WHAT'S NEXT?

A ROAD MAP FOR INCOMING REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
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Some of the most important votes come before you’re even sworn into office... Will you be ready?
A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

As you continue to campaign to earn the votes of our fellow Americans, we urge you to begin considering what comes next in the days and weeks after the November election. Washington is broken – as you already know. You clearly believe that you can make the difference in setting things back on course. We agree. Please know, however, that the U.S. House of Representatives is every bit as dysfunctional as Washington itself.

As we stand on the cusp of a new Republican Majority, we have the historic opportunity to set the House – and our Nation – on a better course and giving incoming Members of Congress advance knowledge of what’s to come is the critical first step.

Even as you celebrate what we hope and pray will be a well-earned victory, events will come at you very fast. There’s a flurry of activity after the election. For example, incoming freshmen often feel like they’re “drinking from a firehose” because they are so overloaded with information while setting up new congressional offices, interviewing and hiring staff, finding living quarters, determining committee preferences, etc. Even returning Members of Congress are caught up in the hectic transition between legislative sessions. While all this is happening, you’ll be making decisions that will set the course for the next two years (and beyond), and it’s easy to miss the implications during the busy days after the election.

The week of November 14, House Republicans return to Washington to prepare for the new 118th Congress. Party leadership elections will take place. Proposals to amend and approve the rules of the House Republican Conference will be considered. The plan for the Republican Steering Committee (which makes nearly all committee assignments) will be ratified.

These are critical decisions; but the simple truth is that it perfectly suits some if you are unprepared or unaware of their significance. Some will urge you to be “a team player” by falling in line with leadership and doing what you’re told. You’ll be warned not to “rock the boat” by raising questions or concerns with leadership’s agenda.
Before you make any decisions, however, you should be aware of the realities here in Washington and the opportunities we have to change them.

Republicans ran to fix Washington. We cannot continue to govern in the same way that broke it.

The state of affairs in the U.S. House of Representatives has steadily deteriorated over recent decades - to the point at which the balance of power is so lopsided that Members of Congress often find themselves with no meaningful role in major policymaking. For most Members of Congress, their impact in lawmaking is limited only to voting “up” or “down” on final passage of major legislation. The result is that the “People’s House” serves almost everyone in Washington except the American People.

*It does not have to - and should not - be this way.*

The House Freedom Caucus was founded in 2015 to give a voice to countless Americans who feel that Washington doesn’t represent them. We support open, accountable, and limited government. We fight to defend the Constitution and the rule of law. We advance policies that promote the liberty, safety, and prosperity of all Americans. We believe that good policy flows from good process. To achieve our objectives, the House Freedom Caucus strives to protect and improve the process and procedures of the U.S. House of Representatives to empower the Americans we represent. Regardless of whether you wish to be invited to join our ranks, we hope you will find common purpose in this mission.

As you prepare for the 118th Congress, we hope you’ll find this packet helpful. It begins with an explanation of what you’re walking into and describes how the House is dysfunctional from a legislative perspective. We then sketch an approximate timeline for how things are expected to unfold after the election, with explanations and descriptions of what’s happening and why. Additionally, we include supplemental materials such as the Rules of the House Republican Conference, the list of Steering Committee Members, and a map of the Steering Committee Regions.

It’s time to restore true Republican government and give back to the People’s elected representatives their rightful role in lawmaking to genuinely implement the will of the Voters. But to level the playing field, we need major reforms. Therefore, we’ve also attached an initial proposal of reforms to the rules of both the House and House Republican Conference released in July by the House Freedom Caucus - the first of many to follow.
This isn’t a sales pitch to join the House Freedom Caucus. We simply believe that sharing this information now will be helpful for when you prepare to swear your Oath as a Member of Congress while endeavoring to remain true to the principles that brought you into this fight. We hope that it’ll benefit not only our institution, but America as a whole.

I wish you Godspeed on this honorable endeavor.

Very Respectfully,

[Signature]

U.S. Representative Scott Perry
Chairman
House Freedom Caucus
**THE REALITY CHECK**

Newly elected Members of the U.S. House of Representatives often arrive in Washington with some preconceived notions of how Congress works.

Whether you have years of experience as a state lawmaker or this is your first venture into government service, you may have some surprises ahead. We know because we’ve been in your shoes.

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<th>THE EXPECTATION</th>
<th>THE REALITY</th>
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<td>You’ll be able to impact important legislation with your valuable insight on the House floor.</td>
<td>No Member has been able to offer an amendment in an open process on the House floor in six years.</td>
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<td>Your committee assignments will be determined by your life experience prior to being elected.</td>
<td>Committee assignments are based on perceived loyalty to party leadership and whether you agree to meet a fundraising quota. Everything else is secondary.</td>
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<td>You’ll have time to read and carefully consider legislation before having to vote on it.</td>
<td>At best, you’ll have a handful of days to read legislation before voting. Many bills, even massive pieces of legislation, are routinely rushed to the House floor within hours of being released.</td>
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<tr>
<td>You’ll have a voice on major spending bills.</td>
<td>Unless you serve on the Appropriations Committee, you’re rarely allowed to impact decisions on spending. Even those on the Committee, however, are frequently sidelined since party leadership often cobbles together massive spending bills in secret at the eleventh hour.</td>
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PART ONE
IT’S WORSE THAN YOU THOUGHT
WHAT YOU’RE WALKING INTO

You’ve spent months campaigning for the privilege of serving in Congress. We suspect that you often tell Voters that Washington is broken. You’re right. In fact, the situation is far worse than even you may realize because, at a fundamental level, the U.S. House of Representatives no longer works as it should.

Members of Congress have the right to meaningfully participate in lawmaking. “Regular Order” is the ideal legislative process in the U.S. House of Representatives: bills should be referred to a committee of jurisdiction, considered in legislative hearings, undergo a markup process, and ultimately come to the floor for debate, amendment, and passage. In the modern House, we’ve strayed far from this Member-driven process, and Regular Order is rarely followed. As a result, many Members feel like bystanders in the process with their ability to impact bills limited only to a vote on passage.

The more important the legislation, the less adherence we seem to have to Regular Order. Major legislation is brought to the House floor accompanied by special rule resolutions – reported by the Committee on Rules - to set the framework on how the bill is to be considered (e.g., debate time, amendment opportunities, etc.). It’s become common for these special rules to be “closed” so that Members are blocked from offering amendments on the floor. Six years have passed since any Member of the “People’s House” has been allowed to offer an amendment on the floor in an open process; in fact, the last bill considered under an “open” rule amendment process was in May 2016 (long before Speaker Pelosi took control of the House). Previously, under an “open” rule, any Member could draft an amendment – on the spot – on any piece of paper during consideration of an appropriations bill and submit it for debate and a floor vote. Unfortunately, that ended when Republicans still had the Majority, and the Republican 115th Congress (2017-2018) had more legislation considered under “closed” rules with no amendments than any in history.

That’s only part of the problem. Since the start of the pandemic, Speaker Pelosi has made the unprecedented the norm... For over two years, she held her grip on extraordinary powers known as “martial law” or “same day authority” that allowed her to bypass the commonsense House rule that legislation must be available to Members for 72 hours before floor consideration. She hasn’t been shy about abusing it. For example, in March 2022, a $1.5 trillion FY2022 Omnibus spending package was negotiated in secret, released in the middle of the night, and
then rushed to the floor so that Members had less than 12 hours to read 2,741 pages. It took days of digging to discover all the radical policies and wasteful spending passed by this monstrosity. Two months later, in May 2022, Speaker Pelosi again flagrantly abused her powers to rush through the Additional Ukraine Supplemental Appropriations Act, H.R. 7691. This $40 billion legislation with sweeping consequences for U.S. foreign policy was again drafted in secret behind closed doors, dropped on Members at approximately 3:00 PM and the vote on final passage began by 9:30 PM. There is no way a Member of Congress could read and consider this legislation in 6 ½ hours. Any claim that the legislation necessitated this level of urgency is nonsense considering it took the Senate nine days to pass the bill after it was so haphazardly rushed through the House. The legislative process surrounding H.R. 7691 was a disgrace, and it is not an outlier.

This shameful process is not limited to major, headline-grabbing bills and extends even to practices previously reserved for noncontroversial legislation. Most legislation passed by the House comes to the floor under a practice known as “Suspension of the Rules” - which limits floor debate, prohibits all amendments, and requires a 2/3 vote for final passage. It is the most common method for bills to be passed (accounting for 66% of bills considered in the 116th Congress). Unfortunately, it’s now common for this process to be abused to advance major legislation. For example, in June 2022, the Democrat Majority scheduled the Water Resources and Development Act (WRDA), H.R. 7776, for consideration under suspension. Not accompanied by a Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimate, this 232-page bill included some $40 billion in authorizations. On the same day, Democrats also scheduled under suspension the Food and Drug Amendments of 2022, H.R. 7667 – a 205-page bill significantly impacting the Food and Drug Administration’s regulatory powers over the pharmaceutical industry. Not only did these two bills have no business being considered under suspension, but Members were only publicly notified on the night of Friday, June 3 that both bills would be scheduled for the floor on Tuesday, June 7th. That’s a weekend, one business day, and a “fly in” day (when you are traveling to Washington from your district) to read and study over 400 pages of legislation - not accompanied by a cost estimate - before considering them on the floor as suspensions with limited debate and no amendments. This schedule is the norm, but it shouldn’t be.

