super A Committee category, meaning Members generally receive no other Super A committee assignments without a waiver. The 117th Committee had two Democrats – Sens. Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) and Joe Manchin (D-WV) – and two Republicans – Sens. Bill Hagerty (R-TN) and Marco Rubio (R-FL) – that served on more than one Super A Committees. These incumbents will likely seek waivers to continue to serve on the committee. Further, they could be in line for top spots on **Appropriations** subcommittees, so they may end up giving up their other Super A Committees.

**Subcommittee Leadership:** There is no official rule that dictates **Appropriations** subcommittee assignments. However, the committee is on track to have several subcommittee leadership changes, potentially including on Commerce-Justice-Science (CJS); Defense; Financial Services and General Government (FSSG); Interior; Labor-Health and Human Services (HHS); Legislative Branch; Military Construction and Veterans Affairs (MilCon-VA); and Transportation, Housing, and Urban Development (THUD).

## ARMED SERVICES

DEMOCRATS (13 → 13)	REPUBLICANS (13 → 12)
<b>Jack Reed (RI), Chairman</b>	<b>Roger Wicker (MS), Expected Ranking Member</b>
Jeanne Shaheen (NH)	Deb Fischer (NE)
Kirsten Gillibrand (NY)	Tom Cotton (AR)
Richard Blumenthal (CT)	Mike Rounds (SD)
Mazie Hirono (HI)	Joni Ernst (IA)
Tim Kaine (VA)	Thom Tillis (NC)
Angus King (I-ME)	Dan Sullivan (AK)
Elizabeth Warren (MA)	Kevin Cramer (ND)
Gary Peters (MI)	<b>Rick Scott (FL)</b>
Joe Manchin (WV)	<b>Marsha Blackburn (TN)</b>
Tammy Duckworth (IL)	<b>Josh Hawley (MO)</b>
Jacky Rosen (NV)	Tommy Tuberville (AL)
Mark Kelly (AZ)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Armed Services** Chairman Jack Reed (D-RI) will remain the top Democrat on the committee. Sen. Roger Wicker (R-MS) will succeed retiring Ranking Member Jim Inhofe (R-OK).

**Historical Trends:** When Senate Democrats had a similarly slim majority in the 110th Congress, the committee had the same number of Democrats and one less Republican. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had one more Democrat and one less Republican, totaling 26 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats maintain size of the committee but give themselves +1 advantage, no incumbents would get bumped. However, Republican Conference rules state that Members rank their top three A Committees going into the next Congress. They are not guaranteed their third pick. Sens. Rick Scott (R-FL), Marsha Blackburn (R-TN), and Josh Hawley (R-MO) may rank the committee second or third given their seniority on other “A” Committees. If any vacancies arise on Republican side, Sen.-elect Markwayne Mullin (R-OK) has stated that **Armed Services** is his top pick.

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**Additional Rules: Armed Services** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members except for one Republican served on three A Committees. As stated previously, Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is difficult to determine which Members, if any, will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third. As noted above, Sens. Scott, Blackburn, and Hawley may not rank this committee first as they have ranking member spots on other A Committees.

The committee is also considered a Super A Committee by both parties, meaning Members assigned to this committee generally receive no other Super A committee assignments without a waiver. Overall, the 117th Committee had three Democrats and one Republican in addition to outgoing Sen. Jim Inhofe who served on more than one Super A Committee.

**Subcommittee Leadership: Armed Services** will likely have at least one subcommittee leadership change. If Sen. Fischer (R-NE) moves into the top GOP spot on Rules, she will have to give up her ranking membership of either the **Strategic Forces Subcommittee**, or her other A subcommittee top spot (Commerce Subcommittee on Surface Transportation, Maritime, Freight, and Ports). If she chooses the other subcommittee, it will open another top GOP ranking member spot.

## BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

DEMOCRATS (12 → 12)	REPUBLICANS (12 → 11)
<b>Sherrod Brown (OH), Chairman</b>	<b>Tim Scott (SC), Expected Ranking Member</b>
Jack Reed (RI)	Mike Crapo (ID)
Robert Menendez (NJ)	Mike Rounds (SD)
Jon Tester (MT)	Thom Tillis (NC)
Mark Warner (VA)	John Kennedy (LA)
Elizabeth Warren (MA)	Bill Hagerty (TN)
Chris Van Hollen (MD)	Cynthia Lummis (WY)
Catherine Cortez Masto (NV)	Jerry Moran (KS)
Tina Smith (MN)	Kevin Cramer (ND)
Kyrsten Sinema (I-AZ)	Steve Daines (MT)
Jon Ossoff (GA)	
Raphael Warnock (GA)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Banking** Chairman Sherrod Brown (D-OH) will remain the top Democrat on the committee. Sen. Tim Scott (R-SC) will succeed retiring Ranking Member Pat Toomey (R-PA).

