

2014 ELECTION ANALYSIS

November 5, 2014

With most of the results in from yesterday's election that delivered a strong rebuke to Democrats, the USGLC is looking at the impact on the development and diplomacy agenda. We are pleased to report that broad bipartisan support for the International Affairs Budget remains strong, and that the candidates for the House and Senate – without exception – rejected isolationism and embraced the importance of America's role in the world.

The USGLC has spent the past 18 months meeting with nearly 100 candidates as part of our **Smart Vote 2014** initiative, which focused on ensuring that -- regardless of the election outcome -- the new 114th Congress will embrace a smart power approach to America's engagement in the world.

To help you sift through the results of this mid-term election, we are pleased to provide this detailed look at the new players and the likely playing field for the 114th Congress. We look forward to welcoming long-time supporters back to Washington along with new and emerging friends as we continue our work to build a better, safer world.

Highlights Include:

- 1. Our Top Takeaways: Election's Biggest Loser: Isolationism?
- 2. The 114th Senate: The Players & The Playing Field
- **3.** The 114th House: *The Players & The Playing Field*
- **4.** What's Next for the International Affairs Budget
- **5.** New Faces in Washington



SECTION 1

ELECTION'S BIGGEST LOSER: ISOLATIONISM? OUR TOP TAKEAWAYS

Foreign policy was merely a footnote at the start of this year's midterm election cycle. Domestic issues dominated the debate and many wondered whether this cycle would mirror past election years when freshmen members bragged they didn't own passports.

Most of the results are in, and while the pundits will focus on the change of power in the Senate, our pick for Election 2014's biggest loser is isolationism. Here's how our issue fared:

- **1. World Crises Dramatically Changed Voter's Priorities.** As campaign 2014 got underway, polling consistently showed a historic low in Americans' interest in international engagement. But the crisis in Ukraine and ISIS jolted Americans, and by late September, <u>78 percent of Americans</u> said the situation with ISIS was extremely/very important to their vote, ahead of the deficit and taxes. The Ebola epidemic further heightened voters' concern about events overseas and 83 percent of Americans called for "strong U.S. leadership" in the world according to an <u>October poll</u>. This dramatic turn of world events propelled foreign affairs issues into voters' minds, and ultimately into the 2014 campaigns.
- **2. Candidates Embraced Global Engagement and Rejected Isolationism.** In January, we scoured candidates' websites and were dismayed by how few even mentioned foreign policy positions. By the fall, candidates had reacted to world events and incorporated foreign policy issues into their stump speeches. Fall debates were filled with candidates taking jabs at one another on these issues. Over the past year the USGLC met with nearly 100 candidates across the nation, and without exception, candidates talked about the importance of America being engaged in the world. Not a single candidate called for an isolationist approach to foreign policy. Many winners have strong records of support on foreign assistance from their days in the House, even candidates endorsed by Tea Party groups.
- **3. Foreign Aid was Absent from the Campaign.** Foreign aid was a non-issue in the election and that is certainly good news. In 2012, several ads attacked incumbents for supporting foreign aid and a few incumbents criticized foreign assistance. In contrast, only one ad mentioned foreign assistance this year a small ad buy from Senator Rand Paul's (R-KY) political action committee (RANDPAC) less than a week before the election, in support of Senator Pat Roberts (R-KS) for opposing foreign assistance to countries such as Egypt, Pakistan, and Libya.



- **4. Our Champions are in Influential Positions.** In a testament to the breadth of bipartisan support for U.S. global engagement, committee leadership in the 114th Senate will be comprised of champions of the International Affairs Budget. Unlike in the 2006-2010 elections when we lost about two-thirds of our GOP Senate champions, the new Congress will see strong supporters emerging in key committee leadership positions including **Senator Bob Corker (R-TN)** chairing Senate Foreign Relations, **Senator John McCain (R-AZ)** chairing Armed Services, and **Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC)** chairing the State-Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee among others.
- **5. Many Freshmen Have Strong Military and Business Backgrounds.** In addition to long-time friends in the Senate and House who will be returning, we are pleased to see many newly elected Senators and Representatives with an interest in, and experience with, international affairs programs. Among the new Senators, for example, a number have military or extensive international business experience. **Senator-elect Tom Cotton** for example talks about how his military experience shaped his support for global development and diplomacy. **Senators-elect Steve Daines, David Perdue, Ben Sasse, and Thom Tillis** will bring their international business expertise to the Senate and that could be an opportunity.
- **6. Candidates Want to Learn More about Our Issues.** In our meetings with candidates, almost all of the incoming policymakers were eager to learn how our civilian programs benefit America's security and economic interests. While they universally are internationalists, few are familiar with global development and diplomacy policy. One Senate candidate remarked that while he knew foreign aid was less than 20 percent of the federal budget, he had no idea it was just 1 percent. Despite the lack of information, it was not unusual for candidates to say they believe we cannot be isolationists and need appropriate non-military tools to engage with the world. We have work to do, but it is a solid starting point.
- **7. The Growing Frustration with Partisan Gridlock has Created a Bipartisan Opening.** Nearly a third of voters in a late October <u>Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll</u> ranked "ending gridlock/getting things done" as their most important issue— well above the deficit, government spending, and healthcare. As one of a few remaining bipartisan issues, foreign assistance programs could be an important area of consensus and action on both sides of the aisle in the 114th Congress.



Challenges Ahead

While support for the International Affairs Budget retains strong bipartisan support, several factors will pose challenges to these issues in the year ahead:

- Return of Budget Battles: While the new Congress is more internationalist then in recent years, many of the new members are coming to Washington to curtail spending. Next year's action on the FY16 budget will see the return of sequestration and automatic, across-the-board cuts to discretionary spending accounts. Additionally, with the debt ceiling limit to be breached sometime this spring, expect discretionary spending to be a target once again, with programs like International Affairs to be particularly vulnerable.
- **2016 Presidential Politics Already Underway:** While foreign policy emerged as a late breaking issue in the 2014 campaign, it too became part of the partisan critique of the President. With the 2016 Presidential campaign gearing up, ensuring that development and diplomacy programs are not seen through a partisan lens will be a challenge.
- Some Attacks on Foreign Aid Still Likely: While foreign aid played virtually no role in this year's election, the combination of next year's budget battles and the contest for the GOP Presidential nomination will likely result in some attempts to cut funding for foreign assistance, particularly from Senator Rand Paul (R-KY) who may continue to use this issue to distinguish themselves from other GOP Presidential rivals.

