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## Capital Snapshot: 2024 Election Preview and End-of-Year Legislative Look Ahead

October 2024

# This Month's Capital Snapshot Deck Includes:

- An overview of the upcoming congressional schedule, including key dates during the lame duck period in November and December
- A run-through of notable political, electoral, and congressional developments, including new congressional nominees, members, and special elections
- Updates on end-of-year priorities for key policy and legislative areas
- A deep-dive on the state of play and outlook for the 2024 congressional and presidential elections
- A look at current political, economic, and societal trends and factors that could impact the 2024 political landscape and elections

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# Congressional Schedule for the Remainder of 2024



# House Calendar – November and December 2024 (Lame Duck Period)

- The House is currently on its traditional biennial election year October recess.
- The House is currently scheduled to return from its election recess on Tuesday, November 12, right after Veterans' Day.
- When the House returns from recess, it will be the lame duck period of Congress, during which retiring Members or Members who lost their election come back to Washington, D.C. for the last few weeks before their term expires.
- Once the House returns from recess, they will be in session for four of the following five weeks, only taking Thanksgiving week off.
- Currently, there are just 20 legislative days scheduled in the House for the remainder of 2024. Federal funding is set to expire at the end of the day on Friday, December 20.

STEVE  SCALISE			MAJORITY LEADER		
JANUARY			FEBRUARY		
1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30
31					
APRIL			MAY		
1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30
31					
JULY			AUGUST		
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7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30
31					
OCTOBER			NOVEMBER		
1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30
31					
MARCH			JUNE		
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7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30
31					
SEPTEMBER			DECEMBER		
1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30
31					

House Calendar | 118th Congress | Second Session

# Senate Calendar – November and December 2024 (Lame Duck Period)

- The Senate is currently on its traditional biennial election year October recess.
- The Senate is scheduled to return from its election recess on Tuesday, November 12, right after Veterans' Day.
- When the Senate returns from recess, it will be the lame duck period of Congress, during which retiring Senators or Senators who lost their election come back to Washington, D.C. for the last few weeks before their term expires.
- Once the Senate returns from recess, they will be in session for four of the following five weeks, only taking Thanksgiving week off.
- Currently, there are just 24 legislative days scheduled in the House for the remainder of 2024. Federal funding is set to expire at the end of the day on Friday, December 20.

UNITED STATES SENATE		
118th Congress, 2nd Session		
2024		
TENTATIVE SCHEDULE		
JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH
S M T W T F S	S M T W T F S	S M T W T F S
1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2
7 8 9 10 11 12 13	4 5 6 7 8 9 10	3 4 5 6 7 8 9
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	11 12 13 14 15 16 17	10 11 12 13 14 15 16
21 22 23 24 25 26 27	18 19 20 21 22 23 24	17 18 19 20 21 22 23
28 29 30 31	25 26 27 28 29	24 25 26 27 28 29 30
SENATE CONVENES JANUARY 8, 2024		
31		
APRIL	MAY	JUNE
1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4	1
7 8 9 10 11 12 13	5 6 7 8 9 10 11	2 3 4 5 6 7 8
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	12 13 14 15 16 17 18	9 10 11 12 13 14 15
21 22 23 24 25 26 27	19 20 21 22 23 24 25	16 17 18 19 20 21 22
28 29 30	26 27 28 29 30 31	23 24 25 26 27 28 29
		30
JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER
1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7 8 9 10 11 12 13	4 5 6 7 8 9 10	8 9 10 11 12 13 14
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	11 12 13 14 15 16 17	15 16 17 18 19 20 21
21 22 23 24 25 26 27	18 19 20 21 22 23 24	22 23 24 25 26 27 28
28 29 30 31	25 26 27 28 29 30 31	29 30
OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
1 2 3 4 5	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
6 7 8 9 10 11 12	3 4 5 6 7 8 9	8 9 10 11 12 13 14
13 14 15 16 17 18 19	10 11 12 13 14 15 16	15 16 17 18 19 20 21
20 21 22 23 24 25 26	17 18 19 20 21 22 23	22 23 24 25 26 27 28
27 28 29 30 31	24 25 26 27 28 29 30	29 30 31
Red dates = Senate not in session		
2ND SESSION CONVENES—JANUARY 8, 2024		
TARGET ADJOURNMENT—DECEMBER 20, 2024		



# Political, Legislative, and Policy Updates and Overviews

# Sen. Bob Menendez Resigns From the U.S. Senate

- On July 19, 2024, Sen. Bob Menendez (D-NJ) was found guilty on all 16 counts in his federal corruption trial.
- Federal prosecutors accused Sen. Menendez of bribery, acting as a foreign agent for Egypt, extortion, wire fraud, and obstruction of justice.
- The senator was found guilty of accepting bribes including cash and gold bars, in exchange for assisting the governments of Egypt and Qatar.
- After his conviction, Sen. Menendez initially refused to resign from his seat. However, after mounting pressure from many Democratic senators, he eventually resigned from his seat, effective August 20, 2024.



Former Senator Bob  
Menendez (D-NJ)

# Sen. George Helmy Appointed to Fill Sen. Menendez's Seat

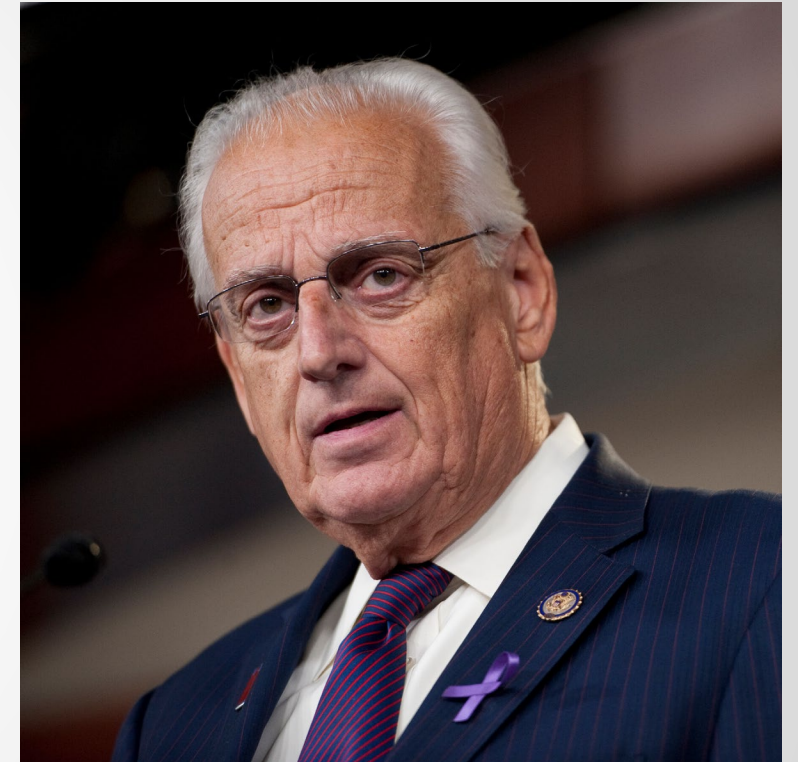
- New Jersey Governor Phil Murphy (D) appointed George Helmy (D) to fill former Sen. Menendez's seat for the remainder of the term. Mr. Helmy was Gov. Murphy's Chief of Staff from February 2019 to September 2023. Sen. Helmy was sworn into office on the Senate floor on September 9, 2024.
- Of note, while Sen. Helmy is now a Democrat, he was a registered Republican up until 2011. He was then a registered independent from 2011 to 2018.
- He briefly registered as a Democrat in 2018 to vote in the party's primary that year for New Jersey's 11th congressional district, but changed his registration back to independent again between late 2018 through 2024. He then registered as a Democrat again in March 2024.
- Sen. Helmy will only serve for the remainder of the current term, which expires at the end of this Congress on January 3, 2025; he is not a candidate in the November election for the next full term.
- Rep. Andy Kim (D-NJ) is the Democratic nominee for the seat, and is favored to win the November election.



Senator George Helmy  
(D-NJ)

# Congressman Bill Pascrell, Jr. Passes Away

- On August 21, 2024, Congressman Bill Pascrell, Jr. (D-NJ) passed away at the age of 87 after spending over a month in the hospital due to a respiratory illness.
- The late Rep. Pascrell was first elected to Congress in 1996, and represented New Jersey's 8th congressional district from 1997 to 2013, and New Jersey's 9th congressional district from 2013 to 2024. Both districts are in the northeast part of New Jersey, and included his hometown of Paterson.
- The congressman was a senior member of the House Ways and Means (W&M) Committee, first joining the committee in 2007.
- At the time of his passing, he served as the Ranking Member of the W&M Committee's Oversight Subcommittee, which he previously chaired from September 2020 to January 2023.



The Late Rep.  
Bill Pascrell, Jr. (D-NJ)



# New Jersey Democrats Nominate New Candidate for New Jersey's 9<sup>th</sup> Congressional District

- On August 29, 2024, Democratic officials and committee members from across New Jersey's 9<sup>th</sup> congressional district convened and selected New Jersey Senator Nellie Pou (D) to replace the late Congressman Pascrell on the ballot as the Democratic nominee.
- If elected, Ms. Pou will become the state's first female Hispanic Member of Congress, which is notable because the district is plurality Hispanic.
- Of note, there will be not be a special election to fill the remainder of the late Rep. Pascrell's current term, leaving the seat vacant until the next Congress begins on January 3, 2025.
- New Jersey's 9<sup>th</sup> congressional district is rated "Safe D," so Senator Pou will very likely be the next Member of Congress for this district.



State Senator  
Nellie Pou (D-NJ)

# Special Election Held for New Jersey's 10<sup>th</sup> Congressional District

- On September 18, 2024, New Jersey held a special election to fill the vacant seat in New Jersey's 10th congressional district that was previously held by the late Rep. Donald Payne, Jr. (D-NJ), who passed away on April 24, 2024.
- In the special election, Newark City Council Member LaMonica McIver (D-NJ) defeated small businessman Carmen Bucco (R-NJ) by a final margin of 81.2%-15.8%, holding the seat for Democrats in this heavily blue district.
- Ms. McIver slightly ran ahead of President Joe Biden in this district, as she won the district by 65.4%, compared to President Biden's 63% in 2020.
- Rep.-elect McIver was sworn into office to finish out the remainder of the late Rep. Payne's term on September 23, 2024.
- Shortly after being sworn in, House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-NY) stated, "Rep. McIver will be a powerful advocate for the Garden State and carry on the incredible legacy of the late, great Rep. Donald Payne Jr." He also announced that Rep. McIver will serve on the Homeland Security Committee and the Small Business Committee.



Rep. LaMonica  
McIver (D-NJ)

# Status of House Vacancies and Relevant Upcoming Special Elections

- The House currently has three vacancies. The current party breakdown in the House is **220 Republicans** and **212 Democrats**.
  - There will **not** be a special election for former Rep. Mike Gallagher's (R-WI-8) seat. His resignation occurred at a point in which Wisconsin law stipulates that the seat be filled in the November general election. Thus, the seat for Wisconsin's 8<sup>th</sup> congressional district will not be filled until January 3, 2025.
  - The late Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX-18) passed away on July 19, 2024. She had represented the district for nearly 30 years.
    - On August 13, 2024, the Harris County Democratic Party precinct chairs convened to nominate a new candidate to replace the late congresswoman in the general election, ultimately nominating former House mayor Sylvester Turner (D) to run for election to serve in the next Congress.
    - Additionally, the late congresswoman's daughter, Erica Lee Carter (D), was selected to be the candidate to run in the Special Election to serve out the remainder of her mother's current term.
    - Gov. Greg Abbott set the special election to replace the late Rep. Jackson Lee for Nov. 5, 2024, the same day as the general election.
    - The special election will only determine who will serve out the rest of Jackson Lee's term, through January 3, 2025. Meanwhile, the general election on the same day will determine who will serve the next term, beginning in January and ending in January 2027.
    - Texas' 18<sup>th</sup> congressional district is a heavily Democratic district, and is thus "Safe D," so after this special election, the House will then very likely stand at **220 Rs** and **213 Ds**, which would then be just a *three-vote* Republican majority.
  - The late Rep. Bill Pascrell, Jr. (D-NJ-09) passed away on August 21, 2024.
    - There will not be a special election to fill the remainder of the late Rep. Pascrell's current term; the seat will remain vacant until the next session of Congress, begins on January 3, 2025.



# FY25 Appropriations – CR Passes

- On September 25, 2024, Congress overwhelmingly approved a Continuing Resolution (CR) ([P.L. 118-83](#)) to avoid a government shutdown and extend current funding through December 20, 2024. The CR was approved with a 341-82 vote in the House and a 78-18 vote in the Senate.
  - The CR included program extenders, flexibilities related to spending rates for certain agencies, and a limited number of funding anomalies, including \$231 million in additional funding to the Secret Service for protective operations related to the presidential election.
- The move comes after Speaker Johnson's first CR proposal failed on the House floor the prior week in a 202-220 vote. The speaker's CR proposed extending funding through March 28, 2025 and included the Safeguard American Voter Eligibility (SAVE) Act ([H.R. 8281](#)) to enact proof of citizenship requirements for voters. Ultimately, it was opposed by nearly all Democrats and several Republicans.
- Both chambers recessed shortly after passing the CR and will not return until after the election.