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have historically downsized the **Banking** Committee and have given themselves a 1-2 seat advantage. When Senate Democrats had a similarly slim majority in the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress, the committee had one less Democrat and two fewer Republicans, totaling 21 Members. In most the recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress, the committee had the same number of Democrats and two fewer Republican, totaling 22 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats stick to a similar size as the 117th Committee but with a +1 advantage, no 117th Committee Members would get bumped. There could be a vacancy on the Republican side. If Democrats opt to downsize the Committee, Sen. Warnock (D-GA) could get bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **Banking** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members except one Republican served on three A Committees. As stated previously, Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is difficult to determine which Members, if any, will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third. Sens. Jerry Moran (R-KS), Kevin Cramer (R-ND), and Steve Daines (R-MT) may not rank the committee first as they are ranking members on at least one other A subcommittee.

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***Subcommittee Leadership:*** The committee will likely have at least one subcommittee leadership change. Per Senate Rules regarding **Banking**, Members must bid by seniority for subcommittee assignments. Since he is moving into the full committee top spot, Sen. Scott will have to vacate his ranking membership on **Securities, Insurance, and Investment Subcommittee**. Republican subcommittee leadership is determined by seniority of the full committee or subcommittee.

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## BUDGET

DEMOCRATS (11 → 11)	REPUBLICANS (11 → 10)
<b>Sheldon Whitehouse (RI), Expected Chairman</b>	<b>Chuck Grassley (IA), Expected Ranking Member</b>
Bernie Sanders (I-VT)	Lindsey Graham (SC)
Patty Murray (WA)	Mike Crapo (ID)
Ron Wyden (OR)	Ron Johnson (WI)
Debbie Stabenow (MI)	<b>Mike Braun (IN)</b>
Mark Warner (VA)	<b>Rick Scott (FL)</b>
Jeff Merkley (OR)	Mitt Romney (UT)
Tim Kaine (VA)	<b>John Kennedy (LA)</b>
Chris Van Hollen (MD)	<b>Kevin Cramer (ND)</b>
Ben Ray Lujan (NM)	
Alex Padilla (CA)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) will succeed outgoing **Budget** Chair Bernie Sanders (I-VT), who is moving to the top spot on **HELP**. Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-IA) will move into top spot on **Budget**, as 117th Ranking Member Lindsey Graham (R-SC) moves to **Judiciary** due to Republican term limits.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have roughly maintained the size of **Budget** in the past, giving themselves a 1-2 seat advantage. When Senate Democrats had a similarly slim majority in the 110th Congress, the committee had one more Democrat and the same number of Republicans, totaling 23 Members. In most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had one less Democrat, two more Independents (who caucused with Democrats), and one less Republican, totaling 22 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats stick to a similar size as the 117th Committee but with a +1 advantage, no 117th Committee Members would get bumped and there could be one vacancy on the Republican side once Sen. Ben Sasse's (R-NE) resigns on January 8. In addition, if Sen. Mike Braun (R-IN) moves to the top GOP spot on **Aging**, he may have to give up his spot on **Budget** as Members generally only serve on one B Committee.

**Additional Rules:** **Budget** is considered a B Committee by both parties, meaning Members generally do not serve on more than one in the category. The 117th Committee had four Democratic and three Republican Members that served on other B Committees. While

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Democrats' rules are not public, Republican rules allow Members to retain one B Committee going into the next Congress. There are no B subcommittees like other standing committees that might encourage a Member to choose one over the other. However, it is possible Sens. Rick Scott (R-FL), John Kennedy (R-LA), and Kevin Cramer (R-ND) could opt to retain their other B Committees on **Aging**, **Small Business**, and **Veterans' Affairs**, respectively. This could open anywhere from 1–3 additional Republican spots.

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## COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

DEMOCRATS (14 → 14)	REPUBLICANS (14 → 13)
<b>Maria Cantwell (WA), Chairwoman</b>	<b>Ted Cruz (TX), Expected Ranking Member</b>
Amy Klobuchar (MN)	Roger Wicker (MS)
Richard Blumenthal (CT)	John Thune (SD)
Brian Schatz (HI)	Deb Fischer (NE)
Ed Markey (MA)	Jerry Moran (KS)
Gary Peters (MI)	Dan Sullivan (AK)
Tammy Baldwin (WI)	Marsha Blackburn (TN)
Tammy Duckworth (IL)	<b>Todd Young (IN)</b>
Jon Tester (MT)	<b>Mike Lee (UT)</b>
Kyrsten Sinema (I-AZ)	<b>Ron Johnson (WI)</b>
Jacky Rosen (NV)	<b>Shelley Moore Capito (WV)</b>
Ben Ray Lujan (NM)	Rick Scott (FL)
John Hickenlooper (CO)	Cynthia Lummis (WY)
Raphael Warnock (GA)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Commerce** Chairwoman Maria Cantwell (D-WA) will remain in the top Democratic spot. Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) will succeed 117th Ranking Member Roger Wicker (R-MS), who will be moving to the top spot on **Armed Services**.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have had a smaller **Commerce Committee**, and a 1-2 seat advantage. When Senate Democrats had a similarly slim majority in the 107th and 110th Congress, the committee had two fewer Democrats and three fewer Republicans, totaling 23 Members. In most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had the one less Democrat and three fewer Republicans, totaling 24 Members.