When Congress is sworn in this January, 40 percent of the Senate and 55 percent of the House will have been newly elected just in the last four years. That means they weren't in Congress when signature legislation like PEPFAR was crafted, the MCC was created, or in the Capitol on 9/11 when Americans were starkly reminded of the dangers of American withdrawal from the world. Elections have consequences, and thanks to your help we have begun to educate and engage these incoming decision makers. With a volatile world and a record number of humanitarian and security crises, the stakes are high for U.S. global leadership.



SECTION 2

THE 114TH SENATE: THE PLAYERS & THE PLAYING FIELD

While the Alaska and Virginia Senate races have yet to be called and the Louisiana Senate race will go to a runoff on December 6th, Republicans have already won control of the Senate with at least 52 seats, controlling the Senate for the first time since 2006. Already, eleven new Senators have been elected: 10 Republicans and one Democrat. With party leadership in the Senate flipping, there are several key changes to committee leadership and assignments detailed below.

Overall, there are several important takeaways:

- Important Champions and Supporters Re-elected: We are pleased to welcome back many long-time friends who were re-elected, including champions such as Senators Chris Coons (D-DE), Dick Durbin (D-IL), Lindsey Graham (R-SC), and Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH). Other allies who were re-elected include Senators Lamar Alexander (R-TN), Cory Booker (D-NJ), Thad Cochran (R-MS), Susan Collins (R-ME), Al Franken (D-MN), Ed Markey (D-MA), Mitch McConnell (R-KY), Jeff Merkley (D-OR), Jack Reed (D-RI), Brian Schatz (D-HI), and Tom Udall (D-NM).
- Senators-elect have Good House Records: As for the 11 freshmen Senators, six are coming from the House and half of them have records of support for the International Affairs Budget. Senators-elect Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV), Tom Cotton (R-AR), and Gary Peters (D-MI) have shown support for the International Affairs Budget and an understanding for America's engagement in the world. Additionally, Rep. Bill Cassidy (R-LA), who is in a strong position to win next month's runoff in Louisiana, has a generally supportive record.
- New Friends & Opportunities: The vast majority of the incoming Senators without previous House service have expressed solid support for an engaged role for America overseas. They have varying degrees of international experience from military service to international business which presents an important opportunity. More details on all the freshmen Senators are contained in the profiles linked below.
- Strong Friends in Influential Positions: We can look forward to some good friends taking over key leadership positions in the Senate come January. These include Senator Bob Corker (R-TN) chairing Senate Foreign Relations, Senator John McCain (R-AZ) chairing Armed Services, and Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC) chairing State-Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee.



Key Committee Changes

As noted above, many key committee leadership posts in the 114th Senate will be headed by a mix of supporters and champions of the International Affairs Budget. Highlights of key committee changes include:

- Senate Appropriations Committee. The powerful Appropriations Committee will see some major changes with Senator Thad Cochran (R-MS), a long-time appropriator and friend of the International Affairs Budget, assuming the chairmanship of the Committee as current Ranking Member Richard Shelby (R-AL) takes the helm of the Banking Committee. Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) will become Vice-Chairwoman.
- Senate State-Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee. With Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC) taking over as Chair, the makeup of the Subcommittee will change, particularly on the Democratic side with the departure of Senators Harkin and potential departures of Senators Landrieu and Begich. The Republican side of the Subcommittee will have at least one new member with the departure of Senator Johanns.
- Senate Budget Committee. Senator Jeff Sessions (R-AL). who has generally not supported the International Affairs Budget, will take over as Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee. Current Chairwoman Patty Murray (D-WA), an unwavering champion for the International Affairs Budget, will likely depart the Budget Committee to take over as Ranking Member of the Help, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee. Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT) is expected to fill her seat as Budget Committee Ranking Member.
- Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Longtime friend, Senator Bob Corker (R-TN) will take over leadership of the Committee as Chairman with Senator Bob Menendez (D-NJ) likely remaining as Ranking Member. Senator Corker has been a champion for America's development and diplomacy programs, and USGLC hosted the Senator at events both in Washington and back in Tennessee.
- Senate Armed Services Committee. Senator John McCain (R-AZ) will resume his leadership role on the Committee as Chairman, bypassing the current Ranking Member Senator Jim Inhofe (R-OK). Senator Jack Reed (D-RI) will become Ranking Member with the retirement of Senator Carl Levin (D-MI). USGLC has engaged with Senator McCain in multiple capacities both here in Washington and back home in Arizona at an event this fall and we're grateful for his unparalleled commitment to America's global engagement.



And the Freshmen

For a detailed profile of each of the new Senator-Elects click on their name below:

Tom Cotton (R-AR)*

Defeated Senator Mark Pryor (D)

<u>David Perdue (R-GA)</u>

Replaces retiring Senator Saxby Chambliss (R)

Gary Peters (D-MI)*

Replaces retiring Senator Carl Levin (D)

Thom Tillis (R-NC)

Defeated Senator Kay Hagan (D)

James Lankford (R-OK)*

Replaces retiring Senator Tom Coburn (R)

Shelley Moore Capito (R-WV)*

Replaces retiring Senator Jay Rockefeller (D)

Cory Gardner (R-CO)*

Defeated Senator Mark Udall (D)

Joni Ernst (R-IA)

Replaces retiring Senator Tom Harkin (D)

Steve Daines (R-MT)*

Replaces retiring Senator John Walsh (D)

Ben Sasse (R-NE)

Replaces retiring Senator Mike Johanns (R)

Mike Rounds (R-SD)

Replaces retiring Senator Tim Johnson (D)

**Not Decided Yet

Alaska: Senator Mark Begich (D) versus Dan Sullivan (R-AK) **Virginia:** Senator Mark Warner (D) versus Ed Gillespie (R-VA)

Louisiana: Senator Mary Landrieu (D) versus Bill Cassidy (R-LA) (December 6th runoff)

^{*} Indicates the Senator-elect is joining the Senate from the House of Representatives.