House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-LA)

# FY25 Appropriations – Lame Duck Outlook



Senate Appropriations Committee Chair Patty Murray (D-WA) and Senate Appropriations Vice Chair Susan Collins (R-ME)

- Congress will return after the election to resume consideration of final Fiscal Year (FY) 2025 bills. Congress will also contemplate whether to provide emergency supplemental funding for additional foreign assistance, disaster relief, and funding to repair the Francis Scott Key Bridge.
- To date, House Republican leaders have succeeded in passing five of the 12 FY25 appropriations bills on the floor, but abandoned votes on remaining bills after the Legislative Branch bill failed on the floor.
- Meanwhile, the Senate Appropriations Committee approved 11 of the 12 FY25 funding bills in an overwhelmingly bipartisan fashion (delaying a vote on Homeland Security to gather information about Secret Service funding needs), but none have been considered on the floor, nor is the Senate expected to hold votes on any stand-alone bills.
- Differences in topline spending numbers between the House and Senate FY25 spending bills will be a major sticking point in negotiations. The Senate decided to add an additional \$34.5 billion in emergency funding beyond the funding caps set by the Fiscal Responsibility Act, which is opposed by many House Republicans.



# FY25 Appropriations – Lame Duck Outlook



- Speaker Johnson has made a commitment to the Republican caucus that “there won’t be a Christmas omnibus” or other packages of several appropriations bills that typically pass near the end of the year.
- The election outcome will ultimately play a significant role in determining final funding, policy decisions, and the timeline of completion, which could be wrapped up in the lame duck session or punted until the new Congress and a new administration in early 2025.
- Currently, many Republicans, especially House Republicans, are trying to push for a CR for federal funding into March in case a potentially re-elected President Donald Trump and potential Republican majorities in the House and Senate provide an opportunity to reshape FY25 funding in a more conservative manner.
- However, if Democrats win the White House and/or at least one chamber of Congress, then the odds of an end-of-year omnibus package increase.
- *The following slides provide overviews of policy priorities and bills across various policy areas that could be included in an end-of-year package, if such a package advances, or could be passed separately before the end of this Congress. Alternatively, some slides also include information about top priorities that are likely to be addressed in 2025.*



# FY25 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) Update

- On September 19, 2024, the Senate Armed Services Committee leadership released the [manager's package](#) of 93 bipartisan amendments to be considered in the Senate's FY25 NDAA.
- Notable amendments include, among others:
  - A modified version of the Cornyn-Casey Outbound Investment Transparency Act ([S. 2678](#)), which would impose reporting requirements on investors in certain foreign tech sectors.
  - Provisions to create an AI-Enabled Weapon Systems Center of Excellence.
  - Legislation ([S. 4585/H.R. 8828](#)) to prevent certain foreign-made semiconductor equipment from qualifying for federal funding.
- The Senate leadership did not devote floor time for the consideration of hundreds of individual amendments to the NDAA before the chamber adjourned in September.
- The House and Senate Armed Services Committee staff will begin the informal conferencing process during the October recess, teeing the legislation up for final passage during the lame duck session.
- The Senate NDAA topline funding level, which provides an additional \$25 billion, and the House-passed social policy riders will be major sticking points in negotiations with the big four committee leaders.



SASC Chair Jack Reed (D-RI)



HASC Chair Mike Rogers (R-AL)

# Financial Services – Lame Duck

- Outbound investment restrictions or disclosure requirements appear possible:
- The Senate’s [Manager’s Package](#) of amendments to the FY25 NDAA includes language from Sens. Cornyn and Casey requiring the disclosure of investments, acquisitions, or joint ventures in certain tech sectors in adversarial nations.
- A similar provision was stripped from the FY24 NDAA by HFSC Chair McHenry. McHenry’s retirement at the end of the year, and Speaker Johnson’s [commitment](#) to advancing outbound investment legislation, raise questions about his influence over the FY25 NDAA.
- Competing proposals include:
  - The McCaul-Meeke proposal ([H.R. 6349](#)) to ban outbound investments in sectors that pose “particularly acute” national security threats, as defined by the president.
  - The Barr proposal ([H.R. 760](#)) to sanction foreign entities on the Department of Defense’s “Chinese Military Companies” list.
- Legislation to regulate the crypto industry, including stablecoins and the FIT21 framework ([H.R. 4763](#)), may also be considered during the lame duck session.



House Financial Services Committee Chair Patrick McHenry (R-NC)



Speaker Mike Johnson (R-LA) delivers remarks on economic policy.

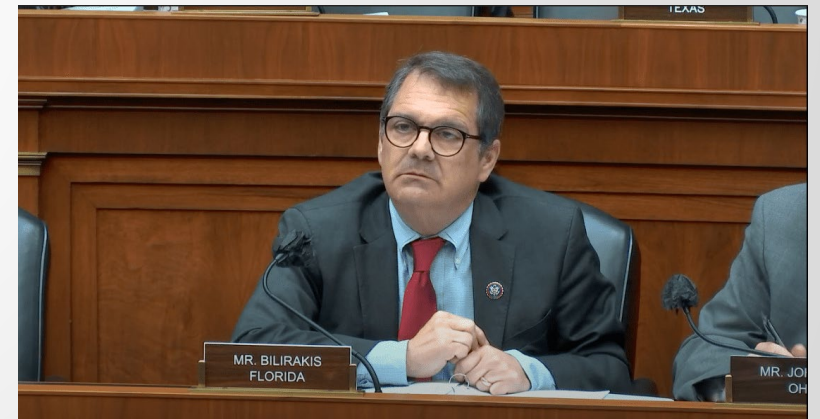


# Data Privacy Update

- Advancing data privacy legislation remains a top priority for outgoing Energy and Commerce Committee Chair Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-WA).
- While the American Privacy Rights Act (APRA) is not expected to receive further consideration during the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress, Republican leadership may feel pressure to advance other bipartisan privacy legislation.
- In July, the Senate passed with strong bipartisan support (91-3) the Kids Online Safety and Privacy Act (KOSPA, [S.2073](#)), which combined the Kids Online Safety Act (KOSA, [S. 1409/H.R. 7891](#)) and Children and Teens' Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA 2.0, [S. 1418/H.R. 7890](#)).
- While the House Energy and Commerce Committee favorably reported the House versions of KOSA and COPPA 2.0 out of committee in September, House Republican leadership has not committed to considering the bills during the lame duck session.
- But given the overwhelming bipartisan support for KOSPA in the Senate, the bill may be included in the end-of-year funding package.



Energy and Commerce Committee Chair  
Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-WA)



Energy and Commerce Innovation, Data, and Commerce  
Subcommittee Chair Gus Bilirakis (R-FL)

# Artificial Intelligence Update

- Despite bipartisan, bicameral interest in AI policy throughout the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress, a consensus package of AI legislation has not been introduced.
- Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY), who also chairs the Senate's AI Working Group, has indicated plans to reveal a “robust” AI package before the end of the year.
- Given the tight legislative calendar surrounding the election year, and the lack of moving legislative vehicles other than the NDAA and a year-end omnibus package, the odds of an AI framework being signed into law in the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress are slim.
- The House has advanced several AI bills at the committee level, but the bipartisan House AI Task Force and AI Caucus have not indicated broader plans to develop a year-end package.
- However, some bipartisan bills advanced in the House and Senate, like the CREATE AI Act ([S. 2714](#)/[H.R. 5077](#)), may be attached to a year-end funding package.
- AI legislation is expected to remain a major focus of the 119<sup>th</sup> Congress.



Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY)



House AI Task Force Co-Chair Ted Lieu (D-CA) is expected to play a leading role in AI policy in the 119<sup>th</sup> Congress



# Energy and Environment Updates – End-of-Year Priorities

- **Post-Hurricane Helene Repairs.** Lawmakers from states hard-hit by Hurricane Helene – North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia – are calling for Congress to return to Washington, D.C. to approve additional disaster relief funding, including resources to repair damaged power lines and electrical substations.
  - House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-LA) insists last month's stopgap spending bill provided the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) with adequate funding to respond.
- **Energy Permitting Reform.** While federal permitting reform is a bipartisan priority in both chambers, lawmakers have yet to find consensus. Outgoing Senate Energy and Natural Resources (ENR) Chair Joe Manchin (I-WV) and Ranking Member John Barrasso (R-WY) will push for passage of the Energy Permitting Reform Act ([S. 4753](#)).
  - Democrats and Republicans disagree on what projects should be covered. House Energy and Commerce Committee member Rep. Brett Guthrie (R-KY) has said he would support a broader package that also addresses oil and gas pipeline infrastructure, while progressive Democrats prefer a focus on clean energy projects.
- **LNG Pipelines.** House Republicans will fight for an end-of-year package to include legislation that would repeal the Biden administration's pause on permitting for LNG facilities.
  - Rep. August Pfluger (R-TX), lead sponsor of the Unlocking Our Domestic LNG Potential Act ([H.R. 7176](#)) has floated introducing a Congressional Review Act resolution to overturn the pause.



Workers repair damaged power lines in Asheville, NC. September 30, 2024.

# Energy and Environment Updates – NDAA Provisions



Senate Armed Services Committee Chair Jack Reed (D-RI) and Ranking Member Roger Wicker (R-MS)

- While the House version of the NDAA contains numerous amendments attacking the Biden administration's climate policies, the Senate's amendment list includes an array of bipartisan energy and environment-related measures more likely to survive bicameral negotiations.
- **PFAS.** Sens. Dick Durbin (D-IL) and Mike Rounds (R-SD) proposed legislation to establish a center of excellence for remediation of per- and polyfluoroalkyl substances (PFAS) contamination in water sources.
- **Nuclear Power.** The International Nuclear Energy Act, filed by Sens. Manchin and Jim Risch (R-ID), would promote the development of a civilian nuclear export strategy with U.S. allies. Sens. Mark Warner (D-VA), Tom Cotton (R-AR), and Mike Kelly (D-AZ) secured an amendment that would authorize a second pilot program for advanced nuclear reactors.
- **Critical Minerals.** Legislation filed by Sens. Warner and Ted Cruz (R-TX) to help secure critical mineral supply chains from adversarial manipulation.



# Education Policy in Year-End Package

- As Congress looks to finalize year-end packages, and House Education and the Workforce Chairwoman Virginia Foxx's (R-NC) chairmanship comes to an end, congressional education leaders will push for the following measures to be considered:
  - **Pell Grants for Short-Term Programs** ([H.R. 6585/S. 161](#)). While authorizing Pell Grants for students taking shorter term programs is bipartisan and the House advanced its bill out of committee in December 2023, differences remain over how to pay for the program and whether for-profit institutions should participate.
  - **College Transparency Act (CTA)** ([H.R. 2957/S. 1349](#)). Senate HELP Ranking Member Bill Cassidy (R-LA) has long championed the bipartisan bicameral CTA to bolster the college reporting system for postsecondary student data to better inform students and families when considering higher education opportunities. While Chairwoman Foxx long opposed the measure, she included a similar, though limited, provision in her key piece of higher education legislation this Congress.
  - **Stop Campus Hazing Act** ([H.R. 5646/S. 2901](#)). In late September, the House passed this bipartisan bill to improve hazing reporting and prevention on college campuses by requiring institutions to create a webpage illustrating student organizations disciplined for hazing or other misconduct that threatens the well-being of students in the last seven years.
  - **Stronger Workforce for America Act** ([H.R. 6655](#)). The bipartisan bill to reauthorize the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA) passed (378-26) in the House in April. While the Senate HELP Committee held a WIOA hearing over the summer where leaders on both sides recognized the need for reauthorization, it has not yet marked up a companion measure.



House Education and the Workforce Committee Leaders Bobby Scott (D-VA) and Virginia Foxx (R-NC)

# End-of-Year Life Sciences-Related Legislation – Health Policy

- **The incentives for end-of-year health legislation will depend primarily on the election results. If either party sweeps the White House and both chambers of Congress, then they will likely defer almost all legislation to next year. However, there are an array of popular revenue measures on the table and several critical expiring programs needing reauthorization, so the table is set for potential legislative action on major health policy issues.**
- **Pharmacy Benefit Manager (PBM) Reforms and the Lower Costs, More Transparency Act (LCMTA) ([H.R. 5378](#))**
  - PBM reform, particularly around transparency measures, has attracted bipartisan interest and committee attention in both chambers of Congress. While the committees of jurisdiction in both the House and Senate have advanced their respective proposals, impending end-of-year legislation presents an opportunity for Congress to come together and reach a bicameral deal on PBM reform.
  - The comprehensive LCMTA consists of PBM transparency and spread pricing provisions and includes extensions of existing programs for community health centers, the national health service corps, and teaching centers with graduate medical education programs.
  - **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: Likely** – With bipartisan support for PBM reform and the House’s passage of the LCMTA, there will be significant support for inclusion of the bill if not most of the PBM provisions in end-of-year legislation.
- **Reauthorization of the Rare Pediatric Priority Review Voucher Program (PRV)**
  - The PRV Program was temporarily extended via the September CR. Temporary extensions have been attached to several other packages already.
  - The Creating Hope Reauthorization Act ([H.R. 7384/S. 4583](#)) would extend the PRV program through September 30, 2030, a longer period than previous reauthorizations.
  - **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: Very Likely** – Bipartisan support for a reauthorization is palpable following successful compromise within the House.
- **Pandemic and All-Hazards Preparedness Reauthorization Act (PAHPA)**
  - PAHPA was a legislative package originally passed in 2006 to strengthen public health preparedness for emergencies like natural disasters and viral pandemics. PAHPA expired on September 30, 2024, but reauthorization negotiations have long been stalled due to disagreements over additional provisions that would address drug shortages.
  - **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: 50/50** – The outcome of the election will determine whether Congress will work to pass a short-term extension of PAHPA prior to year's end. This strategy would give the incoming majority party in each chamber the opportunity to fold their priorities around drug shortages into a longer-term PAHPA reauthorization bill next Congress.