**Outlook:** Democrats could give themselves a +1 advantage and no 117th Committee Members would lose their spots (as shown above), but given historical trends, it is possible they will downsize the Committee and still keep in line with a +1 advantage. If they match the size of the 113th Committee, Sen. Raphael Warnock (D-GA) and Sen. Cynthia Lummis (R-WY) could be at risk of getting bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **Commerce** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members except one Democrat and one Republican served on three A Committees. As stated previously,

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Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is difficult to determine which Members, if any, will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third. Sens. Todd Young (R-IN), Mike Lee (R-UT), Ron Johnson (R-WI), and Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV) may not rank the committee first, as they are ranking members on at least one other A subcommittee. That being said, they may be in line for top spots on **Commerce** subcommittees.

***Subcommittee Leadership:*** Commerce could have two subcommittee leadership changes. Since he is moving into the full committee top spot, Sen. Cruz (R-TX) will have to vacate his subcommittee leadership role on **Aviation Safety, Operations, & Innovation**. Republican subcommittee leadership is determined by seniority of the full committee or subcommittee. If Sen. Deb Fischer (R-NE) moves into the top GOP spot on **Rules**, she will have to give up her ranking membership of either the **Surface Transportation, Maritime, Freights & Ports** or her other A subcommittee top spot (Armed Services Subcommittee on Strategic Forces). This could open another top GOP ranking member spot.

## ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

DEMOCRATS (10 → 10)	REPUBLICANS (10 → 9)
<b>Joe Manchin (WV), Chairman</b>	<b>John Barrasso (WY), Ranking Member</b>
Ron Wyden (OR)	James Risch (ID)
Maria Cantwell (WA)	Mike Lee (UT)
Bernie Sanders (I-VT)	Steve Daines (MT)
Martin Heinrich (NM)	<b>Lisa Murkowski (AK)</b>
Mazie Hirono (HI)	John Hoeven (ND)
Angus King (I-ME)	<b>James Lankford (OK)</b>
Catherine Cortez Masto (NV)	<b>Bill Cassidy (LA)</b>
Mark Kelly (AZ)	Cindy Hyde-Smith (MS)
John Hickenlooper (CO)	<b>Roger Marshall (KS)</b>

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Energy and Natural Resources (ENR)** Chairman Joe Manchin (D-WV) and Ranking Member John Barrasso (R-WY) will continue as committee leads for their respective parties.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have had a larger **ENR Committee**, and a 1-2 seat advantage. When Senate Democrats had a similarly slim majority in the 110th Congress, the committee had two more Democrats and one more Republican, totaling 23 Members. In most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had the two more Democrats and the same number of Republicans, totaling 22 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats give themselves a +1 advantage without much change to size, Sen. Marshall (R-KS) could lose his spot. Given historical trends, it is possible Democrats will increase the size of the committee while also pursuing a +1 advantage. If they match the size of the 113th committee, there could be at least two additional Democratic spots and no Republican Members would be bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **ENR** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members served on three A Committees. As stated previously, Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is difficult to determine which Members, if any, will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third. Sens. Lisa Murkowski (R-AK), James Lankford (R-OK), and Bill Cassidy (R-LA) may not rank the committee first, as they are ranking members on at least one other A subcommittee. This could open additional GOP spots. Sen.-Elect Markwayne Mullin (R-OK) is reportedly interested in joining,

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but generally, no two Senators from the same state and party serve on the same committee, so Sen. Lankford (R-OK) may have to leave committee before that is possible.

***Subcommittee Leadership:*** Senate rules regarding **ENR** state that subcommittee assignments are generally based on seniority and no Member will receive a second assignment until all Members, in order of seniority, have chosen a subcommittee. There are no vacancies due to retiring Members or Senate rules, so if all incumbents seek to remain in their subcommittee leadership spots, there should not be any changes.

## ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

DEMOCRATS (10 → 10)	REPUBLICANS (10 → 9)
<b>Tom Carper (DE), Chairman</b>	<b>Shelley Moore Capito (WV), Ranking Member</b>
Ben Cardin (MD)	Kevin Cramer (ND)
Bernie Sanders (I-VT)	Cynthia Lummis (WY)
Sheldon Whitehouse (RI)	John Boozman (AR)
Jeff Merkley (OR)	Roger Wicker (MS)
Ed Markey (MA)	<b>Dan Sullivan (AK)</b>
Tammy Duckworth (IL)	<b>Joni Ernst (IA)</b>
Debbie Stabenow (MI)	Lindsey Graham (SC)
Mark Kelly (AZ)	
Alex Padilla (CA)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Environment and Public Works (EPW)** Chairman Tom Carper (D-DE) and Ranking Member Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV) will remain the top Democrat and the top Republican on the committee, respectively, in the 118th Congress.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities generally maintained the size and ratio of the **EPW Committee**, with a one-seat advantage. When Senate Democrats had a similarly slim majority in the 110th Congress, the committee had the same number of Democrats and one less Republican, totaling 19 Members. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had the same number of Democrats and two fewer Republicans, totaling 18 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats give themselves a +1 advantage without change to size, no 117th Committee Members would get bumped and there could be at least one Republican vacancy. Sen.-Elect Markwayne Mullin (R-OK) is reportedly interested in joining the committee.

**Additional Rules:** **EPW** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members served on three A Committees. As stated previously, Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is difficult to determine which Members, if any, will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third pick. Sens. Dan Sullivan (R-AK) and Joni Ernst (R-IA) may not put EPW first because they are ranking members

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on two other A subcommittees. However, they are both in line for EPW subcommittees, so they may give up their other spots.

***Subcommittee Leadership:*** EPW will have at least two subcommittee leadership vacancies. Senate rules dictate that EPW subcommittee membership is determined by the chair in consultation with the ranking member. Sen. Wicker (R-MS) will likely have to give up his top spot on the **Chemical Safety, Waste Management, Environmental Justice, and Regulatory Oversight Subcommittee** because is going to be ranking member of **Armed Services** and Republican rules would prevent him from also serving as ranking member of any subcommittee. Sen. James Inhofe's (R-OK) retirement leaves a top GOP spot vacant on the **Clean Air, Climate and Nuclear Safety Subcommittee**.

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## ETHICS

DEMOCRATS (3 → 3)	REPUBLICANS (3 → 3)
<b>Chris Coons (DE), Chairman</b>	<b>James Lankford (OK), Vice Chair</b>
Brian Schatz (HI)	James Risch (ID)
Jeanne Shaheen (NH)	Deb Fischer (NE)

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Ethics** Chairman Chris Coons (D-DE) and Vice Chair James Lankford (R-OK) could continue to lead the committee in the incoming Congress.

**Historical Trends & Outlook:** An equal number of Democrats and Republicans are always appointed to **Ethics**. The committee has been composed of six Members for several decades and is expected to remain that way in the 118th Congress.

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## FINANCE

DEMOCRATS (14 → 14)	REPUBLICANS (14 → 13)
<b>Ron Wyden (OR), Chairman</b>	<b>Mike Crapo (ID), Ranking Member</b>
Debbie Stabenow (MI)	Chuck Grassley (IA)
Maria Cantwell (WA)	John Cornyn (TX)
Robert Menendez (NJ)	John Thune (SD)
Tom Carper (DE)	Tim Scott (SC)
Ben Cardin (MD)	Bill Cassidy (LA)
Sherrod Brown (OH)	James Lankford (OK)
Michael Bennet (CO)	Steve Daines (MT)
Robert Casey (PA)	Todd Young (IN)
Mark Warner (VA)	John Barrasso (WY)
Sheldon Whitehouse (RI)	
Maggie Hassan (NH)	
Catherine Cortez Masto (NV)	
Elizabeth Warren (MA)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Finance** Chairman Ron Wyden (D-OR) and Ranking Member Mike Crapo (R-ID) will remain committee leads in the 118th Congress.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have largely had a smaller **Finance** Committee with a 1-2 seat advantage. In the 110th Congress when Democrats had a similarly slim majority, the committee had three fewer Democrats and four fewer Republicans. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had one less Democrat and three fewer Republicans, totaling 24 Members. The 117th committee make up reflected the numbers created by Republican majorities, who have tended to create a larger committee.

**Outlook:** If Democrats generally maintain the larger committee size but give themselves a +1 advantage, no incumbents would be bumped and there could be upwards of three GOP vacancies. Democrats could opt to downsize the committee to 113th committee numbers, which could result in Sens. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) and John Barrasso (R-WY) being bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **Finance** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members except for one Democrat and three Republicans served on three A Committees. As stated previously, Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is unclear which, Members, if any,

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will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third. That being said, it is unlikely any Republican Members will rank **Finance** in the third category given how desirable the committee is.

