

HOUSE REPUBLICANS IN THE SPEAKER FIGHT

FORMER SPEAKER



Kevin McCarthy (Calif.)

THE REBELS Eight Republicans who joined with Democrats to oust McCarthy



Andy Biggs (Ariz.)



Ken Buck (Colo.)



Eli Crane (Ariz.)



Tim Burchett (Tenn.)

SPEAKER CANDIDATES



Jim Jordan (Ohio)



Steve Scalise (La.)



Matt Gaetz (Fla.)



Bob Good (Va.)



Matt Rosendale (Mont.)



Nancy Mace (S.C.)

In a Chaotic House, the Next Speaker Must Unite These Three Factions

Where candidates Steve Scalise and Jim Jordan could garner support to win the speaker's gavel

By Kara Dapena and Aaron Zitner

Speaker candidates Reps. Steve Scalise of Louisiana and Jim Jordan of Ohio must unite an unruly group of House Republicans with diverse political needs and interests. On the political right, about 40 members belong to the Freedom Caucus, who are among the most fiscally conservative and often refuse to compromise on their views. By contrast, 18 House Republicans represent districts that President Biden won in 2020, and all

but one lean toward the political center.

With the House split 221-212, each candidate can lose no more than four votes, assuming all Democrats oppose the GOP speaker nominee.

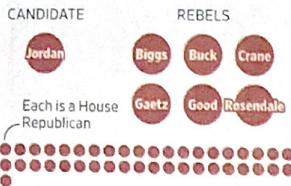
It took just eight Republicans, most of them ardent conservatives, to strip the speaker's gavel from Rep. Kevin McCarthy (Calif.). The next speaker will have to find a way to bring most of those members on board without losing support from

less-conservative Republicans. On Wednesday, members are expected to attend a GOP conference vote to pick their nominee. A vote of the whole House then would follow, requiring a majority of the chamber to back the new pick.

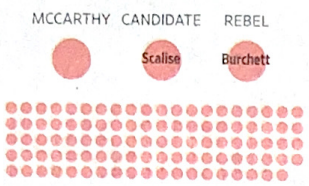
Here are some of the factions that divide the 221 House Republicans along with Jordan and Scalise, as well as the eight members who voted to oust McCarthy, compare with their colleagues on important votes.

House Republicans, by faction

48 Freedom Caucus members and allies



102 other conservatives



71 lean more centrist

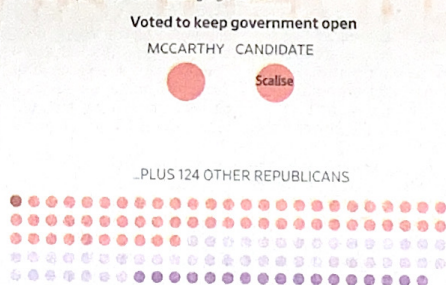
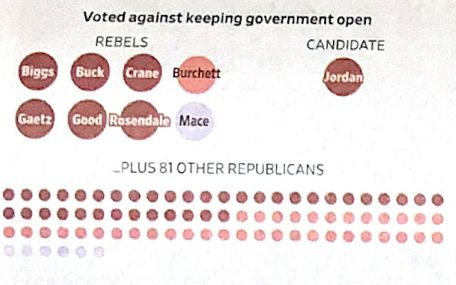


Note: Those who lean more centrist include most Republicans in districts that Biden also carried; members of the Republican Main Street Partnership or the Problem Solvers Caucus; Rep. Mark Amodeo of Nevada.

House Republicans, by how they voted on keeping government open

Scalise and Jordan have adopted different policy profiles. Scalise has been in the House leadership since 2014 and mostly voted alongside McCarthy, while Jordan was a founder of the Freedom Caucus and supported conservative hard-line measures.

Those differences appeared late last month during McCarthy's effort to extend government funding and avoid a shutdown. Scalise joined with McCarthy and 124 other Republicans, as well as almost every Democrat, to pass the deal. Jordan joined 89 House Republicans in voting against it.