The closed debate and rushed process is especially felt in the appropriations process. Unless Members serve on the Appropriations Committee, they’re rarely allowed to impact decisions on spending. Even those on the Committee, though, often find themselves sidelined since party leadership frequently cobbles the 12 appropriations bills into enormous Omnibus spending bills... at the eleventh hour... in secrecy.

The budget process is equally dysfunctional. The House Budget Committee has not marked up and reported a budget resolution since 2018. Without the adoption of one, appropriators have no topline spending levels to begin drafting appropriations bills, and every delay makes it more difficult to pass these bills on time. Rather than allowing Members to draft, debate, and amend budget resolutions, these decisions are being settled behind closed doors by party leadership. In both FY22 and FY23, Democrats “deemed” the budget’s topline discretionary spending levels by tucking them into a special rule resolution to avoid a straightforward vote on the budget.
This is not how the budget process was designed to work.

It’s not only the Budget and Appropriations committees being sidelined. Just as they’re blocked from legislating on the House floor, Members find they have less and less impact in their committees. It’s become increasingly common for major legislation to sidestep the committee markup process altogether as they are rushed to the floor for passage. Conversely, Members also discover that bills previously marked up by their committees were later overhauled by leadership - without Member input - before being brought to the floor.

Many of the issues detailed above are symptoms of a bigger problem: There has been a steady but dramatic consolidation of power into the hands of party leadership at the expense of committees and individual representatives. This trend has been underway for decades but has accelerated at lightning speed under Speaker Nancy Pelosi to a point where it has become intolerable. The resulting imbalance is severely undermining the effectiveness of our institution and our ability as Members of Congress to represent our constituents.

As Republicans prepare to take back the Majority, it’s time to set the House right.

The House Freedom Caucus is proposing reforms to restore Regular Order and reclaim the role of the People’s elected representatives in the legislative process, and we hope they will empower all Republicans to better serve our constituents by setting this institution and our Nation back on track. Some of our most significant proposals are enclosed in this packet, and we hope you will consider supporting them when the time comes.
The week after the November election, on November 14, 2022, the U.S. House of Representatives will return to Washington for the “lame duck” session and both parties will begin organizing for the 118th Congress.

For Republicans, this occurs within the House Republican Conference - our party caucus and the organizational structure for all Republican Members. The Conference hosts regular meetings of all House Republicans, and it’s the primary vehicle by which the party’s message is communicated to Members and staff. The Conference Chair, currently Rep. Elise Stefanik (R-NY), directs the day-to-day operations of the Conference office and staff. House Democrats have their own organization, the Democratic Caucus.

**During this first week after the election, the Republican Conference will address three major matters to prepare for the coming year:**

**House Republican Leadership.** The first order of business is to elect the House Republican Leadership for the 118th Congress. For individual representatives, these elections are one of the only points of leverage you’ll have as leadership candidates make commitments in exchange for support - whether it’s rule changes, committee assignments, legislation, etc. Once Members cast their votes, the bargaining power immediately evaporates.

**Republican Conference Rules.** Once you’ve voted and our leadership has been elected, Republicans then consider amendments to the rules of the House Republican Conference. These rules are often overlooked but are critical since they direct how House Republicans function as a body. For example, the processes to select committee chairs and determine Members’ committee assignments are decided by these rules - which are amended and ratified only after leadership elections have taken place.

**Steering Committee Structure.** Equally important is the structure of the Steering Committee, which also happens only after leadership elections. The Steering Committee recommends the chairs and membership of the standing committees (the permanent committees whose jurisdiction is identified in House Rules, such as the Committee on Ways and Means) for the approval of the full Republican Conference. This approval often amounts to little more than a rubberstamping of the decisions of the Steering Committee. Since it’s comprised primarily of party leadership and their close allies, the Steering Committee is considered the “strong arm” of the Republican Speaker.
November 12, 2022 - Saturday

NEW MEMBER ORIENTATION & FRESHMEN REPRESENTATIVES

In the weeks after the November election, the House Committee on Administration will organize and host an official “New Member Orientation.” An official schedule has not yet been announced, but it is expected the orientation will be conducted the weeks before and after Thanksgiving, likely beginning on Saturday, November 12.

This orientation is designed to familiarize you with the House of Representatives, your new role as a Member of Congress, and your colleagues in the freshman class. There will be a series of educational sessions on operating a congressional office, navigating the legislative process, providing constituent services, and so forth, and the schedule will also include social events such as dinners and tours for you and your spouse.

Parallel to the New Member Orientation, the House Republican Conference will begin organizing for the coming 118th Congress during the week of November 14. Just as House Republicans will elect leaders for the next two years, you and your new colleagues choose who among you will represent the freshmen class, and there are several elected positions to be decided:

- **Class President:** Helps develop and communicate policy goals and build relationships among the class.

- **Elected Leadership Representative:** Serves on the Republican Elected Leadership Committee (ELC) as the voice of the freshmen class and has a seat at the table with the Speaker, Majority Leader, Whip, etc. on many major decisions.

- **Steering Committee Representative:** Serves on the Republican Steering Committee and helps recommend the membership and chairs of the standing committees of the House.

- **Policy Committee Representative:** Serves on the Republican Policy Committee and helps develop our party’s policy agenda.

While the official schedule hasn’t been announced by Conference, based on past years, below is an approximate timeline for how these events may unfold, and some additional information on what they entail.

November 14, 2022 - Monday

GOP LEADERSHIP CANDIDATE FORUM

The current Republican Conference Chair (Rep. Stefanik) will call a meeting to provide time for each announced candidate for elected leadership to make an oral presentation and answer questions from Members. In recent years, these forums were scheduled for two hours or less.
This is one of the only opportunities for you to question candidates prior to their election. These positions are filled by majority vote, and should not be coronations.

Questions asked of candidates cover policy, political, and process matters as there are many important matters to be considered when deciding which of our colleagues will lead us. Here are some past examples:

- Will you commit to adopting reforms to decentralize the Steering Committee so that more Members of the Conference have more input?

- How will you ensure that conservatives have appropriate representation on all committees?

- Would you retaliate - or allow your leadership team and their allies to retaliate - against any Republican for opposing procedural votes on the floor due to conflicts in conscience (i.e., stripping committee assignments, refusing to schedule legislation for floor consideration, opposing a Member’s election, etc.)?

- Will you commit to ensuring legislation is brought to the House floor under an open process that allows all Republicans to offer amendments?

- Will you allow any individuals connected to or associated with the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC), or any official Republican entity, to work against any Members of the House Republican Conference either directly or indirectly?

- Will you commit to ensuring that Members are given sufficient time to read and consider legislation before it’s brought to the House floor?

November 16, 2022 - Wednesday

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEadership ELECTIONs

At the organizational meeting of the Republican Conference, candidates for elected leadership positions will be nominated and elected in the following order:

1. the Speaker;
2. the Republican Leader;
3. the Republican Whip;
4. the Chair of the Republican Conference;
5. the Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee;
(6) the Chair of the Committee on Policy;

(7) the Vice-Chair of the Republican Conference;

(8) the Secretary of the Republican Conference.

Candidates are nominated in alphabetical order by surname with one nominating speech and up to seconding speeches.

All contested elections are decided by secret ballot and no proxy voting is permitted.

In the event of more than two candidates for a position with none receiving a majority of votes, the candidate with the lowest number of votes on the first ballot and each succeeding ballot will be dropped until one receives a majority of votes.

Each political party in the House elects its own candidate for Speaker in a closed-door meeting with the hopes of presenting a united front in the public vote on the House floor on the opening day of the new Congress. (This isn’t always the case, however, and multiple candidates from the same party often receive votes during the January election for Speaker.)

November 16, 2022 - Wednesday

As noted above, House Republicans consider and ratify the rules of the Conference and the structure of the Steering Committee only after leadership elections.

Many feel this process is backwards: House Republicans should amend, debate, and adopt our Republican Conference rules prior to electing House GOP leadership. It’s only natural that the rules should be the first order of business since they detail the roles and elections of leadership positions. Furthermore, prioritizing the rules would ensure that they are given the careful consideration they deserve, and promote an impartial, harmonious discussion on any potential changes on a level playing field.

A resolution amending Republican Conference rules to reorder the timeline and address this concern was offered on September 20, 2022. Unfortunately, to date, leadership has not granted expedited consideration to ensure the Republican Conference can vote on this proposal before the November organizing meetings.

**HOUSE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE RULES**

These rules (included in this packet) govern the activities of all House Republicans, including the:
roles and elections of leadership positions;
responsibilities and structure of the Steering Committee;
assignment of Members to committees;
selection of committee and subcommittee chairs;
conduct of Conference meetings;
composition and roles of the NRCC; and
guidelines for scheduling legislation on the House floor.

These rules have evolved over the years -- just as legislation may be amended so, too, can the Conference rules be amended by Republican Members.

The draft resolution of Conference rules (containing any changes proposed by leadership) is typically released several days prior. Individual Republican Members may offer amendments, and a deadline is set to submit these proposals in advance to be shared with colleagues beforehand.

