

2018 Midterm Elections

Policy Implications for the 116th Congress



2018 Midterm Election Results

Preliminary election results are in. Democrats flipped the House of Representatives, gaining 26 seats with a 219 to 193 majority and 23 seats remaining to be called. The Republicans retained the Senate with a 51 to 45 majority, while picking up 2 seats with 4 races to still be called. While Republicans are maintaining a slight majority in the gubernatorial races with a 25-22 majority, the Democrats did gain 7 races so far and 3 races are too close to call.*

* Results reported by the New York Times, November 7, 2018, at 8:30 a.m.

Finance Policy

Senate Committee Leadership: Financial Services Industry

Committee	Republican Chair	Democratic Ranking
Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs	Mike Crapo (ID)	Sherrod Brown (OH)
Subcommittee on Financial Institutions & Consumer Protection	Pat Toomey (PA)	Elizabeth Warren (MA)
Subcommittee on Securities, Insurance & Investment	TBD	Mark Warner (VA)

House Committee Leadership: Financial Services Industry

Committee	Democratic Chair	Republican Ranking
House Financial Services	Maxine Waters (CA)	Peter King (NY)
Subcommittee on Capital Market, Securities & Investment	Carolyn Maloney (NY)	Bill Huizenga (MI)
Subcommittee on Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit	William Lacy Clay (MO)	Blaine Luetkemeyer (MO)

Potential Actions That Would Affect Financial Regulation

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

Potential action



JOBS Act 3.0 (S. 488)





Reforming Dodd-Frank through regulatory tailoring for banks with over \$100 billion in assets

 $\bullet \bullet \bullet$

Potential Actions Affecting Government Sponsored Enterprises

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

FIFEA	Appointing a conservative Federal Housing Finance Agency director	••••
	Ending federal conservatorship over Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac	••
	Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac privatized	••
11. S≣	Ginnie Mae takes over some of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac's responsibilities	

Potential Actions that Would Affect Congressional Oversight of the Financial Services Industry

Likelihood of passing Congress

• Very unlik	$\begin{array}{ccc} & \longleftarrow & & & & \\ \text{ely} & & \text{Possible} & & & \\ \end{array} & & \text{Very likely} \end{array}$		
	Potential action		
cfpb	Subpoenas and criticism of CFPB leadership around decision-making	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$	
9	Hearings related to "big bank" enforcement actions	••••	
ŤŤŤ	Fewer confirmations of strong conservatives to regulatory positions	•	

Tax Policy

Senate Committee Leadership : Tax



House Committee Leadership : Tax

Committee	Democratic Chair	Republican Ranking
House Ways and Means	Richard Neal (MA)	Kevin Brady (TX)
Subcommittee on Tax Policy	Lloyd Doggett (TX)	Vern Buchanan (FL)
House Small Business	Nydia Velázquez (NY)	Steve Chabot (OH)
Subcommittee on Economic Growth, Tax, and Capital Access	Dwight Evans (PA)	TBD

Potential Actions That Would Affect Tax Policy

Likelihood of passing Congress

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \bullet & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet \\ \text{Very unlikely} & \text{Possible} & \text{Very likely} \end{array}$

→	Extend temporary provisions from the 2017 tax act	•••
\$%	Pass Tax Reform 2.0	••
×	Repeal the 2017 tax law	•
Ìi:	Extend 2017 individual tax cuts but phase out tax cuts for businesses	••

Potential Actions That Would Affect Tax Policy

Likelihood of passing Congress



[ອ]	Pass legislation that would index capital gains to inflation	
ţ	Pass technical corrections legislation that would fix errors, oversights and omissions in the 2017 tax law	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
K X	Pass extenders, including the deduction of higher-education tuition and fees and tax-free treatment of forgiven home mortgage debt	

Education

Senate Committee Leadership: Education

Committee	Republican Chair	Democratic Ranking
Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions	Lamar Alexander (TN)	Patty Murray (WA)
Subcommittee on Children and Families	Rand Paul (KY)	Bob Casey (PA)
Subcommittee on Employment and Workplace Safety	Johnny Isakson (GA)	Tammy Baldwin (WI)

House Committee Leadership: Education

Committee	Democratic Chair	Republican Ranking
House Education and Workforce	Bobby Scott (VA)	Virginia Foxx (NC)
Subcommittee on Higher Education and Workforce Development	Susan Davis (CA)	Brett Guthrie (KY)
Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education	Marcia Fudge (OH)	David Roe (TN)

Potential Actions That Would Affect the Higher Education Act

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \rightarrow$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

6	Passage of the PROSPER Act that would repeal some loan forgiveness programs	•
	Expand access to alternative degree programs	•••
¢	Require the publishing of more student outcome data	••
×	Expand grants to make community college free to all students	•

