

## E. PARTY WHIPS

## § 23. In General

[Note: The following is descriptive of practices in effect in some Congresses. For discussion of any current modification of the functions or composition of the office of the whip, consult supplements to this edition as they appear.]

Each party maintains a whip organization, presided over by the party whip. The Democratic floor leader with the approval of the Speaker appoints the Democratic whip and announces in the House the name of the person he has appointed to that position.<sup>(1)</sup> The Republican Conference chooses that party's whip, and an announcement concerning such selection is made in the House by the Republican floor leader or, on occasion, by the chairman of the conference.<sup>(2)</sup> A number of assistant Democratic whips representing various regions of the country are chosen by the Democratic state delegations.<sup>(3)</sup>

1. § 23.1, *infra*.

2. § 23.3, *infra*.

3. Congressional Quarterly's *Guide to the Congress of the United States*, Congressional Quarterly Service (Washington, D.C., 1971), p. 141.

**Collateral references:** Ripley, Randall B., *Party Leaders in the House of Representatives*, The Brook-

The Democratic organization formerly included a post of "deputy whip," but the Majority Leader in the 92d Congress announced that that position had been abolished and replaced by the positions of "floor whips."<sup>(4)</sup>

In the Record of the 82d Congress,<sup>(5)</sup> the Republican whip set forth a description of the Republican whip organization, consisting of the Republican whip, a deputy whip, an Eastern regional whip, an East Central regional whip, a Midwest regional whip, a Western regional whip; and various area whips.

The functions of the party whips are to maintain close contact with party members; ascertain the sentiments of party members with respect to legislative issues; ensure the presence of party members on the floor when matters of interest to the party

ings Institution (Washington, D.C., 1967), pp. 33-41 (development of whip organizations); 64, 65, 67-72, 75, 76 (functions of whips); "The Party Whip Organization in the United States House of Representatives," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 58 (Sept., 1964), pp. 561-576.

4. § 23.2, *infra*.

5. 97 CONG. REC. 992, 82d Cong. 1st Sess., Feb. 5, 1951.

are to be voted upon; assist the floor leader in fulfilling the duties of party leadership; and promote party positions with respect to issues before the House.<sup>(6)</sup> For purposes of keeping party members informed of matters pending in the House, the whip sends periodic notices containing a description of such matters to party members.

The office was described in these terms by Mr. Charles A. Halleck, of Indiana:<sup>(7)</sup>

. . . In many ways, the job of whip is a thankless assignment that involves a lot more than just taking polls, calling Members to the floor, and putting out notices of the program for the following week. And I must say, the title "whip" is really a misnomer. You just do not line up Members—especially if you are in the minority—by applying the lash. . . .

[Success] in the office of whip [requires] a personal facility for conciliation, for bringing together divergent views through reason and . . . an ability to persuade. . . .

The whip has sometimes been designated Speaker pro tempore,<sup>(8)</sup> or has assumed the Chair for particular purposes, as where the majority whip has presided over the election of the Majority

6. See 8 Cannon's Precedents §3615.

7. 114 CONG. REC. 19074, 90th Cong. 2d Sess., June 27, 1968.

8. §23.5, *infra*.

Leader as Speaker pro tempore,<sup>(9)</sup> or where the minority whip has presided over proceedings honoring the Speaker of the House.<sup>(10)</sup> Similarly, the whip frequently acts as his party's floor leader when the floor leader is absent.<sup>(11)</sup>

Party whips have sometimes served in that capacity for a considerable length of time. Thus, as an example, many tributes were paid in the 91st Congress to one who had served as Republican whip for many years.<sup>(12)</sup>

### ***Selection of Whip; Announcement***

#### **§23.1 The Democratic floor leader with the approval of the Speaker appoints his party's whip, and announces such appointment in the House.**

The following announcement by the Majority Leader in the 82d Congress is illustrative of announcements made by the Demo-

9. §23.6, *infra*.

10. §24.1, *infra*.

11. See Congressional Quarterly's *Guide to the Congress of the United States*, Congressional Quarterly Service (Washington, D.C., 1971), p. 141.

12. See 116 CONG. REC. 17878, 17879, 91st Cong. 2d Sess., June 2, 1970.

cratic floor leader with respect to his appointment of a party whip:<sup>(13)</sup>

MR. [JOHN W.] McCORMACK [of Massachusetts]: Mr. Speaker, I desire to announce to the House that I have reappointed as the majority whip the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. Priest.