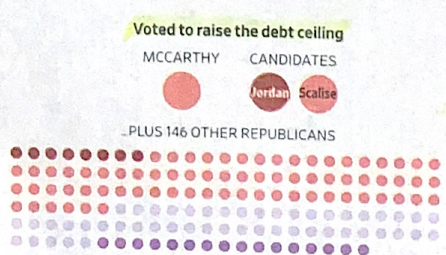
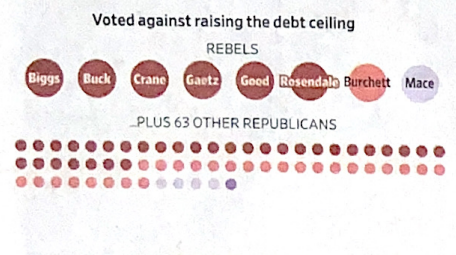
✓ Vote to keep government open passed 335-91

House Republicans, by how they voted on raising the debt ceiling

That wasn't the first bipartisan fiscal deal opposed by the eight dissenters. All eight voted against the deal McCarthy negotiated with Biden to raise the nation's borrowing limit and avert a possible government default, saying the package didn't include sufficient spending cuts. Some signaled they might seek to oust

McCarthy over the concessions he made.

Both speaker candidates, Jordan and Scalise, backed the bipartisan deal. It passed with more Democratic than Republican votes, though a majority of House Republicans supported it.



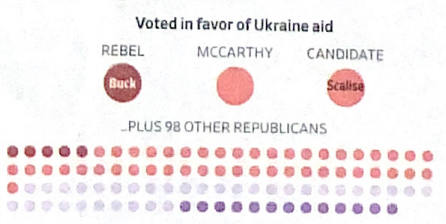
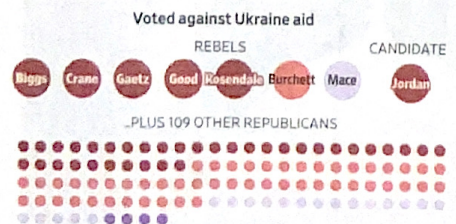
✓ Vote to raise the debt ceiling passed 314-117

House Republicans, by how they voted on Ukraine aid

The question of additional aid to Ukraine has divided Republicans, and it is another issue on which Jordan and Scalise differ.

In late September, the House approved a measure giving \$300 million more in security assistance to Ukraine—a fraction of \$24

billions that Biden requested in August. More Republicans voted against the bill than for it. Jordan and seven of the eight McCarthy defectors were among the 'no' votes. Scalise joined with a minority of his party and every Democrat who cast a vote in supporting the additional aid.



✓ Vote in favor of Ukraine aid passed 311-117

Note: There were instances of Republicans not voting on measures. Sources: Pew Research Center and staff reports (Freedom Caucus members and allies); UVA Center for Politics (Republicans in Biden districts); the caucuses (Main Street Caucus members, Problem Solvers members); U.S. House of Representatives (votes). Photos: Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images (Biggs); Annabelle Garmy/CFP/Zuma Press (Buck); Bill Clark/CQ Roll Call/Zuma Press (Crane); Jacquelin Martin/Associated Press (Gaetz); Anna Mosekmatov/Getty Images (Good, Scalise); Rod Lamkey/CNP/Zuma Press (Rosendale); Win McNamee/Getty Images (Burchett); Tom Williams/Zuma Press (Mace); Saul Loeb/Agence France-Press/Getty Images (Jordan, McCarthy).

Jordan, Scalise Make Pitches To Be Speaker

WASHINGTON—Republicans pressed the two candidates vying to serve as House speaker on their visions and strategies for the top job on Tuesday, aiming to coalesce around a single leader ahead of an unpredictable conference vote planned for Wednesday morning.

By Stobhan Hughes, David Harrison, Lindsay Wise and Kristina Peterson

Lawmakers want to move quickly to fill the speaker job and avoid a replay of January's standoff, when it took 15 rounds to elect Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R., Calif.) speaker, only for him to be ousted nine months later. A delay in electing a new speaker could leave the House paralyzed, putting Washington on track for a government shutdown and imperiling legislation to support Israel and to provide new money for Ukraine.

