

Introduction

Mr. MULHOLLAN. I'm Dan Mulhollan, Director of the Congressional Research Service, and it is my distinct pleasure to welcome all of you to this first-ever conference on the changing nature of the speakership. I say first-ever because never before has there been a conference at which all living former Speakers—Jim Wright, Tom Foley and Newt Gingrich—have participated with the current Speaker, Dennis Hastert, to discuss their role as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

In addition, I am pleased to welcome the other important presenters at this conference: the former House Members who will serve as commentators on the various speakerships, the four moderators for each speakership period, and, of course, Jack Farrell of the *Denver Post*, who will start things off with an examination of the O'Neill speakership. Professor Robert Remini, one of our Nation's most distinguished historians, will present his views on the evolving speakership. I believe all of us are in for a unique and historic opportunity. We will listen to several of the most knowledgeable people in our Nation discuss the variety of elements necessary to lead such a large and complex institution as the House of Representatives.

This conference has been organized to commemorate the election on November 9—3 days ago, but also 100 years ago, in 1903—of Representative Joseph Cannon, Republican of Illinois, as Speaker of the House. How fitting it is that we convene this conference in the Cannon Caucus Room, after whom this entire building is named. Joe Cannon, the first person ever to grace the cover of *Time* magazine, was one of the most powerful and controversial Speakers in the entire history of the House. When Cannon neared retirement from the House in 1922 after nearly 50 years of service, he modestly said, "A hundred years from now people will say it does appear that there was a man from Illinois by the name of Cannon, but I don't know much about him." But we are here more than 100 years later and if "Uncle Joe," as he was fondly called by some, was still around he would find many books, articles, and Ph.D. dissertations written about his long career and impact on the House.

This conference on the contemporary speakership is another reminder that people still remember Speaker Cannon's significant influence on the House and the course of the country at the dawn of the 20th century. To expand upon this welcome I'd like to introduce Gary Copeland, director

of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma with whom CRS is fortunate to be able to co-sponsor this event.

Mr. COPELAND. Thank you, Dan. I'm pleased to be with you today representing the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma, which is a co-sponsor of this important conference on the changing nature of the House speakership. It is appropriate that we use the centennial of the Cannon speakership as the occasion to hold this conference because his service reflects the dynamic relationship between the Speaker and his colleagues in the House.

The Speaker, as we know, must possess and utilize enough authority to effectively lead a body of 435 individuals who are formal equals, yet he must exercise that authority with enough discretion that Members accept it as in the best interest of the Nation, the body, and themselves.

As we look over the last 100 years, we see a constant shift on where that balance is comfortably found. The balance will be affected by the personality of the Speaker, the formal powers given to him at the time, the character of the membership of the body, and the social and political culture of the time. There is no magic point that guarantees both effectiveness and widespread support. The Speakers we will consider today each approached the office in his own way and each reflected the times in which he served as well as dramatically affecting those times. Understanding the changing nature of the speakership puts the records of previous Speakers in appropriate historical perspective but also provides guidance as we move forward into the future.

The Carl Albert Center is very pleased to serve as a co-sponsor of this conference with the widely respected Congressional Research Service {CRS}. CRS is, of course, uniquely qualified to put together a conference of this sort and to contribute their expertise on the changing nature of the speakership. On this topic, the partnership between the CRS and the Carl Albert Center seems particularly appropriate and Dan Mulhollan has allowed me to elaborate a little bit on that.

The Carl Albert Center, named for the 46th Speaker of the House, has played a role in the academic understanding of the House generally and the speakership specifically for almost 25 years. The Carl Albert Center was founded and directed for over 20 years by the leading scholar of the speakership, Ron Peters. Ron's major work, *The American Speakership*, is the foremost book on the topic, providing a thorough analysis and interpretation of the speakership in historical perspective. Professor Peters has published numerous other works on the topic, and he is with us today contributing a paper to this conference.

Beyond the speakership, the Carl Albert Center faculty and graduate students have researched a variety of other topics including campaign fi-

nance, committees, the seniority system, and so forth. But the center has multiple missions, which I will briefly mention to you, in addition to the research function. We offer unique academic programs at both the graduate and undergraduate level, including a congressional fellowship for graduate students that includes a year working on the Hill in affiliation with the Congressional Fellowship Program of the American Political Science Association. And we have an undergraduate program that matches our students one-to-one with faculty members to develop a mentoring relationship. Many of those students have become partners in the research projects with which they were originally assisting and have gone on to present their research findings at professional meetings.