These amendments come from throughout the Republican Conference, and the House Freedom Caucus has already proposed several. These include but will not be limited to:

- **Enacting a “Majority of the Majority” rule** to prohibit the scheduling of legislation for floor consideration that doesn’t have the support of a majority of the Republican Conference. Put simply, legislation passed in a Republican House should be supported by a majority of House Republicans – which hasn’t always been the case with previous Republican Speakers.

- **Enabling the Republican Members of each committee to elect their chair** and vice chair rather than having them selected by the Steering Committee.

- **Allowing committees to defend their role in the legislative process** by prohibiting legislation from being considered on the House floor unless each committee of jurisdiction has acted on it, or the Republican Members in each relevant committee have agreed to waive jurisdiction.

- **Expanding the Steering Committee** by capping the size of each Steering Region to no more than 7 Republican Members. This would significantly increase the number of Regional Representatives – a position to which any Republican may be elected – so that the Steering Committee more accurately reflects the entire Conference rather than being comprised primarily of party leaders and their allies. This builds off reforms by Speaker Paul Ryan to decentralize and democratize the Steering Committee by removing 6 standing committee chairs and transferring those seats to additional Regional Representatives.
• Opening up the legislative process by requiring that any Republican amendment supported by at least 10% of the Conference be made “in order” by the Republican Members of the Rules Committee so that it may be offered, debated, and voted on the House floor.

• Prohibiting the scheduling of non-appropriations legislation for floor consideration if the House has failed to pass appropriations by August 1 and prohibiting the House from recessing or adjourning if it’s failed to do so by September 10. This incentivizes the timely passage of appropriations bills, helps restore fiscal responsibility in Congress, and avoids “kicking the can down the road” with Continuing Resolutions or massive Omnibus spending bills.

The House Freedom Caucus believes these changes will empower all Republicans to fix Washington with a united front while holding our own party leaders accountable, and we will continue to release additional proposals leading up to the organizational meeting.

STEERING COMMITTEE STRUCTURE

Historically, the structure of the Steering Committee and the regional map is ratified on the same day as the Conference rules package.

After the 2016 election, the structure of the Steering Committee and the process for drawing the regional map was codified in the Republican Conference rules for the first time in the 115th Congress - both to increase transparency and address longstanding (and still relevant) concerns about the number of leadership loyalists on the committee.

As noted, the Steering Committee recommends the membership and chairs of the standing committees for approval by the Republican Conference. Conference Rule 11(b) outlines the composition of the Steering Committee as follows:

(1) the Speaker, who shall serve as chair;

(2) the Republican Leader;

(3) the Republican Whip;

(4) the Chief Deputy Whip;

(5) the Chair of the Republican Conference;

(6) the Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee;

(7) the Chair of the Committee on Policy;
(8) the Vice-Chair of the Republican Conference;
(9) the Secretary of the Republican Conference;
(10) the former Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee;
(11) the chair of a standing committee when the Steering Committee considers members for election to or removal from such standing committee;
(12) a Member designated by the Speaker;
(13) Members elected by geographic regions of the conference;
(14) a Member elected by the sophomore class;
(15) a Member elected by the freshman class; and
(16) the Dean of the House, when the Dean is a member of the House Republican Conference.

Each Steering Committee Member has a single vote, except for the Speaker (four votes) and the Republican Leader (two votes). When Republicans are in the Minority, the Leader has four votes, and the Whip has two.

The Regional Representatives on the Steering Committee currently number 17. Any Republican Member may be elected to these positions.

The Steering regions are established by a separate resolution (a “regional plan”) that’s considered and ratified by the Conference. This regional plan is drafted by a Steering Task Force designated by the Republican Leader and must be available for three calendar days prior to being considered, potentially amended, and ultimately approved by the Conference before the election of Regional Representatives.

The 117th Congress Steering Committee membership and regional plan is attached.

November 18, 2022 - Friday

STEERING REGIONAL AND POLICY REPRESENTATIVE ELECTIONS

Each region is responsible for its own proceedings, including nominating and discussing its own candidates before voting by secret ballot for both a representative to the Republican Steering Committee and a representative to the Republican Policy Committee. Under Conference rules, the earliest these elections may occur is two calendar days after the adoption of the Steering regional plan.
The Steering Regional Representative elections tend to receive the most attention since you will be selecting which of your colleagues to best serve your region’s interests when it comes to committee assignments. Each region has its own dynamics: for some, it’s a matter of geography (i.e., which state has the largest delegation) and, for others, it’s a question of experience. However, any Republican Member may be elected to these positions.

The Republican Policy Committee (RPC) is an advisory committee to the Republican Conference to discuss legislative proposals and suggest policies to Republican Members. The Policy Committee’s role has evolved over time as party leadership has asserted more and more control over the legislative agenda. Today, it’s essentially a “think tank” within the Conference. Currently chaired by Rep. Gary Palmer (R-AL), the Policy Committee composition is outlined in conference rules:

- One Member from each region, state, or group of states under the Steering Committee structure;
- Two Members elected by the sophomore class and one Member elected by the freshman class;
- House Republican Leadership;
- One Member from each standing committee of the House appointed by the Speaker; and
- Such Members-at-large as may be appointed by the Speaker.

December 2022

The House is currently scheduled to be in Washington from November 29-December 2, December 5-8, and December 12-15.

THE “LAME DUCK” SESSION

The “lame duck” period begins after the election and goes to the opening day of the 118th Congress, and it historically includes a rushed, crowded pipeline of legislative activity.

If Republicans retake the House in November, the outgoing Democrat Majority will likely attempt to ram through as many partisan priorities as possible before losing control over the chamber.

One major issue is government funding. Currently, government funding expires at the end of FY2022 on September 30, 2022, and was extended to December to avoid a government shutdown. This will have significant implications for both the “lame duck” period and the first weeks of the 118th Congress.
The House Freedom Caucus publicly urged Republican leadership in the House and Senate to reject any short-term Continuing Resolution in September that fails to extend current funding to the 118th Congress. Passing a Continuing Resolution that expires in December set the stage for a “lame duck” Omnibus, which is an opportunity for Democrats to further advance their radical agenda by attaching policies to a “must pass” bill.

Some may argue that government funding could be difficult for a new Republican Majority to tackle in its first weeks and, therefore, we should allow the issue to be “taken off the table” by negotiating a spending deal with an outgoing Democrat Majority in December. The House Freedom Caucus strongly disagrees.

Republicans must be united in opposition and allow our incoming freshmen “reinforcements” to arrive and take our anticipated Majority in January so that they - and the Voters who will send them to Washington - can have a voice on legislation to fund the government, as well as any other “must pass” bills such as the National Defense Authorization Act.

These events will be worth watching even if you have not yet been sworn into office as they may impact your decisions on leadership elections.

COMMITTEE CHAIRS AND ASSIGNMENTS

While informal lobbying begins immediately after the election, the formal committee assignment process typically begins when House Republicans return to Washington following Thanksgiving.

After the 2020 election, on December 2, Republicans were asked to submit their committee preferences no later than December 9. On December 3, the House Republican Conference met and ratified the recommendations of the Steering Committee for the Ranking Members on each committee for the 117th Congress. When the House formally convenes in January, the whole House will vote to approve the entire roster of assignments set by each party’s leadership (customarily a rubberstamp vote).

A host of factors come into play when party leadership, through the Steering Committee, makes committee assignments. Ideally, those decisions would be based entirely on qualifications and effectiveness; however, that’s rarely the case.

Unless significant reforms are enacted, two important factors are considered above all else:

• Whether a Member is perceived to be loyal to leadership. The Steering Committee, as mentioned, is the “strong arm” of Republican leadership. Republicans who fail to fall in step behind leadership have faced retaliation in the past. In December 2012, for example, four conservative Republicans were
purged from committee assignments for what one leadership ally called the “a-hole factor.” While that was one of the most notorious instances, there have been many examples since. If a Member isn’t considered a “team player,” the Steering Committee may block even the most qualified individuals from serving where their skills and talents are most needed.

- Whether a Member is willing to pay their “assessment” to the NRCC. Often masked with euphemisms such as “being good on the other side of the street,” fundraising is all important. Every committee assignment comes with a specific fundraising quota attached, and each Member is expected to abide or else may find themselves serving on another (less sought after) committee altogether. All committees are divided into three tiers based on the fundraising capacity connected to them. For example, the Committee on Ways and Means is considered tier “A” due to its powerful jurisdiction over tax policy (and the resulting contributions from lobbyists). The Armed Services Committee, though, is considered a “B” committee. The Committee on Ethics, which has almost no fundraising potential, is considered less lucrative by the party and labeled a “C” committee. If a Member neglects their “dues,” or is perceived to be likely to neglect their dues, it will be reflected in your committee assignments.

That’s the system that exists today - but it doesn’t have to be the one we’re stuck with. Ensuring that committee assignments are made on qualifications and effectiveness requires reforms to the Steering Committee to instill a more transparent and accountable process.

Throughout the “lame duck” period, the Steering Committee will deliberate and make its recommendations, which are typically rubberstamped by the Conference. Members likely will begin receiving their assignments in late December and into mid-January as the final party ratios on each committee are calculated based on the size of the Majority.

**STAFFING DECISIONS**

Some of the most important decisions you’ll make in Washington will be the hiring of staff as they will have a tremendous impact on your success.