# End-of-Year Life Sciences-Related Legislation cont. – Health Policy

- **The BIOSECURE Act ([H.R. 7085](#))**

- The BIOSECURE Act would prohibit federal contracting with biotechnology companies with connections to foreign adversaries.
- The House passed a version of the BIOSECURE Act by voice vote. It has also received broad bipartisan support in the Senate.
- **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: 50/50** – Despite bipartisan and bicameral support for the legislation, opposition led by some House Democrats and Sen. Rand Paul (R-KY), who have raised concerns about the effect this would have on American businesses, have proven to be notable obstacles for the legislation unless the Senate chooses to push the House-passed bill through.

- **Senate Judiciary Committee Patent Legislation**

- The Senate Judiciary Committee has advanced multiple bipartisan patent reform bills targeted at biopharmaceuticals, including the Affordable Prescriptions for Patients Act ([S. 150](#)), Preserve Access to Affordable Generics and Biosimilars Act ([S. 142](#)), and Stop STALLING Act ([S. 148](#)).
- **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: Mixed** – Each of the bills have drawn interest for their relatively low costs per their scores from the Congressional Budget Office (CBO). Having already passed the Senate, S.150 is the bill most likely to be enacted this Congress. The rest have a smaller chance of being included in an end-of-year package.

- **Senate HELP Committee Intellectual Property (IP) Legislation**

- The Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions (HELP) Committee has also introduced several biopharmaceutical IP reform bills, including the Biosimilar Red Tape Elimination Act ([S. 2305](#)) and Medication Affordability and Patent Integrity Act ([S. 2780](#)), but they have made less legislative progress within committee.
- **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: Unlikely** – HELP's lack of action on these bills compared to the Judiciary bills has resulted in less momentum and likely signals them being less of a priority. HELP previously cancelled a markup of IP legislation, but the committee is expected to hold a markup on the bills during the lame duck session. Neither bill has received a score from CBO yet.

# End-of-Year Provider-Related Legislation – Health Policy

- **Short-Term Extension of Certain Pandemic-Era Telehealth Flexibilities Under Medicare**
  - Pandemic-era telehealth flexibilities have broad bipartisan support in Congress. Still, due to the high cost of a permanent extension, the House Ways & Means and Energy & Commerce Committees passed two-year extensions earlier this year rather than making the flexibilities permanent.
  - **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: Very Likely** — If Congress does not act to pass a short-term extension, many telehealth flexibilities widely popular among Medicare beneficiaries and providers alike will expire at the end of the year. Since a short-term extension has already advanced out of the House committees of jurisdiction, it is more likely to be included in an end-of-year package.
- **Medicare Physician Fee Schedule (PFS) Extensions**
  - An increase in the calendar year (CY) 2025 PFS conversion factor (CF): Under the CY25 PFS proposed rule, the CF would be \$32.3562, a decrease of approximately 2.8% from the CY24 CF. Congress passed legislation earlier this year to increase the CY24 CF, but that increase is set to expire at the end of this year.
  - Extension of the Geographic Practice Cost Index (GPCI) floor for physician work: The current extension expires after January 1, 2025, and has previously been extended.
  - Extension of the Advanced Alternative Payment Model (AAPM) bonus payment: The AAPM bonus payment will end after the 2024 performance year/2026 payment year and has previously been extended.
  - **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: Very Likely** — If Congress fails to act, these provisions will expire at the end of the year, resulting in steep Medicare physician payment cuts in CY25. Congress typically steps in each year to at least partially mitigate these cuts.
- **Delay of Medicaid Disproportionate Share Hospital (DSH) Payment Cuts**
  - The Affordable Care Act (ACA; [Pub. Law 111-148](#)) directed the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to make aggregate reductions in Medicaid DSH allotments, but these reductions have never gone into effect due to congressional intervention. If Congress does not step in, certain hospitals will face multi-billion-dollar cuts in DSH payments, which the Medicaid and CHIP Payment and Access Commission has said "may disrupt the financial viability of some safety-net hospitals."
  - **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: Very Likely** — Given Congress has previously delayed these cuts, they are likely to do so again this year.

# End-of-Year Provider-Related Legislation Cont. – Health Policy

- **Prior Authorization Reform**

- Various reforms have been proposed, but the Improving Seniors' Timely Access to Care Act ([H.R. 8702/S. 4532](#)), which would reform certain prior authorization processes under Medicare Advantage plans, is the most ripe for inclusion in an end-of-year package, given it already advanced out of the House.
- **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: Likely** — The bill has strong bipartisan, bicameral support, particularly with its multi-billion-dollar CBO score expected to drop to zero once combined with a recently finalized CMS rule aimed at reducing the burden of prior authorization processes.

- **Hospital Price Transparency and Site-Neutral Payment Reforms**

- Various reforms have been proposed, but those included in the Lower Costs, More Transparency Act ([H.R. 5378](#)) are the most likely to pass, given the bill already advanced out of the House. These provisions would:
  - Require hospitals to make public all standard charges for items and services through machine-readable files and payer-specific negotiated charges for at least 300 shoppable services.
  - Require Medicare to pay the same rates for physician-administered drugs in hospital outpatient departments (HOPDs) as in physician offices and each HOPD to include a national provider identifier (NPI) on billings for service claims.
- **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: Likely** — While support for these provisions does not fall along traditional party lines, they would save billions in federal dollars, making them a potential pay-for for other high-cost provisions included in an end-of-year package.

- **The Reauthorization of the Substance-Use Disorder Prevention that Promotes Opioid Recovery and Treatment (SUPPORT) for Patients and Communities Act**

- The SUPPORT Act lapsed in 2023, and its reauthorization ([H.R. 4531/S. 3393](#)) has bipartisan, bicameral support.
- **Likelihood of enactment this Congress: Likely** — The bill advanced out of the House and Senate HELP Committee in 2023, increasing its likelihood of inclusion in an end-of-year package. However, Congress could also fund certain provisions in the bill for one year, as it did for FY24, rather than reauthorizing the entire bill.



# 2024 Farm Bill Status Update

- On June 11, 2024, Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee Ranking Member John Boozman (R-AR) [released](#) the Senate Republicans' Farm Bill [framework](#). The ranking member argued that the Senate GOP's framework modernizes the farm safety net, fosters breakthroughs in agricultural research, and grows rural communities.
- Senate Agriculture Committee Chairwoman Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) responded to the Senate Republican framework by stating that the bill “makes significant cuts to the family safety net that millions of Americans rely on and walks away from the progress we have made to address the climate crisis. Similar to the House, the framework also appears to propose spending far in excess of available funding.”
- On August 2, 2024, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) published its cost estimate score for the House Republican version of the Farm Bill – the Farm, Food, and National Security Act of 2024 ([H.R. 8467](#)). CBO projects that H.R. 8467 will increase the federal deficit by \$32.973 billion over the next 10 years.
- The 2018 Farm Bill expired last year, but Congress passed a temporary extension of the authorities in the Farm Bill through September 30, 2024. This temporary extension technically expired on September 30, as the recent CR that was passed into law did not include an extension of Farm Bill authorities.
- Agriculture leaders and farm union members have been advocating Congress to pass a new five-year farm bill by the end of the calendar year.
- House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-NY) recently listed the Farm Bill as one of his three end-of-year priorities for the lame duck session, along with the NDAA and appropriations.



Senate Agriculture  
Committee Chairwoman  
Debbie Stabenow (D-MI)



House Agriculture  
Committee Chairman  
GT Thompson (R-PA)



# Look Ahead: Tax Policy Priorities

- Individual, pass-through, and gift and estate tax measures in the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act ([P.L. No: 115-97](#)) (TCJA) expire December 2025. The cost of extending expiring measures is estimated to be \$4.7 trillion over 10 years. While certain TCJA provisions are permanent, the scale of expiring provisions means everything is on the table.
- TCJA reduced the corporate tax rate from a maximum 35% to a flat 21% rate for tax years beginning after 2017. It also made changes to U.S. international tax measures, some of which parallel the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's Pillar Two regime, others of which conflict.
- Also, certain temporary business provisions have expired, such as expensing for certain research and development costs, bonus depreciation for equipment and property purchases, and the deduction for business interest expenses. A bipartisan package renewing these provisions passed the House but stalled in the Senate due to opposition from Senate Republicans.
- Congressional Republicans have also sought to repeal the Inflation Reduction Act, or portions of the act, initially targeting all of the green energy incentives. Rhetoric has shifted recently, with Speaker Johnson and Sen. Cramer (R-ND) instead calling for Congress to modify the measure “with a scalpel.”



Ways and Means Committee Chair Jason Smith (R-MO) and Senate Finance Committee Chair Ron Wyden (D-OR)

# Look Ahead: Tax Policy Priorities

- Congressional taxwriting committees have begun work to educate members and hear from stakeholders with respect to the 2025 expiration.
  - House Ways and Means Committee Republicans formed 10 “Tax Teams” to solicit feedback, hold field hearings, and propose policies related to various subjects encompassed by the TCJA; Senate Finance Committee Republicans created non-public internal “working groups” to tackle particular topics.
  - Senate Finance Committee Democrats are compiling a “menu” of tax policy options; Ways and Means Committee Democrats indicate they will work through their existing committee structure.
- The November 2024 election will have a significant impact on the outlook for tax policymaking in 2025:
  - The election outcome will dictate the size and scope of efforts to address the expiring tax provisions. Both presidential candidates have called for trillions in new tax benefits, such as no or reduced taxes on tips, increased low-income tax benefits, and the continuation of certain industrial policies supported under the tax code.
  - Reconciliation — the process Congress used to enact both the TCJA and the IRA — is generally only available if a single party controls the White House and both chambers of Congress. Reconciliation likely supports the maximalist goals of either party.
  - A divided Congress may decide to pick and choose among policy goals to negotiate an extension to the TCJA. For example, such negotiations may mirror this year’s Tax Relief for American Families and Workers Act, which passed the House on a strongly bipartisan basis but failed in the Senate.

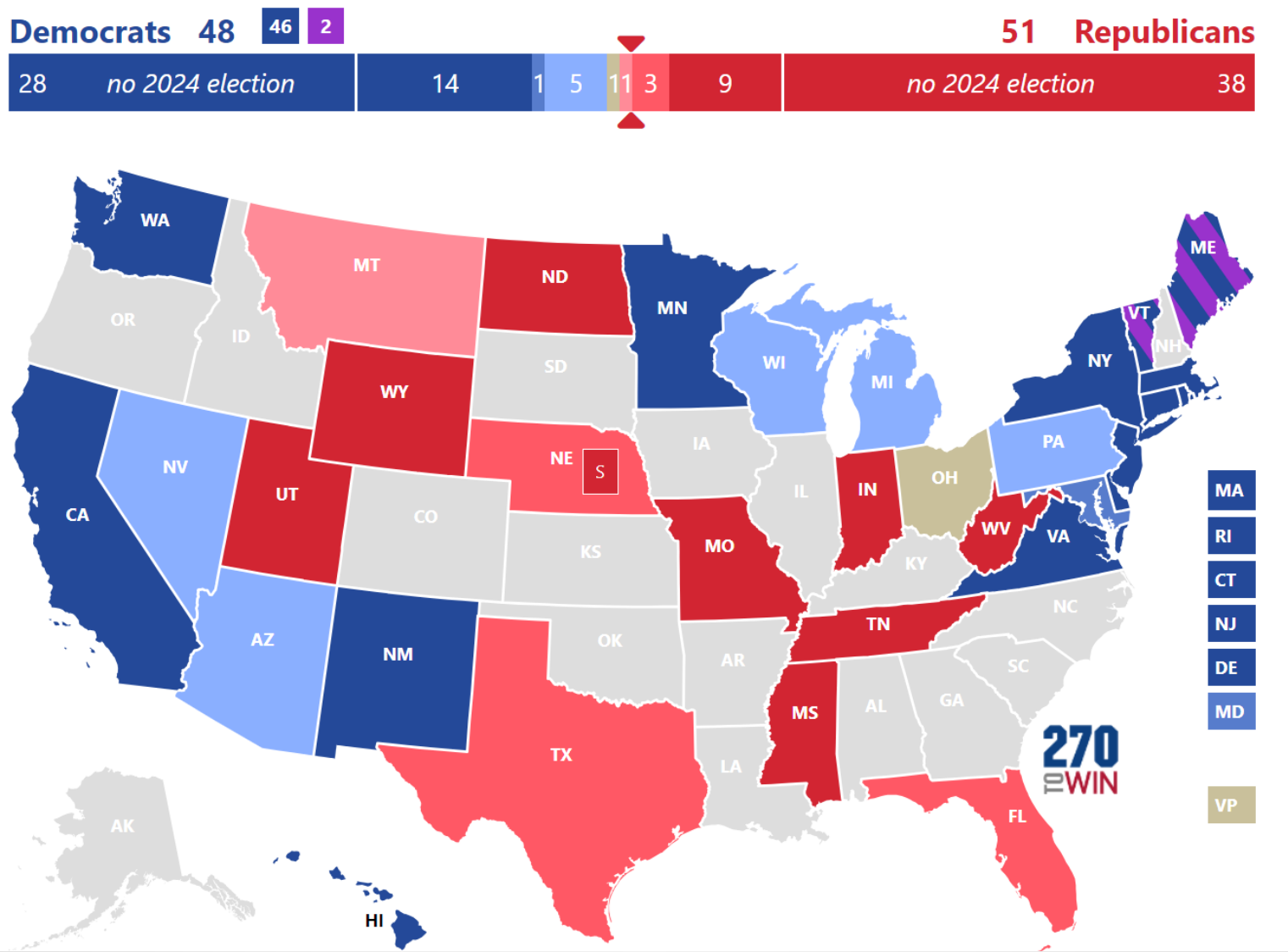
# Deep Dive Into the State of Play of the 2024 Elections



# Senate 2024 Outlook

- Democrats, with their narrow 51-49 majority, face a difficult Senate map for 2024. Of the 34 contested Senate seats, Democrats hold 23. Additionally, Democratic incumbents are defending seats in eight competitive states.
- Three Democratic incumbents are from states which former President Trump won in both 2016 and 2020 (Montana, Ohio, and West Virginia). Democrats are also defending seats in other competitive states, such as Arizona, Nevada, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.
- Republicans hold 38 seats that are not up for election in 2024; of the just 11 Republican seats up for election, eight seats are “Safe R” and three seats are “Likely R.”
- Recently, most prominent electoral political analysts changed the Montana race between Sen. Jon Tester (D-MT) and Tim Sheehy (R-MT) from “Toss-up” to “Leans R” after a set of favorable polling for Republicans in the state was released.
- In Nebraska, their regular general election race, with Sen. Deb Fischer (R-NE), was recently shifted from “Safe R” to “Likely R” after a couple of new polls were released showing a close race between her and independent candidate Dan Osborn (I-NE). However, Nebraska's special election, with Sen. Pete Ricketts (R-NE), is still rated as “Safe R.”
- Based on seats that are projected as Leans/Likely/Safe R, Republicans are forecast to hold at least 51 seats after this election, which would be a majority regardless of which party wins the White House and holds the vice presidency.