In the 84th Congress, upon the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of majority whip, the Majority Leader announced the selection of a new whip pursuant to a conference between the Speaker and the Majority Leader.<sup>(14)</sup>

### *Floor Whips*

#### **§ 23.2 The Majority Leader announced the abolition of the post of deputy whip, and the creation of the positions of floor whips.**

In the 92d Congress, the Majority Leader made the following announcement, which was concerned in part with certain changes in the structure of the Democratic whip organization:<sup>(15)</sup>

13. 97 CONG. REC. 40, 82d Cong. 1st Sess., Jan. 4, 1951. For further examples, see 115 CONG. REC. 34, 91st Cong. 1st Sess., Jan. 3, 1969; and 99 CONG. REC. 134, 83d Cong. 1st Sess., Jan. 6, 1953.
14. 101 CONG. REC. 191, 84th Cong. 1st Sess., Jan. 10, 1955.
15. See 117 CONG. REC. 131, 92d Cong. 1st Sess., Jan. 22, 1971. For more re-

MR. [HALE] BOGGS [of Louisiana]: . . . Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to announce that we have named the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. O'Neill) as the majority whip of the Democratic Party.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to conclude the announcement by saying that in consultation with the distinguished Speaker, the position of deputy whip has been abolished and in place thereof we have created the position of two floor whips which will be held by the gentleman from California (Mr. McFall), who will fill one spot, and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Brademas), who will fill the other spot.

### *Election of Republican Whip*

#### **§ 23.3 The Republican Conference selects the Republican whip, and an announcement concerning such selection is made in the House by the Republican floor leader or the conference chairman.**

On Jan. 22, 1971, the following announcement was made by the Minority Leader, Gerald R. Ford, of Michigan:<sup>(16)</sup>

Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to announce for the benefit of the membership as a whole, the election of the Honorable Leslie Arends, of Illinois, to

cent changes in the composition of the Democratic Whip organization, see supplements to this edition as they appear.

16. 117 CONG. REC. 131, 92d Cong. 1st Sess.

be the Republican whip for the ninth consecutive Congress.

Similarly, in the 82d Congress, the floor leader made the following announcement:<sup>(17)</sup>

MR. [JOSEPH W.] MARTIN [Jr.] of Massachusetts: Mr. Speaker, I would like to announce to the House that the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Leslie C. Arends, has been elected Republican whip.

In the 83d Congress, the Republican Majority Leader, Charles A. Halleck, of Indiana, announced:<sup>(18)</sup>

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the Committee on Committees, I hereby wish to announce the selection of Hon. Leslie C. Arends, of Illinois, as majority whip.

In the 91st Congress, the conference chairman, John B. Anderson, of Illinois, made the announcement concerning the selection of the minority whip, as follows:<sup>(19)</sup>

17. 97 CONG. REC. 40, 82d Cong. 1st Sess., Jan. 4, 1951.

18. 99 CONG. REC. 134, 83d Cong. 1st Sess., Jan. 6, 1953. The Republican whip was formerly selected by the party committee on committees (see *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to the Congress of the United States*, Congressional Quarterly Service [Washington, D.C., 1971], p. 141).

19. 115 CONG. REC. 34, 91st Cong. 1st Sess., Jan 3, 1969. For other examples of occasions on which the selection of the Republican whip has been

Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Republican Conference, I am directed by that conference to notify the House officially that the Republican Members have selected as minority whip the gentleman from Illinois, the Honorable Leslie C. Arends.

### ***Republican Whip Organization***

#### **§ 23.4 The Republican whip extended his remarks in the Record to include a description of the Republican whip organization.**

On Feb. 5, 1951, Mr. Leslie C. Arends, of Illinois, was permitted to extend his remarks in the Record to include the following description of the Republican whip organization.<sup>(20)</sup>

Republican whip, Leslie C. Arends, Illinois; deputy whip, Ralph A. Gamble, New York.

Eastern Regional whip, W. Sterling Cole, New York—8 states, 50 members: Maine (3), New Hampshire (2), Vermont (1), Connecticut (4), Delaware (1), A. N. Sadlak; Massachusetts (8), W. H. Bates; New York (22), Katherine St. George; New Jersey (9), T. Millet Hand. . . .