Many incoming freshmen feel pressure to have a full staff in place before January. While that’s certainly ideal, ensuring you select the right people is far more important than speed. It’s not uncommon for House offices to take a couple of months to be fully staffed.

It’s often recommended that you begin by hiring your key staff first and then working with them to navigate Capitol Hill and set your office’s strategic goals before proceeding to fill every position.
No position is more important that your Chief of Staff. This role must be filled by someone you trust and feel comfortable with, and it should be someone who complements your own strengths and weaknesses. Setting up a new congressional office is a huge endeavor, and an experienced Chief of Staff will help you tackle these challenges.

In addition to your Chief of Staff, there are four main roles you’ll likely need in Washington by the time you’re sworn into office. It’s critical to have a Scheduler to handle meeting requests and track your day-to-day agenda. As legislating will start almost immediately, you should have an experienced policy staffer (i.e., a Legislative Director) to help with vote recommendations, develop and track legislation, and brief you on policy matters. You’ll also need a communications staffer to establish your social media presence and handle incoming press inquiries. It will also be helpful to have at least one junior staffer in your D.C. office to greet visitors, answer the phones, and run errands.

As you put your team into place in Washington, you also need to fill positions back home. A District Director is often an important early hire to communicate with your local stakeholders, coordinate with the D.C. staff, and build out your district offices with Field Representatives (to represent you at local functions and build relationships in the community) and Caseworkers (to assist constituents with government agencies).

You’ll have a flood of applicants coming from every side, and there are many resources available to provide assistance. During your freshman orientation, party leadership will offer advice and help. Similarly, the House Freedom Caucus provides assistance to connect incoming Members with experienced conservatives, as does the Republican Study Committee. It may also be helpful to work with outside partners such as the Conservative Partnership Institute and the Heritage Foundation to find and vet candidates.

You don’t need to take on the task of hiring alone. That said, the impact of staff is well understood in Washington, and some recommendations may come from those wishing to influence your vote by placing “the right people around you” to steer you in a certain direction.

If you’re unsure about a candidate, it’s advisable to seek out Members you trust and feel aligned with to ask for advice. Capitol Hill is a small world, and it’s likely the Member or their staff knows the individual you’re considering.

Ultimately, your staff must reflect you, your values, and your goals.

January 3, 2023 - Tuesday

Per the Constitution, Congress shall convene at noon on January 3 - unless designated by law by the previous Congress.
The opening day of the 118th Congress likely will follow a well-established routine of proceedings on the House floor, much of which amounts to official housekeeping duties. There are two major items worth delving into.

**ELECTING THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE**

Each political party traditionally presents its main candidate as its party’s official nominee for Speaker of the House. As explained previously, the House Republican Conference determines our party’s official nominee for Speaker by secret ballot in the leadership elections held in the November organizational meetings.

Unlike the internal vote within the Republican Conference, however, please note that the official Speaker of the House election in January is a public vote on the record, and frequently televised live for the American People.

No formal requirement exists that Members vote for their party’s official nominee for Speaker. In 2015, for example, on the opening day of the 114th Congress, incumbent Speaker John Boehner (R-OH) received 216 votes, but 25 Republicans voted for several other candidates in a show of dissent in attempt to force a second ballot.

Members may vote for any individual, nominated or not – including individuals not serving in the House of Representatives. It’s not unusual for non-Members to receive a handful of votes and, in the 116th Congress, for example, one Democrat voted for then-former Vice President Joe Biden, and another voted for failed Georgia gubernatorial candidate Stacey Abrams.

To be elected, a candidate must receive an absolute majority of all the votes cast – which may be less than a majority of the House (218) due to vacancies, absentees, and “present” votes.

If no candidate receives the required majority, the roll call is repeated until a Speaker has been elected. In 1923, it took 9 ballots.

In such situations, it’s highly unlikely that a Minority party candidate receives an absolute majority and win in an upset, as Members of the Majority would have to cross the aisle to vote for a Member of the other party. Instead, the Majority is forced to deliberate internally until a candidate is settled upon and emerges victorious in succeeding ballots.

**ADOPTING THE RULES OF THE HOUSE**

Just as the Republican Conference will ratify our party’s rules during the week of November 14, the House of Representatives will consider and approve the chamber’s rules.
The House is a formal body with specific rules and procedures that govern how and when legislation may come to the floor, jurisdiction of committees, budget processes, and much more.

The House is a formal body with specific rules and procedures that govern how and when legislation may come to the floor, the jurisdictions of committees, budget processes, and much more. The Constitution states that the House (like the Senate) has the responsibility to determine its own rules of proceedings. These House rules do not carry over from one Congress to the next, and the House must formally adopt rules for the 118th Congress.

Any changes to the rules of the previous Congress are typically worked out by the Majority party’s leadership beforehand and considered by the House in the form of a simple resolution (often “H.Res. 5”).

When the House considers the Majority’s rules resolution, there will technically be no existing House rules. As a result, the resolution will be considered under “general parliamentary law” largely resembling the rules in force during the previous Congress.

Here’s how the adoption of the rules resolution plays out on the House floor:

- Debate is typically limited to one hour split between the Majority and the Minority.

- At the end of the allotted time, the Majority’s floor manager “moves the previous question” (a motion to end debate by forcing an immediate vote on the question of final approval for the Majority’s rules resolution).

- Adopting the previous question results in an end to the debate and prevents amendments from being offered to the rules package. If the previous question is voted down, however, the rules resolution is then subject to amendment.

- Once the pervious question is adopted, the Minority has one last opportunity to amend the resolution by offering a “motion to commit with instructions.” If adopted, this motion would send the resolution to committee to take some specified action (i.e., adding a certain amendment). In practice, if the motion passes, it’s presumed that the committee has acted in the manner instructed, and the measure is immediately brought back to the House for a vote. If such a motion is offered by the Minority, 10 minutes of debate is permitted before it is typically defeated by the Majority.

- Assuming the previous question has been adopted and any motion to commit with instructions has been defeated, the Majority moves to adopt its rules resolution and it is voted on by the House.

- Upon adoption of the House rules and other organizational proceedings, the House then turns to more regular legislative business.
Bottom line, if Republican Members wish to make changes to the rules resolution offered by the leadership of the next Republican Majority, it should be done well in advance of the opening day of the 118th Congress.

The rules of the House are a critical matter that should not be overlooked.

Republicans believe in fixing Washington, so why would we continue to govern with the same set of flawed rules that broke it? If you want to “drain the swamp,” you need to start with the plumbing - and that means the rules that govern how the House functions.

The breakdown in the normal legislative process shuts out the American People and their Members of Congress. The resulting dysfunction benefits the connected lobbyists and entrenched bureaucrats who can game the system behind closed doors, all while the People’s elected representatives struggle to even find out what bills are being considered and then often find themselves powerless to impact them beyond voting “up” or “down” on final passage.

Our Founding Fathers did not intend for the People’s elected representatives to be bystanders or rubberstamps in lawmaking - and that is certainly not why our constituents sent us to Washington.

The House Freedom Caucus has publicly proposed reforming the House rules for the 118th Congress, and we will be advocating for several changes to be included in the Majority’s rules resolution in January, including:

- **Resetting the House rules to undo the damage caused by Democrats.** Wiping the slate clean by restoring the same House rules as they existed before Speaker Pelosi took control in 2019 is step one for a new Republican Majority. Among other improvements, going back to the rules of the 115th Congress would restore the “Motion to Vacate the Chair” procedure so any Member is once again able to hold the Speaker of the House accountable by offering a privileged motion to remove them; reimplement the commonsense requirement that a comparative print is made available showing exactly how legislation will change existing laws before any bill receives a vote; and eliminate the ability to automatically suspend the debt ceiling without a standalone vote when the House adopts a budget resolution.

- **Reactiving critical oversight tools to hold the Biden Administration and bureaucrats accountable by restoring the “Holman Rule.”** Eliminated by Democrats, this rule allows Members to make targeted spending cuts in appropriations bills by slashing the funding for specific federal programs or even cutting the salaries of individual federal employees. For example, Republicans could use this rule to reduce the salary of Dr. Anthony Fauci to $1.

- **Ending secret, rushed deals behind closed doors.** House rules currently require legislation be available for 72 hours prior to floor consideration, but
these commonsense, good government rules are easily waived - and it has become the norm under Speaker Pelosi to rush the passage of massive bills so fast that no one can even read them. The next Republican Majority must require bills to be publicly available for 120 hours (5 full days) and require a two-thirds vote by the House to waive this rule.

**Reinstating a ban on earmarks.** While both parties have chosen to allow earmarks under the name “Community Funding Projects,” the practice remains ripe for corruption and abuse - and is often used to buy votes and coerce support for bills that might otherwise not pass muster. There should be a strict ban on earmarks instituted in the rules of the House.

We hope that you will consider supporting these reforms, as well as others not yet released, when the time comes.
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*All dates are subject to change

- House in Session
- House Adjourned
HOUSE FREEDOM CAUCUS:

RESTORING THE PEOPLE’S VOICE IN CONGRESS

TOPLINE:

• Between now and January, the House Freedom Caucus will work with likeminded colleagues to demand aggressive reforms to return the People’s House back to the American people and make it function again.

