

## Part III

## Appendices

The offices of Speakers Hastert, Gingrich, Foley and Wright, submitted their personal biographies for publication in this document.

# J. Dennis Hastert

Dennis Hastert rose to his position as Speaker of the House from the cornfields of Illinois. Born in Aurora, he grew up in Oswego and earned degrees from Wheaton College and Northern Illinois University. After 16 years of teaching and coaching at Yorkville High School, he served in the Illinois House of Representatives for 6 years before being elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1986. In 1999, Hastert's colleagues honored him by electing him Speaker of the House, the third highest elected official in the U.S. Government.

Speaker Hastert, who turned 62 on January 2, 2004, is now serving his third term as Speaker and his ninth term as the Republican Congressman for Illinois' 14th Congressional District. Hastert's home district comprises a suburban landscape of high tech firms, small and large industrial complexes and expansive farm land west of Chicago, which includes the boyhood home of President Ronald Reagan. The 14th Congressional District reelected Hastert in 2002 with 74 percent of the overall vote.

As Speaker, Hastert is responsible for the day-to-day functions of the U.S. House. When he succeeded Newt Gingrich on January 6, 1999, he broke with tradition by delivering his acceptance speech from the House floor and by allowing Minority Leader Dick Gephardt to briefly preside over the day's proceedings. These two actions served as fitting symbols for the content of the new Speaker's remarks, when he emphasized the need for both parties to come together in the House to get their work done:

Solutions to problems cannot be found in a pool of bitterness. They can be found in an environment in which we trust one another's word; where we generate heat and passion, but where we recognize that each member is equally important to our overall mission of improving the life of the American people.

Hastert outlined a four-part commonsense agenda that day for the 106th Congress—lowering taxes, improving education, strengthening Social Security and Medicare, and bolstering national defense. Under his leadership, the 106th Congress balanced the budget for the fourth year in a row; paid down a historic amount of public debt (\$625 billion); locked away 100 percent of Social Security and Medicare dollars to be spent solely on Social Security and Medicare—not other government programs; sent more education dollars and decisionmaking to local classrooms; stepped-up and enhanced medical research; and worked to revitalize low-income neighborhoods in urban and rural areas. The agenda proved to be such a success that in November 2000, the American voters elected another Republican majority to the House.

Throughout his legislative career, Speaker Hastert has drawn from his experience as a former wrestling coach by emphasizing teambuilding and setting clear-cut, achievable goals. The Speaker has since remained committed to the goals he laid out during his first term as Speaker and his accomplishments during the 107th Congress prove this.

The 107th Congress was successful in enacting landmark education reform, far-reaching election reform, and completing work on the most significant tax relief in a generation. Furthermore, in response to the tragic attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, the Congress passed historic legislation by creating a Department of Homeland Security—the most significant restructuring of the Federal Government in the last 50 years. With this new department, and with the passage of anti-terrorism legislation designed to mitigate the threat of terrorist activities, the President has the tools he needs to help ensure that the safety

and security of our homeland will not be compromised again.

On January 7, 2003, Hastert rose again to the challenge of continuing his role as Speaker of the House. During his opening speech of the 108th Congress, he laid out a commonsense plan that would make this Nation a safer and more secure place for all Americans. He vowed to the men and women in our armed services that they would receive continued congressional support in their fight against terrorists and the terrorist states that harbor them. Hastert also promised to work with Members on both sides of the aisle to pass an economic growth package that would create jobs, grow our economy and ensure more financial security for Americans. Furthermore, Hastert emphasized his commitment in promoting more foreign trade, passing a prescription drug package to make drugs more affordable for our Nation's seniors, and furthermore improving America's schools so that all children have the opportunity to get a good education.

Prior to his election as Speaker in 1999, Hastert served as chief deputy majority whip, a leadership position he had held since the election of the 104th Congress in 1994. In that capacity, Hastert was responsible for advancing commonsense legislation to the House floor by working with Members, developing an achievable policy strategy, lining up support and counting Republican and Democrat votes to ensure passage. His reputation is one of reaching across the aisle to develop bipartisan legislation.