House Majority Leader Steve Scalise (R., La.) and Rep. Jim Jordan (R., Ohio), the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, gave their pitches and took questions at a closed-door candidate forum. Coming out of the meeting, lawmakers said that they discussed priorities such as reining in the \$33 trillion national debt, spending cuts, and support for Ukraine and Israel.

But lawmakers also cautioned that they weren't sure that either candidate, even if the pick had the support of most of the GOP, could amass the

217 votes needed to be elected speaker on the House floor. That points to the possibility of another contentious speaker vote, if all Democrats vote for their pick, Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D., N.Y.). If the GOP successfully elects a nominee, a full House vote for speaker could come as soon as later in the day on Wednesday. The House is split 221-212, giving Republicans little room to maneuver. **218*** "Seems like they're both scrambling and they're both working hard," said Rep. David Valadao (R., Calif.) of the candidates. "So I don't know if anyone is super confident." "I don't think anybody has 217," said Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R., Ga.).

Republicans said that no backup plan was in place if they failed to agree on a candidate. One potential short-term fallback option could be to elect Rep. Patrick McHenry (R., N.C.), the acting speaker pro tempore, as a full speaker pro tempore. Without the speaker-ship filled, the House has been unable to vote on any legislation, because an acting speaker pro tempore is widely seen as lacking the power to put bills on the floor, given the rules governing his temporary job. The candidate forum took place a week after McCarthy

was ousted when eight Republicans joined with Democrats in a dramatic vote last Tuesday. Outside the meeting, McCarthy told reporters he wasn't running and that he had told colleagues not to nominate him. Republicans have yet to settle some key questions, such as how to ensure that their nominee can get the majority needed to win election in the overall House and whether they plan to push for new spending cuts after a stopgap spending bill expires in mid-November. Heading out of the meeting, rank-and-file Republicans said they hadn't seen the language of a proposed rule change aimed at forcing the winning candidate to have 217 votes from Republicans before a roll call on the House floor.

"We are going to have a serious conversation" about how to reach that level, "and that's what we're going to debate tomorrow," said Rep. Chip Roy (R., Texas). According to a document viewed by The Wall Street Journal, Roy on Wednesday plans to seek a vote on a rule change that would force House Republicans to vote over and over on whether to support the winning candidate on the floor until the person reaches 217 votes. **Failed Wed**

Much of the focus on installing a speaker has centered on the eight Republicans who pushed out McCarthy. Jordan's supporters have said that Jordan is best positioned to bring dissidents into the fold. They cite his history as an outsider who

Republicans said that no backup plan was in place if they failed to agree.

himself rose by bucking the system, in large part through helping found the House Freedom Caucus, a brass-knuckled group that is now the ideological home to many of the dissidents. Jordan has racked up more than 30 public endorsements.

Heading into the meeting, Rep. Tim Burchett (R., Tenn.), one of the eight rebels, said he wasn't making his pick public. He said he was "afraid if I endorsed, it might hurt them" with other lawmakers. South Carolina Rep. Nancy Mace, who also helped oust McCarthy and has backed Jordan, entered the meeting wearing a red "A" on her shirt, a scarlet letter.

Mace said she hoped Republicans would unify behind their candidate. "I hope that, you know, win, lose or draw that we all get behind one person so we can go to the floor in the afternoon," she said.

Rep. Matt Gaetz (R., Fla.), who precipitated the leadership crisis when he brought the motion to vacate to the floor, stood up to say that he would support either Scalise or Jordan, according to one lawmaker. Reps. Andy Biggs (R., Ariz.) and Eli Crane (R., Ariz.), two of the eight Republicans who voted to oust McCarthy, left the meeting without saying how they would vote.

Waiting for a Leader



POWER OUTAGE: The Mace of the House of Representatives, present when the body meets, was removed Tuesday after a brief session. With no speaker, the House is at a standstill.