A SPECIAL THANK YOU

USGLC wants to thank long-time supporters who are retiring or lost their re-election for their years of service and support for the smart power agenda. We look forward to working with them in the years to come:

- We are grateful for the strong support of the International Affairs Budget from a number of other departing Senators, including **Kay Hagan (D-NC)**, **Tom Harkin (D-IA)**, **Tim Johnson (D-SD)**, **Carl Levin (D-MI)**, **Mark Pryor (D-AR)**, **Jay Rockefeller (D-WV)**, **and Mark Udall (D-CO)**. We would also like to recognize retiring **Senator Tom Coburn (R-OK)** for his strong interest and leadership on global health issues over the years.
- A special thank you to **Senator Mike Johanns (R-NE)** and **Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA)**. Senator Johanns has been an outstanding champion for the International Affairs Budget throughout his term in the Senate and as Secretary of Agriculture. His service on the State-Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee and his commitment to ending global poverty and strengthening international food aid will be greatly missed. We are delighted that Senator Chambliss, also a strong supporter, will continue to lend his voice of support in his retirement by serving as co-chair of USGLC's Georgia Advisory Committee.



SECTION 3

THE 114TH HOUSE: THE PLAYERS & THE PLAYING FIELD

Even though a dozen House races have not been called and two will be going to a runoff on December 6th, the Republicans have maintained their majority in the House -- holding at least 243 seats in January, an increase of 14 from last year. The House freshman class numbers (at least 55 in size) are significantly smaller than in some recent elections. For example, the 2010 election saw 94 new House members – the largest freshman class in more than 60 years. All but two of the 12 House incumbents who have lost are Democrats, and of the 12 "too close to call" races 9 include a Democrat incumbent.

Here are some important takeaways about the House freshmen and returning friends:

- New Supporters Elected: Many of the incoming House freshmen bring with them strong international experience including diplomatic, business, and military backgrounds. Among these are **Don Beyer (D-VA)**, the former U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland and Liechtenstein; **Bob Dold (R-IL)**, who was a strong champion for the International Affairs Budget during his previous service in Congress; **Seth Moulton (D-MA)**, a veteran and former Marine Corps officer who served four tours in Iraq; and **Elise Stefanik (R-NY)**, a former George W. Bush, Tim Pawlenty, and Paul Ryan aide who also served as the Foreign Policy Initiative's Communications Director from 2011-2012.
- Other Important New Allies: In addition, dozens of new incoming House freshmen have spoken of the importance of effective foreign aid and shown an interest in working with us, such as Mike Bishop (R-MI); Mark DeSaulnier (D-CA); Frank Guinta (R-NH), who previously served in Congress; Ted Lieu (D-CA); Kathleen Rice (D-NY), and David Young (R-IA).
- Welcoming Back Good Friends: We are happy to welcome back many Members who have been steadfast supporters of America's global engagement. There are many to list, but of particular note are: State-Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee leadership -- Representatives Kay Granger (R-TX) and Nita Lowey (D-NY); House Foreign Affairs Committee leadership -- Representatives Ed Royce (R-CA) and Eliot Engel (D-NY); and Congressional Caucus for Effective Foreign Assistance Co-Chairs -- Representatives Ander Crenshaw (R-FL) and Adam Smith (D-WA).

Click here for a link of the new House Members who will be joining the 114th Congress.



Key Committee Changes

While no major changes are expected in party leadership, there are some notable committee leadership changes expected that are noted below.

- ♣ House Appropriations Committee. The Appropriations Committee will see several new Subcommittee Chairmen (known as "cardinals") due to the departure of senior Republicans on the Committee. For the State-Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, Chairwoman Kay Granger is seeking a waiver to maintain her leadership position and is expected to keep her chairmanship. The Republican side of the Subcommittee will see at least one new face with the retirement of Representative Wolf. Ranking Member Nita Lowey (D-NY) will remain the Ranking Member for both the overall Appropriations Committee and the State-Foreign Operations Subcommittee.
- ♣ House Budget Committee. Current Budget Committee Chairman Paul Ryan (R-WI) is the presumed successor to take the top Republican slot on the House Ways & Means Committee with current Chairman Dave Camp's (R-MI) retirement. With this shift, the top Republican slot on the Budget Committee is expected to be filled by Representative Tom Price (R-GA). The former chair of the Republican Study Committee, Price has generally not supported the International Affairs Budget although he is certainly an internationalist. Ranking Member Chris Van Hollen (D-MD) will continue to serve in his leadership role on the Committee.
- ♣ House Foreign Affairs Committee. Chairman Ed Royce (R-CA) and Ranking Member Eliot Engel (D-NY), who have successful teamed together to shepherd bipartisan legislation on issues such as PEPFAR reauthorization and Electrify Africa, will continue to lead the committee. The military veterans on the Committee will continue to play a key role in shaping foreign policy debates and more importantly support for foreign aid. Veterans who have indicated a desire to remain on the Committee and who played a particularly important leadership role in support of global engagement in the 113th Congress include Representatives Adam Kinzinger (R-IL), Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI), and Scott Perry (R-PA).
- ♣ House Armed Services Committee. With the retirement of Committee Chairman Buck McKeon (R-CA), Representative Mac Thornberry (R-TX) is slated to take the chairmanship. Thornberry, a member of the CSIS Smart Power Commission (2006-2007), has engaged with USGLC's National Security Advisory Council over the years and we look forward to working with him in his new leadership capacity. Ranking Member Adam Smith (D-WA), Co-Chair of the Congressional Caucus for Effective Foreign Assistance, will continue in his leadership role.
- House Intelligence Committee. With the retirement of Committee Chairman Mike Rogers (R-MI), Representatives Devin Nunes (R-CA) and Jeff Miller (R-FL) are both competitively seeking the chairmanship. Representative Dutch Ruppersberger (D-MD) will continue to serve as Ranking Member.