The committee also falls within the Super A Committee category, meaning Members generally receive no other Super A committee assignments without a waiver. The 117th Committee had one Democrat – Sen. Warren (D-MA) – and two Republicans – Sens. Todd Young (R-IN) and Barrasso (R-WY) – who served on more than one Super A Committee. These incumbents may seek waivers to continue to serve on the committee.

**Subcommittee Leadership: Finance** will likely have at least one subcommittee leadership vacancy. Senate rules state that the chair, with recommendations from the ranking member, determines subcommittee assignments. Sen. Bill Cassidy (R-LA) is likely going to have to give up his top GOP spot on the **Fiscal Responsibility and Economic Growth Subcommittee**, as he is expected to move into the full committee ranking member spot on **HELP**.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

DEMOCRATS (11 → 11)	REPUBLICANS (11 → 10)
<b>Robert Menendez (NJ), Chairman</b>	<b>James Risch (ID), Ranking Member</b>
Ben Cardin (MD)	Marco Rubio (FL)
Jeanne Shaheen (NH)	Ron Johnson (WI)
Chris Coons (DE)	Mitt Romney (UT)
Chris Murphy (CT)	<b>Rand Paul (KY)</b>
Tim Kaine (VA)	Todd Young (IN)
Ed Markey (MA)	<b>John Barrasso (WY)</b>
Jeff Merkley (OR)	<b>Ted Cruz (TX)</b>
Cory Booker (NJ)	Mike Rounds (SD)
Brian Schatz (HI)	Bill Hagerty (TN)
Chris Van Hollen (MD)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Foreign Relations** Chairman Robert Menendez (D-NJ) and Ranking Member James Risch (R-ID) will remain in the top spots in the 118th Congress.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have generally kept the same size and ratio of the committee. In the 110th Congress when Democrats had a similarly slim majority, the committee had the same number of Democrats and one less Republican. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had one less Democrat and three fewer Republicans, totaling 18 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats generally maintain the size but give themselves a +1 advantage, no incumbents will get bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **Foreign Relations** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members served on three A Committees. As stated previously, Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is unclear which, Members, if any, will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third pick. Sens. Rand Paul (KY), John Barrasso (R-WY) and Tes Cruz (R-TX) may rank the committee second or third given that they are A Committee ranking members and cannot be in top spots on any subcommittee.

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For Republicans only, the committee also falls within the Super A Committee category, meaning Republicans generally receive no other Super A committee assignment without a waiver. The 117th committee had five Republicans – Sens. Bill Hagerty (R-TN), Marco Rubio (R-FL), Mike Rounds (R-SD), Todd Young (R-IN), and John Barrasso (R-WY) – who served on more than one Super A Committees. These incumbents may seek waivers to continue to serve on the committee, but there could be additional GOP spots if any of them vacate.

***Subcommittee Leadership:*** The committee will have at least one subcommittee leadership vacancy. **Foreign Relations** assigns Members to subcommittees in an equitable fashion so that no Member may receive a second assignment until all Members, in order of seniority, have chosen assignment to one subcommittee. Sen. Rob Portman’s (R-OH) retirement will leave the top GOP spot on the **Multilateral International Development, Multilateral Institutions, and International Economic, Energy, and Environmental Policy Subcommittee** vacant.

## HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR & PENSIONS

DEMOCRATS (11 → 11)	REPUBLICANS (11 → 10)
<b>Bernie Sanders (I-VT), Chairman</b>	<b>Bill Cassidy (LA), Expected Ranking Member</b>
Robert Casey (PA)	Rand Paul (KY)
Tammy Baldwin (WI)	Susan Collins (ME)
Chris Murphy (CT)	Lisa Murkowski (AK)
Tim Kaine (VA)	Mike Braun (IN)
Maggie Hassan (NH)	Roger Marshall (KS)
Tina Smith (MN)	<b>Tim Scott (SC)</b>
Jacky Rosen (NV)	Mitt Romney (UT)
Ben Ray Lujan (NM)	Tommy Tuberville (AL)
John Hickenlooper (CO)	Jerry Moran (KS)

**Full Committee Leadership:** Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT) will succeed outgoing Chair Patty Murray (D-WA) as the top Democrat on **HELP**. Sen. Bill Cassidy (R-LA) will succeed retiring Ranking Member Richard Burr (R-NC) as the committee's top Republican.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have both increased and decreased the size of the committee. In the 110th Congress when Democrats had a similarly slim majority, the committee had two fewer Democrats and three fewer Republicans. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had one more Democrat and one less Republicans, totaling 22 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats maintain the general size and give themselves a +1 advantage, no incumbents will get bumped and there will be one vacancy on the Democratic side.

**Additional Rules:** **HELP** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members except one Democrat served on three A Committees. As stated previously, Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is unclear which, Members, if any, will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third pick. Sen. Tim Scott (R-SC) may rank **HELP** second or third because of his seniority on other A Committees.