He also served as chairman of the House Government Reform and Oversight Subcommittee on National Security, International Affairs and Criminal Justice. Chairman Hastert had broad oversight for the Departments of State, Defense and Justice, as well as the Nation's war on drugs and the 2000 Census. As a member of the House Commerce Committee, Hastert had jurisdiction over energy policy, interstate and foreign commerce, broadcast and telecommunications policy, food, health and drug issues.

Additionally, Hastert has been the House Republican point person on health care reform. He has chaired the Speaker's Steering Committee on Health and the Resource Group on Health, and he helped author the health care reform bill, which was signed into law by President Clinton

in 1996 to expand coverage to the uninsured. In the 105th Congress, Hastert again was tapped by the House leadership to chair the House Working Group on Health Care Quality, which ultimately authored the Patient Protection Act. That legislation, which passed the House on July 24, 1998, expanded Americans' choices and access to affordable, high-quality health care.

During his years in Congress, Hastert championed legislation to balance the Federal budget, cut taxes and government waste and clean up the environment. For instance, he led the nationwide fight with U.S. Senator John McCain (R-AZ) to repeal the unfair Social Security earnings limit that kept millions of senior citizens from working—a project finally accomplished during his speakership in the 106th Congress. He also has passed legislation to reduce big government regulations in areas such as trucking and telecommunications in order to increase competition and consumer choice. In addition, Hastert has fought to preserve safe groundwater standards by successfully working for the removal and proper disposal of 21 million cubic feet of low-level thorium waste in West Chicago, IL, and by blocking a proposed garbage dump that would threaten the Fox Valley's groundwater supply.

Congressman Hastert has continued to build on his record of accomplishment for all his constituents. During the most recent Congress, he successfully supported a full-funding agreement with the U.S. Department of Transportation that will expand Metra train service in the 14th District. He secured dozens of Federal grants for district communities and organizations that will assist with everything from bolstering police services to protecting district farmland. Hastert also successfully sponsored legislation in 2002 to designate the Ronald Reagan Boyhood Home in Dixon a National Historic Site. Signed by President George Bush on Reagan's 91st birthday, the legislation ensures that the property will be maintained as a living legacy to our 40th President.

Hastert enjoys strong editorial support from the newspapers in his district and has received the "Outstanding Legislator" award by numerous groups. He is particularly proud to have been named repeatedly a "Friend of Agriculture," "Guardian of Senior Rights," and to have won

in each of his years in Congress the “Golden Bulldog Award” for fighting against waste in government.

Prior to Congress, during the eighties, Hastert served three terms in the Illinois General Assembly, where he spearheaded legislation on child abuse prevention, property tax reform, educational excellence and economic development. While there, he also led an effort that resulted in the adoption of a new public utilities act, reforming the law to benefit Illinoisans.

Hastert spent the first 16 years of his career as a government and history teacher at Yorkville High School, and it also was there that he met his wife, Jean, a fellow teacher. In addition to teaching, he coached football and wrestling and led the Yorkville High School Foxes to victory at the 1976 Illinois State Wrestling Championship; later that year, he was named Illinois Coach

of the Year. Hastert, a former high school and college wrestler himself, was inducted as an Outstanding American into the National Wrestling Hall of Fame in Stillwater, OK, in 2000. In 2001, the United States Olympic Committee named him honorary vice president of the American Olympic movement.

Born on January 2, 1942, Hastert is a 1964 graduate of Wheaton {IL} College where he earned a bachelor’s degree in economics. He attended graduate school at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, where he earned a master’s degree in the philosophy of education in 1967. Hastert lives in Yorkville, IL, along the Fox River with his wife Jean. They have two grown sons, Ethan and Joshua. Whenever he can find free time, Hastert enjoys attending wrestling meets, going fishing, restoring vintage automobiles, and carving and painting duck decoys.

# Newt Gingrich

Newt Gingrich is well-known as the architect of the Contract with America that led the Republican Party to victory in 1994 by capturing the majority in the U.S. House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years. After he was elected Speaker, he disrupted the status quo by moving power out of Washington and back to the American people. Under his leadership, Congress passed welfare reform, passed the first balanced budget in a generation, and restored funding to strengthen our defense and intelligence capabilities, in addition to passing the first tax cuts in 16 years.

