



Viking

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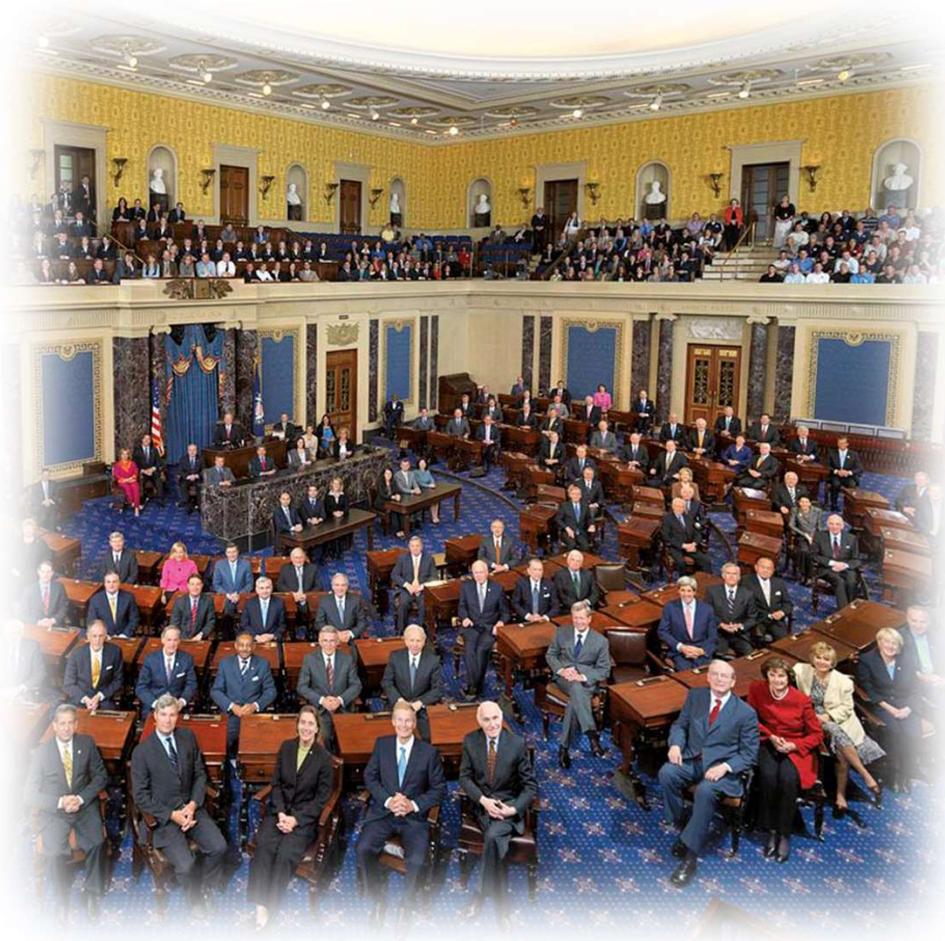
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE
KEVIN McCARTHY



U.S. Constitution, Article I, Section 2 – House of Representatives

The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature. No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen... When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies. **The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers;** and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

No Speaker? So what?



In the Senate:

Only one-third of senators are elected every two years (two-thirds of the senators remain current members).

Therefore, the Senate is a “continuous body.” The Senate does not adopt rules every two years but depends on tradition and precedent when determining procedure.

No Speaker? So what?

In the House of Representatives:

The House is not a continuing body.

Its Members must stand for election every two years, after which it convenes for a new session and reconstitutes itself—electing a Speaker, swearing-in the Members-elect, and approving a slate of officers to administer the institution and adopting rules to govern procedure.

Without rules and officers, chaos.

Sometimes with it, too



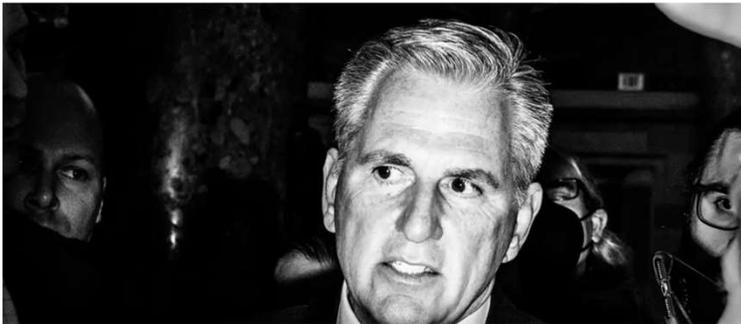
Speaker Quest Reveals McCarthy's Tenuous Grip on an Unruly Majority

As the Republican leader has made concessions to the far right, he has effectively agreed to give them carte blanche to disrupt the workings of the House — and to hold him hostage to their demands.



Leopards Eat Kevin McCarthy's Face

Jan. 4, 2023



The Press predicts DOOM!

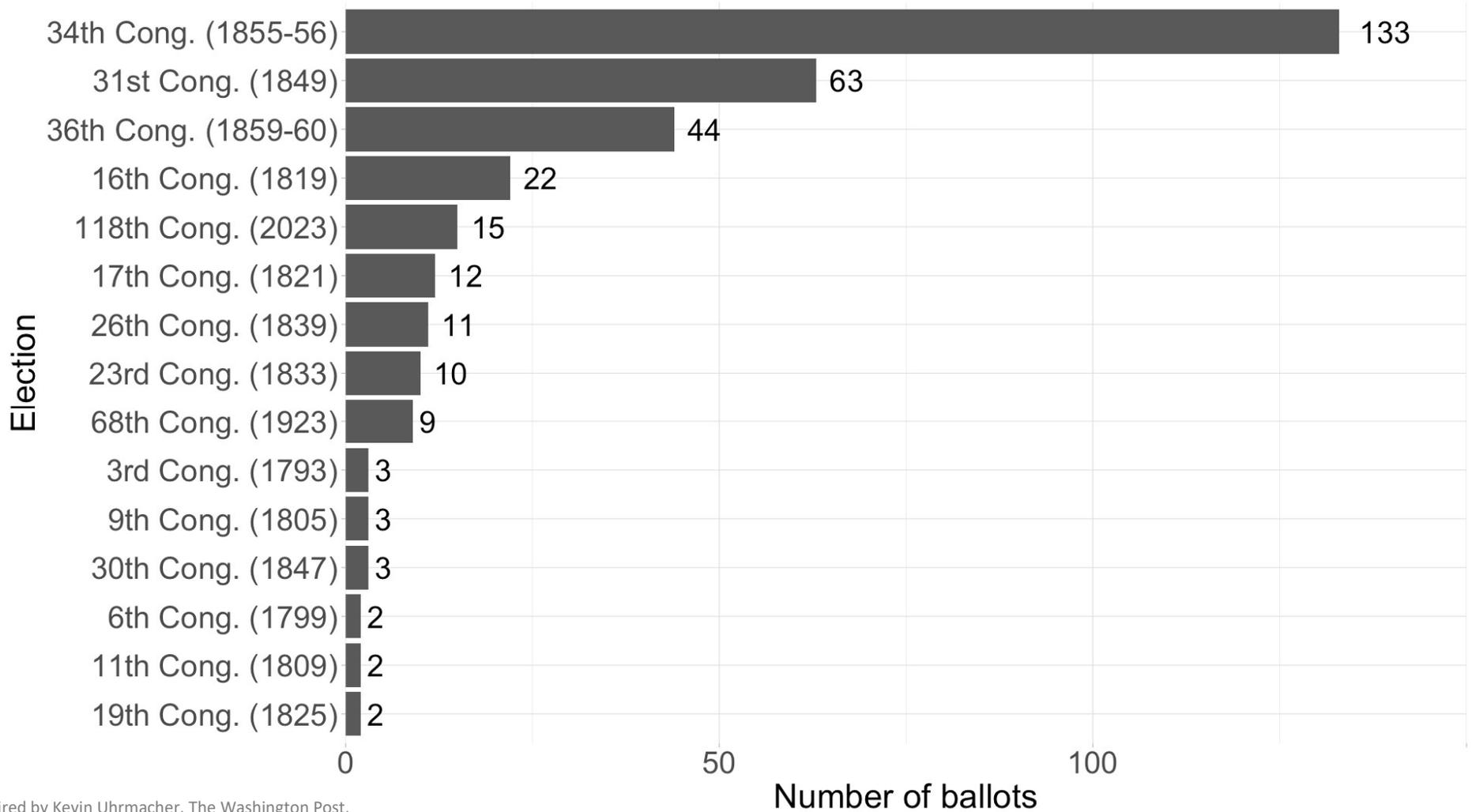
Three Reasons the Republican Party Keeps Coming Apart at the Seams