**Subcommittee Leadership:** **HELP** may have upwards of three subcommittee leadership vacancies. There is no official rule that dictates **HELP** Subcommittee assignments. Sen. Cassidy (R-LA) will likely have to give up his top GOP spot on the **Children and Families Subcommittee**,

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as Conference Rules prohibit A Committee ranking members from being in subcommittee top spots. For the same reason, Sen. Susan Collins (R-ME) will likely have to give up her top GOP spot on the **Primary Health and Retirement Security Subcommittee**. Sen. Mike Braun (R-IN) may give up his top GOP spot on the **Employment and Workplace Safety Subcommittee**, again, for the same reason.

## HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

DEMOCRATS (7 → 7)	REPUBLICANS (7 → 6)
<b>Gary Peters (MI), Chairman</b>	<b>Rand Paul (KY), Expected Ranking Member</b>
Tom Carper (DE)	Ron Johnson (WI)
Maggie Hassan (NH)	James Lankford (OK)
Kyrsten Sinema (I-AZ)	Mitt Romney (UT)
Jacky Rosen (NV)	<b>Rick Scott (FL)</b>
Alex Padilla (CA)	<b>Josh Hawley (MO)</b>
Jon Ossoff (GA)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **HSGAC** Chairman Gary Peters (D-MI) will remain the top Democrat. Sen. Rand Paul (R-KY) will move from **Small Business** to succeed retiring Ranking Member Rob Portman (R-OH).

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have had slightly larger committees with a 1-2 seat advantage. The 117th Committee reflects numbers created by Republican majorities. In the 110th Congress when Democrats had a similarly slim majority, the committee had two more Democrats and one more Republican. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had two more Democrats and the same number of Republicans, totaling 16 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats maintain the general size and give themselves a +1 advantage, no incumbents will get bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **HSGAC** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members except one Democrat served on three A Committees. As stated previously, Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is unclear which, Members, if any, will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third pick. Of the Republican Members, Sens. Rick Scott (R-FL) and Josh Hawley (R-FL) may rank the committee second or third, as they are ranking members of other A subcommittees.

**Subcommittee Leadership:** There may be one subcommittee leadership change on **HSGAC**. Unless he gets a waiver, Sen. Paul will have to give up his top GOP spot on the **Emerging Threats and Spending Oversight Subcommittee** due to Conference Rules.

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## INDIAN AFFAIRS

DEMOCRATS (6 → 6)	REPUBLICANS (6 → 5)
<b>Brian Schatz (HI), Chairman</b>	<b>Lisa Murkowski (AK), Vice Chair</b>
Maria Cantwell (WA)	John Hoeven (ND)
Jon Tester (MT)	James Lankford (OK)
Catherine Cortez Masto (NV)	Steve Daines (MT)
Tina Smith (MN)	Mike Rounds (SD)
Ben Ray Lujan (NM)	<b>Jerry Moran (KS)</b>

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Indian Affairs** Chairman Sen. Brian Schatz (D-HI) and Vice Chair Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) will likely remain in the top spots for the 118th Congress.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have had slightly larger committees in the past. The 117th committee size was the smallest it had been in three decades. In the 110th Congress when Democrats had a similarly slim majority, the committee had two more Democrats and one more Republican. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had one more Democrat and the same number of Republicans, totaling 14 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats maintain the general size but give themselves a +1 advantage, Sen. Jerry Moran (R-KS) could get bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **Indian Affairs** is considered a B Committee by both parties, meaning Members generally do not serve on more than one in the category. The 117 Committee had one Democrat and two Republicans that served on more than one B Committee. While Democrats' rules are not public, Republican rules allow Members to retain one B Committee going into the next Congress. It is likely Sen. Moran will opt to retain **Veterans' Affairs**, as he is ranking member and may get bumped from **Indian Affairs** anyway. It is unclear if Sen. Mike Rounds (R-SD) would opt to keep this committee or **Veterans' Affairs**. Sen.-Elect Markwayne Mullin (R-OK) is reportedly interested in joining the committee. Generally, no two Senators from the same state and party serve on the same committee, so Sen. Lankford (R-OK) may have to leave committee before Sen.-Elect Mullin can join.