# Senate 2024 Outlook



# Key 2024 Senate Races (Rated Likely, Leans, or Toss-Up)

State	Democratic Nominee	Republican Nominee	Race Rating
Ohio	Sen. Sherrod Brown	Bernie Moreno	Toss-Up
Montana	Sen. Jon Tester	Tim Sheehy	Leans R
Nevada	Sen. Jacky Rosen	Sam Brown	Leans D
Arizona	Rep. Ruben Gallego	Kari Lake	Leans D
Wisconsin	Sen. Tammy Baldwin	Eric Hovde	Leans D
Michigan	Rep. Elissa Slotkin	Former Rep. Mike Rogers	Leans D
Pennsylvania	Sen. Bob Casey, Jr.	David McCormick	Leans D
Maryland	County Executive Angela Alsobrooks	Former Gov. Larry Hogan	Likely D
Texas	Rep. Colin Allred	Sen. Ted Cruz	Likely R
Florida	Former Rep. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell	Sen. Rick Scott	Likely R
Nebraska	Dan Osborn (I)**	Sen. Deb Fischer	Likely R

\*\*Dan Osborn is an independent candidate and has not yet indicated if he would caucus with the Democrats or Republicans in the Senate. However, he was a registered Democrat until 2016.

Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball



# Key Senate Races: Ohio



**Sen. Sherrod Brown (D)**

Incumbent



**Bernie Moreno (R)**

Businessman

Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight;  
Cook Political Report; 270 To Win

- **Race Rating:**
  - UVA Crystal Ball: **Toss-up**
  - Cook Political Report: **Toss-up**
- **Polling:**
  - Brown: 47.2%
  - Moreno: 44.3%
  - Brown is +2.8%
- **Analysis:**
  - Sen. Brown, in his third term as a U.S. Senator from Ohio, currently has a modest lead in polls for this race.
  - However, there are still two key concerns for Sen. Brown: (1) he has not reached 50% in any recent polling, meaning there is enough room for growth for Moreno and (2) former President Trump is projected to win Ohio by 7-10 points, which could be tough for Sen. Brown to overcome.
  - Thus, this race is rated as a “Toss-up.”

# Key Senate Races: Montana

- **Race Rating:**
  - UVA Crystal Ball: **Leans R**
  - Cook Political Report: **Leans R**
- **Polling:**
  - Sheehy: 48.6%
  - Tester: 44.3%
  - Sheehy is +4.3%
- **Analysis:**
  - Sen. Tester has won three previous elections in the red state of Montana. However, his three previous victories came in moderately to solidly blue years (2006, 2012, 2018).
  - This year, in what will likely be a very close presidential election, and with him running in a state that voted for former President Trump by 16 points, Tester is currently a slight to moderate underdog.



**Sen. Jon Tester (D)**

Incumbent



**Tim Sheehy (R)**

Businessman; former Navy  
SEAL Officer

Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight;  
Cook Political Report; 270 To Win

# Key Senate Races: Nevada



**Sen. Jacky Rosen (D)**  
Incumbent



**Sam Brown (R)**  
Businessman; former U.S.  
Army Captain

Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight;  
Cook Political Report; 270 To Win; VoteHub US

- **Race Rating:**
  - UVA Crystal Ball: **Leans D**
  - Cook Political Report: **Leans D**
- **Polling:**
  - Rosen: 49.6%
  - Brown: 40.3%
  - Rosen is +9.3%
- **Analysis:**
  - Despite Vice President Harris only being up by an average of 0.9% in Nevada polling, Sen. Rosen currently holds a nearly 10-point lead in Senate polling over Republican challenger Sam Brown.
  - Sen. Rosen's sizable lead at this time could be due to holding an incumbency advantage. There could be a fair amount of "split ticket" voters, too.
  - Sen. Rosen's lead would normally point to at least "Likely D" race rating. However, since Nevada will be very close for the presidency, this race is still just "Leans D."



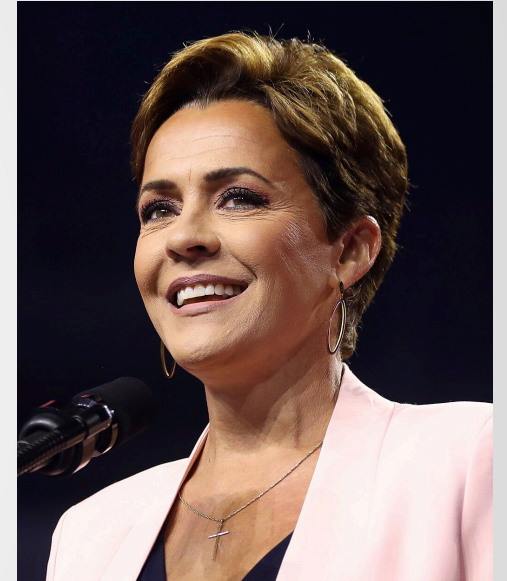
# Key Senate Races: Arizona

- **Race Rating:**
  - UVA Crystal Ball: **Leans D**
  - Cook Political Report: **Leans D**
- **Polling:**
  - Gallego: 50.1%
  - Lake: 42.3%
  - Gallego is +7.7%
- **Analysis:**
  - Rep. Gallego and Kari Lake are running to fill the seat that is currently held by Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (I), who is retiring.
  - Rep. Gallego holds a 7.7-point advantage at this time despite former President Trump holding a 1.3-point lead in the polls in Arizona.
  - Despite Gallego's notable lead, the political fundamentals and conditions in Arizona are still keeping this race at Leans D.



**Rep. Ruben Gallego (D)**

U.S. Congressman (AZ-03)



**Kari Lake (R)**

Former News Anchor; former gubernatorial candidate

Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight; Cook Political Report; 270 To Win; VoteHub US

# Key Senate Races: Wisconsin



**Sen. Tammy  
Baldwin (D)**  
Incumbent



**Eric Hovde (R)**  
Businessman; Banker

Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight;  
Cook Political Report; 270 To Win; VoteHub US

- **Race Rating:**
  - UVA Crystal Ball: **Leans D**
  - Cook Political Report: **Toss-up**
- **Polling:**
  - Baldwin: 50.3%
  - Hovde: 45.4%
  - Baldwin is +4.9%
- **Analysis:**
  - Sen. Baldwin is running for her third term as Wisconsin's junior U.S. Senator, having previously won elections to the seat in 2012 and 2018, both blue years.
  - Sen. Baldwin is currently slightly outrunning VP Harris in Wisconsin, as Sen. Baldwin holds a 4.9-point lead, whereas VP Harris holds a lead of 1.6 points in the state.
  - Sen. Baldwin is currently a slight favorite to hold this Senate seat, but statewide elections in Wisconsin are usually very close, so this will still likely be a very competitive election.

# Key Senate Races: Michigan

- **Race Rating:**
  - UVA Crystal Ball: **Leans D**
  - Cook Political Report: **Toss-up**
- **Polling:**
  - Slotkin: 48.3%
  - Rogers: 43.7%
  - Slotkin is +4.6%
- **Analysis:**
  - This Senate contest features a current sitting U.S. Congresswoman, Rep. Elissa Slotkin (D), and a former longtime Congressman, Rep. Mike Rogers (R).
  - The winner of this race will fill the seat of longtime U.S. Senator Debbie Stabenow (D), who is retiring.
  - While Rep. Slotkin has a slight advantage in polling, this race could be the pick-up opportunity for Republicans in the Rust Belt, as Rep. Slotkin does not have an incumbency advantage.



**Rep. Elissa Slotkin (D)**  
U.S. Congresswoman  
(MI-07)

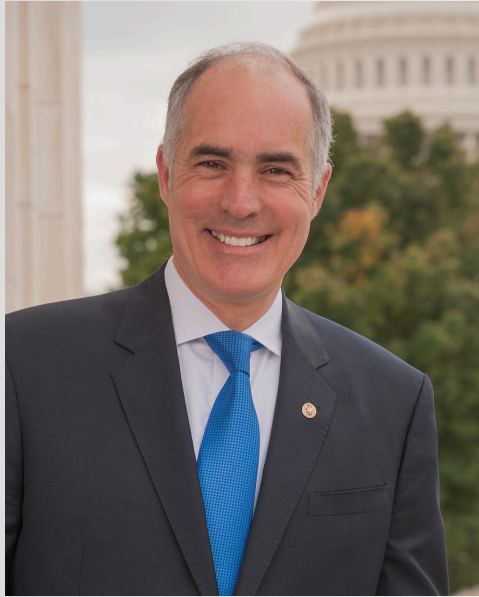


**Mike Rogers (R)**  
Former U.S. Congressman  
(MI-08)

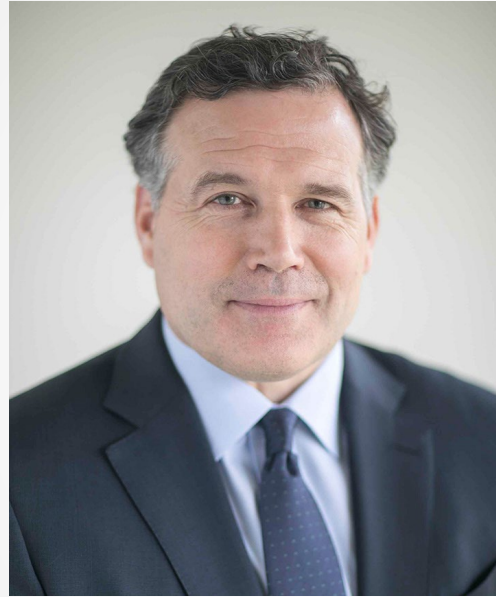
Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight; Cook Political Report; 270 To Win; VoteHub US



# Key Senate Races: Pennsylvania



**Sen. Bob Casey, Jr. (D)**  
Incumbent



**David McCormick (R)**  
Businessman; former Bush Administration official

Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight; Cook Political Report; 270 To Win; VoteHub US

- **Race Rating:**
  - UVA Crystal Ball: **Leans D**
  - Cook Political Report: **Leans D**
- **Polling:**
  - Casey: 48.7%
  - McCormick: 43.6%
  - Casey is +5.1%
- **Analysis:**
  - Sen. Casey, son of former Pennsylvania Governor Bob Casey, Sr., is running for his fourth term in the U.S. Senate, having previously been elected in 2006, 2012, and 2018.
  - Mr. McCormick ran in the 2022 U.S. Senate primary, when he lost to Dr. Mehmet Oz by less than 1,000 votes. Sen. Casey has the incumbency advantage, the family name recognition, and is outrunning VP Harris in the polls in Pennsylvania.
  - However, all of Casey's previous victories came in "blue years." 2024 might not be a "blue year."

- **Race Rating:**
  - UVA Crystal Ball: **Likely D**
  - Cook Political Report: **Likely D**
- **Polling:**
  - Alsobrooks: 48.9%
  - Hogan: 40.3%
  - Alsobrooks is +8.6%
- **Analysis:**
  - This Senate contest features Angela Alsobrooks (D) and former Maryland Governor Larry Hogan (R).
  - Maryland is usually a very blue state: President Biden won Maryland by over 33 points in 2020, and VP Harris currently leads by about 30 points in Maryland polls.
  - However, due to Hogan's name recognition and popularity as governor, he only trails Alsobrooks by less than 10 points in current polling.
  - The political fundamental of this state give Alsobrooks the edge, but Hogan has a chance to pull off the upset.