Jan. 15, 2023



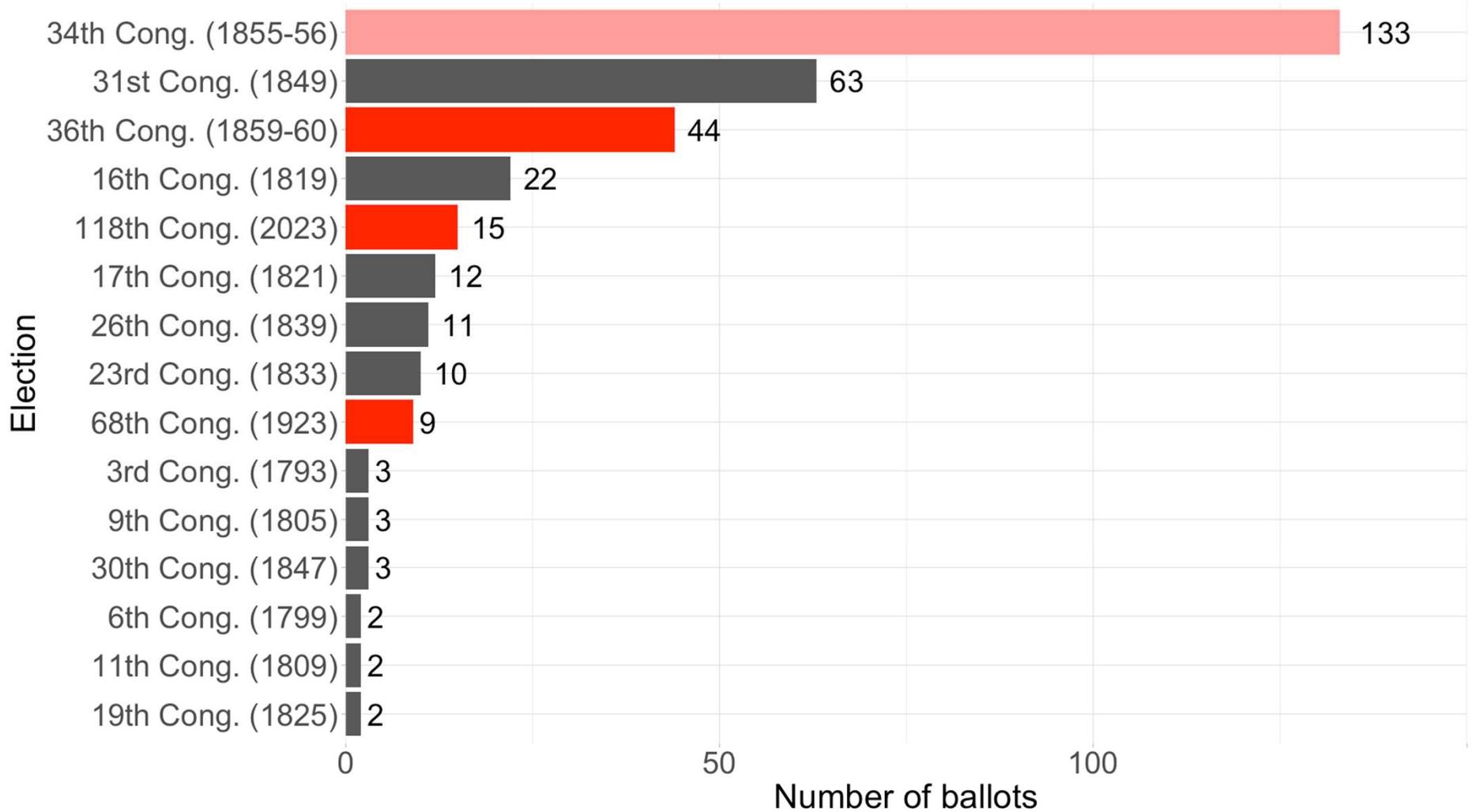
<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/15/opinion/mccarthy-republicans-coming-apart.html>
<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/06/us/politics/mccarthy-house-speaker-republicans.html>
<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/04/opinion/kevin-mccarthy-speaker-race.html>

Multi-ballot elections for U.S. Speaker of the House

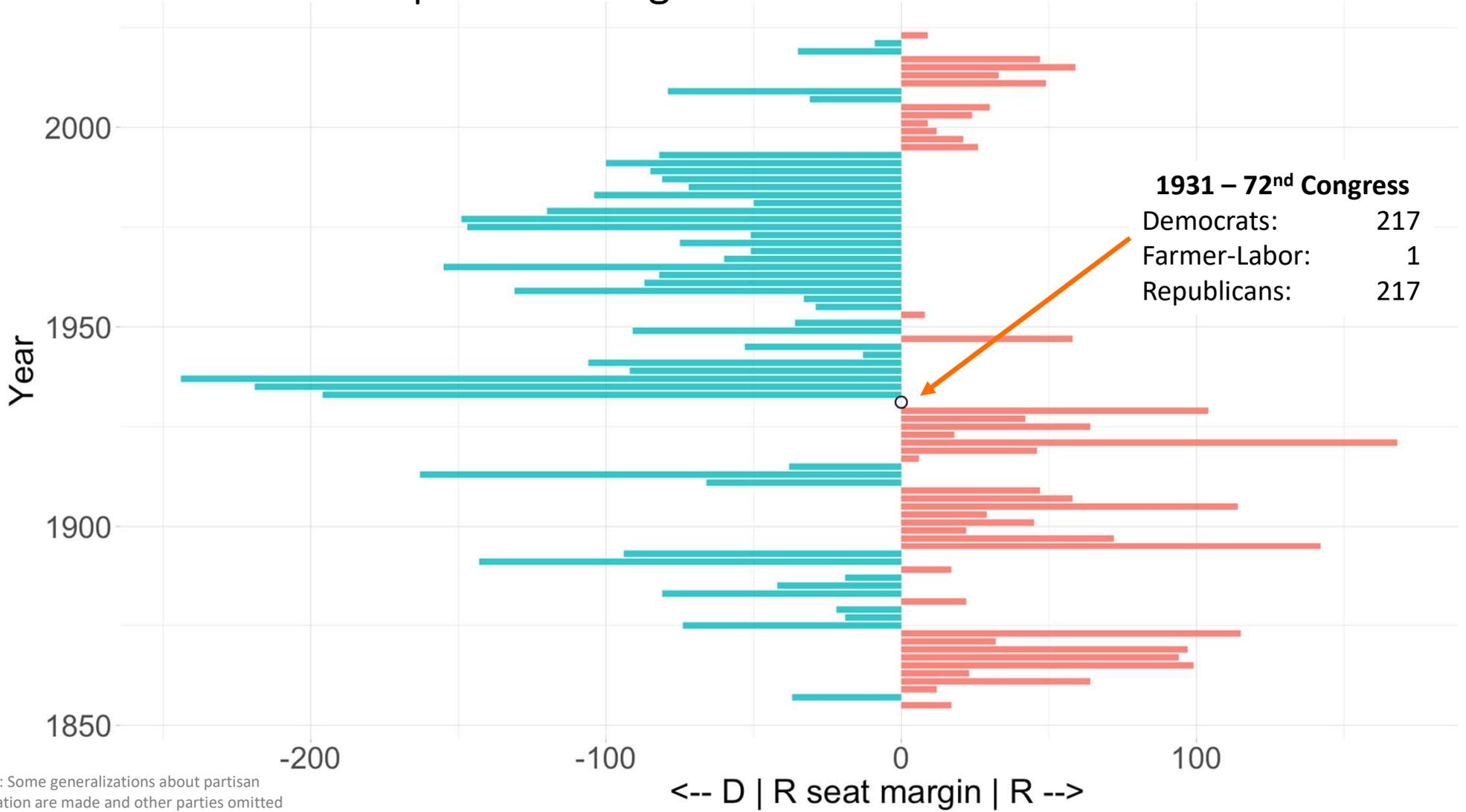


Note: Inspired by Kevin Uhrmacher, The Washington Post,
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2022/12/30/house-speaker-longest-vote/>

“Modern” and “Proto-modern” multi-ballot elections for U.S. Speaker



Historic partisan margin in the U.S. House: 1931 tie



After the 1930 elections, the Republicans had a one-seat majority, but before the new Congress could start **14 Member-elects died**, including incumbent Speaker Longworth.

Democrats won enough **special elections** to win the gavel.