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## INTELLIGENCE

DEMOCRATS (8 → 8)	REPUBLICANS (8 → 7)
<b>Mark Warner (VA), Chairman</b>	<b>Marco Rubio (FL), Vice Chair</b>
Dianne Feinstein (CA)	James Risch (ID)
Ron Wyden (OR)	Susan Collins (ME)
Martin Heinrich (NM)	Tom Cotton (AR)
Angus King (I-ME)	John Cornyn (TX)
Michael Bennet (CO)	
Bob Casey (PA)	
Kirsten Gillibrand (NY)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Intelligence** Chairman Mark Warner (D-VA) and Vice Chair Marco Rubio (R-FL) are expected to keep their top spots.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have generally kept the committee size the same, giving themselves a one seat advantage. In the 110th Congress when Democrats had a similarly slim majority, the committee had one more Democrat and the same number of Republicans. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had the same number of Democrats and one less Republican, totaling 15 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats maintain the general size of the committee but give themselves a +1 advantage, no incumbents will get bumped and there could be one vacancy on the Republican side. Sen. Ben Sasse's (R-NE) retirement will be effective on January 8, which will open an additional GOP spot. Sen.-Elect Markwayne Mullin (R-OK) has stated that **Intelligence** is his second top pick for an A Committee.

**Additional Rules:** **Intelligence** is partially composed on an equal number of Democrats and Republicans. It must have one Democrat and one Republican from **Appropriations, Armed Services, Foreign Relations, and Judiciary**. In addition, the committee can have up to seven additional Members appointed by the President pro tempore, as recommended by party leaders. The 117th Committee does not have a Democrat from **Foreign Relations**, meaning that an incumbent Democrat may get bumped to meet the requirement.

## JUDICIARY

DEMOCRATS (11 → 11)	REPUBLICANS (11 → 10)
<b>Dick Durbin (IL), Chairman</b>	<b>Lindsey Graham (SC), Expected Ranking Member</b>
Dianne Feinstein (CA)	Chuck Grassley (IA)
Sheldon Whitehouse (RI)	John Cornyn (TX)
Amy Klobuchar (MN)	Mike Lee (UT)
Chris Coons (DE)	<b>Ted Cruz (TX)</b>
Richard Blumenthal (CT)	Josh Hawley (MO)
Mazie Hirono (HI)	Tom Cotton (AR)
Cory Booker (NJ)	John Kennedy (LA)
Alex Padilla (CA)	Thom Tillis (NC)
Jon Ossoff (GA)	Marsha Blackburn (TN)

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Judiciary** Chairman Dick Durbin (D-IL) will continue to serve as the top Democrat. Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC) will become the ranking member on **Judiciary**, succeeding outgoing Ranking Member Chuck Grassley (R-IA), who will be moving to **Budget** because he is term limited on **Judiciary**.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have had slightly smaller Judiciary Committee numbers. The 117th Committee make up reflects numbers created by Republican majorities. In the 110th Congress when Democrats had a similarly slim majority, the committee had one less Democrat and two fewer Republicans. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had one less Democrat and three fewer Republicans, totaling 18 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats maintain the larger size but give themselves a +1 advantage, there could be one vacancy on the Democratic side. Sen. Ben Sasse's (R-NE) retirement will be effective on January 8, meaning no Republican incumbents would get bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **Judiciary** is considered an A Committee meaning Members generally do not serve on more than two in the category without a waiver. All 117th Committee Members except two Republicans served on three A Committees. As stated previously, Democrats do not make their rules public, so it is unclear which, Members, if any, will stay or vacate. Republicans must rank their top three A Committee preferences and are not guaranteed to get their third pick. Of all Republicans, Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) may rank **Judiciary** second or third because he will

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be ranking member of **Commerce** and unless he seeks a waiver, he will be unable to be in the top GOP spot on any subcommittees.

**Subcommittee Leadership: Judiciary** has at least three subcommittee leadership vacancies. Sen. Patrick Leahy's (D-VT) retirement will open a top Democratic spot on **Intellectual Property**. Sen. Sasse's retirement will open a top GOP subcommittee spot on **Privacy, Technology and the Law**. With Sen. Cruz (R-NE) moving into the top GOP spot on **Commerce**, he will likely have to give up his top GOP subcommittee spot on **Constitution** unless he seeks a waiver.

## RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATS (9 → 9)	REPUBLICANS (9 → 8)
<b>Amy Klobuchar (MN), Chairwoman</b>	<b>Deb Fischer (NE), Expected Ranking Member</b>
Dianne Feinstein (CA)	Mitch McConnell (KY)
Chuck Schumer (NY)	Ted Cruz (TX)
Mark Warner (VA)	Shelley Moore Capito (WV)
Angus King (I-ME)	Roger Wicker (MS)
Jeff Merkley (OR)	Cindy Hyde-Smith (MS)
Alex Padilla (CA)	Bill Hagerty (TN)
Jon Ossoff (GA)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Rules** Chairwoman Amy Klobuchar (D-MN) will remain the top Democrat on the committee. Sen. Deb Fischer (R-NE) will succeed retiring Ranking Member Roy Blunt (R-MO) in the 118th Congress.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have generally kept the size of **Rules** the same with a one-seat advantage.