Republicans Search for Consensus on Speaker Candidate Ahead of Vote

By LUKE BROADWATER

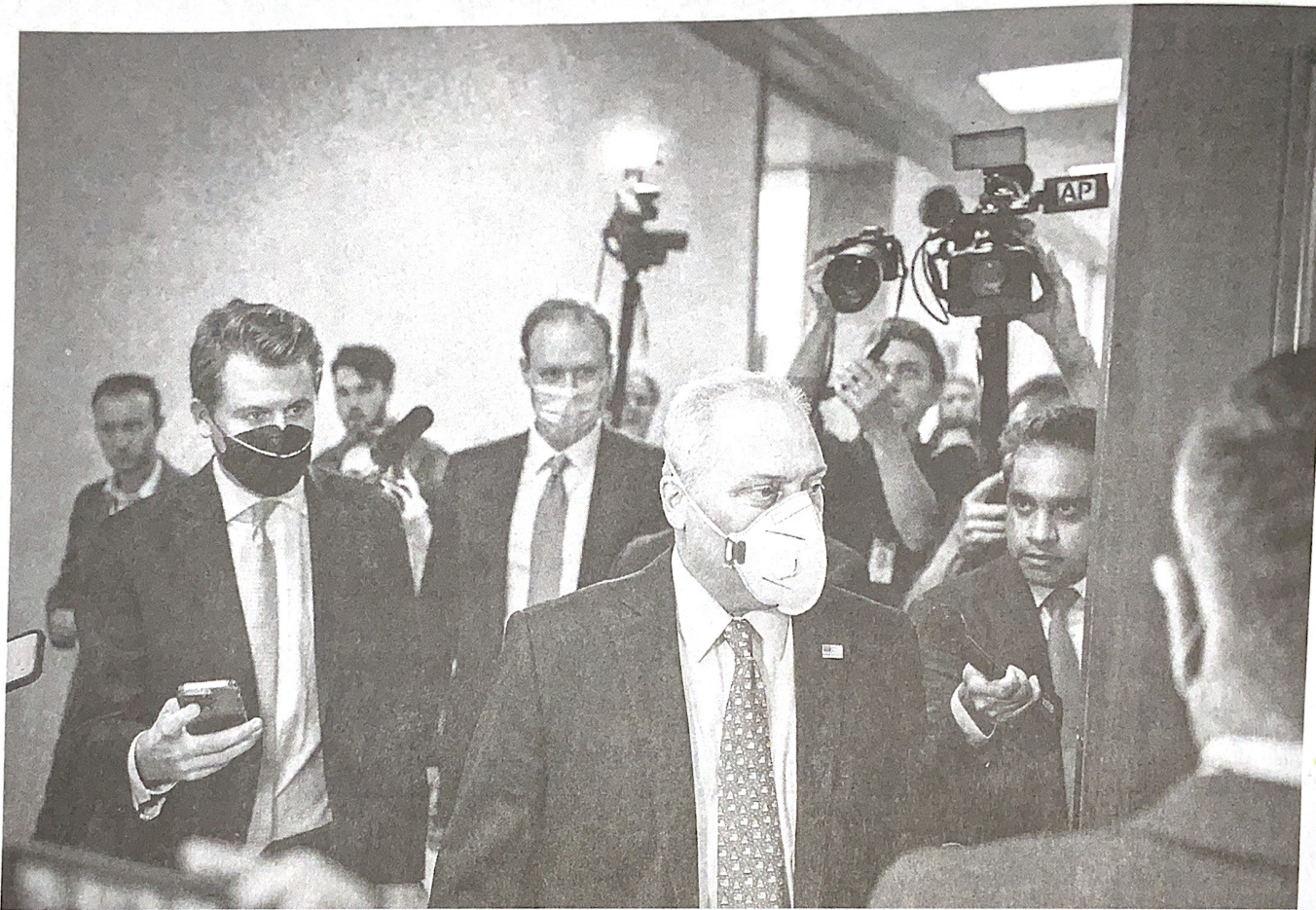
WASHINGTON — Republicans toiled on Tuesday to unite around a candidate for speaker on the eve of an internal party contest that has highlighted their divisions amid deep uncertainty in the House of Representatives.