1931 election for speaker

Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Democratic	John N. Garner (TX 15)	218	50.69
Republican	Bertrand Snell (NY 31)	207	48.14
Republican	George J. Schneider (WI 9)	5	1.17
Total votes		430	100
Votes necessary		216	>50



Longworth

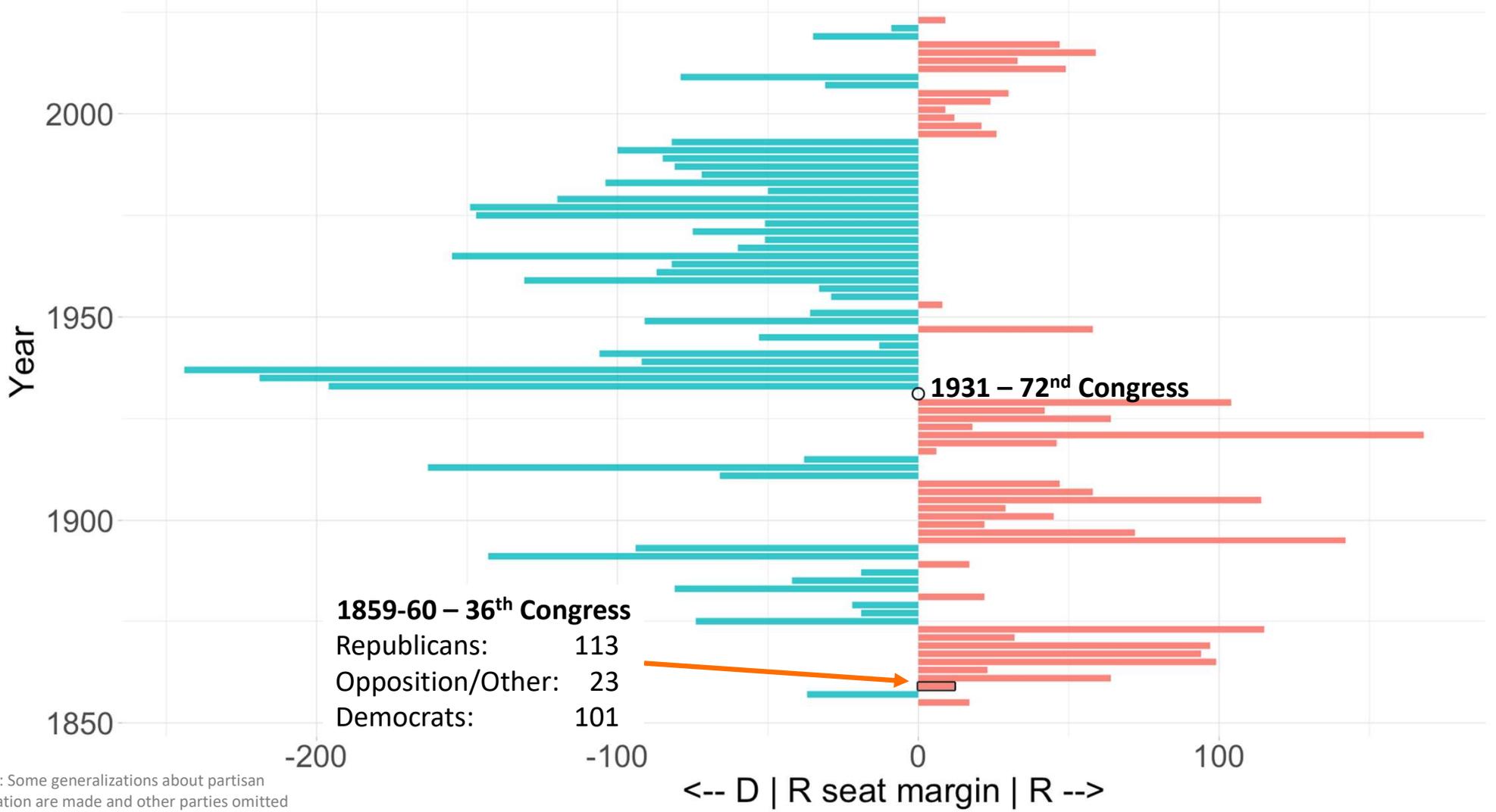
“Worst damn fool mistake I ever made was letting myself be elected vice president of the United States. Gave up the second most important job in government for eight long years as [Franklin] Roosevelt’s spare tire.”



Garner

--“Cactus Jack” Garner

Historic partisan margin in the U.S. House: 1859-60; war approaches



1859–60 election for speaker

December 5, 1859 – 1st ballot^[69]

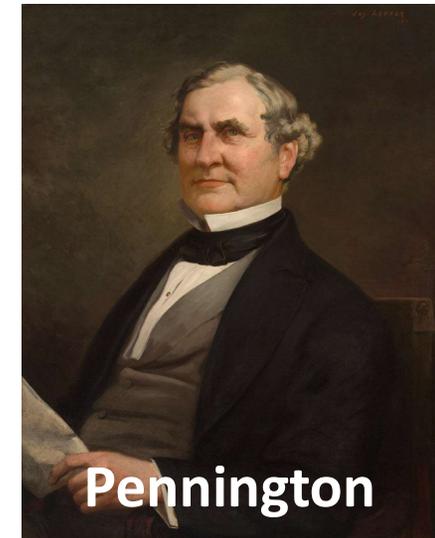
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Democratic	Thomas S. Bocock (VA 5)	86	37.40
Republican	John Sherman (OH 13)	66	28.70
Republican	Galusha A. Grow (PA 14)	43	18.70
Opposition	Alexander Boteler (VA 8)	14	6.08
Opposition	Thomas A. R. Nelson (TN 1)	5	2.17
Opposition	John A. Gilmer (NC 5)	3	1.30
Anti-Lecompton Democrat	Garnett Adrain (NJ 3)	2	0.87
Anti-Lecompton Democrat	John G. Davis (IN 7)	2	0.87
Anti-Lecompton Democrat	John B. Haskin (NY 9)	2	0.87
—	<i>Others</i>	7	3.04
Total votes:		230	100
Votes necessary:		116	>50

February 1, 1860 – 44th ballot^[70]

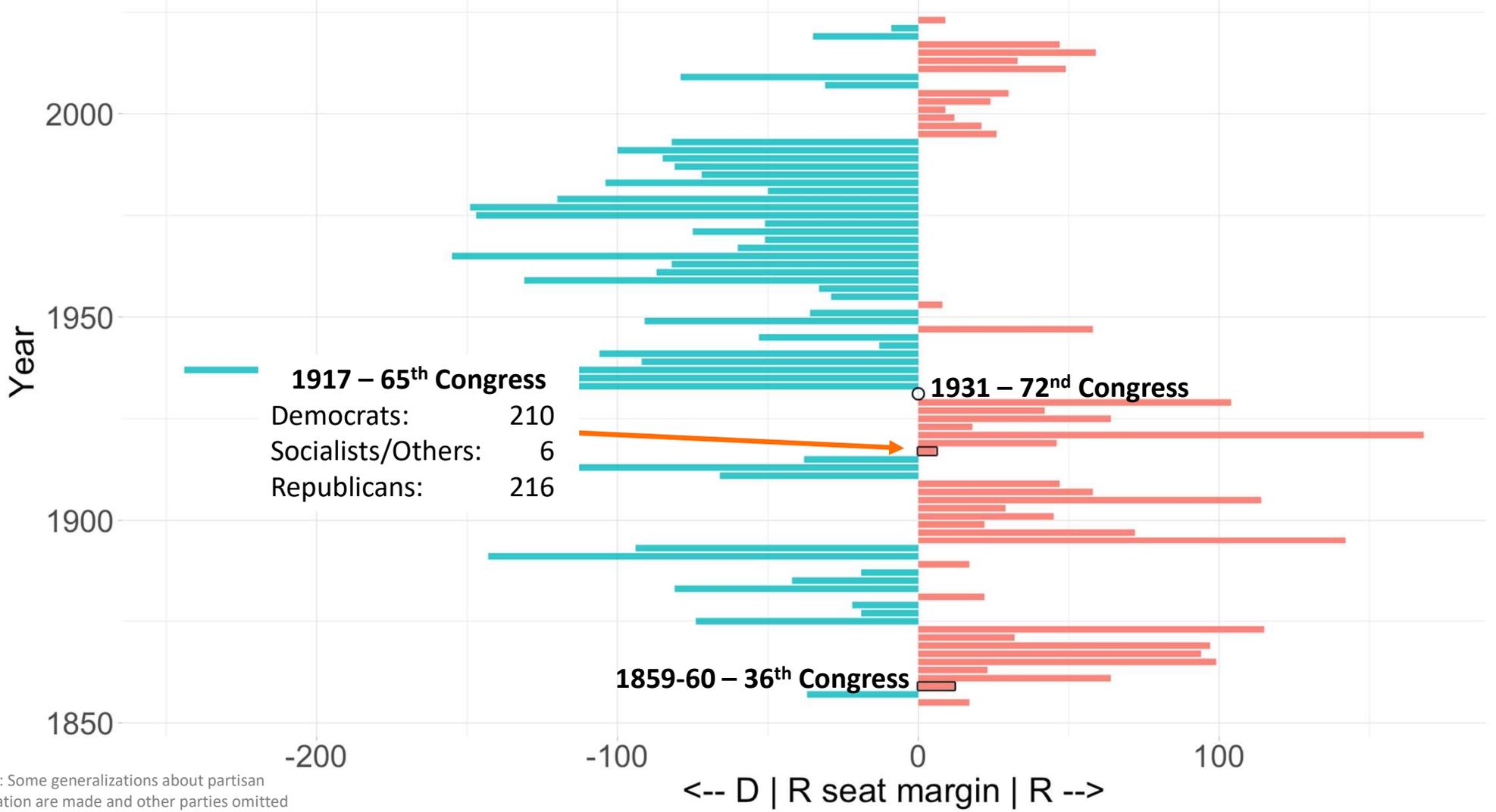
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	William Pennington (NJ 5)	117	50.22
Democratic	John A. McClernand (IL 6)	85	36.48
Opposition	John A. Gilmer (NC 5)	16	6.86
Democratic	Martin J. Crawford (GA 2)	4	1.72
Opposition	William N. H. Smith (NC 1)	4	1.72
Democratic	John McQueen (SC 1)	2	0.86
—	<i>Others</i>	5	2.14
Total votes:		233	100
Votes necessary:		117	>50

Republicans won a plurality of seats for the first time as a new party, but could not secure a majority until the 44th ballot.