• The leaders of both political parties have consolidated so much power that most Members of Congress have no meaningful role in the legislative process beyond voting up or down.

• The result is that the “People’s House” is serving everyone in Washington except the American people: politicians, connected lobbyists, and entrenched bureaucrats.

• Republicans ran to fix Washington so we should not continue the same system that broke it. It’s time to restore real republican government and give elected representatives back their rightful role in lawmaking to implement the will of their voters.

REFORM THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE: RECLAIM LEGISLATIVE IMPACT FOR THE PEOPLE’S REPRESENTATIVES

To fix the House of Representatives, we must first put Republicans’ own house in order. The governing rules of the House Republican Conference must be reformed to give all Members the power to fix Washington with a united front and to hold our own party leaders accountable.

1) Enact a “Majority of the Majority” Rule. Legislation passed in a Republican House should be supported by a majority of House Republicans.

Our constituents did not elect us to cut deals with Democrats that cannot win the support of most Republicans.
Not only will this force more unity and consensus among House Republicans by requiring us to tackle the tough issues together, but it upholds Republicans’ commitment to voters that we will remain faithful to the promises we make.

2) **Restore the Independence of Committees.** To balance the power between committees and party leaders so that Members can meaningfully participate in the legislative process on behalf of their constituents, committees need to reclaim independence and authority.

Instead of being selected based on loyalty towards and fundraising for party leadership, committee chairs should be elected by the members of their committee based on their qualifications and effectiveness.

Furthermore, committees need the ability to defend their jurisdiction from being ignored. Republicans should prohibit legislation from coming to the floor unless each committee of jurisdiction has acted on it, unless waived by the Republicans in the relevant committees.

Committees are supposed to be the workhorses of the House and where most Members are most impactful in the legislative process - not sidelined as party leaders handcraft legislation behind closed doors and rush it to the House floor so that individual representatives cannot provide input.

3) **Expand the Steering Committee.** The Steering Committee makes nearly all decisions on committee assignments for House Republicans, but its makeup does not reflect all House Republicans and instead it is packed with party leaders and their close allies. As a result, decisions are made based on who is loyal to leadership and who delivers the most fundraising - not who is best qualified.

To level the playing field and better reflect House Republicans (and the voters they represent), Steering needs a significant increase in seats for “Regional Representatives,” roles to which any Republican can be elected by colleagues. Capping the number of Members covered by each Regional Representative to 7 would effectively double the representation on Steering Committee and ensure its not merely the “strong arm” of the Speaker.

4) **Open the Legislative Process.** For Members of Congress to represent the will of their constituents in lawmaking, they must have the ability to actually participate in making laws. No Member of the “People’s House” has been allowed to offer an amendment in an open process to change legislation being considered on the floor since May 2016. The Republican 115th Congress broke the record for the most bills considered without amendments. Americans expect more from Republicans than to be mere rubber stamps, blocked from having any impact on legislation beyond voting for or against a final product.
Republican Conference rules must be changed to require all legislation considered on the floor to allow amendments. If amendments must be limited to some degree, then any Republican amendment supported by at least 10 percent of the Republican Conference must be allowed to be offered, debated, and voted on.

5) Enforce Responsibility in Spending. Restoring fiscal responsibility requires being responsible with spending decisions. We will never rein in out-of-control spending if we continue governing with kick-the-can-down-the-road continuing resolutions and massive omnibus spending bills crafted in secret at the eleventh hour and rushed to the floor for a vote.

The House is supposed to pass all twelve regular appropriations bills to fund the government by June 30 - in time for the Senate to consider them and the President to sign them into law by the start of the fiscal year on October 1. This schedule hasn’t been met in over two decades.

House Republicans should prove we are the party of fiscal responsibility to reforming our party’s rules to incentivize the passage of appropriations bills on time without relying on continuing resolutions or omnibus bills.

If the House fails to pass appropriations by August 1, then no other legislation should come to the floor until it does. If the House still has not acted by September 10, the Republican Speaker should be prohibited from recessing or adjourning until it has done its duty.

REFORM HOUSE RULES: LEVEL THE PLAYING FIELD FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The breakdown in the normal legislative process (“regular order”) accelerated at lightning speed under Speaker Nancy Pelosi. Not only has this deterioration helped the leadership of both political parties accumulate so much power that they now call all the shots, but it also benefits lobbyists and bureaucrats who game the system behind closed doors - all while the representatives elected by Americans struggle to even find out what legislation is being considered and then find themselves powerless to impact it.

Republicans have the opportunity to reset the rules of the House to level the playing field and once again make this institution reflect the will of the people.

1) Reset the House Rules. Republicans need to undo the damage to the institution caused by Democrats. Wiping the slate clean by restoring the same House Rules as the 115th Congress as they existed before Speaker Pelosi took control in January 2019 is step one for the new Republican Majority. This includes:
• Ending the unconstitutional practice of proxy voting;

• Restoring the “Motion to Vacate the Chair” procedure so any Member is once again able to hold the Speaker accountable by offering a privileged motion to remove them;

• Reimplementing the commonsense requirement that a comparative print is made available showing exactly how legislation will change existing laws before any bill receives a vote; and

• Eliminating the ability to automatically suspend the debt ceiling without a standalone vote when the House adopts a budget resolution.

2) Hold Bureaucrats Accountable. Congress has the tools in its arsenal to hold the Biden Administration accountable - if we activate them. Democrats eliminated the “Holman Rule” when they took the House because it allows Members to make targeted spending cuts in appropriations funding bills by slashing the funding of specific federal programs or cutting the salaries of individual federal employees (e.g., Dr. Anthony Fauci). Republicans must reimplement the Holman Rule.

3) End Secret Deals Behind Closed Doors. House Rules require legislation be available for 72 hours before being considered on the floor. These commonsense, good government rules are easily waived, but it was previously considered a rare and significant departure from the norm.

In May 2020, Democrats gave themselves “same day authority” (also known as “martial law”) to get around these rules and force a vote on bills the same day they are introduced. Speaker Pelosi has kept this extraordinary power for over two years, using it to rush the passage of massive trillion-dollar spending deals so fast that no one can even read them.

To end this reckless abuse, the next Republican Majority must change this requirement from 72 hours to 120 hours (5 full days) and require a vote of two-thirds of the House to waive this rule.

4) Institute a Ban on Earmarks. While both parties have opted to allow earmarks under the name “Community Funding Projects,” the practice remains open for corruption, and it enables party leaders to coerce Members into supporting legislation they otherwise would oppose. Earmarks facilitate federal overreach by spending taxpayer-dollars on personal pet projects of lawmakers and lobbyists. Earmarks also extend Congress’s power of spending beyond items genuinely connected to the nation’s welfare. In practice, they are often used to buy votes and coerce support for bills that might otherwise not pass muster. Essentially, earmarks amount to taxpayer-financed bribery. There must be a strict ban on earmarks instituted in House Rules.
CONFERENCE RESOLUTION

Resolved, that the following shall be the rules of the House Republican Conference for the 117th Congress:

Rule 1–Conference Membership

(a) Inclusion—All Republican Members of the House of Representatives (including Delegates and the Resident Commissioner) and other Members of the House as determined by the Republican Conference of the House of Representatives (“the Conference”) shall be Members of the Conference.

(b) Expulsion—A 2/3 vote of the entire membership shall be necessary to expel a Member of the Conference. Proceedings for expulsion shall follow the rules of the House of Representatives, as nearly as practicable.

Rule 2–Republican Leadership

(a) Elected Leadership—The Elected Republican Leaders of the House of Representatives are—

(1) the Speaker;

(2) the Republican Leader;

(3) the Republican Whip;

(4) the Chair of the Republican Conference;

(5) the Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee;

(6) the Chair of the Committee on Policy;

(7) the Vice-Chair of the Republican Conference; and,

(8) the Secretary of the Republican Conference.
(b) Designated Leadership—The designated Republican Leaders of the House of Representatives are—

(1) the Chair of the House Committee on Rules;
(2) the Chair of the House Committee on Ways and Means;
(3) the Chair of the House Committee on Appropriations;
(4) the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget;
(5) the Chair of the House Committee on Energy and Commerce;
(6) the Chief Deputy Whip;
(7) one member of the sophomore class elected by the sophomore class; and,
(8) one member of the freshman class elected by the freshman class.

(c) Leadership Committee Limitation—

(1) The Speaker, Republican Leader, Whip, and the Chairs of the Republican Conference and the National Republican Congressional Committee shall not serve on more than one standing committee or subcommittee of the House of Representatives and in no case shall any of these individuals serve as chair of a standing committee of the House of Representatives. Upon the recommendation of the Steering Committee and the approval of the Conference this provision may be waived.

(2) If a Member shall, at any time, cease to serve in any of the Leadership positions named above, he or she may resume his or her position on the standing committee on which he or she previously served.

(3) If a member of Elected Republican Leadership as described in rule 2(a) publicly announces his or her intention to seek other elected office in Federal, state, or local government, that Member shall resign from such leadership position. That position shall be filled pursuant to rule 2(e) of the Conference rules.