## Key Senate Races: Maryland



**Angela Alsobrooks (D)**

Executive of Prince  
George's County, Maryland



**Gov. Larry Hogan (R)**

Former Governor of  
Maryland

Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight;  
Cook Political Report; 270 To Win; VoteHub US



# Key Senate Races: Texas



**Sen. Ted Cruz (R)**

Incumbent



**Rep. Colin Allred (D)**

U.S. Congressman (TX-32)

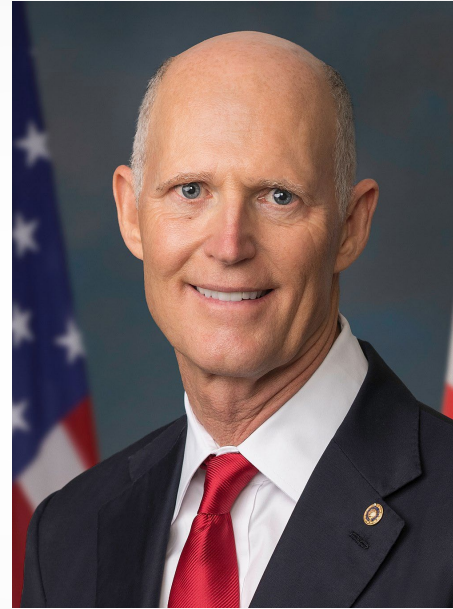
Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight;  
Cook Political Report; 270 To Win; VoteHub US

- **Race Rating:**
  - UVA Crystal Ball: **Likely R**
  - Cook Political Report: **Likely R**
- **Polling:**
  - Cruz: 47.5%
  - Allred: 44.1%
  - Cruz is +3.4%
- **Analysis:**
  - Sen. Ted Cruz (R) is running for a third term this year, having previously been elected in 2012 and 2018.
  - His challenger is Rep. Colin Allred (D), who currently represents portions of the Dallas area in the House.
  - Sen. Cruz currently holds about a 3.4-point lead in an average of key polls, meaning he is running behind former President Trump (who holds a 6.3-point lead), and the DSCC is suddenly heavily investing in the Texas Senate race.
  - However, while Texas is slowly trending left, Sen. Cruz is still the clear favorite in this race.



- **Race Rating:**
  - UVA Crystal Ball: **Likely R**
  - Cook Political Report: **Likely R**
- **Polling:**
  - Scott: 46.6%
  - Mucarsel-Powell: 42.5%
  - Scott is +4.1%
- **Analysis:**
  - Sen. Scott is running for his second term in the Senate, having first been elected in 2018 by just 0.12%. He was also previously a two-term governor of Florida.
  - His opponent is one-term former Rep. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, whose district covered the southern part of Miami-Dade County.
  - While Sen. Scott's polling lead is only in the low single digits, and the DSCC has started investing in the state, Sen. Scott is still likely to win this race, as Florida has moved to the right since 2018.

## Key Senate Races: Florida



**Sen. Rick Scott (R)**

Incumbent



**Debbie Mucarsel-Powell (D)**

Former U.S. Congresswoman  
(FL-26)

Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight;  
Cook Political Report; 270 To Win; VoteHub US

# Key Senate Races: Nebraska



**Sen. Deb Fischer (R)**

Incumbent



**Dan Osborn (I)**

U.S. Navy Veteran; Labor  
Union Leader

Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; FiveThirtyEight;  
Cook Political Report; 270 To Win; VoteHub US

- **Race Rating:**

- UVA Crystal Ball: **Likely R**
- Cook Political Report: **Likely R**

- **Polling:**

- Fischer: 43.3%
- Osborn: 41.4%
- Fischer is +2.0%

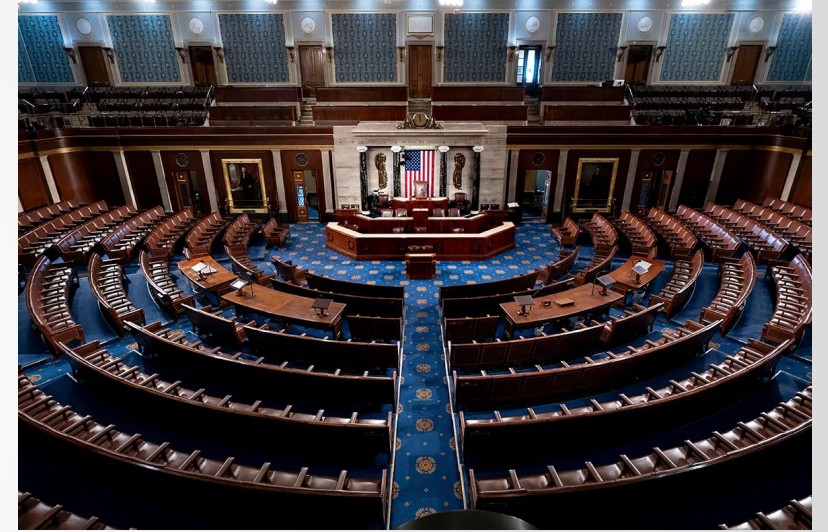
- **Analysis:**

- This Senate race features incumbent Sen. Deb Fischer (R) and Dan Osborn (I), a U.S. Navy Veteran and labor union leader.
- Nebraska's Senate seats are usually safe Republican seats, but Osborn's independent and energetic campaign has very surprisingly made this race somewhat competitive.
- While the contest is stunningly fairly competitive, Nebraska's pro-Republican, red political dynamics – former Pres. Trump won the state by 20 points in 2020 – means Sen. Fischer will likely hold on in this race.



# 2024 Elections Outlook – House

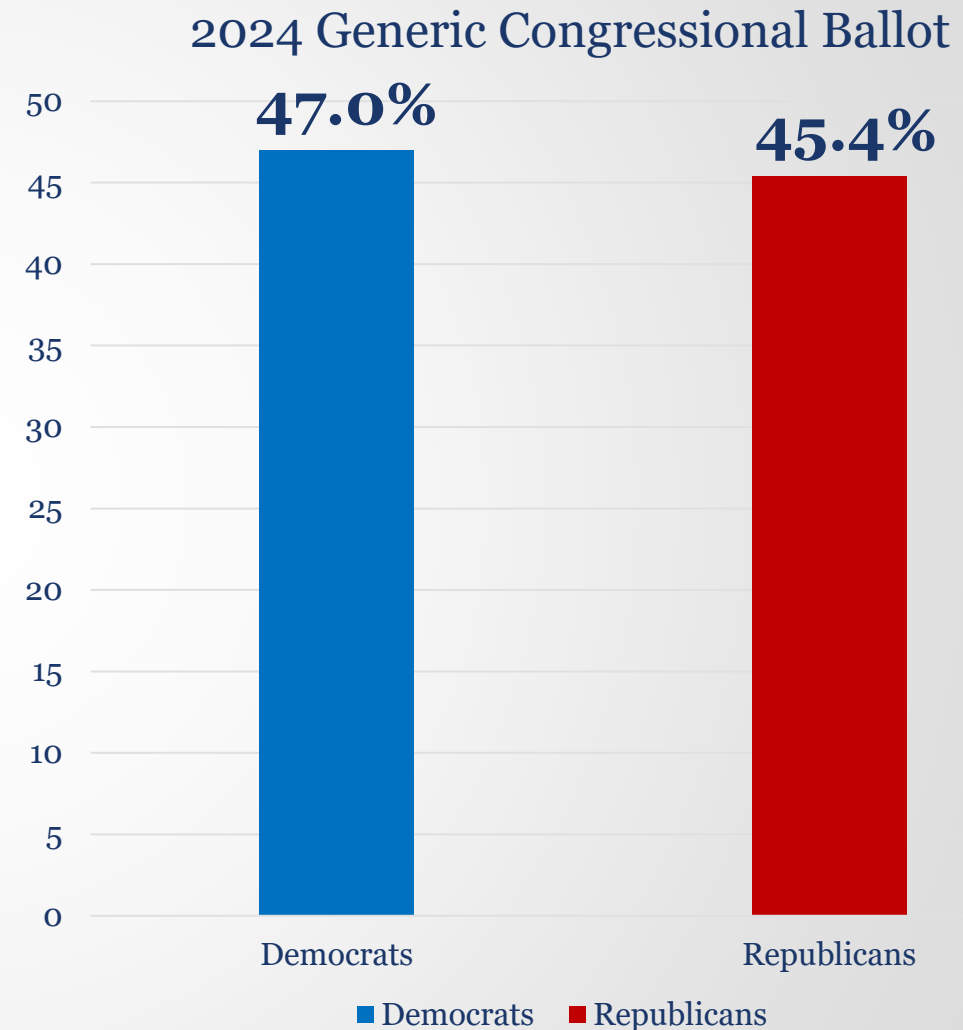
- In November, while there will be approximately 30-45 “Competitive” seats, control of the House will very likely be decided by just around 20 “Toss-up” seats.
- For the 2024 elections, **191** seats are currently projected as “Safe R,” while **211** seats are rated as Safe, Likely, or Leans R.
- On the other hand, for 2024, **175** seats are rated as “Safe D,” while **206** seats are rated as Safe, Likely, or Leans D.
- If all 435 House seats are full, then 218 seats are needed for a majority.
- Control for the House in the 2024 elections is currently considered to be a “Toss-up.”
- We anticipate that the winning party will only have a very slim majority, potentially only five seats or less.





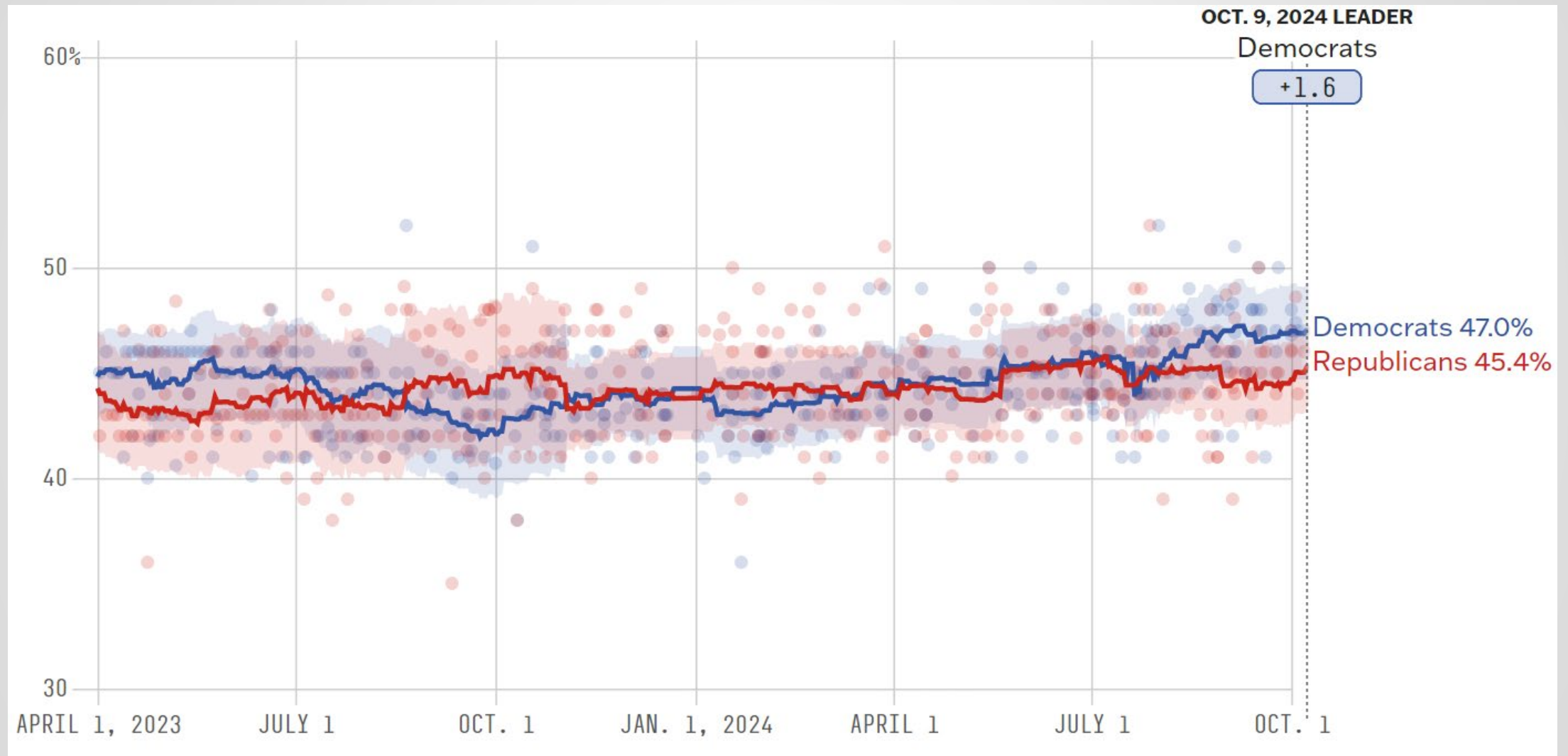
# 2024 House Election Outlook – Generic Congressional Ballot

- While Democrats have a small lead in the polling averages (+1.6%), the competition for control of Congress will likely be very close. Democrats only need to flip a **net** of four seats to win back the House majority.
- If the national popular vote for Congress is close, then Republicans would likely be slightly favored to win the House since Republicans have a slight “median district advantage” across all congressional districts nationally (as a result of redistricting from 2021-2024).
  - For example, there could be a scenario where Democrats win the national popular vote for the House by +2.0%, but still do not win a majority of House seats.
- Control of the House will likely come down to just one or two dozen “swing district” seats across the country, particularly a handful of “toss-up” seats in California and New York.
  - In California, there are four “Toss-up” districts, one “Leans D” district, and one “Leans R” district.
  - In New York, there is one “Toss-up” district, one “Leans R” district, and three “Leans D” districts.