Immigration

Senate Committee Leadership: Immigration



House Committee Leadership: Immigration

Committee	Democratic Chair	Republican Ranking
House Judiciary	Jerry Nadler (NY)	- Steve Chabot (OH) or Doug Collins (GA) -
Subcommittee on Immigration and Border Security	Zoe Lofgren (CA)	Ken Buck (CO)
House Homeland Security	Bennie Thompson (MS)	Mike Rogers (AL)
Subcommittee on Border and Maritime Security	Filemón Vela (TX)	Will Hurd (TX) (TBD-Race not called)

Potential Actions that Would Affect Border Security

Likelihood of passing Congress



Potential action

Í	

Trump's campai	ling to fulfill President n promise to build a ne US-Mexico border	
Allocation of fur	ling to build a bondon	



Potential Actions That Would Affect H-1B Visas

Likelihood of passing Congress

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \bullet & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet \\ \text{Very unlikely} & \text{Possible} & \text{Very likely} \end{array}$

*	Number of visas cut, and requirements for eligibility tightened	•	
٩	Oversight hearings are held on the effects on employment	$\bullet \bullet \bullet$	
	Program is modified to offset potential employment effects of hiring foreign workers	•	

Potential Actions That Would Affect Detention Centers

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	•••••
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

	Immigration detention centers remain open	•••
	The Flores Agreement is overruled by new legislation, which would allow the federal government to detain families for more than 20 days	•
Q	Oversight hearings are held on conditions in detention centers	•••
X	Detention centers closed or broadly limited	••

Potential Actions That Would Affect DACA/Dreamers

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

G	DACA/Dreamer fix is coupled with the end of chain migration and increased border security funding	••	
	Pathway to citizenship passed for DACA recipients and Dreamers	•	
	Pathway to permanent residency passed for DACA recipients and Dreamers	••	

Infrastructure

Senate Committee Leadership: Infrastructure

Committee	Republican Chair	Democratic Ranking
Senate Environment and Public Works	John Barrasso (WY)	Tom Carper (DE)
Subcommittee on Transportation & Infrastructure	Jim Inhofe (OK)	Ben Cardin (IL)

House Committee Leadership: Infrastructure

Committee	Democratic Chair	Republican Ranking
House Transportation and Infrastructure	Peter DeFazio (OR)	Sam Graves (MO)
Subcommittee on Highways & Transit	Eleanor Holmes Norton (D.C.)	Don Young (AK)

Potential Actions That Would Affect Infrastructure Spending

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

	Repeal federal excise tax on gas and diesel and replace with a new approach to funding highways		
	Fund infrastructure through an increased gas tax		
%	Fund infrastructure projects through partial repeals of recent tax cuts	•	
X	Eliminate federal funding for mass transit, bike-share programs, sidewalks and rail-to-rail projects	•	
	Substantial spending increases dedicated to the US transportation system	••	

Potential Actions That Would Affect Infrastructure Projects

Likelihood of passing Congress

$\begin{array}{ccc} \bullet & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet \\ \text{Very unlikely} & \text{Possible} & \text{Very likely} \end{array}$	
Potential action	
Increase in federally-funded grants for rural infrastructural needs	
Selection Increase federal loans for rural infrastructure projects	
Allocate significant federal funding for projects of national importance	

Technology

Senate Committee Leadership: Technology

Committee	Republican Chair	Democratic Ranking
Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation	John Thune (SD)	Bill Nelson (FL) (TBD-Race not Called)

House Committee Leadership: Technology

Committee	Democratic Chair	Republican Ranking
House Energy and Commerce	Frank Pallone, Jr. (NJ)	Greg Walden (OR)
Subcommittee on Communications & Technology	Michael Doyle (PA)	TBD
Subcommittee on Digital Commerce and Consumer Protection	Jan Schakowsky (D-IL)	Bob Latta (R-OH)
House Oversight and Government Reform	Elijah Cummings (MD)	Jim Jordan (OH)
Subcommittee on Information Technology	Robin Kelly (IL)	Will Hurd (TX) (TBD-Race Not Called)

Potential Actions That Would Affect Privacy

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

Î	Mandate federal consumer privacy standards to include opt-in consent, broader definition of personal data and greater transparency and control	•••	
	Mandate federal consumer privacy standards to preempt state regulations and apply evenly across industries		
فله	Increase FTC authority to enforce privacy protections (e.g. APA rulemaking authority, civil penalty authority)		

Potential Actions That Would Affect Internet Platforms

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

þ	Repeal Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act	•	
~	Increase transparency in filtering algorithms in social media	•	
() ()	Reintroduce the 2015 Open Internet Order, which classifies ISPs as Title II subjects under the Telecommunications Act	••	
(((•)))	Mandate net neutrality rules	•••	

Potential Actions That Would Affect Federal Government IT

Likelihood of passing Congress

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \bullet & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet \\ \text{Very unlikely} & \text{Possible} & \text{Very likely} \end{array}$