In similar fashion, Mr. Arends named the East Central regional

announced by the conference chairman, see § 3.7, *supra*.

20. 97 CONG. REC. 992, 82d Cong. 1st Sess.

whip, the Midwest regional whip, and the Western regional whip; indicated the state delegations represented by such whips; and named those persons in the whip organization who represented particular states or groups of states within a region.

***Designation of Majority Whip as Speaker Pro Tempore***

**§ 23.5 The majority whip has been designated Speaker pro tempore.**

On May 29, 1958, Carl Albert, of Oklahoma, the majority whip, assumed the Chair. The proceedings were as follows: <sup>(1)</sup>

THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE: The Chair lays before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

MAY 29, 1958

I hereby designate the Honorable Carl Albert to act as Speaker pro tempore today.

SAM RAYBURN,  
*Speaker of the  
House of Representatives.*

1. 104 CONG. REC. 9854, 85th Cong. 2d Sess.

For instances in which the minority whip has assumed the Chair to preside over proceedings relating to the customary resolution expressing the gratitude of the House for the manner in which the Speaker performed his duties, see §24.1, *infra*.

***Election of Speaker Pro Tempore Presided Over by Whip***

**§ 23.6 The majority whip on occasion has assumed the Chair for purposes of presiding over the election of the Majority Leader as Speaker pro tempore.**

On Nov. 18, 1963, the Majority Leader, Carl Albert, of Oklahoma, called the House to order and laid before the House a communication from the Speaker designating Mr. Albert as Speaker pro tempore. Subsequently, the majority whip, Hale Boggs, of Illinois, assumed the Chair and presided over proceedings in which Mr. Albert was elected Speaker pro tempore. The proceedings were as follows: <sup>(2)</sup>

Mr. Boggs assumed the Chair.

MR. [CARL] VINSON [of Georgia]: Mr. Speaker, I send to the desk a privileged resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 567

*Resolved*, That Honorable Carl Albert . . . is hereby elected Speaker pro tempore during the absence of the Speaker. . . .

The resolution was agreed to.

Similar proceedings have taken place in other Congresses. Thus,

2. 109 CONG. REC. 22015, 88th Cong. 1st Sess., Nov. 18, 1963.

in the 85th Congress, on Apr. 15, 1958, Majority Leader John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, Speaker pro tempore by designation, requested the majority whip, Carl Albert, of Oklahoma, to assume the Chair.<sup>(3)</sup> After Mr. Albert assumed the Chair, a resolution was agreed to electing the Majority Leader Speaker pro tempore during the absence of the Speaker.

***Request for Division of Question***

**§ 23.7 The minority whip requested a division of the question on the resolution electing House officers.**

On Jan. 10, 1967, following the introduction of the resolution relating to the election of House officers, the Republican Conference Chairman announced that he intended to offer a substitute for the resolution. In response to an inquiry from the Chair as to whether a division of the question was desired, Mr. Leslie C. Arends, of Illinois, the Republican whip, made the request as follows:<sup>(4)</sup>

3. 104 CONG. REC. 6436, 85th Cong. 2d Sess. As to illustrative instances in which the minority whip has assumed the Chair to preside over proceedings of a ceremonial nature, see § 24.1, *infra*.
4. 113 CONG. REC. 27, 90th Cong. 1st Sess. The resolution naming the ma-

MR. ARENDS: Mr. Speaker, I request that there be a division of the question on the resolution so that we may have a separate vote on the Office of the Chaplain.

**§ 24. Duties and Functions**

It is frequently the province of the whip, as it is that of other leaders in the House, to perform duties of a ceremonial nature, make announcements respecting ceremonial or formal occasions, and extend various courtesies.

***Resolution Thanking Speaker***

**§ 24.1 The minority whip, or someone acting for him, has customarily assumed the Chair to preside over the consideration of a resolution, offered at the end of a Congress, expressing the gratitude of the House for the manner in which the Speaker has performed the duties of the Chair.**

majority party's candidates for the offices of Clerk, Sergeant At Arms, Doorkeeper, Postmaster, and Chaplain is generally offered by the chairman of the majority caucus (see § 3.9, *supra*). Frequently, the chairman of the minority caucus or conference has offered a substitute for the resolution and at the same time requested a division of the question to allow a separate vote on the office of Chaplain (see § 3.9, *supra*).