But there is a lot more to Newt Gingrich than these remarkable achievements. As an author, Newt has published seven books including the bestsellers, *Gettysburg*, *Contract with America* and *To Renew America*. His most recent books are *Grant Comes East*, the second in a series of active history studies in the lessons of warfare based on a fictional account of the Civil War and *Saving Lives & Saving Money*, which demonstrates how to transform health and health care into a 21st century system.

In his post-Speaker role, Newt has become one of the most highly sought-after public speakers, accepting invitations to speak before some of the most prestigious organizations in the world. Because of his own unquenchable thirst for knowledge, Newt is able to share unique and unparalleled insights on a wide range of topics. His audiences find him to be not only an educational but also an inspirational speaker.

Widely recognized for his commitment to a better system of health for all Americans, his leadership helped save Medicare from bankruptcy, prompted FDA reform to help the seriously ill and initiated a new focus on research, prevention, and wellness. His contributions have

been so great that the American Diabetes Association awarded him their highest non-medical award and the March of Dimes named him their 1995 Georgia Citizen of the Year. Today he serves as a board member of the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation.

In his book, *Saving Lives & Saving Money*, Newt describes his vision of a 21st century system of health and health care that is centered on the individual, prevention focused, knowledge intense, and innovation rich. Moreover, he makes the case for a market-mediated system that will improve choice and quality while driving down costs. To foster such a modern health system that provides better outcomes at lower cost, Newt launched the Center for Health Transformation ([www.healthtransformation.net](http://www.healthtransformation.net)).

Recognized internationally as an expert on world history, military issues, and international affairs, Newt serves as a member of the Defense Policy Board. Newt is the longest-serving teacher of the joint war fighting course for major generals. He also teaches officers from all five services as a distinguished visiting scholar and professor at the National Defense University. Newt serves on the Terrorism Task Force for the Council on Foreign Relations. He is an editorial board member of the Johns Hopkins University journal, *Biosecurity and Bioterrorism*, and is an advisory board member of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies.

In 1999, Gingrich was appointed to the United States Commission on National Security/21st Century, the Hart/Rudman Commission, to examine our national security challenges as far out as 2025. The Commission's report is the most profound rethinking of defense strategy since 1947. The report concluded that the number one threat to the United States was the likelihood

over the next 25 years of a weapon of mass destruction—nuclear, chemical, and/or biological—being used against one or more major cities unless our defense and intelligence structures underwent a massive transformation. That report was published 6 months before September 11.

Because of his work on the Commission, Newt Gingrich is credited with the idea contained in the report of a homeland security agency with a secretary to serve on the Cabinet level. President George W. Bush has since created the Department of Homeland Security.

Newt Gingrich is CEO of the Gingrich Group, a communications and consulting firm that specializes in transformational change, with offices in Atlanta and Washington, DC. He serves as a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, DC; a distinguished visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University in Palo Alto, CA; the honorary chairman of the NanoBusiness Alliance; and as an advisory board member for the Museum of the Rockies. Newt is also a news and political analyst for the Fox News Channel.

Newt Gingrich is a leading advocate of increased Federal funding for basic science research. In 2001, he was the recipient of the Science Coalition's first Science Pioneer award, given to him for his outstanding contributions to educating the public about science and its benefits to society.

A strong advocate of volunteerism, Gingrich has long championed the positive impact every individual can have on society. He has raised

millions of dollars for charity, donating both time and money to a wide array of causes, including Habitat for Humanity, United Cerebral Palsy, the American Cancer Society, and ZooAtlanta. A former environmental studies professor, he is widely recognized for his commitment to the environment and to the advancement of a new, commonsense environmentalism. In 1998, the Georgia Wildlife Federation named him Legislative Conservationist of the Year.