෯	Adopt a national strategy for artificial intelligence in the federal government		
	Accelerate federal IT modernization (e.g. workforce development, recruitment and appropriations)	•••	
	Increase STEM education funding and/or protections for workers affected by automation	$\bullet \bullet \bullet$	

Cybersecurity
Senate Committee Leadership: Cybersecurity

Committee	Republican Chair	Democratic Ranking
Senate Armed Services	Jim Inhofe (OK)	Jack Reed (RI)
Subcommittee on Cybersecurity	Mike Rounds (SD)	Bill Nelson (FL) (TBD-Race Not Called)
Senate Judiciary	Chuck Grassley (IA)	Dianne Feinstein (CA)
Subcommittee on Privacy, Technology and the Law	Mike Lee (UT)	Christopher Coons (DE)

House Committee Leadership: Cybersecurity

Committee	Democratic Chair	Republican Ranking
House Homeland Security	Bennie Thompson (MS)	Mike Rogers (AL)
Subcommittee on Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Protection	Cedric Richmond (LA)	John Ratcliffe (TX)

Potential Actions That Would Affect Cyber Policy

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

6	Increased funding for cybersecurity if separated from contentious issues like border security	•
\$	Increased funding for cybersecurity together with contentious issues like border security	•••
	Regulatory oversight on social media platforms	•••
	Increased funding for election security	•••
	Increased funding for critical infrastructure cybersecurity	

Potential Actions That Would Affect Cyber Strategy

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

	Increased pressure on President Trump to produce a comprehensive strategy for cyber defense	$\bullet \bullet \bullet$	
*	Oversight hearings to interrogate administration officials regarding cyber strategy	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$	
	Robust execution of a White House- produced cyber strategy	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$	
Ø	Approval for White House's cyber strategy funding request		

Healthcare

Senate Committee Leadership: Healthcare

Committee	Republican Chair	Democratic Ranking
Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions	Lamar Alexander (TN)	Patty Murray (WA)

House Committee Leadership: Healthcare

Committee	Democratic Chair	Republican Ranking
House Energy and Commerce	Frank Pallone (NJ)	Greg Walden (OR)
Subcommittee on Health	Janice Schakowsky (IL)	Michael Burgess (TX)
House Ways and Means	Richard Neal (MA)	Kevin Brady (TX)
Subcommittee on Health	Mike Thompson (CA)	TBD

Potential Actions That Would Affect the Affordable Care Act

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

_	Repeal and replace the ACA with a similar proposal to the AHCA or BCRA	•
	Replace ACA with a "Medicare for all" alternative	•
Ô	Add a public option to the ACA	•
\$	Expand and re-instate portions of the ACA such as the tax fine for the individual mandate	•
Ð	Reinstate the medical device tax	•

Potential Actions That Would Affect Medicare and Medicaid

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely



X	Pass legislation similar to Graham- Cassidy that ends Medicaid expansion and allow states to cap program funding	•	
\$	Allow Americans to buy into Medicare at a younger age	••	
尒	Restrict states' ability to implement work requirements for Medicaid		

Potential Actions That Would Affect the Opioid crisis

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

Q	Investigate pharmaceutical companies for marketing around opioids	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$	
	Eliminate the ACA mandate that insurance policies must cover "mental health and substance use disorder services"	•	
A	Establish a program for safe-injection sites and needle exchanges	••	
9	Emphasis on law enforcement to reduce the flow of opioids and other illegal drugs	•••	

Trade

Senate Committee Chairs: Trade



Other committees that work on legislation relating to trade:

Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee (Commodities, Markets, Trade, and Risk Management Subcommittee) Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation (Tourism, Competitiveness, and Innovation Subcommittee)

House Committee Chairs: Trade



Other committees that work on legislation relating to trade:

House Energy and Commerce (Commerce, Manufacturing, and Trade Subcommittee)
House Financial Services (Monetary Policy and Trade Subcommittee)
House Foreign Affairs (Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade Subcommittee)
House Small Business (Agriculture, Energy, and Trade Subcommittee)

The Process of Passing USMCA

A variety of factors could affect USMCA's passage at any point in the legislative process. A Democratic House could impeded USMCA's passage depending on whether they perceive the labor provisions are sufficient for improving worker rights and wages.