(d) Authority and Responsibilities in the Minority—

(1) The Speaker and Republican Leader—During any time that the Republican Party is not the majority party of the House of Representatives, the office of Speaker shall be considered as vacant, and any reference to, or authority vested in, the Speaker under these rules shall be considered references to and authority vested in the Republican Leader.
(2) Committee Chairs and Ranking Republican Members.—During any time that the Republican Party is not the majority party of the House of Representatives, any reference to, responsibility of, or authority vested in, the chair of a committee of the House in these rules shall be considered a reference to, responsibility of, or authority vested in the Ranking Republican Member of such committee.

(e) Vacancies in Elected Leadership—In the event of a vacancy in an office described in paragraph (a) (other than a vacancy addressed by rule 26), that vacancy shall be filled in the manner described in rules 3 and 4 as though as a continuation of the organizational meeting under rule 3(a).

**Rule 3—Organizing Conference**

(a) Organizing Conference—The organizational meeting of the Conference shall be called by the Speaker, except as otherwise provided by law. The meeting shall be held not later than the 20th day of December.

(b) Order of Elections—At the organizational meeting of the Republican Conference, the Conference shall nominate and elect the Elected Leadership for that Congress in the following order—

1. the Speaker;
2. the Republican Leader;
3. the Republican Whip;
4. the Chair of the Republican Conference;
5. the Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee;
6. the Chair of the Committee on Policy;
7. the Vice-Chair of the Republican Conference; and,
8. the Secretary of the Republican Conference.

Except that during any time that the Republican Party is not the majority party of the House of Representatives, there shall be no election held for the office of Speaker.

(c) Prior to the convening of the organizational meeting called pursuant to paragraph (a), the current Chair of the Republican Conference shall call a meeting to provide each of the announced candidates for Elected Leadership time to make an oral presentation and entertain questions from Members of the Conference. In establishing the time,
date, and format of such meeting, the Chair shall consult with all announced candidates for Elected Leadership and a cross-section of Members of the Conference.

**Rule 4—Conference Election Procedures**

(a) Votes by Secret Ballot—All contested elections shall be decided by secret ballot, and no proxy voting shall be allowed.

(b) Nominations—

1. Candidates for office shall be nominated in alphabetical surname order.
2. For each Leadership nomination there shall be one nominating speech (not to exceed three minutes in length), and there may be two seconding speeches (each not to exceed one minute in length).

(c) Balloting Procedures—When there are more than two candidates for any office and none receives a majority of the votes on the first ballot, a quorum being present, the candidate with the lowest number of votes on that and each succeeding ballot will be dropped from the ballot until one candidate receives a majority of the votes, a quorum being present.

**Rule 5—Conference Meetings**

(a) Call and Notice—Meetings of the Republican Conference may be called at any time by the chair of the Conference, after consultation with the Speaker.

(b) Speaker’s Annual Meeting—The Speaker shall hold an annual Meeting at the beginning of each session of Congress at which the Republican Leadership shall report to the Membership on their plans for the upcoming session.

(c) With respect to a meeting called under this rule, whenever possible, at least 24 hours notice of the time, place, and agenda of a meeting shall be given to Members of the Conference.

(d) Decorum—Meetings of the Republican Conference shall be conducted in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Rules of the House of Representatives, including rule XVII, that govern decorum and the personal behavior of the Members of the Conference.

**Rule 6—Rules of Procedure and Order of Business**

(a) Rules of the House—The Rules of the House of Representatives, insofar as they are applicable, shall govern the proceedings of the Republican Conference.
(b) Motions–

(1) No motion shall be available other than those described in clause 4 of rule XVI (relating to the precedence of motions) or rule XIX (relating to motions after the amendment stage) of the Rules of the House of Representatives.

(2) When a motion has been made and carried or lost, it shall be in order for any member of the prevailing side, in the same or succeeding meeting of the Republican Conference, to move for the reconsideration thereof. The procedures for reconsideration shall be consistent with the Rules of the House.

(c) Resolutions–

(1) Any matter to be considered by the Republican Conference shall be in the form of a resolution.

(2) (A) Referral of resolutions, generally—Except as provided in subparagraph (3), all resolutions brought before the Republican Conference shall be referred by the Chair to the appropriate committee for consideration.

(B) Resolutions proposing a change in Republican Conference rules.–

(i) A resolution proposing a change to the rules of the Republican Conference shall be referred to an ad hoc committee for the purpose of consideration of that measure.

(ii) The committee shall be appointed by the Speaker and chaired by the senior Republican member of the Committee on Rules of the House.

(iii) In making the appointments under this subparagraph, the Speaker shall appoint at least one Member who is a proponent of the resolution.

(3) Precedence of resolutions offered by the Speaker—The Speaker, or a designee, may present any resolution to the Conference for its immediate consideration.

(d) Petitions–

(1) Discharge of committee of the Republican Conference–

(A) A resolution which has 25 or more signatures of Members shall be considered by the appropriate committee of the Republican Conference as soon as practicable, but not later than 10 legislative
days, and reported back to the Conference.

(B) If the resolution is not acted on by the committee to which it was referred as soon as practicable, but not later than 10 legislative days, a petition of 50 or more Members will discharge the resolution for consideration before the Conference.

(2) Petition for a special meeting—

(A) If 20 percent of the Members of the Republican Conference petition the Chair for a special meeting of the Conference, the Chair shall schedule such special meeting as soon as practicable, but not later than 10 legislative days.

(B) The Chair shall provide a means by which Members may submit such a petition or other evidence of support electronically.

(e) Suspension Procedure—Two-thirds of the Members voting, a quorum being present, may suspend the Conference rules. All motions to suspend the rules shall be seconded by a majority, if demanded. The consideration of a motion to suspend the rules, to the extent practicable, shall follow the rules of the House.

Rule 7–Conference Meetings: Quorum

A majority of the Members of the Conference shall constitute a quorum.

Rule 8–Conference Meetings: Secret Ballot

On demand of one Member, with the support of five others, the vote on any matter properly pending before the Conference shall be taken by secret ballot.

Rule 9–Conference Meetings: Admittance

(a) The Chair may decide whether meetings of the Conference shall be open or closed to the public, subject to an appeal by any Member.

(b) The Chair may designate Leadership staff or other eligible persons to attend Conference meetings which are closed to the public. Those individuals shall be excused at the discretion of the Chair.

(c) Upon timely notice from the Chair, an executive session of the Conference may be called. This meeting shall be closed to all persons except Members of the Conference.

(d) On the demand of one Member, with the support of 25 others, a Conference meeting shall be taken into executive session.
Rule 10—Conference Meetings: Journal

The Secretary of the Conference shall keep a journal of the Conference proceedings and each journal entry shall be signed by the Conference Secretary and the Conference Chair. The journal shall be open for inspection at the request of any Member of the Conference.

Rule 11—Republican Steering Committee

(a) Establishment and Purpose—

(1) There is hereby established a Republican Steering Committee which shall recommend to the Republican Conference—

(i) the membership of the standing committees; and

(ii) the chairs of the standing committees.

(2) The Republican Steering Committee shall interview each Member seeking election as chair of a standing committee before making its recommendation, even if that Member served as chair of such standing committee in the prior congress.

(3) This subsection shall not apply to a standing committee listed in rule 12.

(b) Composition—The Republican Steering Committee shall be comprised of—

(1) the Speaker, who shall serve as its chair;

(2) the Republican Leader;

(3) the Republican Whip;

(4) the Chief Deputy Whip;

(5) the Chair of the Republican Conference;

(6) the Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee;

(7) the Chair of the Committee on Policy;

(8) the Vice-Chair of the Republican Conference;

(9) the Secretary of the Republican Conference;

(10) the former Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee;
(c) Election of Regional and Class Representatives—

(1) (A) Prior to the election of the Members elected pursuant to subsection (b)(13) of this rule, the Republican Conference shall adopt a resolution establishing the structure of such regions.

(B) (i) The Speaker shall appoint a task force of Members to recommend a regional plan.

(ii) If the task force is unable to recommend a regional plan to the Speaker, the Speaker shall recommend a regional plan to the Republican Conference.

(C) It shall not be in order to consider the regional plan until the third calendar day (exclusive of Saturdays, Sundays, and Federal holidays, unless the House is in session on such day) on which the regional plan has been available to Members.

(D) Any proposed amendments to the regional plan shall be submitted to the Republican Conference not later than the calendar day prior to consideration of the regional plan by the Republican Conference. The Chair of the Republican Conference shall make all such amendments available to the Members of the Republican Conference prior to consideration of any such amendment.

(2) It shall not be in order to elect regional and class representatives to the Republican Steering Committee until the second calendar day (exclusive of Saturdays, Sundays, and Federal holidays, unless the House is in session on such day) after adoption of the regional plan. Any such election shall be conducted by secret ballot.

(d) Voting Strength—Each member of the Republican Steering Committee shall have a single vote, except the Speaker, who shall have 4, and the Republican Leader, who shall have 2. During any time that the Republican Party is not the majority party of the House of Representatives, the Republican Leader shall have 4 votes and the Republican Whip shall have 2 votes.

(e) Definition—For purposes of this rule, the term “regional plan” shall mean a plan establishing geographic regions for purposes of electing representatives under subsection (b)(13) of this rule.

Rule 12—Election Procedures for Standing Committees

(a) In General—
(1) The Republican Steering Committee shall recommend to the Republican Conference the Republican Members of the standing committees of the House of Representatives, except as otherwise provided in this rule.