Third, and perhaps of interest to many of you in this room, is that the Carl Albert Center serves as an important resource on the history of Congress, primarily through our congressional archives, a collection of 20th century papers. We hold the papers of notable Oklahoma lawmakers such as Speaker Albert, Representatives Mike Synar and Mickey Edwards, and Senator Robert S. Kerr, as well as some out-of-state Members, such as Representatives Millicent Fenwick and Helen Gahagan Douglas. Our most recent additions include the important papers of two retired Republican leaders: Congressman J.C. Watts and Majority Leader Dick Armev.

Finally, the center fosters a variety of programs to provide outreach to the community at large. We are pleased to sponsor the Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lecture in Representative Government, and we also frequently host speakers from Washington, including current and former Members of Congress. The center is actively engaged in programs aimed at students and young people, including being a partner in the Project 540 Grant which some of you should be familiar with. We've worked with the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University to develop a leadership program aimed at encouraging women to become involved in politics. We've worked with the Close-up Foundation on their Great American Cities Project to encourage teenagers in effective citizenship skills and participation in political life. Everything we do is aimed at reflecting the quality of life and leadership practiced by our namesake, Carl Albert.

As we'll understand better as a result of this conference, Speakers are unique and special individuals who have perhaps the toughest task in our political system. Just as Speaker Albert led the House in a critical period of change, each of his successors that we will discuss today had unique circumstances and unique gifts. The Carl Albert Center is pleased to present this conference with the CRS with the hope of promoting better understanding of each of the Speakers and the special challenges and opportunities of their position. I thank all of you for being here today and, like the rest of you, I look forward to the proceedings.

Mr. MULHOLLAN. Thank you, Gary. Many people on Capitol Hill assisted CRS in initiating and organizing this conference, including the joint leadership of the House Administration Committee: Chairman Bob Ney and Ranking Member John Larson, who just came in. John, thank you very much. Thanks go as well to the leadership of the House Rules Committee. But I especially want to thank Speaker Hastert and Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi for endorsing the organization of this conference. And last, but certainly not least, I must acknowledge the critical support not only of the Carl Albert Center but also the McCormick Tribune Foundation without whose support this conference would not have taken place. John Sirek is representing McCormick Tribune. Thank you, John, very much.

Now to some logistics. It's our plan that CRS will use the videotape of this conference for the benefit of Members of Congress and their staff. In addition, we expect that the transcript of today's proceedings, along with several reports on various aspects of the speakership, will be published and made available to Members of Congress. One of these reports is by Professor Ron Peters, who was just mentioned by Gary Copeland. Professor Peters is the noted scholar on the speakership. His paper is available as a handout to everyone who is attending this conference. At this point, in an effort to minimize distraction in today's program, please turn off your cell phones. Should today's program be preempted by an emergency or test alarm, all occupants should exit the building and proceed to designated assembly areas. If you don't know where your assembly area is, just ask a helpful police officer in an orange vest.

Please direct any questions or concerns regarding today's program to any CRS staff member wearing a tag. Further, most of today's panelists will be available for questions following their presentations. A wireless microphone will be circulating the room so if you have questions, please raise your hand and we'll try to accommodate you. At this point, before we begin, I must turn to the person who is the originator, the conceiver, and implementer of this whole conference, Walter Oleszek, a senior specialist in American National Government at CRS.

Mr. OLESZEK. Thanks very much, Dan, for those kind remarks, but there are a lot of people who helped put this conference together. Dan, I'm sure, will highlight them at a later point. My job is to introduce the moderators so we can get under way with the program at hand. Not only do we have a whole group of wonderfully knowledgeable people about the House of Representatives who we're all anxious to hear from, but we also have a terrifically talented crew of moderators. I want to introduce the moderator for this panel right now. He is Gary Hymel, whom many of you may know from his time on the Hill. He served for 8 years as administrative assistant to Majority Whip and Majority Leader Hale Boggs. He also served for 8 years as administrative assistant to Speaker Tip O'Neill. Mr. Hymel co-

authored a book with Tip O'Neill called *All Politics is Local*, a classic statement for which Speaker O'Neill is famous. Currently, Mr. Hymel is senior vice president at Hill & Knowlton. Gary, take it away.