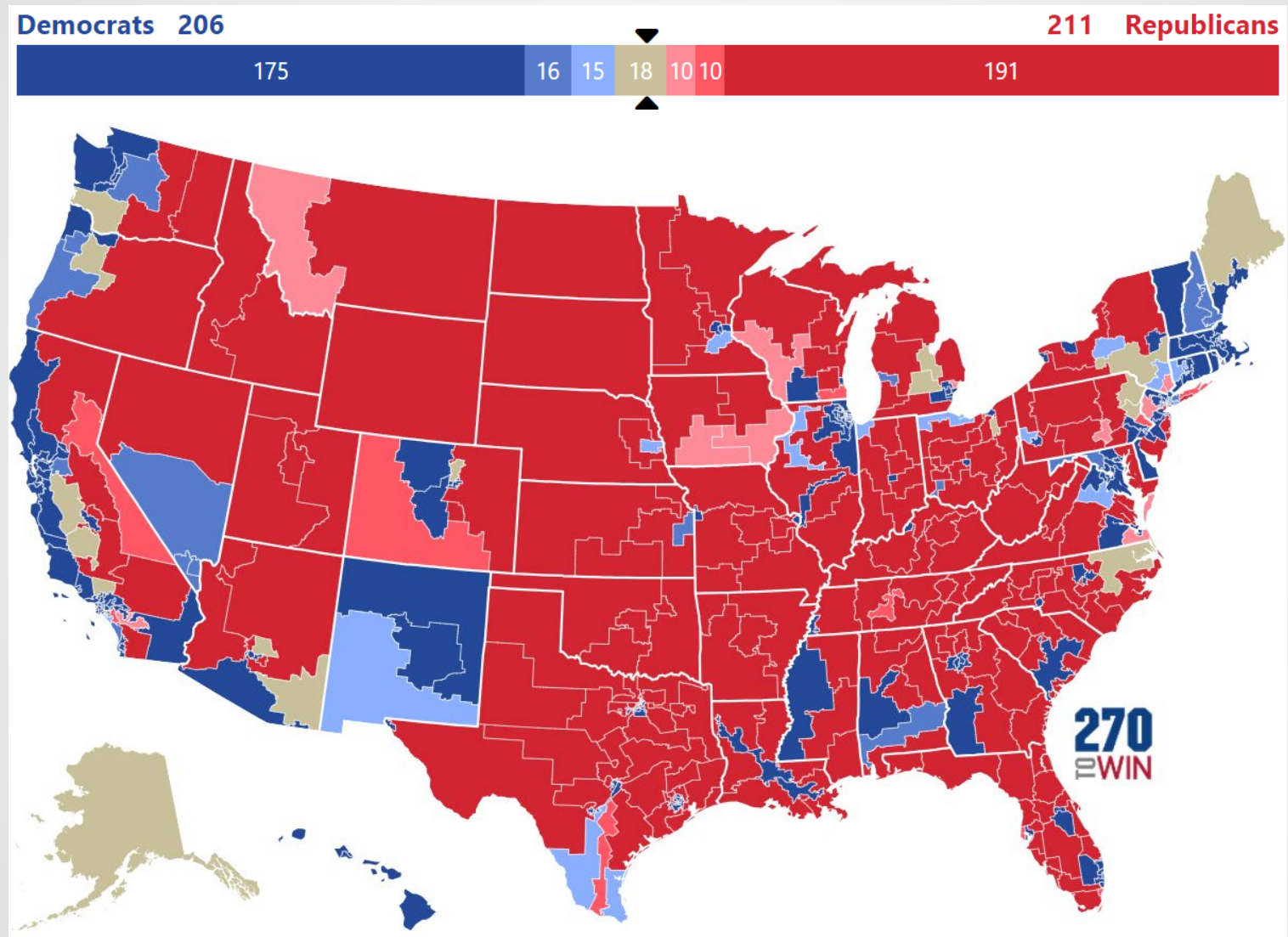
**Dems**  
**+1.6%**

# 2024 Elections Outlook – Generic Congressional Ballot



Source: FiveThirtyEight

# 2024 Elections Outlook – House Map



Sources: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball; 270 To Win



# 13 House Election Rematches that Were Decided by Less than 5% in 2022

District	Incumbent	Repeat Opponent	2022 Margin
California-13	Rep. John Duarte (R)	Adam Gray (D)	0.4%
Michigan-10	Rep. John James (R)	Carl Marlinga (D)	0.5%
New Mexico-02	Rep. Gabe Vasquez (D)	Former Rep. Yvette Herrell (R)	0.7%
Connecticut-05	Rep. Jahana Hayes (D)	George Logan (R)	0.8%
Washington-03	Rep. Marie Gluesenkamp Perez (D)	Joe Kent (R)	0.8%
Arizona-06	Rep. Juan Ciscomani (R)	Kirsten Engel (D)	1.5%
New York-19	Rep. Marc Molinaro (R)	Josh Riley (D)	1.6%
Oregon-06	Rep. Andrea Salinas (D)	Mike Erickson (R)	2.4%
Nebraska-02	Rep. Don Bacon (R)	Tony Vargas (D)	2.7%
California-22	Rep. David Valadao (R)	Rudy Salas (D)	3.0%
Montana-01	Rep. Ryan Zinke (R)	Monica Tranel (D)	3.2%
New York-04	Rep. Anthony D'Esposito (R)	Laura Gillen (D)	3.6%
California-41	Rep. Ken Calvert (R)	Will Rollins (D)	4.7%

# House 2024 Outlook (Toss-Up, Leans, and Likely Seats)

Republicans		
TOSS-UP (8)	LEANS REPUBLICAN (10)	LIKELY REPUBLICAN (10)
Juan Ciscomani (AZ-6)	Ken Calvert (CA-41)	Kevin Kiley (CA-3)
David Schweikert (AZ-1)	M. Miller-Meeks (IA-1)	Young Kim (CA-40)
John Duarte (CA-13)	Zach Nunn (IA-3)	CO-3 Open (Boebert)
Mike Garcia (CA-27)	John James (MI-10)	Anna Paulina Luna (FL-13)
Michelle Steel (CA-45)	Ryan Zinke (MT-1)	María Elvira Salazar (FL-27)
David Valadao (CA-22)	Tom Kean Jr. (NJ-7)	Nick LaLota (NY-1)
Marc Molinaro (NY-19)	Mike Lawler (NY-17)	Brian Fitzpatrick (PA-1)
L. Chavez-DeRemer (OR-5)	Scott Perry (PA-10)	Andy Ogles (TN-5)
	Jen Kiggans (VA-2)	Monica De La Cruz (TX-15)
	Derrick Van Orden (WI-3)	Bryan Steil (WI-1)

SAFE REPUBLICAN FLIPS (3)
NC-14 Open (Jackson)
NC-6 Open (Manning)
NC-13 Open (Nickel)

**Total seats rated Safe Republican: 191**  
**Total seats rated Safe, Likely, or Leans R: 211**

Democrats		
TOSS-UP (10)	LEANS DEMOCRATIC (15)	LIKELY DEMOCRATIC (16)
Mary Peltola (AK-AL)	CA-47 Open (Porter)	AL-2 Open (Moore)
Yadira Caraveo (CO-8)	Jahana Hayes (CT-5)	Josh Harder (CA-9)
Jared Golden (ME-2)	Frank Mrvan (IN-1)	Mike Levin (CA-49)
MI-7 Open (Slotkin)	Eric Sorensen (IL-17)	Sharice Davids (KS-3)
MI-8 Open (Kildee)	Angie Craig (MN-2)	MD-6 Open (Trone)
Don Davis (NC-1)	Don Bacon (NE-2)	Hillary Scholten (MI-3)
Emilia Sykes (OH-13)	Gabe Vasquez (NM-2)	NH-2 Open (Kuster)
Matt Cartwright (PA-8)	Anthony D'Esposito (NY-4)	Chris Pappas (NH-1)
Susan Wild (PA-7)	Pat Ryan (NY-18)	Susie Lee (NV-3)
M. Gluesenkamp Perez (WA-3)	Brandon Williams (NY-22)	Steven Horsford (NV-4)
	Marcy Kaptur (OH-9)	Dina Titus (NV-1)
	Chris Deluzio (PA-17)	Tom Suozzi (NY-3)
	Henry Cuellar (TX-28)	Greg Landsman (OH-1)
	Vicente Gonzalez (TX-34)	Val Hoyle (OR-4)
	VA-7 Open (Spanberger)	Andrea Salinas (OR-6)
		Kim Schrier (WA-8)

SAFE DEMOCRATIC FLIP (1)
Garret Graves (LA-6)

**Total seats rated Safe Democratic: 175**  
**Total seats rated Safe, Likely, or Leans D: 206**

Sources: UVA Center for Politics,  
Sabato's Crystal Ball

# Key 2024 House Races – Toss-Up Seats, Democratic Incumbents

District	Democratic Nominee	Republican Nominee
Alaska-At-Large	Rep. Mary Peltola	Nick Begich III
Colorado-08	Rep. Yadira Caraveo	Gabe Evans
Maine-02	Rep. Jared Golden	Austin Theriault
North Carolina-01	Rep. Don Davis	Laurie Buckhout
Ohio-13	Rep. Emilia Sykes	Kevin Coughlin
Pennsylvania-08	Rep. Matt Cartwright	Rob Bresnahan Jr.
Pennsylvania-07	Rep. Susan Wild	Ryan Mackenzie
Washington-03	Rep. Marie Gluesenkamp Perez	Joe Kent



# Key 2024 House Races – Toss-Up Seats, Republican Incumbents

District	Democratic Nominee	Republican Nominee
Arizona-06	Kristen Engel	Rep. Juan Ciscomani
Arizona-01	Amish Shah	Rep. David Schweikert
California-13	Adam Gray	Rep. John Duarte
California-27	George Whitesides	Rep. Mike Garcia
California-45	Derek Tran	Rep. Michelle Steel
California-22	Rudy Salas	Rep. David Valadao
New York-19	Josh Riley	Rep. Marc Molinaro
Oregon-05	Janelle Bynum	Rep. Lori Chavez-DeRemer

# Key 2024 House Races – “Leans Republican” Seats

District	Democratic Nominee	Republican Nominee
California-41	Will Rollins	Rep. Ken Calvert
Iowa-01	Christina Bohannon	Rep. Mariannette Miller-Meeks
Iowa-03	Lanon Baccam	Rep. Zach Nunn
Michigan-10	Carl Marlinga	Rep. John James
Montana-01	Monica Tranel	Rep. Ryan Zinke
New Jersey-07	Sue Altman	Rep. Tom Kean Jr.
New York-17	Former Rep. Mondaire Jones	Rep. Mike Lawler
Pensylvania-10	Janelle Stelson	Rep. Scott Perry
Virginia-02	Missy Cotter Smasal	Rep. Jen Kiggans
Wisconsin-03	Rebecca Cooke	Rep. Derrick Van Orden

\*\*All Republicans in these contests are incumbent Members of Congress. Source: UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball

# Key 2024 House Races – “Leans Democratic” Seats

District	Democratic Nominee	Republican Nominee
Connecticut-05	Rep. Jahana Hayes**	George Logan
Indiana-01	Rep. Frank Mrvan**	Randy Niemeyer
Illinois-17	Rep. Eric Sorensen**	Joseph McGraw
Minnesota-02	Rep. Angie Craig**	Joe Teirab
New Mexico-02	Rep. Gabe Vasquez**	Former Rep. Yvette Herrell
New York-18	Rep. Pat Ryan**	Alison Esposito
Ohio-09	Rep. Marcy Kaptur**	Derek Merrin
Pennsylvania-17	Rep. Chris Deluzio**	Rob Mercuri
Texas-28	Rep. Henry Cuellar**	Jay Furman
Texas-34	Rep. Vicente Gonzalez**	Former Rep. Mayra Flores
Nebraska-02	Tony Vargas	Rep. Don Bacon**
New York-04	Laura Gillen	Rep. Anthony D'Esposito**
New York-22	John Mannion	Rep. Brandon Williams**



# 2024 House Outlook – Most Endangered GOP Incumbents (Leans D Seats)



Rep. Don Bacon  
(R-NE-02)



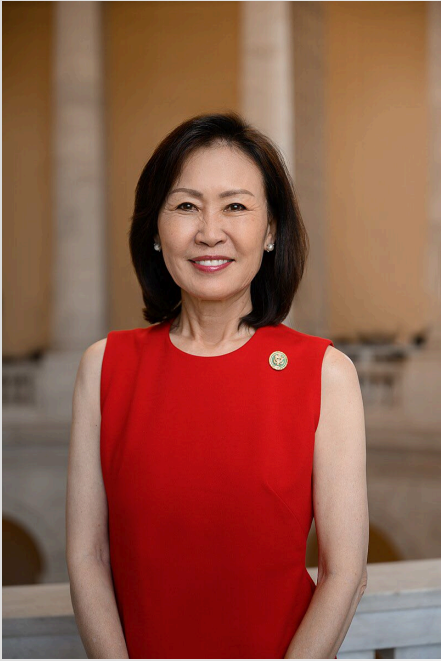
Rep. Anthony D'Esposito  
(R-NY-04)