90 Representatives received at least one vote.



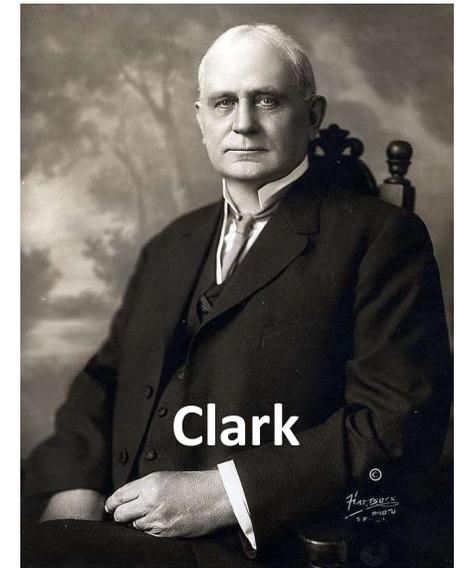
Historic partisan margin in the U.S. House: 1917; Coalition rule



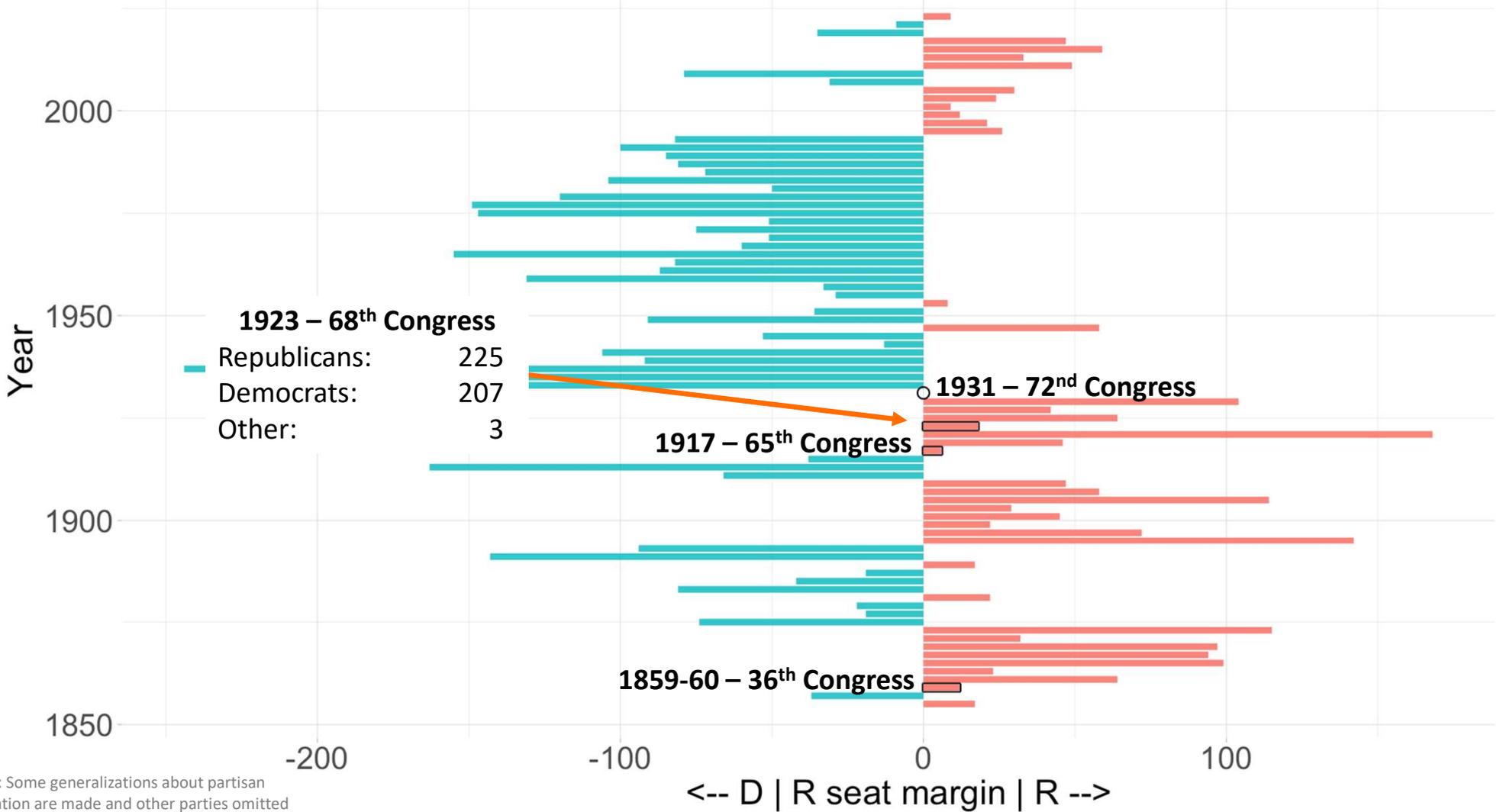
1917 election for speaker^[120]

Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Democratic	Champ Clark (MO 9) (Incumbent)	217	50.70
Republican	James R. Mann (IL 2)	205	47.89
Republican	Frederick H. Gillett (MA 2)	2	0.47
Republican	Irvine Lenroot (WI 11)	2	0.47
—	<i>Present</i>	2	0.47
Total votes		428	100
Votes necessary		215	>50

Republicans won a plurality of seats but Democratic Rep. Champ Clark was reelected Speaker for the fourth time as leader of a **coalition government** of defecting Republican Progressives, Prohibitionists, and Socialists, plus his Democratic base.



Historic partisan margin in the U.S. House: 1923; Progressive rebellion



1923 election for speaker

December 3, 1923 – 1st ballot^[125]

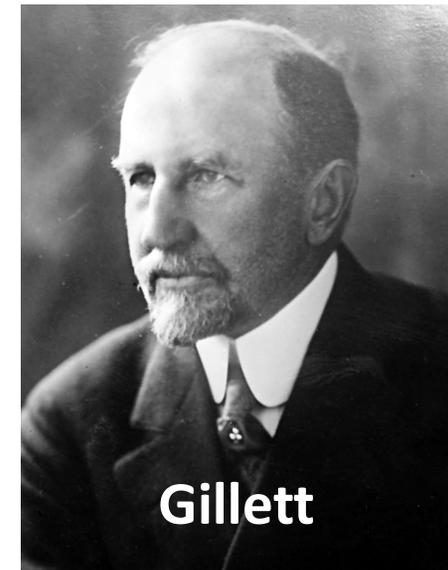
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	Frederick H. Gillett (MA 2) (Incumbent)	197	47.58
Democratic	Finis J. Garrett (TN 9)	195	47.10
Republican	Henry A. Cooper (WI 1)	17	4.11
Republican	Martin B. Madden (IL 1)	5	1.21
Total votes:		414	100
Votes necessary:		208	>50

December 5, 1923 – 9th ballot^[126]

Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Republican	Frederick H. Gillett (MA 2) (Incumbent)	215	51.94
Democratic	Finis J. Garrett (TN 9)	197	47.58
Republican	Martin B. Madden (IL 1)	2	0.48
Total votes:		414	100
Votes necessary:		208	>50

Republicans won a majority of seats, but **Progressive** Republicans refused to support incumbent Speaker Gillett.

Progressives only came around to elect Gillett Speaker for the third time after he **conceded a seat on the Rules Committee** to Progressives.