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USGLC wants to thank long-time supporters who are retiring or lost their re-election for their years of service and support for the smart power agenda:

- ❖ USGLC thanks the many Representatives who will not be returning in January who have rallied behind the International Affairs Budget and have been supporters of America's global engagement. These include Representatives Jim Gerlach (R-PA), Jack Kingston (R-GA), Gary Miller (R-CA), Jim Moran (D-VA), Mike Rogers (R-MI), John Barrow (D-GA), Timothy Bishop (D-NY), Bill Enyart (D-IL), Pete Gallego (D-TX), Joe Garcia (D-FL), Steven Horsford (D-NV), Dan Maffei (D-NY), Brad Schneider (D-IL), and Carol Shea-Porter (D-NH).
- A special thank you to two Virginians and steadfast champions of the International Affairs Budget: former **Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-VA) and Representative Frank Wolf (R-VA).** Throughout his years of service, Rep. Cantor was an important ally within the Republican leadership in support of strong U.S. global engagement and marshalling support for passing the annual State-Foreign Operations appropriations bills. Similarly, senior appropriator Rep. Wolf was a champion for development and diplomacy and a tenacious leader for human rights and religious freedom around the world, co-chairing the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission and creating the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom.



SECTION 4

WHAT'S NEXT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUDGET?

The 113th Congress will return to Capitol Hill next Wednesday for a lame duck session that -- given the Republican takeover of the Senate -- is expected to be less consequential than if Democrats had retained control, as Republicans may defer action on most matters until the new Congress convenes in January with both chambers under their control. Nonetheless, the lame duck Congress will need to deal with at least one major item: action on FY15 appropriations before the expiration of the Continuing Resolution (CR) on December 11th. Wrapped into this debate will also be additional supplemental funding for the fight against Ebola and potential funding to fight ISIS. The President submitted today to Congress a \$6.2 billion emergency supplemental funding request to fight the Ebola outbreak – which includes nearly \$2 billion for USAID and a \$127 million for the State Department. Because the vast majority of this funding would be designated as emergency, off-budget it will likely generate controversy, particularly among fiscal conservatives.

Decisions on how to proceed on FY15 funding will be front and center in Congress next week, and there are essentially three scenarios for how FY15 appropriations could be handled:

- (1) Omnibus: combine all twelve appropriations bills into an omnibus appropriations measure;
- (2) Short term CR: pass another CR that will last until early/mid 2015; and
- (3) Long term CR: pass a year-long CR.

While Appropriations leaders and some members of the leadership would like to resolve matters through an omnibus bill, that approach is likely to face some resistance from the most conservative Republican members who want to delay action until next year so that the spending bills can be reshaped more to conservatives' liking, particularly in the Senate. Additionally, several Republican Senators have vowed to block action on a FY15 omnibus or CR that does not make significant changes to the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare").

Finalizing FY15 International Affairs Budget

The FY15 Continuing Resolution (CR) that is in effect until December 11th provides approximately \$50.4 billion for International Affairs -- \$43.9 billion in base funding and \$6.5 billion for Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO). The CR is largely "clean" in that it does not include new, controversial policy riders and largely maintains spending at current levels, with a few exceptions.



A key issue and area of concern for finalizing International Affairs funding levels is how a large gap in base funding between the House and Senate versions will be reconciled. While both the House and Senate State-Foreign Operations bills are nearly identical on the total spending level, they differ significantly on the split between base and Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) funding with the Senate cutting base funding \$2.7 billion and shifting those monies into the off-budget, OCO account.

While the Senate's boost in OCO funds would mitigate the impact of the base cuts in the short-term, it sets a dangerous precedent in the long-term as it erodes base programs.

Negotiations among appropriations staff have been underway in recent weeks to reconcile the differences between the twelve appropriations bills and prepare for a potential omnibus measure. In the event an omnibus bill is considered, it's expected to include base and OCO International Affairs funding levels that fall closer to the Senate levels of \$39.66 and \$8.63 respectively.

Key Dates

- **November 12-14** Lame Duck Session Begins, 114th Organizational Meetings and Leadership Elections
- **November 17 (week of)** House Orientation for New Members; House GOP Steering Committee Meets
- **December 11 –** FY15 CR expires
- **January 5/6 –** 114th Congress Swearing-In
- **January TBD** Party Retreats
- **January 20 –** State of the Union
- **February 2 –** FY16 Budget Submission to Congress



NEW FACES IN WASHINGTON





Arkansas—Tom Cotton (R)

"I worry that when we withdraw from the world the world is not going to withdraw from us."

Senator-elect Cotton is expected to be a powerful advocate in the Senate for U.S. global engagement and the importance of development and diplomacy programs. Given Cotton's military background, it is not surprising that he has

been a strong supporter of national defense, has rejected isolationism, and has been outspoken about the importance of America's development and diplomacy programs to U.S. national security. Among other issues, he is vocal about promoting international religious freedom. Cotton supported the FY14 State Department Embassy Security Authorization, but voted against the Electrify Africa Act due to concerns about the Overseas Private Investment Corporation reauthorization included in the bill.

USGLC has worked closely with Senator-elect Cotton during his service in the House. While only a freshmen, Congressman Cotton met with representatives of our National Security Advisory Council's admirals and generals and co-hosted a veterans and national security-focused congressional staff briefing last year.