Fewer than half of House Republicans had publicly announced their support for either of the leading candidates to replace former Speaker Kevin McCarthy: Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the party's second-ranking leader, and Representative Jim Jordan of Ohio, the Judiciary Committee chairman. And there was a complicating factor: Supporters of Mr. McCarthy had begun strategizing about engineering a possible vote to reinstate him, and the former speaker said he was open to the idea.

The unsettled situation reflected deep rifts in the G.O.P. that could prolong the race and lead to a drawn-out fight on the House floor. The chamber has been paralyzed since right-wing Republicans succeeded last week in deposing Mr. McCarthy, a California Republican. Members of Congress were growing increasingly worried that the leaderless chamber could be unable to act to support Israel, after the invasion by Hamas that has led to more than 1,000 deaths.

Representative Michael McCaul, Republican of Texas and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said the attack on Israel had made it all the more urgent for the House to elect a new speaker quickly. "We need to get a speaker by Wednesday," he said, adding: "The world is watching. They're seeing a dysfunctional democracy."

Mr. McCaul, who has not endorsed a candidate, said he worried that in a three-way race, no one would emerge with a majority. "I think by and large people will



HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Steve Scalise, a longtime rival to former Speaker Kevin McCarthy, arriving to a meeting to make his pitch for the role.

accept the will of the conference, but getting to 217 — that's going to be the issue," he said.

Mr. Scalise and Mr. Jordan took part in a closed-door candidates' forum on Tuesday that stretched well into the evening, with dozens of members asking questions. Mr. McCarthy said he was not a declared candidate and would not take part.

"This is a dangerous world right now," Mr. Scalise told reporters at

the Capitol, adding: "We stand strongly with Israel. The House needs to get back to work."

But supporters of Mr. Jordan argued the chaos of last week made it clear that Republicans needed to move in a direction that was more in tune with the party's base. "With all that's gone on this Congress, it might be time for a new look at leadership," said Representative Byron Donalds of Florida, who supports Mr. Jordan,

adding: "We wouldn't be at this place if our leadership was batting 1,000."

Many members said they remained undecided or unwilling to endorse a candidate. "It was helpful to hear some specific answers to some specific questions," said Representative Daniel Crenshaw of Texas, who would not say which way he was planning to vote.

At a closed-door meeting of House Republicans on Monday

evening, several speakers took aim at the eight Republican rebels who voted to oust Mr. McCarthy.

Two of those eight — Representatives Matt Gaetz of Florida and Tim Burchett of Tennessee — said afterward that they would back whomever a majority of Republicans supported. But both said they would not accept a return of Mr. McCarthy, whom they argue proved himself untrustworthy.

"I'm not voting for Kevin," Mr.

Burchett said, adding that he was a target of criticism at the meeting. "Some people were mad, and they've got a right to be mad. But I've got a right to represent my constituents too."

Mr. Gaetz said the Republican conference had "two great folks running for speaker in Jim Jordan and Steve Scalise."

But Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, a far-right Georgia Republican who has aligned herself with Mr. McCarthy, sounded enthusiastic about the possibility of the ousted speaker's return.

"When a group of eight joined with Democrats to oust our speaker, that was something people cheered for because they were ready for someone's head on a platter, but it shouldn't have been our Republican speaker," she said, adding: "I think it was wrong what happened to Kevin McCarthy." Ms. Greene said Mr. McCarthy was "widely supported."

"I think that's a wise move to leave the door open," she said of his current position in the race.

Republicans also were debating possible changes in their internal party rules before the vote, including one that would make it more difficult to kick out a sitting speaker, and another requiring a near-unanimous vote among members of the party before nominating a candidate for speaker. Both were attempts to avoid a repeat of the embarrassing story arc of Mr. McCarthy's speakership, in which he suffered through 15 floor votes to gain the job in January, before he was kicked out last week.

Mr. McCaul called on his fellow Republicans to look at the violence in Israel and put their differences aside. "If we don't have a speaker, we can't put anything on the floor and we're paralyzed," he said, adding: "If that doesn't wake up the members of my conference, then I don't know what will."

Federal Prosecutors Accuse Santos of 'Repeatedly' Charging Donors' Credit Cards