The Trade Promotion Authority (TPA) allows Congress to permit the administration to negotiate trade agreements without interference. Once the administration submits a trade deal for approval, Congress must vote yes or no and cannot amend or filibuster it



Oversight & Investigations

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Potential Investigations in a Democratic-Controlled House

- More administration officials summoned to testify on many controversial decisions, especially regarding immigration enforcement and environmental deregulation
- · Democrats in the House would likely subpoena more government documents including Trump's tax returns

Democrats will gain oversight and subpoena powers if they win the House



Senate Committee Leadership: Investigations

Committee	Republican Chair	Democratic Ranking
Senate Judiciary	- Chuck Grassley (IA) or Lindsey Graham (SC) -	Dianne Feinstein (CA)
Senate Intelligence	Richard Burr (NC)	Mark Warner (VA)
Joint Committee on Taxation	Chuck Grassley (IA)	Ron Wyden (OR)

House Committee Leadership: Investigations

Committee	Democratic Chair	Republican Ranking
House Oversight & Government Reform	Elijah Cummings (MD)	Jim Jordan (OH)
House Judiciary	Jerry Nadler (NY)	- Steve Chabot (OH) or Doug Collins (GA) -
House Ways & Means	Richard Neal (MA)	Kevin Brady (TX)
House Intelligence	Adam Schiff (CA)	Devin Nunes (CA)

Senate Committee Leadership: Regulatory Oversight

Committee	Republican Chair	Democratic Ranking
Senate Commerce, Science & Transportation	John Thune (SD)	Bill Nelson (FL)
Senate Homeland Security & Government Affairs	Ron Johnson (WI)	TBD
Senate Environment & Public Works	John Barrasso (WY)	Tom Carper (DE)

Committee Leadership: Regulatory Oversight

Committee	Dem	ocratic Chair	Repu	ublican Ranking
House Oversight & Government Reform		Elijah Cummings (MD)		Jim Jordan (OH)
House Energy & Commerce		Frank Pallone (NJ)		Greg Walden (OR)
House Homeland Security		Bennie Thompson (MS)		Mike Rogers (AL)

Democrats Likely Investigate President Trump's Tax Returns

A 1924 provision in the IRS code gives Congress the right to obtain, inspect and disclose confidential tax information of any taxpayer without their consent





The Treasury Secretary must give the documents to the committee. However, there is no stated timeframe for compliance, potentially leaving room for long delays or legal action



The committee reviews the tax returns. Following the precedent of the 1974 review of Nixon's taxes, the nonpartisan staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation could conduct a review of the tax returns



Committee may vote to release the tax returns to the full House or Senate (if for a legitimate legislative purpose), where it will be made part of the public record and published online

House Committees Have the Power to Subpoenas

115th House committees where subpoenas can be issued by ...

Chair	Chair, after consulting Ranking Member*	Chair, after House has adjourned for three days	Majority Committees- Subcommitee Vote
Agriculture	Agriculture	Natural Resources	Agriculture
Education & the Workforce	Education & the Workforce	Rules	Appropriations
Energy & Commerce	Energy & Commerce		Armed Services
Financial Services	Foreign Affairs		Budget
Foreign Affairs	Homeland Security		Ethics
Homeland Security	Judiciary		Foreign Affairs
Judiciary	Transportation & Infrastructure		House Administration
Natural Resources	Intelligence		Judiciary
Oversight & Government Reform			Natural Resources
Rules			Rules
Science, Space & Technology			Small Business
Transportation & Infrastructure			Transportation & Infrastructure
Ways & Means			Veterans' Affairs
Intelligence			Intelligence

Defense

Senate Committee Leadership: Defense

Committee	Republican Chair	Democratic Ranking
Senate Armed Services	Jim Inhofe (OK)	Jack Reed (RI)
Senate Appropriations	Richard Shelby (AL)	Patrick Leahy (VT)
Subcommittee on Defense	Richard Shelby (AL)	Dick Durbin (IL)

House Committee Leadership: Defense

Committee	Democratic Chair	Republican Ranking
House Armed Services	Adam Smith (WA)	Mac Thornberry (TX)
House Appropriations	Nita Lowey (NY)	Robert Aderholt (AL)
Subcommittee on Defense	Peter Visclosky (IN)	Kay Granger (TX)

Potential Actions That Would Affect Defense Appropriations

Likelihood of passing Congress

•	$\leftarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet \to$	$\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$
Very unlikely	Possible	Very likely

	Authorization of \$8 billion for the Space Force, as requested by Trump	•
6	Increase in defense spending <i>without</i> increases to nondefense	•
	Increase in defense spending <i>with</i> increases to nondefense	••
<u> </u>	Quick passage of the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA)	••

Potential Actions That Would Affect Defense Policies

Likelihood of passing Congress



Potential action

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Quick confirmations of defense department officials



Greater oversight on defense contracts and policies (e.g., banning transgender soldiers)

Potential Actions That Would Affect Authorizations for Use of Military Force (AUMFs)

Likelihood of passing Congress

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \bullet & \bullet & \bullet & \bullet \\ \text{Very unlikely} & \text{Possible} & \text{Very likely} \end{array}$

4	Repeal and replace 2002 AUMF Against Iraq	•
y	Pass new AUMF Against ISIS	••
	Pass new AUMF Against the Taliban	



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