Rep. Brandon Williams  
(R-NY-22)



# 2024 House Outlook – Most Endangered GOP Incumbents (Toss-Ups)



Rep. Michelle Steel  
(R-CA-45)

Rep. John Duarte  
(R-CA-13)



Rep. David Valadao  
(R-CA-22)

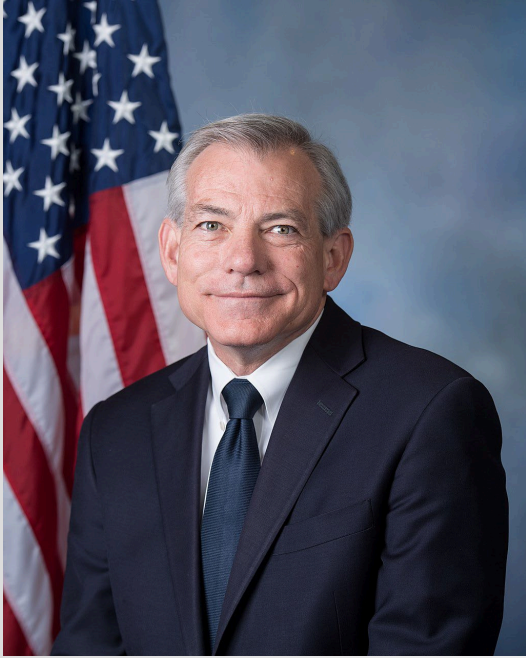
Rep. Mike Garcia  
(R-CA-27)



Source: UVA Center for  
Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball



# 2024 House Outlook – Most Endangered GOP Incumbents (Toss-Ups)



Rep. David Schweikert  
(R-AZ-01)

Rep. Juan Ciscomani  
(R-AZ-06)



Rep. Marc Molinaro  
(R-NY-19)

Rep. Lori  
Chavez-DeRemer  
(R-OR-05)





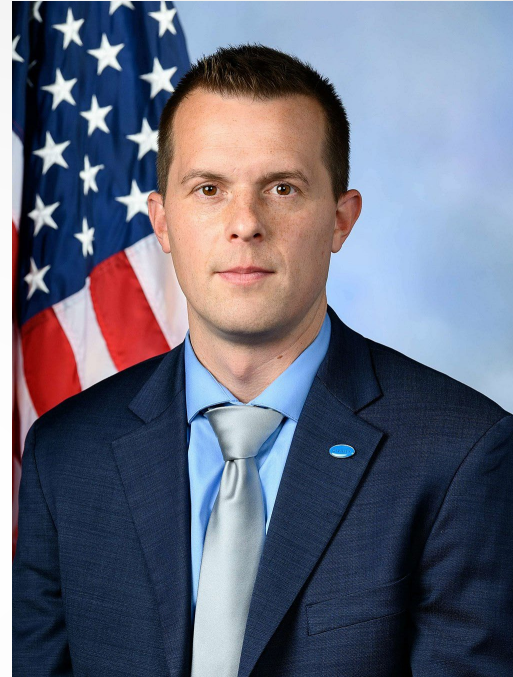
# 2024 House Outlook – Most Endangered Dem Incumbents (Toss-Ups)



Rep. Mary Peltola  
(D-AK-AL)



Rep. Yadira Caraveo  
(D-CO-o8)



Rep. Jared Golden  
(D-ME-02)



Rep. Don Davis  
(D-NC-01)



# 2024 House Outlook – Most Endangered Dem Incumbents (Toss-Ups)



Rep. Emilia Sykes  
(D-OH-13)



Rep. Matt Cartwright  
(D-PA-08)



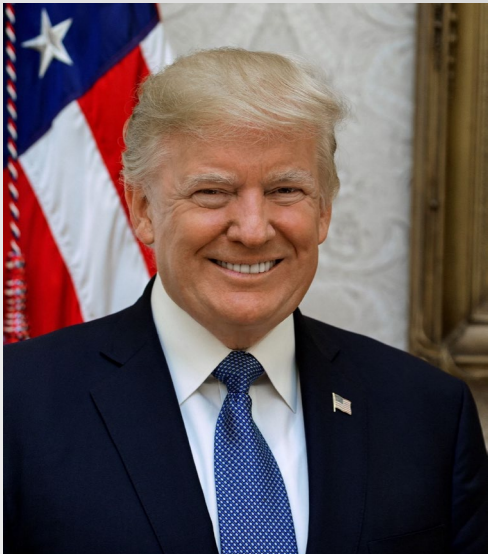
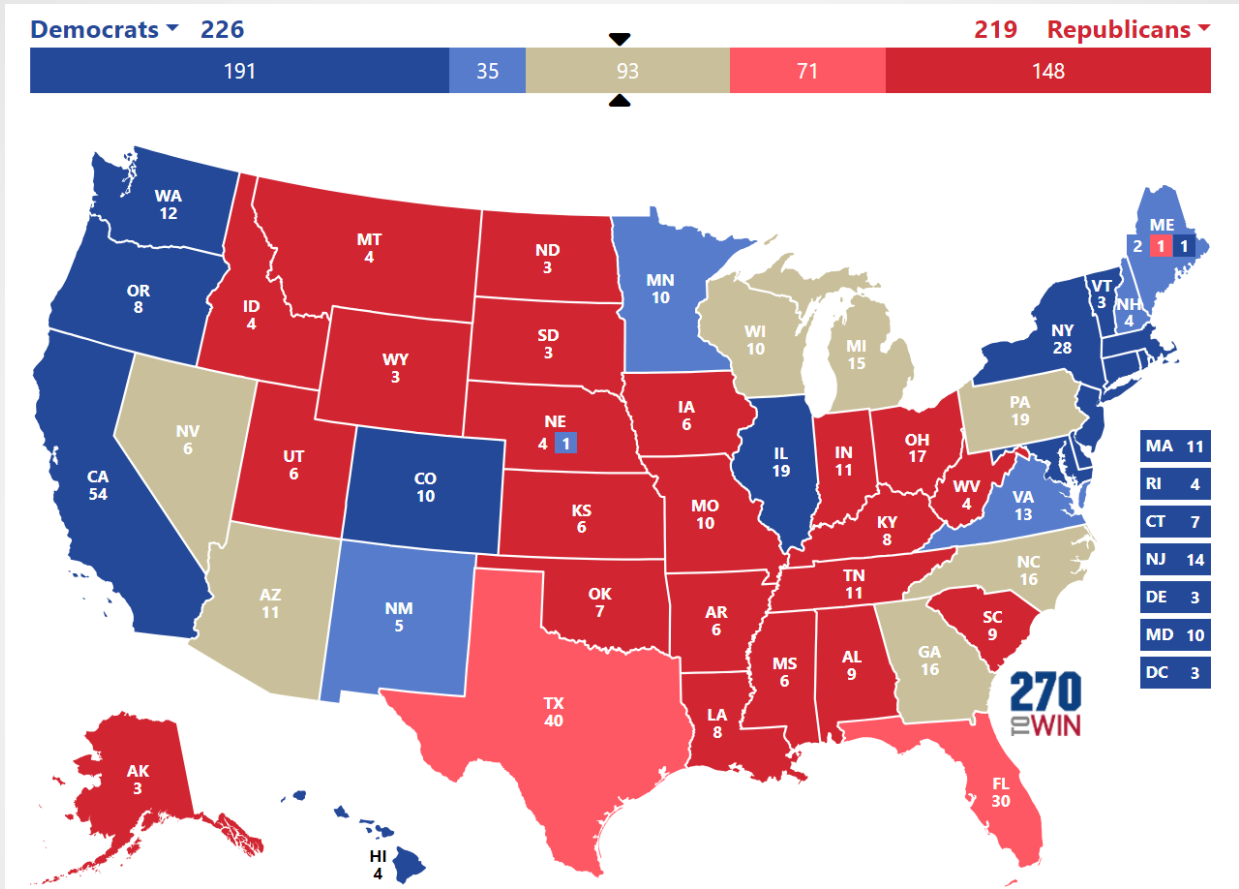
Rep. Susan Wild  
(D-PA-07)



Rep. Marie  
Gluesenkamp Perez  
(D-WA-03)



# 2024 United States Presidential Election – Where Things Stand



- The presidential election is currently considered a “toss-up.”
- 270 electoral votes are needed to win the presidential election.
- VP Harris gave the Democrats some momentum in the first 30-45 days of her candidacy, but the race has now leveled off and is still very close.



# 2024 United States Presidential Election – Where Things Stand

- Current surveys indicate a very tight race for the presidency in 2024.
- Former President Trump had maintained a 2-4% lead (on average) in the national polls right before President Biden dropped out of the race.
- However, Vice President Harris then became the Democratic nominee, and she now holds a small national lead of about 2.6% in the national polls (on average).
- While Harris maintains a small lead in the national polls, the “Electoral College bias” favored the GOP in the last two presidential elections, as the Electoral College bias was -2.9% for Republicans in 2016 and was -3.8% for Republicans in 2020.
- The Electoral College bias is calculated by taking the difference between the national popular vote percentage margin and the “tipping point state” percentage margin. The “tipping point state” is essentially the state that pushes the winning candidate over the 270 electoral votes needed to win.
- In each of the last two presidential elections, the “tipping point state” was Wisconsin.
- While it is hard to predict the Electoral College bias in each election, as it changes from election to election, if the bias is similar to 2016 and 2020, Trump could still potentially win the Electoral College even if Harris wins the national popular vote by 2-3%, as was the case with Hillary Clinton in 2016.



Sources: FiveThirtyEight; VoteHub US; UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball

# 2024 Presidential Election – The “Toss-Up” States

State	FiveThirtyEight Avg.	VoteHub US Avg.	Split Ticket Avg.	Split Ticket Model Forecast
Michigan	Harris +1.8	Harris +2.0	Harris +2.1	Harris 64% chance
Wisconsin	Harris +1.6	Harris +1.7	Harris +2.2	Harris 61% chance
Nevada	Harris +0.9	Harris +1.1	Harris +1.4	Harris 55% chance
Pennsylvania	Harris +0.4	Harris +1.3	Harris +1.1	Harris 58% chance
North Carolina	Trump +0.9	Trump +0.8	Trump +0.7	50/50
Georgia	Trump +1.0	Trump +1.4	Trump +1.2	Trump 57% chance
Arizona	Trump +1.3	Trump +1.8	Trump +1.4	Trump 53% chance

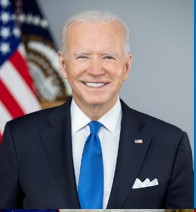




Sources: FiveThirtyEight; VoteHub US; UVA Center for Politics, Sabato's Crystal Ball, Split Ticket; 10/4/24

# 2024 Election – Dem Senate Candidates Outrunning Harris

State	FiveThirtyEight Presidential Polling Avg.	Split Ticket Presidential Polling Avg.	FiveThirtyEight Senate Polling Avg.	Split Ticket Senate Polling Avg.
Michigan	D+1.8	D+2.1	D+4.6	D+5.3
Wisconsin	D+1.6	D+2.2	D+5.0	D+5.2
Nevada	D+0.9	D+1.4	D+9.3	D+9.5
Pennsylvania	D+0.4	D+1.1	D+5.1	D+5.7
Arizona	R+1.3	R+1.4	D+7.7	D+8.4
Ohio	R+8.9	N/A	D+2.8	D+2.7
Montana	R+16.5	N/A	R+4.3	R+4.9



# Chances of the Four Likeliest 2024 Election Outcomes

President	House	Senate	Current Forecast
	R	D	Current Situation
	D	R	30%
	D	R	40%
	R	R	20%
	D	D	10%

- The presidential race will come down to just seven states – Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, Wisconsin, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. Donald Trump held small leads in most of these states when Pres. Biden was still the nominee. *Polls show a much tighter contest between VP Harris and former Pres. Trump.* The presidential election is currently rated as a “toss-up.”
- Control of the House is also a “toss-up.” Democrats can retake the majority by flipping moderate, “swing district” seats in California and New York, which Republicans won in 2020 and 2022. Redistricting reduced the number of competitive House seats to 30-45. Absent a presidential candidate with electoral coattails, we forecast a House majority of under 10 seats for the winning party.
- Democrats have six seats at risk in the Senate in states that Donald Trump won in 2016 or 2020, making Republicans the favorite to win control of the chamber. As of early October, several Democratic incumbents in battleground states were polling ahead of Vice President Harris in those states, giving Senate Democrats some hope they may retain control after this election, or limit Republicans to a small majority.