**Outlook:** If Democrats maintain the committee's size but give themselves a +1 advantage, there could at least one vacancy for each party.

**Additional Rules:** **Rules** is considered a B Committee by both parties, meaning Members generally do not serve on more than one in the category. Sens. The 117th Committee had three Democrats that served on more than one B Committee. While Democrats' rules are not public, Republican rules allow Members to retain one B Committee going into the next Congress. Since **Rules** is the only B Committee all incumbent Republican committee Members sit on, it is possible they will remain.

In addition, Republican Conference rules state that no two Members from the same state and party can serve on the same committee. Sens. Roger Wicker (R-MS) and Cindy Hyde-Smith (R-MS) are from the same state. The Republican Conference may waive this rule.

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## SMALL BUSINESS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

DEMOCRATS (10 → 10)	REPUBLICANS (10 → 9)
<b>Ben Cardin (MD), Chairman</b>	<b>Joni Ernst (IA), Possible Ranking Member?</b>
Maria Cantwell (WA)	Rand Paul (KY)
Jeanne Shaheen (NH)	Marco Rubio (FL)
Ed Markey (MA)	James Risch (ID)
Cory Booker (NJ)	<b>Tim Scott (SC)</b>
Chris Coons (DE)	Todd Young (IN)
Mazie Hirono (HI)	John Kennedy (LA)
Tammy Duckworth (IL)	Josh Hawley (MO)
Jacky Rosen (NV)	Roger Marshall (KS)
John Hickenlooper (CO)	

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Small Business** Chairman Ben Cardin (D-MD) will likely remain in the top Democratic spot on the committee. Sen. Joni Ernst (R-IA) could become the next ranking member to succeed outgoing Ranking Member Rand Paul (R-KY), who will become the top Republican on **HSGAC**.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have generally kept the size of the committee the same with a one-seat advantage. In the 110th Congress when Democrats had a similarly slim majority, the committee had the same number of Democrats and one less Republicans. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had the same number of Democrats and two fewer Republicans, totaling 18 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats maintain the size but give themselves a +1 advantage, no Members will get bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **Small Business** is considered a B Committee by both parties, meaning Members generally do not serve on more than one in the category. The 117th Committee had three Democrats and three Republicans who served on more than one B Committee. While Democrats' rules are not public, Republican rules allow Members to retain one B Committee going into the next Congress. Sen. Marco Rubio (R-FL) may retain **Small Business** given his seniority. Sen. Tim Scott (R-SC) will opt for **Aging** as he is expected to be ranking member. It is unclear if Sen. Kennedy (R-LA) will opt for this committee or **Budget**.

## VETERANS' AFFAIRS

DEMOCRATS (9 → 9)	REPUBLICANS (9 → 8)
<b>Jon Tester (MT), Chairman</b>	<b>Jerry Moran (KS), Ranking Member</b>
Patty Murray (WA)	John Boozman (AR)
Bernie Sanders (I-VT)	Bill Cassidy (LA)
Sherrod Brown (OH)	Mike Rounds (SD)
Richard Blumenthal (CT)	Thom Tillis (NC)
Mazie Hirono (HI)	Dan Sullivan (AK)
Joe Manchin (WV)	Marsha Blackburn (TN)
Kyrsten Sinema (I-AZ)	Kevin Cramer (ND)
Maggie Hassan (NH)	<b>Tommy Tuberville (AL)</b>

**Full Committee Leadership:** 117th Congress **Veterans Affairs'** Chairman Jon Tester (D-MT) and Ranking Member Jerry Moran (R-KS) will likely remain committee leads in the 118th Congress.

**Historical Trends:** Democratic majorities have had a slightly smaller committee with a one-seat advantage. The 117th committee was the largest it had been in at least three decades. In the 110th Congress when Democrats had a similarly slim majority, the committee had one less Democrat and two fewer Republicans. In the most recent Senate Democratic majority before the 117th Congress, the committee had one less Democrats and three fewer Republicans, totaling 14 Members.

**Outlook:** If Democrats maintain the committee's size but give themselves a +1 advantage, Sen. Tommy Tuberville (R-AL) could get bumped. However, if Democrats opt to decrease the size of the committee to 113th numbers, Sens. Maggie Hassan (D-NH), Tuberville, and Kevin Cramer (R-ND) could get bumped.

**Additional Rules:** **Veterans' Affairs** is considered a B Committee by both parties, meaning Members generally do not serve on more than one in the category. The 117th Committee had five Democrats and three Republican that served on more than one B Committee. While Democrats' rules are not public, Republican rules allow Members to retain one B Committee going into the next Congress. Sen. Jerry Moran (R-KS) will retain this committee over **Indian Affairs**, as he is ranking member. It is unclear if Sens. Mike Rounds (R-SD) or Cramer would choose to retain this committee or **Indian Affairs**.