Cotton comes to the Senate from the House of Representatives where he is completing his first term serving Arkansas' 4th Congressional District, which includes most of southwest Arkansas. Cotton, an Army veteran, is currently a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Before his election to Congress, he worked as a consultant at McKinsey & Company after serving as a Captain in the United States Army from 2005-2009, fighting in both Iraq and Afghanistan. For his service, Cotton was awarded the Bronze Star and various other campaign and service medals. He earned both his B.A. and J.D. from Harvard University.

http://cotton.house.gov/



Colorado—Cory Gardner (R)

"Our government's foremost Constitutional duty is to protect the United States and its citizens by providing for our common defense. Unfortunately, the world is not getting any safer.....Over the past 70 years the nature of the threats to our nation's security has changed."

Senator-elect Gardner comes to the Senate from the House of Representatives where he is completing his second term serving Colorado's 4th Congressional District, which includes most of eastern Colorado. He currently serves on the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

As a candidate for the Senate, the USGLC has held meetings with Congressman Gardner both in Colorado and in Washington where he expressed support for U.S. global engagement and concerns about isolationist viewpoints. He is a proponent of American exceptionalism, noting that "America is unique among all other nations in its greatness." In our meeting, Gardner emphasized the importance of improving the effectiveness of foreign assistance and showed an interest in working with us should he be elected to the Senate. During his tenure in the House, Gardner has had a mixed voting record of support on the International Affairs Budget. While he supported the Electrify Africa Act this year, he opposed the FY14 State Department Authorization bill last fall and the reauthorization of the Export-Import Bank in 2012. In 2011, he opposed cuts to international food aid but supported cuts to multilateral assistance.

Before his election to Congress, Gardner served in the Colorado House of Representatives for five years and was a practicing lawyer. Earlier in his career, he was as a spokesman for the National Corn Growers Association in Washington and a Legislative Director for former Senator Wayne Allard (R-CO). During college at Colorado State University he studied abroad in Germany and is fluent in German.

http://gardner.house.gov/



Georgia—David Perdue (R)

"The best opportunity for long-term economic growth is to boost our exports to emerging economies worldwide. They have an increasing demand for American goods; both quality manufactured products as well as other needs such as agriculture products. Increasing exports requires elected leaders who understand global trends and how to remove barriers to growth. If so, we can create a new age of American prosperity."

With over four decades of private-sector business experience, Senator-elect David Perdue comes to the Senate having served as CEO of several national and multinational corporations. He is the co-founder of Perdue Partners, a Georgia-based global trading and export company, and recently served as an appointee to the Georgia Ports Authority. As CEO of Dollar General, President and CEO Reebok, and Senior Vice President of Asia operations for Sara Lee Corporation, he also lived and



worked in Europe, Asia, and throughout the United States.

At a meeting during the campaign with members of the USGLC Georgia Advisory Committee, Senator-elect Perdue was open about his eagerness to learn more about foreign assistance programs, but withheld any specific position on International Affairs programs until he was able to do in-depth research. He shared his belief that America can no longer look inward, and expressed that during his travels in Africa he saw the need for humanitarian operations overseas but believes agencies need to be streamlined and modernized.

Throughout the election, Senator-elect Perdue focused on economic issues, including expanding international trade. He ran as a business-focused Washington outsider, viewing the federal debt as a major threat to our national economic prosperity.

https://perduesenate.com/issues/the-issues/



Iowa—Joni Ernst (R)

"Joni believes in a strong national defense because she knows the world is a safer place when America is the strongest nation on the planet."

The first female combat veteran elected to the U.S. Senate, Senator-elect Ernst served a combined 21 years in the Army Reserves and the Iowa Army National Guard. She currently holds the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and spent 14 months

in Kuwait as a company commander during Operation Iraqi Freedom from 2003-2004. Additionally, Ernst served as Assistant Minority Leader in the Iowa State Senate and previously as Montgomery County Auditor.

In the campaign, Senator-elect Ernst stressed her commitment to advancing America's "interests across the globe, whether by diplomatic means or use of force." Breaking with other members of her party, she spoke out in favor of re-authorizing the Export-Import Bank, saying in an interview, "As long as other countries offer that opportunity to their exporters, I think that is something we need to offer to our industry also." Senator-elect Ernst believes lowa must remain competitive in the global marketplace by expanding exports for lowa's goods and services. During her campaign, she did, however, provide some mixed statements on foreign assistance, expressing concern over the amount of U.S. aid provided to certain countries and how the aid is used. Our partner organization, Foreign Policy Initiative, spoke with Senator-elect Ernst during the campaign to provide background information on the value of foreign assistance programs and its role in a comprehensive national security strategy. Overall, Senator-elect Ernst believes that American "foreign policy must be consistent and strong – never giving our enemies hesitation as to America's resolve to defend herself and her interests across the globe, whether by diplomatic means or use of force.

http://www.joniforiowa.com/issues/





"America has always been a beacon of democracy and freedom, but we are also rightly regarded as the strongest nation in the world. As we move into the 21st century, America must maintain its commitment to having the best trained and best equipped military in the world - but we must also be disciplined in our restraint to use it. For the past four years, President Obama and Secretary Clinton have rightly elevated the role of diplomacy

to ensure our nation's standing and security by forging new partnerships around the world."

The lone Democrat in the freshman Senate class, Senator-elect Peters comes to the Senate from the House of Representatives where he is completing his third term representing Michigan's 14th Congressional District, which includes part of Detroit and its northwestern suburbs. The son of a World War II veteran with a strong military family history, Peters served in the Navy Reserve for a combined twelve years and retired as a Lieutenant Commander in 2005. His service includes time overseas after 9/11. He received a number of awards, including both the Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medal and the Military Outstanding Volunteer Service Medal.

Throughout his tenure in the House, Peters has been largely supportive of the International Affairs Budget and global engagement. In March, he joined a handful of other House military veterans led by Representatives Adam Kinzinger (R-IL) and Tulsi Gabbard (D-HI) in sending an important letter to House Appropriations and Budget leadership in support of strong funding for the FY15 International Affairs Budget. He voted for the Electrify Africa Act, the FY14 State Department Embassy Security Authorization and the 2012 Export-Import Bank Reauthorization. He also voted against cutting amendments to food aid during consideration of the FY12 agriculture appropriations bill, but voted for cutting multilateral assistance during consideration of the FY11 appropriations bill.