(2) In those cases where the Steering Committee nominated Members for membership on standing committees, the Steering Committee shall recommend directly to the House of Representatives the Republican Members to fill vacancies on standing committees which occur following the organization of a Congress. Whenever possible, a vacancy shall be filled within thirty days while Congress is in session.

(b) Election of Members of the Committee on Rules—

(1) Nomination—The Speaker shall nominate the Republican Members of the Committee on Rules, including the chair. These nominations shall be submitted to the Conference along with the other nominees from the Steering Committee.

(2) Rejection and New Nomination—If the Republican Conference rejects the nominee for Chair of the Committee on Rules, the Speaker shall again submit a nomination to the Conference.

(3) Retention of Seniority Rights—A Member newly assigned to the Rules Committee shall have the option of being “on leave with seniority” from one standing committee on which he or she served previously. At such time as service on the Rules Committee shall cease, such member shall have the right to return to active membership on that standing committee with the relative seating and seniority accumulated during his or her tenure on the Rules Committee.

(c) Election of the Members of the Committee on the Budget—

(1) Chair.—The Republican Steering Committee shall nominate the Member to serve as the Chair of the Committee on the Budget. Limits on the term of service for the Chair shall be determined by the Rules of the House.

(2) Leadership Member—The Speaker shall appoint one member to serve on the committee. That Member will serve as the second highest-ranking Republican on the committee.

(3) Nomination of other Members—The Steering Committee shall recommend members from the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Ways and Means, and the Committee on Rules for service on the Committee on the Budget in such numbers as may be consistent with the Rules of the House. Chairs and Leadership Members are considered towards these requirements if that member also happens to serve on the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Ways and Means, or the Committee on Rules.
(d) Election of the Members of the Committee on House Administration—

(1) Nomination—The Speaker shall nominate the Republican Members of the Committee on House Administration, including the Chair. These nominations shall be submitted to the Conference along with the other nominees from the Steering Committee.

(2) Rejection and New Nomination—If the Republican Conference rejects the nominee for Chair to the Committee on House Administration, the Speaker shall again submit a nomination to the Conference.

**Rule 13—Appointments to Joint and Select Committees**

The Speaker shall recommend to the House all Republican Members of such joint, select, and ad hoc committees as shall be created by the House, in accordance with law.

**Rule 14—Nomination and Election of Committee Chairs**

(a) Nominations by the Steering Committee—

(1) The Republican Steering Committee shall nominate the Republican Members who shall serve as chairs, except as provided in rules 12 and 13. The Member nominated by the Steering Committee for this position need not be the Member with the longest consecutive service on the Committee, and such nominations shall be out of order except as recommended in the report of the Steering Committee.

(2) The Republican Steering Committee may also designate the Republican Members who shall serve as Vice Chair. The Member designated by the Steering Committee for this position need not be the Member with the longest consecutive service on the Committee.

(b) Voting Procedure—The Conference shall vote on the recommendation of the House Republican Steering Committee for the position of Chair. The call of the Conference at which such voting will take place shall name and list the individuals recommended by the Committee. Nothing in this rule shall be construed to limit the ability of any member to request a secret ballot under Rule 8.

(c) Rejection and new nominations—If the Republican Conference fails to approve a recommendation of the Steering Committee with respect to a nomination for the position of Chair, the matter shall be automatically recommitted without instructions to that Committee.

(d) Obligation of committee chairs—
(1) The Republican Chair of each committee has an obligation to ensure that each measure on which the Republican Conference has taken a position is managed in accordance with such position on the Floor of the House of Representatives.

(2) (A) If the chair of a committee receives a written request from the sponsor of a measure requesting a hearing on that measure and the measure is–

(i) primarily referred to such committee;

(ii) cosponsored by a majority of the members of the Republican Conference; and

(iii) cosponsored by not fewer than 1/3 of the Republican members of such committee; then the chair of such committee shall schedule a hearing on the measure within 15 legislative days and hold such hearing not later than 30 legislative days after receipt of such request or prior to the sine die adjournment of the congress in which such request is made, whichever occurs first.

(B) This provision shall not apply to a measure directing the Secretary of the Treasury to strike and issue a commemorative coin or strike a Congressional Gold Medal, or a measure naming a postal facility.

(e) Term limitation—No individual shall serve more than three consecutive terms as chair or Ranking Member of a standing, select, joint, or ad hoc Committee or Subcommittee.

(f) Candidates for other offices—If a Chair of a committee addressed by rule 14 or a subcommittee addressed by rule 19(b) publicly announces his or her intention to seek other elected office in Federal, State, or local government, that Member shall resign as chair of such committee or subcommittee and the next ranking Republican Member shall serve as acting chair until such time as the Committee on Steering nominates a replacement consistent with this rule. This paragraph may be waived by an affirmative vote of the Steering Committee.

Rule 15—Limitation on Number of Committee Chairs and Subcommittee Chairs

No individual shall serve as chair of more than one standing Committee or Subcommittee except for the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct; or the Committee on House Administration; or any joint, select, or ad hoc Committee; or any subcommittee thereof. Provided, however, that upon recommendation of the Steering Committee and approval of the Conference this provision shall be waived.
Rule 16—Vacancies in Committee Chair Positions

A vacancy which occurs during a session of Congress for the position of Chair shall be filled in accordance with rule 14. Whenever possible, a vacancy shall be filled within thirty days while Congress is in session.

Rule 17—Committee Organizing Caucuses

(a) Each Committee shall have an organizing caucus of the Republican Members before the organizing meeting of the full Committee. The committee chair shall call the meeting, giving at least three days written notice to all Republican Members of the committee.

(b) During any time in which the Republican Party is the majority party in the House of Representatives, the chair of a committee shall seek to the maximum extent possible to avoid overlapping scheduling of subcommittee meetings in order to assure maximum Member participation.

Rule 18—Periodic Committee Caucuses

Meetings of a committee caucus shall be called if requested by a majority of the Republican Members of the Committee or at any time by the chair. A majority of the Members may request a meeting provided the request to the chair is in writing and states the subject matter to be discussed at the meeting. A meeting so requested must be called by the chair within ten days after receipt of the written request, and after notice to all committee caucus Members.

Rule 19—Election of Subcommittee Chairs

(a) In General—

(1) In accordance with rule 15, the method for the selection of chairs of the Committee’s subcommittees shall be at the discretion of the full Committee chair, unless a majority of the Republican Members of the full Committee disapprove the action of the chair.

(2) The chair shall formalize in writing for the other Republican Members of the Committee the procedures to be followed in selecting subcommittee chairs and individual subcommittee assignments and shall do so in advance of the Committee’s organization. The procedures may be modified by a majority vote of the Republican Members of the full Committee.
(b) Appropriations Subcommittee Chairs—The Chair of the Committee on Appropriations shall bring his nominations for the subcommittee chairs to the Republican Steering Committee for approval. If any nomination is rejected by the Steering Committee, the Chair shall submit the new nomination(s) in a timely fashion.

Rule 20—Vacancies in the Position of Subcommittee Chairs

Vacancies in the position of subcommittee chairs shall be filled according to the procedures established by the various Committees in accordance with rule 19.

Rule 21—Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

No Member shall serve on the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct for more than three consecutive terms.

Rule 22—Committee on Policy

(a) In general—

(1) The Committee on Policy shall be an advisory Committee to the Membership of the House Republican Conference. The Committee on Policy shall meet at the call of the Chair of the Committee on Policy or the Speaker, and shall discuss legislative proposals with Republican Members of the appropriate standing and special committees and with such other Republican Members as the Chair may invite to meetings.

(2) The Committee on Policy shall report its suggestions for Republican action and policy to the Republican Members of the House. The Chair of the Committee on Policy may appoint, in consultation with the Speaker, such subcommittees from the Republican Members of the House for such purposes as may be deemed appropriate.

(b) Composition—The Committee on Policy shall be composed of—

(1) One Member elected from each region, State, or group of States under the Steering Committee structure;

(2) Two Members elected by the sophomore class and one Member elected by the freshman class;

(3) The House Republican Leadership, as designated by rule 2;

(4) One Member from each standing committee of the House appointed by the
Speaker; and,

(5) Such Members-at-large as may be appointed by the Speaker.

(c) Seniority—The traditions and privileges of seniority shall not apply to membership of the Committee on Policy and the Committee may, at its direction, make such rules as are necessary for conduct of its business.

Rule 23—The National Republican Congressional Committee

(a) Composition—The National Republican Congressional Committee (“NRCC“) shall be composed of an executive committee of 38 members, to be composed of—

(1) the Speaker;

(2) the Republican Leader;

(3) the Republican Whip;

(4) the Chair of the Republican Conference;

(5) the Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee;

(6) the Chair of the Committee on Policy;

(7) the Vice Chair of the Republican Conference;

(8) the Secretary of the Republican Conference; and,

(9) Thirty members appointed to serve on the executive committee by the Chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee.

(A) Appointments pursuant to this subparagraph shall be reported to the Conference for its approval, and the executive committee roster shall be made publicly available upon approval.

(B) The Conference shall vote on such recommendation. Nothing in this rule shall be construed to limit the ability of any member to request a secret ballot under Rule 8.