New York **Republican**

Progressive

c. 1923



La Guardia

New York **Democratic**

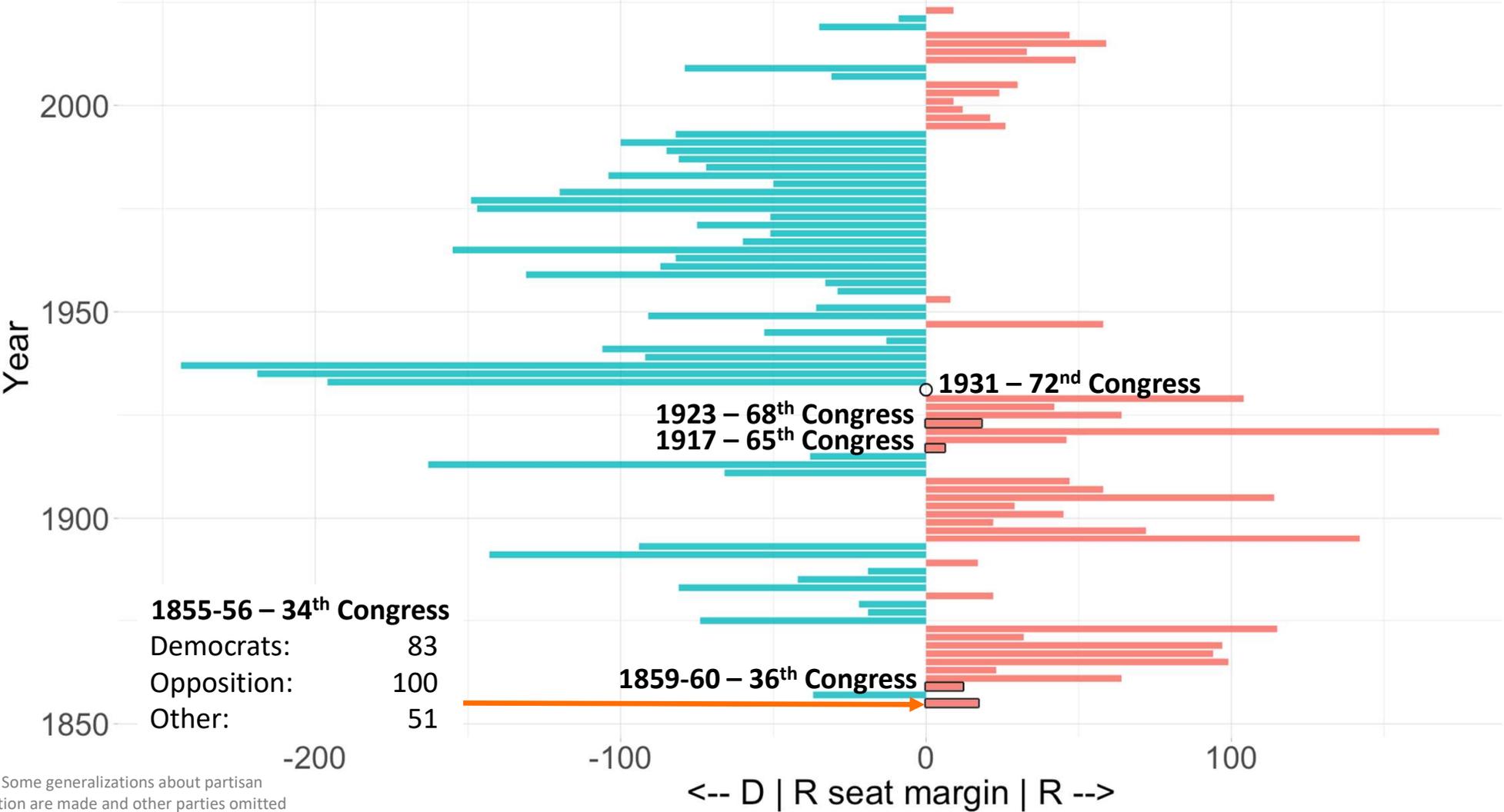
Progressive

c. 2023



Ocasio-Cortez

Historic partisan margin in the U.S. House: 1855-56; 133 ballots



1855-56 – 34th Congress

Democrats: 83

Opposition: 100

Other: 51

1859-60 – 36th Congress

1923 – 68th Congress

1917 – 65th Congress

1931 – 72nd Congress

<-- D | R seat margin | R -->

1855–56 election for speaker

December 3, 1855 – 1st ballot^{[61][63]}

Party	Candidate	Votes	%
Democratic	William A. Richardson (IL 5)	74	32.89
Opposition	Lewis D. Campbell (OH 3)	53	23.56
American	Humphrey Marshall (KY 7)	30	13.34
American	Nathaniel P. Banks (MA 7)	21	9.33
Opposition	Henry M. Fuller (PA 11)	17	7.56
Opposition	Alexander Pennington (NJ 5)	7	3.11
Opposition	Aaron Harlan (OH 7)	3	1.33
Democratic	John Wheeler (NY 6)	3	1.33
American	Benjamin B. Thurston (RI 2)	3	1.33
Opposition	Israel Washburn Jr. (ME 5)	2	0.89
Opposition	William A. Howard (MI 1)	2	0.89
—	<i>Others</i>	10	4.44
Total votes:		225	100
Votes necessary:		113	>50
February 2, 1856 – 133rd ballot ^{[61][64]}			
Party	Candidate	Votes	%
American	Nathaniel P. Banks (MA 7)	103	48.13
Democratic	William Aiken Jr. (SC 2)	100	46.73
Opposition	Henry M. Fuller (PA 11)	6	2.80
Opposition	Lewis D. Campbell (OH 3)	4	1.87
Democratic	Daniel Wells Jr. (WI 1)	1	0.47
Total votes:		214	100
Votes necessary:		Plurality^[g]	

“Proto-modern.” 133 ballots. Last election before the Republican party was really a thing.

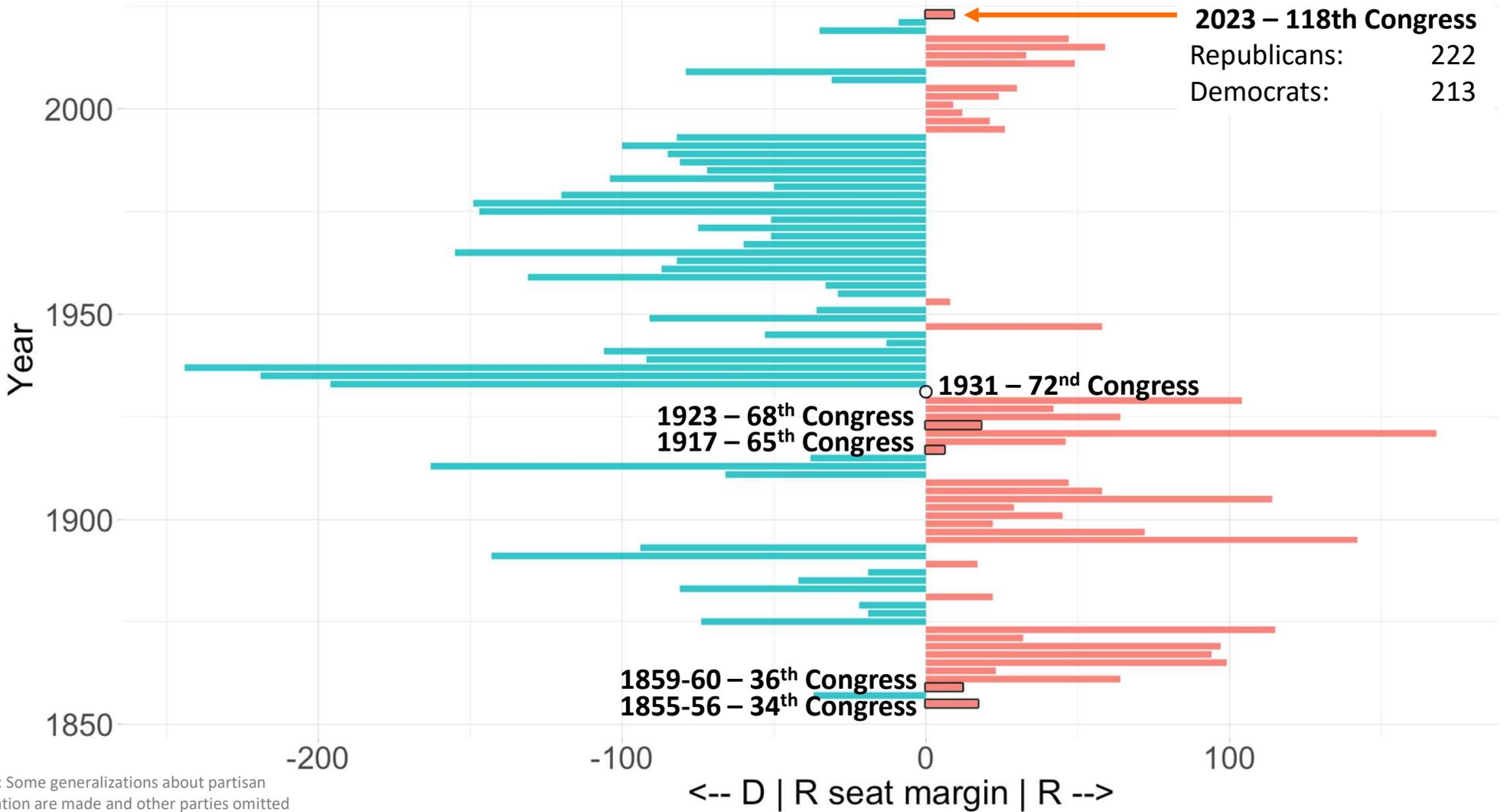
The first election after the collapse of the Whigs into various fusion tickets including Whigs, Americans, Free Soil, and Republicans grouped together as “Opposition” in the wake of the the Kansas-Nebraska Act and “Bleeding Kansas.”