Before his election to Congress, Peters was in the financial industry, working for nine years at Merrill Lynch and then moving to Paine Webber

http://peters.house.gov/

Montana—Steve Daines (R)

"America's leadership is essential to maintaining peace and security throughout the globe. While we cannot be the world's police, we must continue to protect U.S. security interests abroad and stand for human rights in every corner of the world."

Senator-elect Daines comes to the Senate from the House of Representatives where he is completing his first term serving Montana's At-Large District. He currently serves on the House Homeland Security; Natural Resources; and Transportation and Infrastructure Committees.



Having only served one term in the House, Daines does not have much of a record on the International Affairs Budget. While he voted for the FY14 State Department Embassy Security Authorization bill, he voted against the Electrify Africa Act of 2014. He generally believes in the need for active U.S. global leadership, particularly in the forms of security assistance for key allies and for programs that promote human rights.

Before his election to Congress, Daines spent more than 25 years in the private sector. He was an executive at RightNow Technologies, a software company. Before that, he worked 13 years in a management role for Proctor & Gamble both in the United States and overseas in China and Hong Kong. He also worked for his family's construction business in Bozeman.

http://daines.house.gov/



Nebraska—Ben Sasse (R)

"A strong America is a more prosperous and secure America, and American leadership makes for a safer and more peaceful world."

Senator-elect Ben Sasse comes to the Senate after having served as President of Midland University in Fremont, Nebraska. He previously served as Chief of Staff to Representative Jeff Fortenberry (R-NE), a strong friend of the USGLC, and was

appointed by President George W. Bush to several government posts, including as an Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), where he worked on some HIV/ AIDs issues. He has worked as a consultant, working for the Boston Consulting Group and McKinsey and Company, where he advised U.S. government agencies and foreign governments, including the Government of Iraq. In 2009, he taught part-time at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas under Dean Jim Steinberg, the former Director of Policy Planning at the State Department and Deputy National Security Advisor.

USGLC met with Sasse earlier this year, where he expressed strong backing of the value of overseas development work, including in the areas of HIV/AIDS (an issue he was involved with while serving at HHS), as well as food security and agricultural development. He expressed a strong desire to learn about development and diplomacy and a strong interest in global issues. While Senator-elect Sasse has expressed concerns about the effectiveness of some foreign aid programs, he supports providing "aid that promotes our country's fundamental values."

During the campaign, Senator-elect Sasse reinforced his belief that the primary role of the Federal Government is to "protect our citizens from enemies foreign and domestic" and that the United States "should continue to maintain the greatest fighting force the world has ever seen." His campaign website conveys caution about U.S. intervention abroad, calling for "only engaging when it is in our vital national interest."

https://www.sassefornebraska.com/issues/national-security





"I believe we must promote policies that make trade with other nations free and efficient in order to stimulate our economy and allow North Carolina farmers and ranchers to expand their businesses."

Senator-elect Tillis joins the Senate after having served as Speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives. He had a long career in the private sector,

working with companies such as Viacom, Disney, Duke Power, and the international accounting and consulting firm that became PricewaterhouseCoopers. During his consulting tenure, he spent time working in Caracas, Venezuela and will bring a strong understanding on international business to the Senate.

When USGLC met with Senator-elect Tillis, he saw the benefits of U.S. engagement and the positive effects that come to North Carolina's economy through investment and global health initiatives. Senator-elect Tillis agreed there is a misperception among the public of how much we spend on development and diplomacy programs, also noting that North Carolina is a globally-focused state, which benefits from engagement. He assisted in the creation of the international division of the North Carolina Department of Commerce.

During the campaign, Senator-elect Tillis said that foreign policy "should be based on what is best for Americans and our allies, not by placating bad actors on the international stage." He expressed support for America's Free Trade Agreements with South Korea, Colombia, and Panama in order to open up foreign markets for agriculture.

http://thomtillis.com/tillis-statement-on-iran-deal/#sthash.sJ0tBPMg.dpuf



Oklahoma—James Lankford (R)

"We still live in a dangerous world, and we cannot ignore that fact by failing to provide adequate resources to our servicemen and women, who proudly serve in the best military in the world. We must maintain military readiness while looking to diplomacy first to solve international disputes like the situation in Ukraine."

Senator-elect Lankford comes to the Senate from the House of Representatives where he is completing his second term representing Oklahoma's 5th Congressional District, which includes most of Oklahoma City and Pottawatomie and Seminole Counties. He is the Chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee and serves on the House Budget and Oversight and Government Reform Committees.

USGLC has met with Lankford on a couple of occasions during his service in the House, where he expressed strong support for U.S. global engagement and recognition of the value of development and diplomacy, but also voiced concerns about the effectiveness of some development



programs – particularly reconstruction programs in Afghanistan. He has had a mixed record on the International Affairs Budget but expressed interest in visiting programs in Africa once he's in the Senate to learn more about these programs. He supported the FY14 State Department Embassy Security Authorization and opposed proposed cuts to international food aid during consideration of the FY12 agriculture appropriations bills. However, he voted against the Electrify Africa Act and the 2012 Export-Import Bank Reauthorization.

Lankford graduated from the University of Texas at Austin and then attended Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary where he received a master's degree in Divinity. He moved to Oklahoma after graduating and became the program director of Falls Creek, the largest Christian camp in the United States with more than 51,000 students and adults attending each summer. During this tenure, he coordinated mission trips and community service trips overseas, including missions to Belize and Malawi.

http://lankford.house.gov/



"Foreign aid, which comes in many shapes and forms, is an essential component of America's deeply rooted commitment to the security and stability of our allies."

A strong internationalist, Senator-elect Rounds is likely to be a supporter of U.S. global engagement and development and diplomacy programs. After nearly

two decades of public service, Senator-elect Rounds joins the Senate having been a two-term Governor of South Dakota and a State Senator, including six years as Senate Majority Leader. Rounds is a charter member of the Governor's Council at the Bipartisan Policy Center, where he co-chairs the Center's "Health Project" and Immigration Task Force.