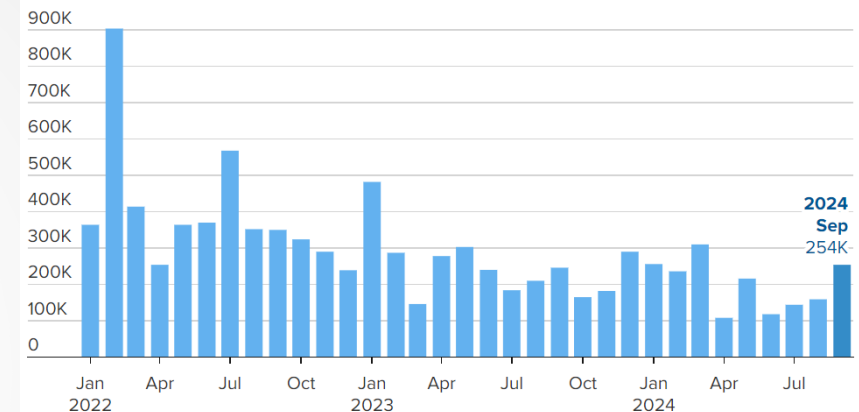
# Factors That Could Impact the 2024 Political Landscape

# September 2024 Jobs Report Comes in Above Expectations

- On October 4, 2024, the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics [announced](#) (1) total nonfarm payroll employment increased by 254,000 in July 2024 and that (2) the unemployment rate fell to 4.1%.
  - Economists had expected an increase of about 150,000 for the month, so the jobs report came in well above expectations.
  - The unemployment rate has been at or above 4% for the past five months. The unemployment rate was below 4% for 27 consecutive months before May, however.
- Hospitality was the leading industry in job creation, with a net gain of 69,000 new jobs. Health care was the next leading industry, with a net gain of 45,000 new jobs. Other leading industries included government, with 31,000 new jobs, social assistance, with 27,000 new jobs, and construction, with 25,000 new jobs.
- Average hourly earnings for all employees increased by 0.4%. Over the last 12 months, average hourly earnings have increased by 4.0%. Both figures were ahead of their respective projections.
- An alternate measure of unemployment that includes "discouraged workers" and "those holding part-time jobs for economic reasons" dropped to 7.7%.
- The July jobs report was revised up by 55,000, from +89,000 to +144,000. Additionally, the August report was also revised up by 17,000, from +142,000 to +159,000. Thus, employment from these two months combined is 72,000 higher than previously reported.

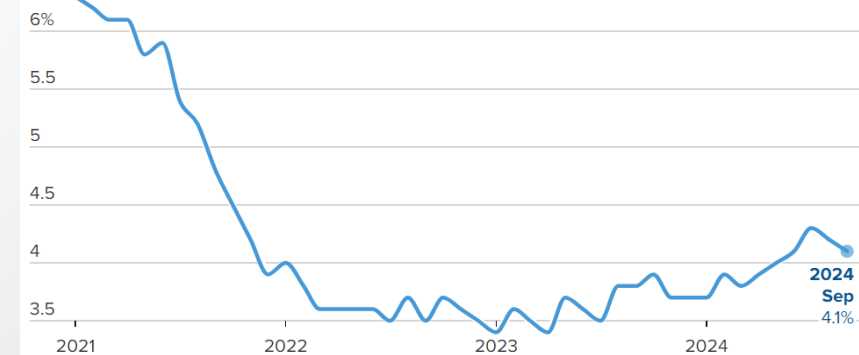
Monthly job creation in the U.S.

January 2022–September 2024



U.S. unemployment rate

January 2021–September 2024



Sources: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Dept. of Labor; CNBC

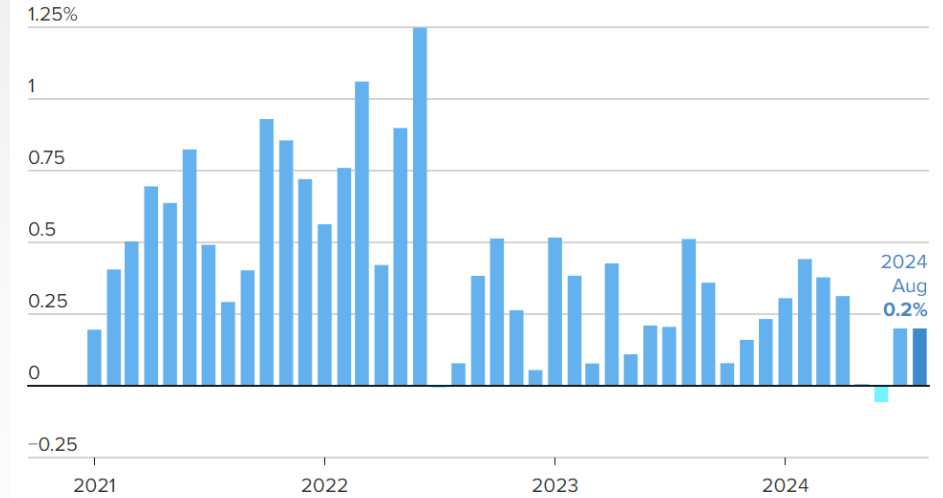


# August 2024 Inflation Report

- On September 11, 2024, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics announced the Consumer Price Index (CPI) increased by +0.2% in August 2024 on a seasonally adjusted basis.
  - This CPI reading was in line with economists' estimates.
  - This CPI figure was even with the July 2024 reading (0.2%), and a slight increase from the June 2024 reading (0.1%).
- The Bureau of Labor Statistics also reported that the CPI increased by 2.5% from August 2023.
  - This was 0.1% below economists' expectations of 2.6%.
  - This 2.5% CPI annual gain is down 0.4% from the July 2024 level (2.9%), and is the lowest level since February 2021.
- “Core CPI,” which excludes food and energy prices, rose by 0.3% in August 2024, and 3.2% on an annual basis from June 2023.
  - Economists had projected that these figures would be 0.2% and 3.2%, respectively.
  - Shelter and housing costs increased by 0.5% for the month. Housing costs have been one of the biggest driving factors of inflation and make up about one-third of the weighting in the CPI.
- While the annual inflation rate (2.5%) is lower than its peak in summer 2022 (9%), the Federal Reserve aims for a 2% annual inflation rate over the long term.
- The CPI report for September 2024 will be released on October 10, 2024.

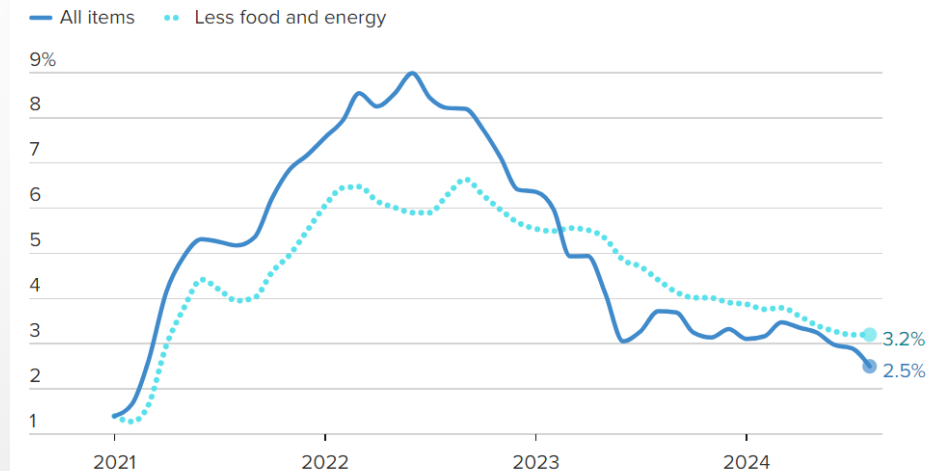
## U.S. consumer price index

Month-over-month percent change | January 2021–August 2024



## U.S. consumer price index

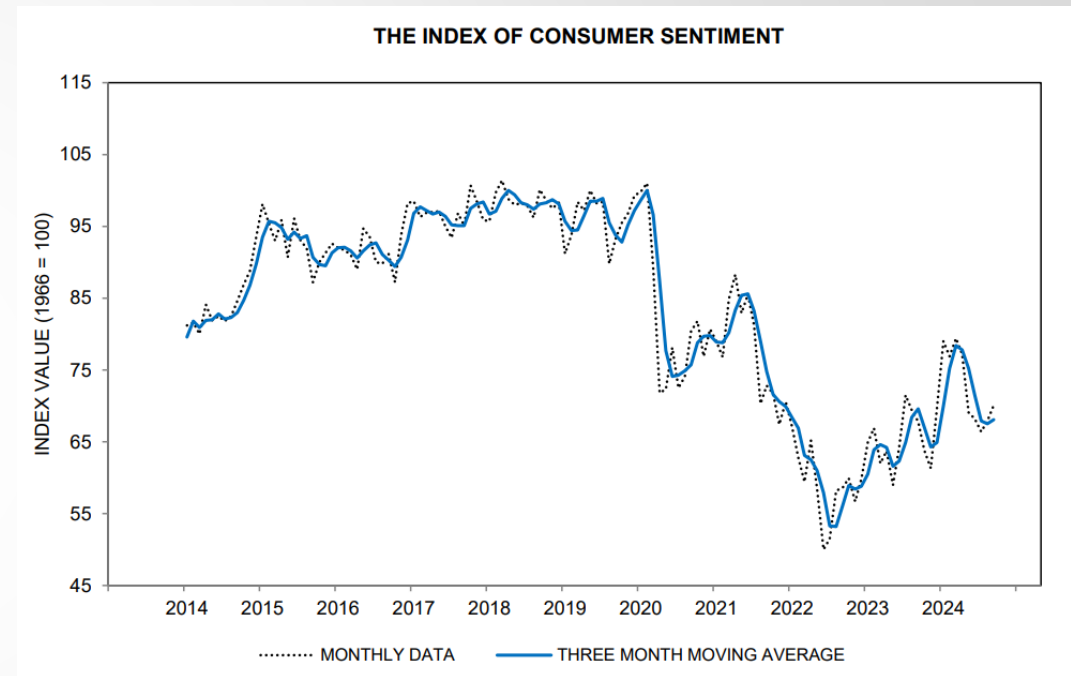
Year-over-year percent change January 2021–August 2024



Sources: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Dept. of Labor; CNBC

# Consumer Sentiment Report

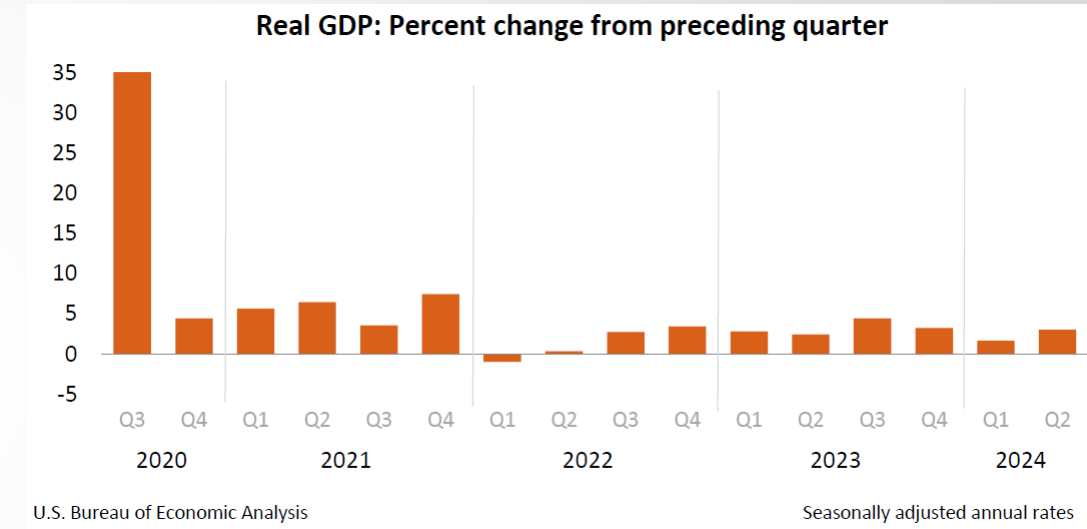
- Consumer sentiment for September increased to 70.1, which is a 3.2% increase from August (67.9).
  - This is an annual decrease of 3.4% from September 2023 (67.8).
  - This marks the first time since April that the Consumer Sentiment Index is above 70. The May, June, July, and August readings were all below 70, after the readings were all above 76 for each of the first four months of 2024.
    - The December 2023 reading was 69.7; the January 2024 reading was 79.0; the February reading was 76.9; the March reading was 79.4; and April's reading is 77.2. This followed a November reading of just 61.3.
- The Index of Consumer Sentiment varies by political party
  - 92.6 among Democrats
  - 63.2 among Independents
  - 49.7 among Republicans
- All five components of the index increased in September, led by a 6% increase in one-year business expectations.
- The Index of Consumer Expectations is 13% higher than it was a year ago, pointing to more optimism about the future of the economy among consumers.



Source: University of Michigan Surveys of Consumers

# Q2 2024 GDP Report

- On September 26, 2024, the U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) [released](#) its "third estimate" of U.S. real gross domestic product (GDP) for the second quarter (Q2) of 2024. The BEA reported that real GDP increased at an annual rate of +3.0% in Q2 2024 (adjusted for seasonality and inflation).
  - Economists had expected an increase of 2.1% in Q2, so the Q2 2024 GDP report exceeded expectations and estimates.
  - Q2 was a stronger quarter than Q1 2024, as real GDP increased by 1.6% in Q1.
- The price index for gross domestic purchases increased by 2.4% in Q2; the increase in Q1 was 3.1%.
- Personal consumption expenditures, which reflects consumer activity, increased 2.8% in Q2, up from a 1.9% increase in Q1.
- The personal consumption expenditures (PCE) price index, which is a key inflation variable for the Federal Reserve, increased at a 2.5% annualized pace for Q2 2024. This is lower than the 3.4% figure from Q1 2024.
- Disposable personal income increased \$260.4 billion, or 5.0%, in Q2. Q1 saw an increase of \$240.2 billion, or 4.8%. Also, real disposable personal income increased 2.4% for the quarter.
- The personal savings rate in Q2 2024 was 5.2%, about even with the 5.4% in Q1 2024; this figure was 4.0% in Q4 2023.



Sources: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Dept. of Commerce; CNBC



# Thank you



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