Rules were changed after the 129th ballot to award gavel on plurality after 3 more votes.

Speaker Banks served only one Congress as Speaker with Democrats taking the House back the following year.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Speaker_of_the_United_States_House_of_Representatives_elections

Historic partisan margin in the U.S. House: 2023; Conservative angst



Note: Some generalizations about partisan affiliation are made and other parties omitted

Republicans

	BALLOT														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
 Andy Biggs Ariz. 5th	B	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	H	H	J	J	J	P
 Lauren Boebert Colo. 3rd	J	J	J	D	D	D	D	H	H	H	H	H	J	P	P
 Eli Crane Ariz. 2nd	B	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	H	H	H	J	B	P
 Matt Gaetz Fla. 1st	B	J	J	D	D	D	T	T	H	H	T	J	J	P	P
 Bob Good Va. 5th	B	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	H	J	J	J	P
 Matt Rosendale Mont. 2nd	B	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	H	H	H	J	B	P
 Dan Bishop N.C. 8th	B	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M	M	M
 Josh Brecheen Okla. 2nd	O	J	J	D	D	D	D	H	H	H	H	M	M	M	M
 Michael Cloud Texas 27th	J	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M	M	M
 Andrew Clyde Ga. 9th	B	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M	M	M
 Byron Donalds Fla. 19th	M	M	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M	M	M

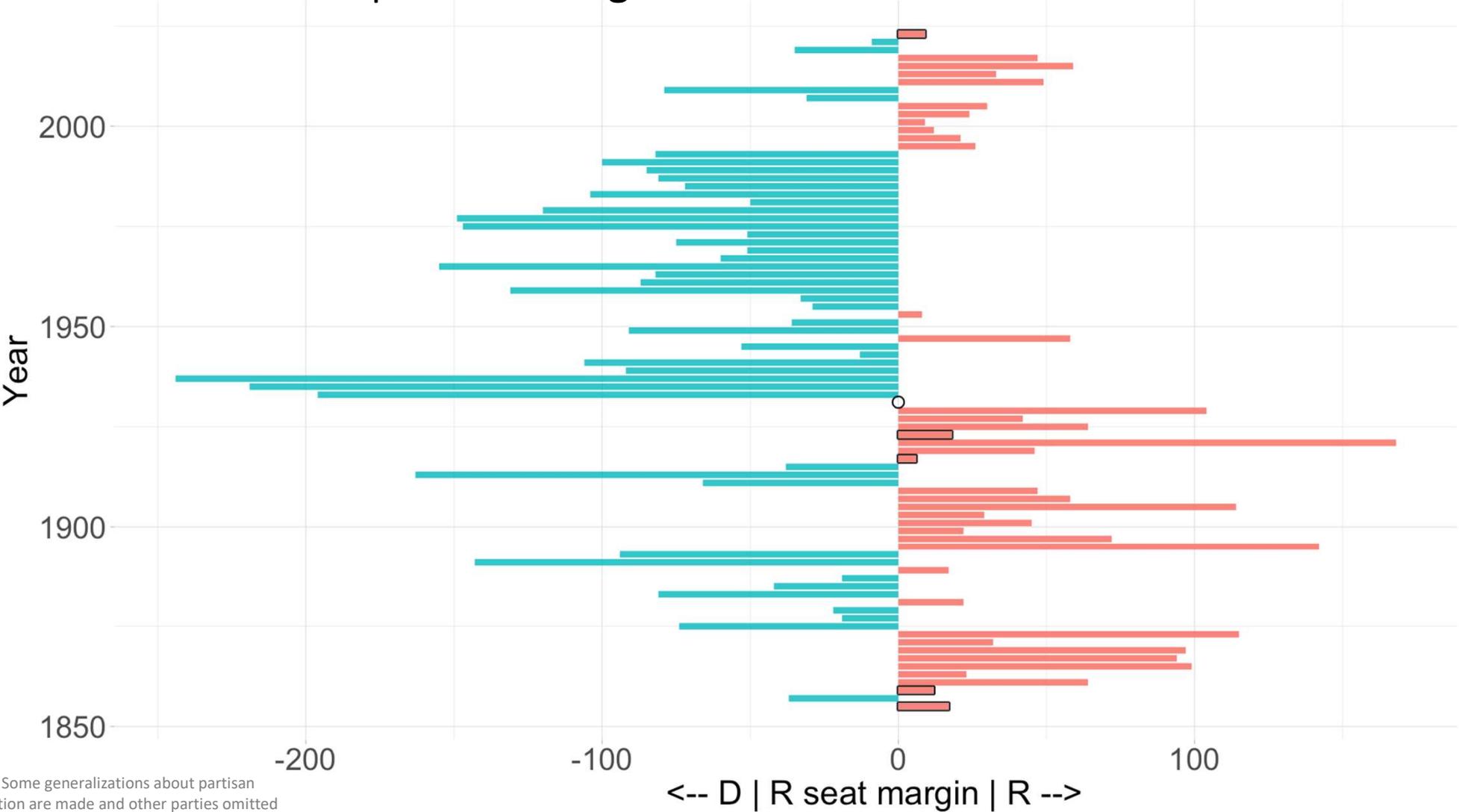
	BALLOT														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
 Paul Gosar Ariz. 9th	B	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M
 Andy Harris Md. 1st	O	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	H	H	J	M	M	M
 Anna Paulina Luna Fla. 13th	J	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M
 Mary Miller Ill. 15th	J	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M
 Ralph Norman S.C. 5th	B	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M
 Andy Ogles Tenn. 5th	J	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M
 Scott Perry Pa. 10th	B	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M
 Chip Roy Texas 21st	D	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M
 Keith Self Texas 3rd	J	J	J	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	M	M	M
 Victoria Spartz Ind. 5th	M	M	M	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	M	M	M

The New York Times

Vote key

- Biggs
- Donalds
- Jordan
- Trump
- Hern
- "Present"
- Other
- McCarthy or Jeffries

Historic partisan margin in the U.S. House: Correlations



Note: Some generalizations about partisan affiliation are made and other parties omitted

Federal infrastructure funding

- Federal Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA) legislation
- Five-year funding bill "Makes the largest federal investment in passenger rail since the creation of Amtrak. " – President Biden
- \$66 billion in federal rail funding:
 - \$22 billion grants to Amtrak
 - \$24 billion for Northeast Corridor modernization
 - \$12 billion for intercity and high-speed passenger rail
 - **\$5 billion for rail improvement and safety grants**, and
 - \$3 billion for grade crossing safety improvements