During the campaign, Senator-elect Rounds expressed that foreign assistance is necessary to protect and support our allies, including Israel. When USGLC met with him, he reaffirmed the need for non-military tools of engagement in the world, emphasizing the importance of trade in creating global allies. Senator-elect Rounds noted his belief that the United States needs to incorporate appropriate non-military tools in global interactions.

https://roundsforsenate.com/about/on-the-issues/





West Virginia—Shelley Moore Capito (R)

"The United States must maintain a strong military to protect our national security and America's interests at home and abroad. Our strong partner-ship with our NATO allies helps advance freedom and democracy throughout the world. We are also proud to stand with Israel, our strongest ally in the Middle East, to foster peace and security in that vital region."

Senator-elect Capito comes to the Senate from the House of Representatives where she is completing her seventh term representing West Virginia's 2nd Congressional District, which includes central West Virginia. She currently serves on the House Financial Services and Transportation and Infrastructure Committees.

USGLC has engaged with Senator-elect Capito, most recently in a meeting with three- and four-star flag officers from USGLC's National Security Advisory Council in March. During her tenure in the House, Capito has been largely supportive of U.S. global engagement and the International Affairs Budget. She voted in favor of both the FY14 State Department Embassy Security Authorization and the 2012 Export-Import Bank Reauthorization. In addition, she voted against proposed cuts to international food aid and multilateral assistance during consideration of the FY11 and FY12 appropriations bills. However, she voted against the 2014 Electrify Africa Act.

Prior to her election to Congress, Capito served in the West Virginia House of Delegates from 1997-2001. Before that, she was a college counselor and the director of an educational information center. She is the daughter of former West Virginia Governor Arch Moore, Jr.

http://capito.house.gov/#dialog

Too Close to Call

Alaska: With polls having closed in the early hours of Wednesday morning on the east coast, the race for U.S. Senate in Alaska is too close to call. As of Wednesday afternoon, GOP challenger Dan Sullivan leads Senator Mark Begich by fewer than 10,000 votes. Currently, more than 75 percent of votes have been counted. Regardless of the outcome, we are confident that we will have an ally in Alaska's next U.S. Senator, be it Senator Begich or Senator-elect Sullivan.

Sullivan most recently served as Alaska's Commissioner of Natural Resources and Attorney General, Sullivan has also served a twenty year career in the Marine Corps with a combination of both active duty and the reserves. A Marine Corps infantry and reconnaissance officer, Sullivan was recalled from the reserves to serve as Special Assistant to the Commander of U.S. Central Command (CENT-COM) from 2005-2006. Sullivan is very familiar with USGLC's agenda from his days working on these issues as a member of President George W. Bush's National Security Council and National Economic Council and as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic, Energy, and Business Affairs (2006-2009) under then-Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. In these positions, he was a strong supporter of economic and development assistance and agencies such as the Millennium Challenge Corpora-



tion, noting the importance of deepening global economic integration, building prosperity, reducing poverty and increasing security." An advocate for global engagement, Sullivan has said: "One of the critical things is to put together strategies to encompass all aspects of American power. If you just have a military strategy, you don't get very far."

Virginia: In one of the most narrow returns from election night, the race for U.S. Senate in Virginia is too close to call. As of Wednesday afternoon, incumbent Senator Mark Warner leads GOP challenger Ed Gillespie by just over 12,000 votes. Gillespie has not conceded the race and there is a potential recount which could occur with only 1 percent margin separating the two. Whoever wins, USGLC will have an ally in the Senate from Virginia.

Gillespie was most recently Chairman of the Republican State Leadership Conference and a Senior Advisor to Governor Mitt Romney's 2012 Presidential campaign. A veteran Republican political strategist, Gillespie served as Chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC) from 2003-2005 and of the Republican Party of Virginia. Senator-elect Gillespie also served in the White House as Counselor to President George W. Bush from 2007-2009. During the campaign, Senator-elect Gillespie conveyed strong support for U.S. global leadership, linking U.S. economic growth to national security, stating that "we have a hard time projecting American strength abroad when we are weak at home. And that's why we need to unleash our economic growth and double our economic growth rate to project strength abroad." Embracing the need for U.S. global leadership, Gillespie has said: "When the U.S. fails to take a leadership role in the world, you start to see things become chaotic. It does not make us more secure and you see the effects of that across the globe."