(C) If the Republican Conference fails to approve a recommendation of the Chair of the NRCC with respect to a nomination, the matter shall be automatically recommitted to the Chair of the NRCC without instructions.

(b) Duties—The duties of the National Republican Congressional Committee shall be to—
(1) act as counsel and advisor to the Members of the House Republican Conference;

(2) furnish support services to the extent consistent with the Rules of the House; and,

(3) have oversight in election campaigns in all general and special elections for membership in the House of Representatives.

**Rule 24—Republican Personnel**

(a) The House Republican Conference hereby vests in the Speaker supervisory authority over all Republican employees of the House of Representatives, and direct authority over the Republican Floor Assistants and Republican Cloakroom.

(b) The Speaker is hereby empowered to offer recommendations and advise the Republican Conference as to the location and use of all personnel and funds, appropriated or otherwise, of the Republican Conference or any committee or officer thereof including but not limited to: the Republican Whip, the Republican Committee on Policy and the National Republican Congressional Committee, to avoid duplication and improve coordination and best utilization of those assets.

(c) The funds appropriated for the offices of the Republican Leader, the Republican Whip, and the Republican Conference may be allocated and utilized by the Republican Leader, the Republican Whip and the Chair of the Republican Conference, respectively, only after a budget, prepared in consultation with the Speaker, detailing the proposed use of such funds has been established.

(d) The Speaker shall provide general personnel referral services to Republican Members and such other services as he or she deems necessary.

(e) The staff employed by the elected Republican Leadership as defined under rule 2, or under the direct authority of the Speaker, will be considered a unified staff, although directly responsible to the employing office, will work for all others of the Leadership as directed by the Speaker in consultation with the employing office.

**Rule 25—Temporary Step Aside of a Member who is Indicted**

(a) A member of a standing, select, joint or ad hoc committee, or any subcommittee thereof, who is indicted for a felony for which a sentence of two or more years imprisonment may be imposed, shall submit his or her resignation from any such committees to the House promptly. Vacancies created by this paragraph shall be filled pursuant to rule 12.
(b) In the case of the resignation of a chair pursuant to this rule, the next ranking Republican member of the committee or subcommittee concerned shall serve as acting chair for the remainder of the Congress, unless the Steering Committee nominates a Member consistent with rule 14, or unless the chair resumes his position in accord with paragraphs (c) or (d) of this rule.

(c) If a committee member or chair resigns pursuant to this rule, and subsequently during that Congress is acquitted or the charges are dismissed or reduced to less than a felony as described in paragraph (a), the Chair of the Republican Conference shall take such steps as may be necessary to promptly reinstate the Member to such committees at the same seniority as when the Member resigned, including the position of chair if applicable, unless the Republican Conference decides otherwise within 10 legislative days.

(d) The Conference may waive the provisions of this rule at any time by majority vote.

Rule 26—Temporary Step Aside of a Member of Leadership who is Indicted

(a) A member of the Republican Leadership shall step aside if indicted for a felony for which a sentence of two or more years imprisonment may be imposed.

(b) If a member of the Republican Elected Leadership is indicted, the Republican Conference shall meet and elect a Member to temporarily serve in that position.

(c) If a member of the Republican Leadership resigns pursuant to this rule, and subsequently during that Congress is acquitted or the charges are dismissed or reduced to less than a felony as described in paragraph (a), such Member shall resume the position from which they resigned, unless the Republican Conference decides otherwise within 10 legislative days.

Rule 27—Removal of a Committee Member who is Convicted

A member of a standing, select, joint or ad hoc committee, or any subcommittee thereof, who is convicted of a felony for which a sentence of two or more years imprisonment is imposed, shall be removed from any such committee within 10 legislative days. The Chair of the Republican Conference shall take such steps as may be necessary to facilitate the removal from committees of such Member in the House. Vacancies created by this paragraph shall be filled pursuant to rule 12.

Rule 28—Automatic Replacement of a Chair who is Censured

(a) The chair of a standing, select, joint or ad hoc committee, or subcommittee thereof, who is censured by a vote of the House when the Republican Party is the majority party in the House of Representatives, shall cease to exercise the powers of such position. The
Chair of the Republican Conference shall take such steps as may be necessary to facilitate the removal from the position of chair in the House. Vacancies created by this paragraph shall be filled pursuant to the applicable rule.

(b) The Conference may waive the provisions of this rule at any time by majority vote.

**Rule 29—Guidelines on Suspension of House Rules**

(a) The Republican Leader shall not schedule, or request to have scheduled, any bill or resolution for consideration under suspension of the Rules which—

1. fails to include a cost estimate;

2. has not been the subject of a notification to the minority;

3. creates a new program, unless it also eliminates or reduces a program of equal or greater size;

4. authorizes appropriations without including a sunset provision;

5. authorizes an increase in authorizations, appropriations, or direct spending in any given year, unless fully offset by at least an equal reduction in current spending;

6. expresses appreciation, commends, congratulates, celebrates, recognizes the accomplishments of, or celebrates the anniversary of, an entity, event, group, individual, institution, team or government program; or acknowledges or recognizes a period of time for such purposes; or

7. directs the Secretary of the Treasury to strike a Congressional Gold Medal unless—

   (A) the recipient is a natural person;

   (B) the recipient has performed an achievement that has an impact on American history and culture that is likely to be recognized as a major achievement in the recipient’s field long after the achievement;

   (C) the recipient has not received a medal previously for the same or substantially the same achievement;

   (D) the recipient is living or, if deceased, has not been deceased for less than five years or more than twenty-five years;

   (E) the achievements were performed in the recipient’s field of endeavor, and represent either a lifetime of continuous superior
achievements or a single achievement so significant that the recipient is recognized and acclaimed by others in the same field, as evidenced by the recipient having received the highest honors in the field; and

(F) adoption of such measure does not cause the total number of measures authorizing the striking of such medals in that congress to substantially exceed the average number of such measures enacted in prior congresses.

(b) A waiver of this rule can be granted by the majority of the Elected Leadership as defined under rule 2.

Rule 30—Transparency
(a) To the maximum extent practicable, the Chair shall make the text of matters adopted during the organizational conference held pursuant to rule 3 publicly available in electronic form.

(b) Not later than January 31 of each odd-numbered year, the Chair shall make available in electronic form to all Members of the Conference a listing of the various boards, commissions, and committees that include appointees by the Speaker or the Majority Leader.

Standing Orders for the 117th Congress

Article I Funding Requests

(a) In order to responsibly execute Congress’ Article I authority to control the power of the purse, it is the policy of the House Republican Conference that no Member shall request a congressional earmark, limited tax benefit, or limited tariff benefit, as such terms have been described in the Rules of the House, unless the following accountability criteria are met:

(1) the request is publicly disclosed at the time the request is made, including a written justification for why the project is an appropriate use of taxpayer funds and the name of the requesting Member;

(2) neither the Member nor his or her immediate family has a financial interest in the request; and

(3) the request comports with any further regulations and guidance the Republican Chairs or Ranking Members of the committees of jurisdiction shall promulgate.

(b) It is further the policy of the Republican Conference that Republican Chairs or Ranking Members shall not give consideration to a Member's seniority, committee
assignments, or position in the elected leadership when facilitating a request made pursuant to this order.

Policy Statements on Article I Powers

(a) It is the policy of the Republican Conference that all Members of the Republican Conference shall, to the maximum extent practicable, draft legislation so as to preserve Congress’ authorities under Article I of the Constitution. It is further the policy of the Republican Conference that authorizing committees shall, as agencies and programs are reauthorized—

(1) seek opportunities to move, where appropriate, mandatory programs with automatic funding streams to the annual appropriations process to increase oversight and accountability; and

(2) limit agency discretion in implementing statutes and rulemaking through more effective drafting practices for bills and committee reports, including, to the maximum extent practicable, provisions to allow congressional review of new major regulations as defined in the Congressional Review Act, so as to limit executive overreach.

(b) It is further the policy of the Republican Conference that—

(1) the Majority Leader shall prioritize measures that seek to preserve Congress’ authorities under Article I of the Constitution when scheduling the House Floor, which should periodically include, after receiving concurrence from the appropriate committee chairs of primary jurisdiction, designated floor time for consideration of single-issue bills related to exercising such authorities; and

(2) the Republican Conference shall periodically schedule Planning Conferences to include the topic of preserving and exercising Article I of the Constitution.
### Steering Committee List for the 117th Congress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Votes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kevin McCarthy</td>
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<td>Steve Scalise</td>
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<td>Drew Ferguson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elise Stefanik</td>
<td>Republican Conference Chair</td>
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<td>Gary Palmer</td>
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<td>Mike Johnson</td>
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<td>Richard Hudson</td>
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<td>Tom Emmer</td>
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<td>Vacant</td>
<td>Former NRCC Chair</td>
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<td>Kevin Brady</td>
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<td>Tom Cole</td>
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<td>Blaine Luetkemeyer</td>
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<td>William Timmons</td>
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<td>August Pfluger</td>
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<td>Debbie Lesko</td>
<td>Leader Designee</td>
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<td>Rotating Committee Chair</td>
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**Total Votes 35**
This map was adopted by the Republican Conference. Steering Committee membership can be found online at gop.gov/steering-committee.