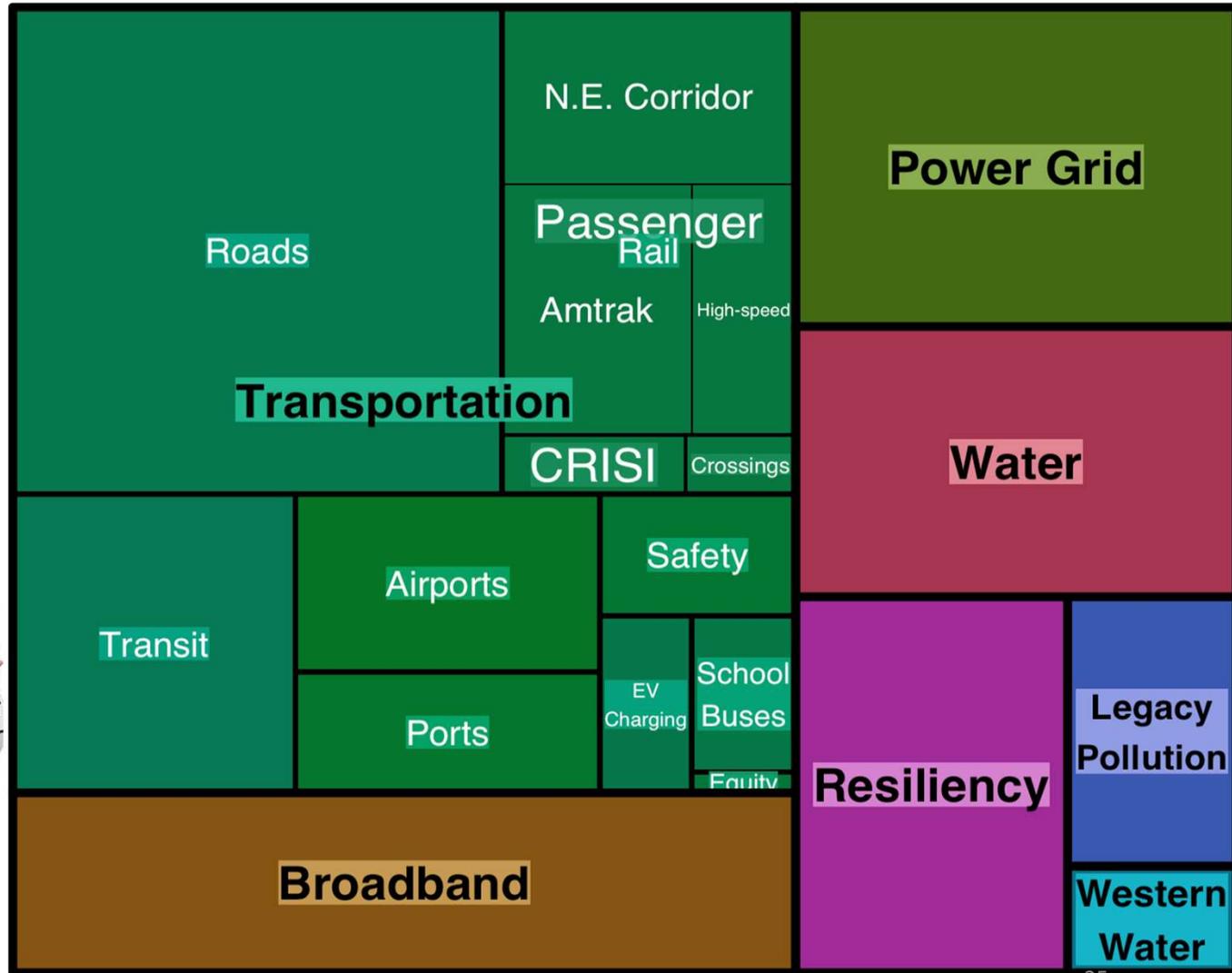


5 years at \$550 billion

"CRISI"

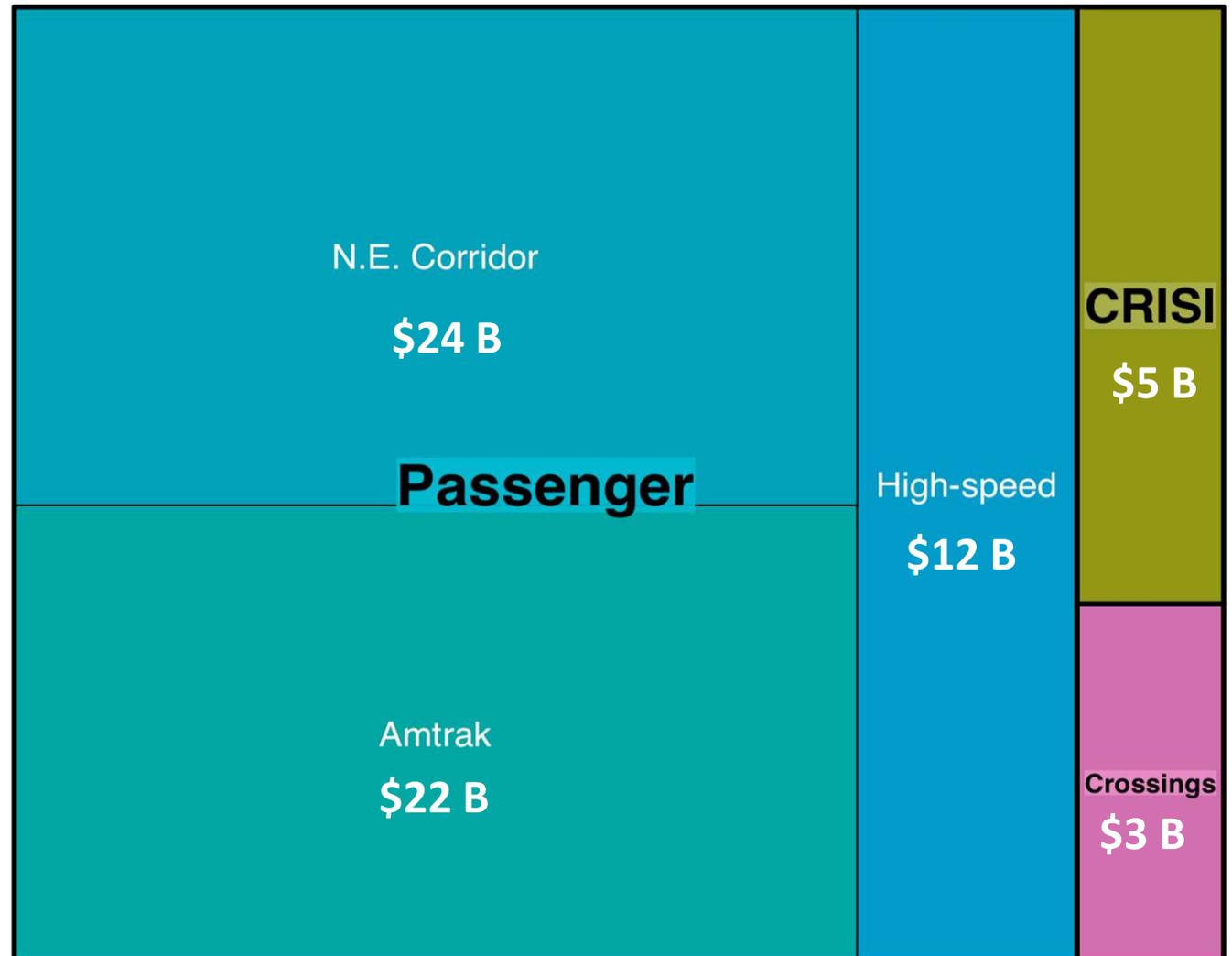
is freight project sweet spot at \$5 billion

By any measure, an embarrassment of riches



\$66 billion for rail:

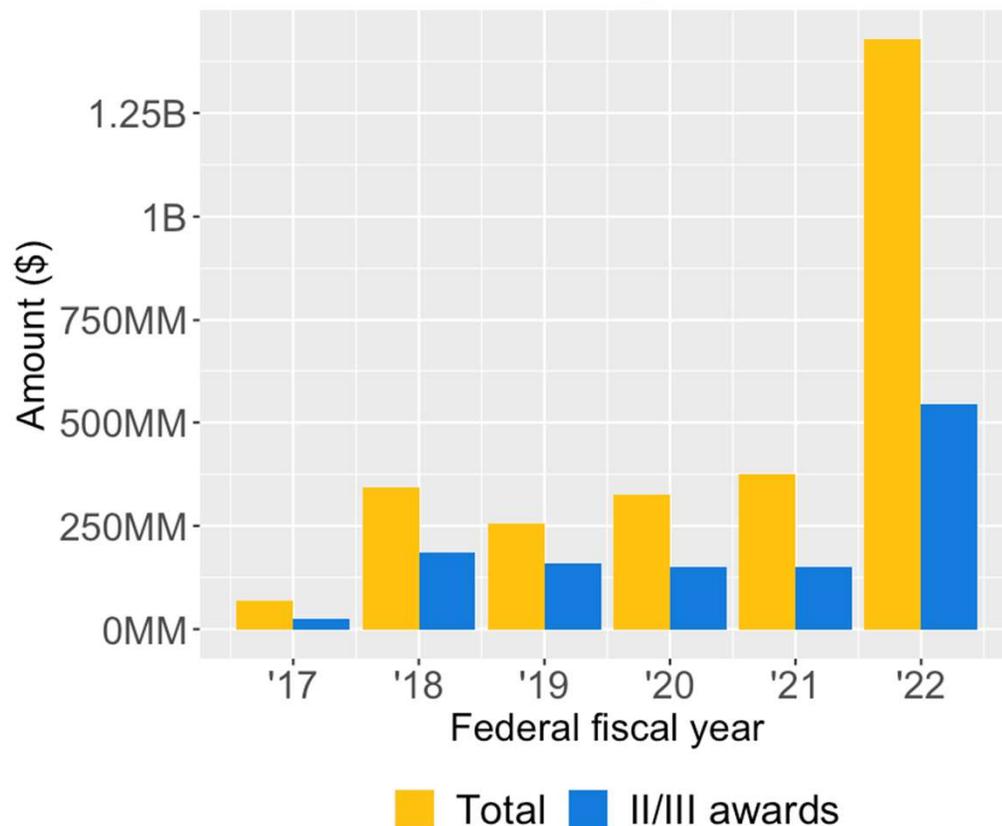
- \$22 billion grants to Amtrak
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The Golden Age of rail project funding