Newt was first elected to Congress in 1978 where he served the Sixth District of Georgia for 20 years. In 1995, he was elected Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives where he served until 1999. The *Washington Times* has called him "the indispensable leader" and *Time* magazine, in naming him Man of the Year for 1995, said, "Leaders make things possible. Exceptional leaders make them inevitable. Newt Gingrich belongs in the category of the exceptional."

His experiences as the son of a career soldier convinced him at an early age to dedicate his life to his country and to the protection of freedom. Realizing the importance of understanding the past in order to protect the future, he immersed himself in the study of history, receiving his bachelor's degree from Emory University and master's and doctorate in modern European history from Tulane University. Before his election to Congress, he taught history and environmental studies at West Georgia College for 8 years.

He resides in Virginia with his wife, Callista. He has two daughters and two grandchildren.

# Thomas S. Foley

Ambassador Thomas S. Foley advises clients on matters of legal and corporate strategy. He is currently the chairman of the Trilateral Commission.

In addition to being a partner at Akin Gump, Ambassador Foley is also a senior advisor at AG Global Solutions, a joint venture of Akin Gump and First International Resources, Inc., focusing on strategic communications and problem-solving for corporations and sovereign governments, particularly in complex cross-border matters.

Prior to rejoining the firm in 2001, Ambassador Foley served as the 25th U.S. Ambassador to Japan.

Before taking up his diplomatic post in November 1997, Ambassador Foley served as the 49th Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was elected to represent the State of Washington's Fifth Congressional District 15 times, serving his constituents for 30 years from January 1965 to December 1994.

Mr. Foley served as majority leader from 1987 until his election as Speaker on June 6, 1989. From 1981 to 1987 he served as majority whip, the number three position in the House leadership. He also was a chairman of both the House Democratic Caucus and the Democratic Study Group.

During his years in Congress, Mr. Foley was a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. He served as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

As majority leader, Mr. Foley served on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the Committee on the Budget, the Select Committee

to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran, and as chairman of the House Geneva Arms Talks Observer Team.

In 1995, following his career in Congress, Ambassador Foley joined Akin Gump as a partner.

Mr. Foley has served on a number of private and public boards of directors, including the Japan-America Society of Washington. He also served on the board of advisors for the Center for Strategic and International Studies and on the board of directors for the Center for National Policy. He was a member of the board of governors of the East-West Center and is currently a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Before his appointment as Ambassador, he served as chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

Mr. Foley is an honorary Knight Commander of the British Empire. He has been awarded the Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany and also is a member of the French Legion of Honor. In 1996 the Government of Japan conferred upon him the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun, Paulownia Flowers, in recognition of his service to the U.S. House of Representatives and the important impact he had in facilitating harmonious U.S.-Japan relations and promoting understanding of Japan in the United States.

Mr. Foley is a native of Spokane, WA, and a graduate of the University of Washington and its School of Law. He is a member of the District of Columbia Bar.

Mr. Foley is married to the former Heather Strachan. They reside in Washington, DC, and Spokane, WA.



# James C. Wright, Jr.

The insights gained by Speaker Jim Wright in his long and tumultuous career can shed light on many of the problems we face in the world today. A Member of Congress for 34 years, Mr. Wright served with eight American Presidents. He was chosen by his colleagues as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, the highest honor Members can bestow upon one of their number. He has met and come to know many heads of state including Mikhail Gorbachev and several of the current leaders of Middle Eastern nations.

As majority leader, Mr. Wright helped President Carter achieve the historic peace agreement between Egypt and Israel. He was the principal advocate in Congress for an energy policy to reduce our Nation's dependence on Middle Eastern oil.

As House Speaker, Mr. Wright presided over the historic 100th Congress, considered the most productive in a generation. Under his leadership, Congress passed landmark legislation on such major issues as shelter for the homeless, catastrophic medical assistance for the elderly, safer highways and bridges, quality education, clean water and affordable housing. That 100th Congress fashioned the beginnings of an effective war on drugs and passed the first major trade bill in 50 years.