Newly Elected Members of the House of Representatives

DEFEATED MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE				
State	District	Departing Member	New Member	Reason
FL	2	Steve Southerland (R)	Gwen Graham (D)	Defeated
FL	26	Joe Garcia (D)	Carlos Curbelo (R)	Defeated
GA	12	John Barrow (D)	Rick Allen (R)	Defeated
IL	10	Brad Schneider (D)	Bob Dold (R)	Defeated
IL	12	Bill Enyart (D)	Mike Bost (R)	Defeated
NV	4	Steve Horsford (D)	Cresent Hardy (R)	Defeated
NH	1	Carol Shea-Porter (D)	Frank Guinta (R)	Defeated
NY	1	Timothy Bishop (D)	Lee Zeldin (R)	Defeated
NY	24	Daniel Maffei (D)	John Katko (R)	Defeated
TX	23	Pete Gallego (D)	Will Hurd (R)	Defeated
WV	3	Nick Rahall (D)	Evan Jenkins (R)	Defeated
MA	6	John Tierney (D)	Seth Moulton (D)	Defeated in Primary
MI	11	Kerry Bentivolio (R)	Dave Trott (R)	Defeated in Primary
TX	4	Ralph Hall (R)	John Ratcliffe (R)	Defeated in Primary
VA	7	Eric Cantor (R)	Dave Brat (R)	Defeated in Primary
	RE1	TIRED MEMBERS OF TH	E HOUSE/RAN FOR OT	HER OFFICE
State	District	Departing Member	New Member	Reason
NC	12	Mel Watt (D)	Alma Adams (D)	Confirmed as FHFA Director
CA	36	Gloria Negrete McLeod (D)	Norma Torres (D)	Ran for County Supervisor
ME	2	Mike Michaud (D)	Bruce Poliquin (R)	Ran for Governor
PA	13	Allyson Schwartz (D)	Brendan Boyle (D)	Dan for Covernor
		1,, 50 60 62 (2)	1 2	Ran for Governor
AR	4	Tom Cotton (R)	Bruce Westerman (R)	Ran for Senate
AR CO	4	· ·	,	
		Tom Cotton (R)	Bruce Westerman (R)	Ran for Senate
СО		Tom Cotton (R) Cory Gardner (R)	Bruce Westerman (R) Ken Buck (R)	Ran for Senate Ran for Senate
CO GA	4	Tom Cotton (R) Cory Gardner (R) Jack Kingston (R)	Bruce Westerman (R) Ken Buck (R) Buddy Carter (R)	Ran for Senate Ran for Senate Ran for Senate
CO GA GA	4 1 10	Tom Cotton (R) Cory Gardner (R) Jack Kingston (R) Paul Broun (R)	Bruce Westerman (R) Ken Buck (R) Buddy Carter (R) Jody Hice (R)	Ran for Senate Ran for Senate Ran for Senate Ran for Senate
CO GA GA	4 1 10	Tom Cotton (R) Cory Gardner (R) Jack Kingston (R) Paul Broun (R) Phil Gingrey (R)	Bruce Westerman (R) Ken Buck (R) Buddy Carter (R) Jody Hice (R) Barry Loudermilk (R)	Ran for Senate
GA GA GA HI	4 1 10 11 1	Tom Cotton (R) Cory Gardner (R) Jack Kingston (R) Paul Broun (R) Phil Gingrey (R) Colleen Hanabusa (D)	Bruce Westerman (R) Ken Buck (R) Buddy Carter (R) Jody Hice (R) Barry Loudermilk (R) Mark Takai (D)	Ran for Senate
GA GA GA HI	4 1 10 11 1	Tom Cotton (R) Cory Gardner (R) Jack Kingston (R) Paul Broun (R) Phil Gingrey (R) Colleen Hanabusa (D) Bruce Braley (D)	Bruce Westerman (R) Ken Buck (R) Buddy Carter (R) Jody Hice (R) Barry Loudermilk (R) Mark Takai (D) Rod Blum (R)	Ran for Senate
GA GA HI IA	4 1 10 11 1 1 14	Tom Cotton (R) Cory Gardner (R) Jack Kingston (R) Paul Broun (R) Phil Gingrey (R) Colleen Hanabusa (D) Bruce Braley (D) Gary Peters (D)	Bruce Westerman (R) Ken Buck (R) Buddy Carter (R) Jody Hice (R) Barry Loudermilk (R) Mark Takai (D) Rod Blum (R) Brenda Lawrence (D)	Ran for Senate



WV	2	Shelley Moore Capito (R)	Alex Mooney (R)	Ran for Senate	
AL	6	Spencer Bauchus (R)	Gary Palmer (R)	Retired	
AZ	7	Ed Pastor (D)	Ruben Gallego (D)	Retired	
AR	2	Tim Griffin (R)	French Hill (R)	Retired	
CA	11	George Miller (D)	Mark DeSaulnier (D)	Retired	
CA	25	Buck McKeon (R)	Steve Knight (R)	Retired	
CA	33	Henry Waxman (D)	Ted Lieu (D)	Retired	
CA	45	John Campbell (R)	Mimi Walters (R)	Retired	
IA	3	Tom Latham (R)	David Young (R)	Retired	
MI	4	Dave Camp (R)	John Moolenaar (R)	Retired	
MI	8	Mike Rogers (R)	Mike Bishop (R)	Retired	
MI	12	John Dingell (D)	Debbie Dingell (D)	Retired	
MN	6	Michelle Bachmann (R)	Tom Emmer (R)	Retired	
NJ	3	Jon Runyan R)	Tom MacArthur (R)	Retired	
NJ	12	Rush Holt (D)	Bonnie Watson Coleman (D)	Retired	
NY	4	Carolyn McCarthy (D)	Kathleen Rice (D)	Retired	
NY	21	Bill Owens (D)	Elise Stefanik (R)	Retired	
NC	6	Howard Coble (R)	Mark Walker (R)	Retired	
NC	7	Mike McIntyre (D)	David Rouzer (R)	Retired	
PA	6	Jim Gerlach (R)	Ryan Costello (R)	Retired	
UT	4	Jim Matheson (D)	Mia Love (R)	Retired	
VA	8	Jim Moran (D)	Don Beyer (D)	Retired	
VA	10	Frank Wolf (R)	Barbara Comstock (R)	Retired	
WI	6	Tom Petri (R)	Glenn Grothman (R)	Retired	
NJ	1	Rob Andrews (D)	Donald Norcross (D)	Resigned mid-term	

House Races Still Too Close to Call

(as of 3:00 p.m., November 5)

HOUSE RACES TOO CLOSE TO CALL				
State	District	Republican	Democrat	Reason
AZ	2	Matha McSally	Ron Barber (incumbent)	
CA	7	Ami Bera (D)	Doug Ose (R)	
CA	16	Johnny Tachera	Jim Costa (incumbent)	



СА	17		Mike Honda (incumbent) and Ro Khanna	
CA	26	Jeff Gorell	Julia Brownley (incumbent)	
CA	31	Paul Chabot	Pete Aguilar	
CA	52	Carl DeMaio	Scott Peters (incumbent)	
LA	5	Ralph Abraham	Jamie Mayo	Dec. 6 Runoff
LA	6	Garret Graves	Edwin Edwards	Dec. 6 Runoff
MD	6	Daniel Bongino	John Delaney (incumbent)	
NE	2	Lee Terry (incumbent)	Brad Ashford	
NY	25	Mark Assini	Louise Slaughter (incumbent)	
WA	4	Dan Newhouse and Clint Didier		