Historic CRISI funding levels (2017-2021) and 2022 assuming short lines win at historic average



If historic trends hold, short lines would be expected to secure \$545 MM / year in CRISI funding in FY2022

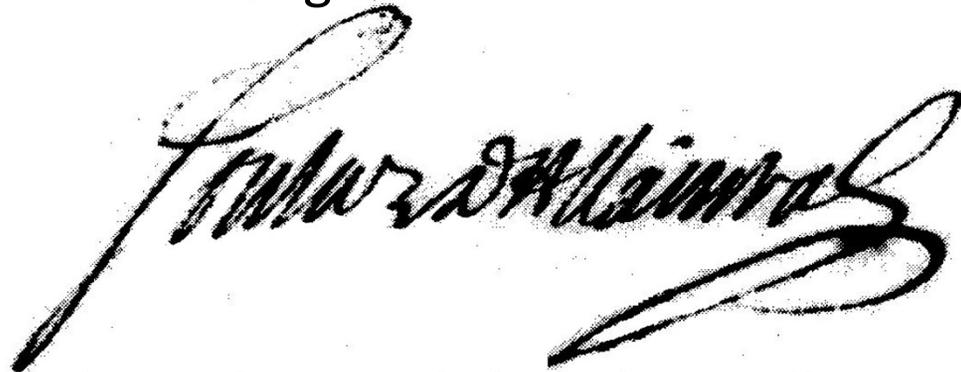
However, passenger projects and mega-projects involving Class I's may create downward pressure on total short line awards

Léonor-Jean-Christin Soulas d'Allainval

...called **abbé d'Allainval**, was an 18th-century French playwright. He lived all his life in misery and died an indigent. None of his plays were successful, except for a very short time his first comedy,

L'Embaras des richesses,

played four times in Paris during his lifetime.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Léonor d'Allainval', with a large, decorative flourish at the end.

Immortalized in English posthumously by John Ozell's 1738 English translation:

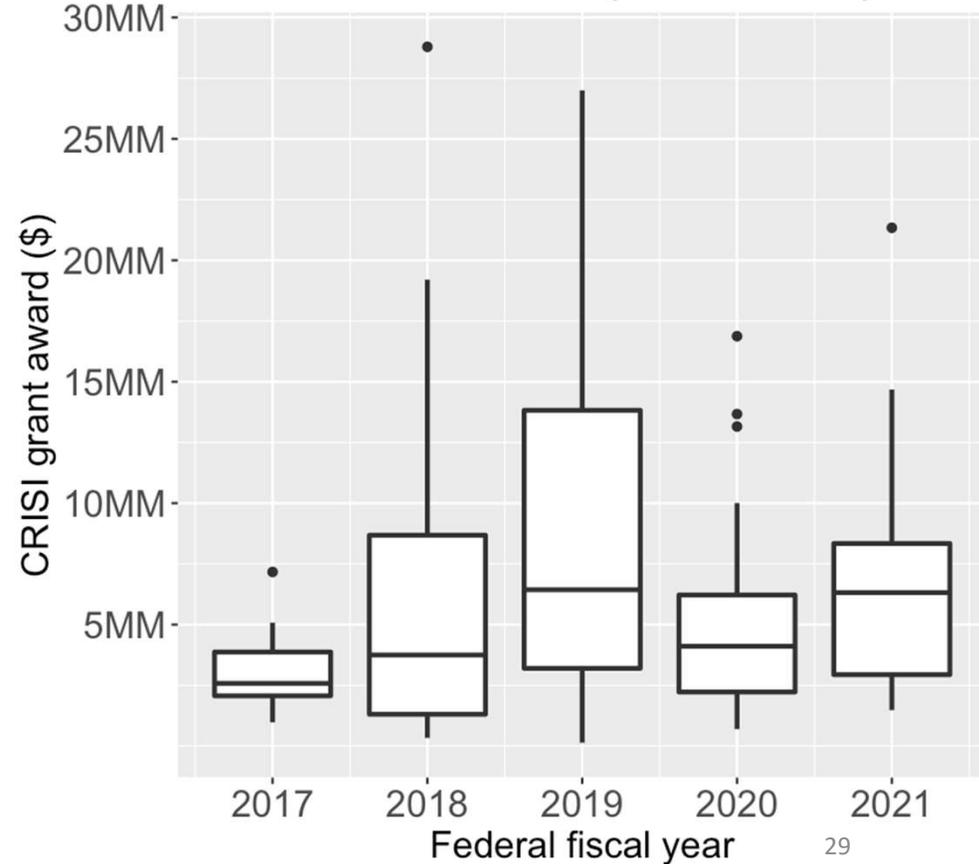
“Embarrassment of riches.”



"Known Unknowns"

"We also know there are known unknowns; that is to say we know there are some things we do not know." – Sec. Rumsfeld

Quartile ranges of CRISI awards to short line railroads (2017-2021)



- **What will be the size of the typical award after a quadrupling of funding?**
 - Historic mean is \$6.34 MM
 - Historic median is \$4.51 MM
- **What will be the typical winning match?**
 - FRA says historic mean is >50% non-federal
 - FY21 match data:

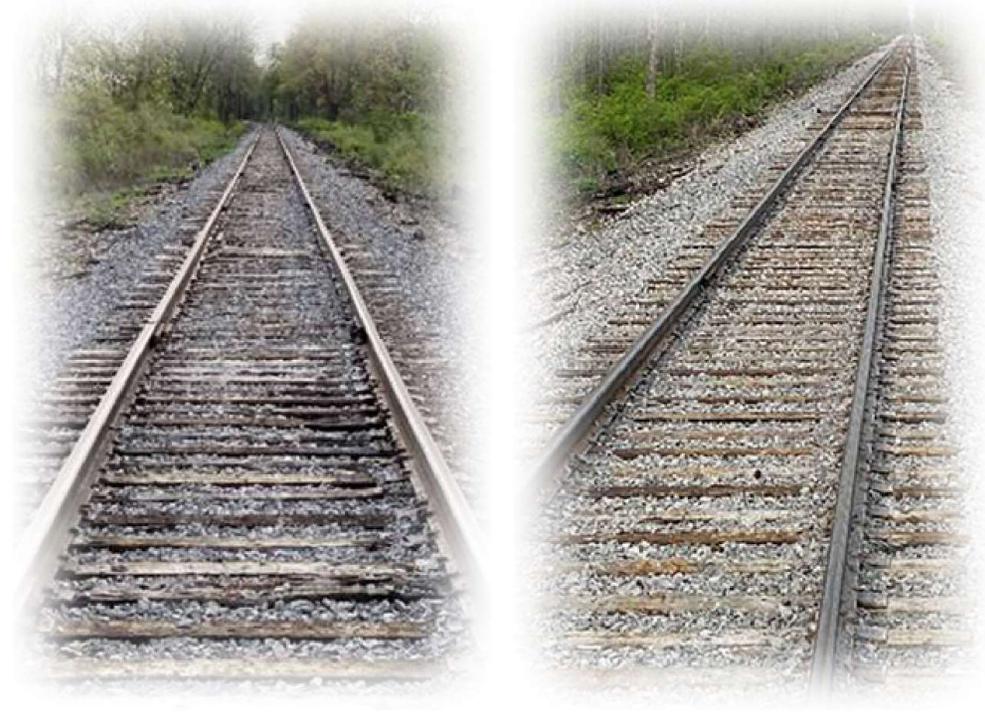
Match	Awards	Total (\$MM)	Mean (\$MM)	Median (\$MM)
> 50%	5	\$36.04	\$7.32	\$8.38
=50%	10	\$61.09	\$6.11	\$4.05
<50%	8	\$54.65	\$6.83	\$6.79



Before CSU Phase 1



After CSU Phase 1





WILLIAM J. "BILL" DUGGAN BRIDGE
BOONEVILLE, IA

Additional customer considerations

- \$66 billion in federal rail funding, including:
 - \$22 billion grants to Amtrak
 - \$12 billion for intercity and high-speed passenger rail

Risk #1: Freight dead zones

- Passenger == Positive Train Control
- PTC/passenger increases switch costs and may limit service
- Increased service constraints may reduce freight options and availability
- Freight “dead zones” where new freight is less possible or affordable?



Additional customer considerations

- \$66 billion in federal rail funding:
 - \$22 billion grants to Amtrak
 - \$24 billion for Northeast Corridor modernization
 - \$12 billion for intercity and high-speed passenger rail
 - \$5 billion for rail improvement and safety grants, and
 - \$3 billion for grade crossing safety improvements

Risk #2: Inflation risk

- *L'Embarras des richesses*
- Customers and railroads expand investment before supply can meet demand
- Material and labor cost increases





Viking

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