Jim Wright was born in Fort Worth, TX, a city he represented in Congress from 1955 through 1989. He completed public school in 10 years and was on his way to finishing college within 3 years when Pearl Harbor was attacked. Following enlistment in the Army Air Corps, Mr. Wright received his flyer's wings and a commission at 19. He flew combat missions in the South Pacific and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Legion of Merit.

After the war, Mr. Wright was elected to the Texas Legislature at 23. At 26, he became the youngest mayor in Texas when voters chose him to head their city government in Weatherford, his boyhood home.

Elected to Congress at 31, he served 18 consecutive terms and authored major legislation in the fields of foreign affairs, economic development, water conservation, education, and energy. Mr. Wright received worldwide recognition for his efforts to bring peace to Central America.

Jim Wright served 10 years as majority leader before being sworn in as Speaker on January 6, 1987. He was reelected as Speaker in January 1989.

A prolific writer, he has authored numerous books: *You and Your Congressman*, *The Coming Water Famine, Of Swords and Plowshares*, *Reflections of a Public Man* and *Worth It All: My War for Peace*. He has also written articles for major magazines and newspapers. His most recent book, *Balance of Power: Congress and the Presidents from the Era of McCarthy to the Age of Gingrich*, was published in May 1996 by Turner Publishing.

Mr. Wright currently serves as senior political consultant to American Income Life Insurance Company. He writes a frequent newspaper column and occasionally appears on network television news programs. Speaker Wright has donated his papers and memorabilia to the Texas Christian University library in Fort Worth, TX. Archivists there are cataloging these pieces for reference and display. He is currently a distinguished lecturer at TCU where he teaches a course entitled, "Congress and the Presidents."

## Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.

For Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr., becoming Speaker of the House in 1977 was the pinnacle of a lifetime of service in government and the Democratic Party. Born in a working class neighborhood in Cambridge, MA, in 1912, the son of a city councilman, he entered politics at 15, campaigning for fellow Irish Catholic Al Smith in the Presidential election of 1928. While still a senior at Boston College, O'Neill lost a bid for the Cambridge City Council.

Tip O'Neill learned two great lessons from his first campaign. One lesson was learned on the last day of the campaign from his high school elocution and drama teacher, a neighbor who lived across the street from his residence. On that day, Mrs. Elizabeth O'Brien approached the aspiring politician and said "Tom, I'm going to vote for you tomorrow even though you didn't ask me." O'Neill was puzzled as he had known Mrs. O'Brien for years and had done chores for her, cutting grass, raking leaves and shoveling snow. He told his neighbor that "I didn't think I had to ask for your vote." She replied, "Tom, let me tell you something: People like to be asked." The second bit of advice came a few days after the election from O'Neill's father, when he told Tip: "Let me tell you something that I learned years ago. All politics is local." During that first campaign, Tip took his neighborhood for granted and did not work hard enough in his "own backyard." O'Neill took these lessons to heart. He would not hold his career aspirations over the interests of his constituents. The advice paid off. Beginning in 1936, when he was elected to the State House of Representatives, Tip never lost another election and he never took any vote for granted. Not forgetting the advice of Mrs. O'Brien, on every election he would ask his wife

Millie for her vote. She would typically reply, "Tom, I'll give you every consideration."

In 1937, O'Neill began his first year of public life as a Massachusetts State representative and was elected minority leader in 1947.

In 1948, U.S. Congressman John W. McCormack (Democratic Party whip and leader of the Massachusetts delegation) offered his support and encouraged O'Neill to campaign hard to make the Democratic Party the majority party in the Massachusetts House of Representatives for the first time in a century. Their effort paid off as they captured 38 out of 40 GOP districts targeted by the Democratic strategy. The Democrats now held a majority of the seats, and O'Neill became the speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

In 1952, by a 3,000-vote margin, O'Neill won the seat in Congress vacated by John F. Kennedy, who had been elected to the U.S. Senate.

In Washington, under the tutelage of John McCormack, O'Neill learned the system and rose steadily through the party ranks.

In 1955, he became a member of the House Rules Committee. In 1967 his principled opposition to the Vietnam war startled many in his working class district, as well as President Lyndon Johnson, but gained him support among younger House Democrats. In 1970, he was a co-sponsor of a reform bill that ended the practice of unrecorded voting in the House. Congressmen would now be accountable to their constituents for their actions. In 1971 he was named majority whip, then elected majority leader in 1972, a position he used to lead the fight against President Richard Nixon during the Watergate scandal. In 1974, O'Neill played a key role in managing the Nixon impeachment proceedings.

In 1977, O'Neill became the Speaker of the House of Representatives and held the position until 1987. This was the longest continuous term of the speakership in the Nation's history. One of his most important actions was to open the House to live television coverage *{C-SPAN}* beginning in 1979. In the eighties, O'Neill spearheaded the Democrats' efforts to hold the excesses of the Reagan revolution in check and to prevent massive scalebacks of social programs for the Nation's aged and less advantaged citizens. The Speaker felt Reagan did not have a firm grasp on domestic affairs and once characterized the popular President as a "Herbert Hoover with a smile." For these efforts, O'Neill was vilified as a "tax and spend liberal" by the Republicans, the conservative press and even some of his own constituents. By November 1982, America was in the grips of the worst economic downturn since the Great Depression and Reagan's economic

policies brought him the lowest approval rating of his Presidency. In leading the loyal opposition into Reagan's second term, O'Neill stayed true to the Democratic tradition he viewed almost as a religion (alongside his other faiths, Roman Catholicism and the Boston Red Sox). Also to the displeasure of the Reagan administration, O'Neill was horrified by the atrocities committed by Contra rebels in Nicaragua and sought to limit U.S. funding to these groups.

After 10 years as Speaker, O'Neill retired in 1987, dividing his time between an apartment in Washington and a house on Cape Cod. "He was the Congressman's Congressman," said longtime rival Senator Bob Dole when O'Neill died in 1994 at the age of 81. "He loved politics and government because he saw *{they}* could make a difference in people's lives," remembered President Bill Clinton, "and he loved people most of all."

# List of Conference Participants

Jeff Biggs. Director, Congressional Fellowship Program, American Political Science Association. Former Press Secretary to Speaker Thomas S. Foley.

James C. Billington. Librarian of Congress.

David E. Bonior. Democratic Member of the House from Michigan (1977–2003).

Gary Copeland. Director, Carl Albert Congressional Studies and Research Center, University of Oklahoma.

Mickey Edwards. Republican Member of the House from Oklahoma (1977–1993).

John A. Farrell. Washington Bureau Chief, *Denver Post*.

Vic Fazio. Democratic Member of the House from California (1979–1999).

Thomas S. Foley. Speaker of the House of Representatives (1989–1995). Democratic Member of the House from Washington (1965–1995).

Bill Frenzel. Republican Member of the House from Minnesota (1971–1991).

Newt Gingrich. Speaker of the House of Representatives (1995–1999). Republican Member of the House from Georgia (1979–1999).

J. Dennis Hastert. Speaker of the House of Representatives (1999– ). Republican Member of the House from Illinois (1987– ).

Janet Hook. Chief Congressional Correspondent, *Los Angeles Times*.

Gary Hymel. Former administrative assistant to Majority Leader Hale Boggs and Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.

Tom Loeffler. Republican Member of the House from Texas (1979–1987).

Robert H. Michel. Republican Leader of the House (1981–1994). Republican Member of the House from Illinois (1957–1995).

Daniel P. Mulhollan. Director, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

Walter J. Oleszek. Senior Specialist, Congressional Research Service.

Leon E. Panetta. Democratic Member of the House from California (1977–1993). OMB Director (1993–1994). White House Chief of Staff to President William Clinton (1994–1997).

Robert V. Remini. Professor of History; Kluge Scholar, Library of Congress.

Dan Rostenkowski. Democratic Member of the House from Illinois (1959–1995).

Robert S. Walker. Republican Member of the House from Pennsylvania (1977–1997).

Donald Wolfensberger. Director, The Congress Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Former staff director of the House Rules Committee (1995–1997).

James C. Wright, Jr. Speaker of the House of Representatives (1987–1989). Democratic Member of the House from Texas (1955–1989).

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