

# The Graduate School of Political Management

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

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## **M.P.S. in Legislative Affairs**

Fall Session

August 27 – December 10, 2018

## **Legislative Politics**

Course Number LGAF 6202.LH

3 Credits

Wednesday

6:00-8:00 PM

Hall of States

444 North Capitol Street, NW (check with  
front desk each week for room number)

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## **BASIC INFORMATION AND RESOURCES**

### **Instructor**

Hon. Daniel B. Maffei

Former Member of Congress

The Graduate School of Political Management

The George Washington University

Telephone: (mobile) 315-430-8251

Email: [dmaffei@gwu.edu](mailto:dmaffei@gwu.edu)

### **Teaching Assistant**

TBA

Telephone: (mobile) TBA

Email: TBA

### **Communication**

Appointments for individual meetings with me can be arranged via email. This is always the best way to communicate with me.

### **Academic Integrity**

All members of the university community are expected to exhibit honesty and integrity in their academic work. Students have a special responsibility to acquaint themselves with, and make use of, all proper procedures for doing research, writing papers, and taking exams. Members of the community will be presumed to be familiar with the proper academic procedures and will be held responsible for applying them. Deliberate failure to act in accordance with such procedures will be considered academic dishonesty. Academic dishonesty is defined as "cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information." Acts of academic dishonesty are a legal, moral, and intellectual offense against the community and will be prosecuted through the proper university channels. The University Code of Academic Integrity can be found at <https://studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity>.

### **Support for Students with Disabilities**

GW's Disability Support Services (DSS) provides and coordinates accommodations and other services for students with a wide variety of disabilities, as well as those temporarily disabled by injury or illness. Accommodations are available through DSS to facilitate academic access for students with disabilities. Please notify your instructor if you require accommodations. Additional information is available at <https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/>.

### **In the Event of an Emergency or Crisis during Class**

If we experience an emergency during class time, we will try to stay at this location (huddle-in-place) until we hear that we can move about safely. If we have to leave here, we will meet at **the Irish Times** in order to account for everyone and to make certain that everyone is safe. Please refer to Campus Advisories for the latest information on the University's operating status: <https://campusadvisories.gwu.edu>.

### **Attendance Policy**

Most of us have full-time jobs and these responsibilities will sometimes cause students to arrive late or miss class. We understand the realities of working in Washington. When this happens, *you must email the instructor in advance*. Absences from more than two classes during the term may impact your final grade.

### **Course Evaluation**

At the end of the semester, students will be given the opportunity to evaluate the course through GW's online course evaluation system. It is very important that you take the time to complete an evaluation. Students are also encouraged to provide feedback throughout the course of the semester by contacting any/all of the following:

Dr. Steven Billet  
Director, Legislative Affairs Program  
[sbillet@gwu.edu](mailto:sbillet@gwu.edu) | 202-256-5153

Dr. Jack Prostko  
Associate Dean for Learning and Faculty Development  
College of Professional Studies  
[jackp@gwu.edu](mailto:jackp@gwu.edu) | 202-994-3592

Suzanne Farrand  
Director of Academic Administration, GSPM

### **Legislative Affairs Program Objectives**

Upon completion of the Master's Degree in Legislative Affairs, students will:

1. Gain both theoretical and practical knowledge related to the U.S. Congress, general issues in the legislative arena, and how to effectively advance legislation;
2. Hone oral and written communication skills in both theoretical and technical aspects of legislative affairs;
3. Conduct cutting-edge research and engage in effective problem solving by learning critical thinking skills;
4. Learn to work effectively with others, and to understand ethical issues involved in the legislative arena.

### **Course Description and Overview**

This course is a requirement and core course for the Masters of Legislative Affairs Program. It will teach students to understand how Congress operates and what motivates its members. We will cover the establishment and evolution of Congress as an institution. We will look what drives legislative decision-making internally and externally, and the role of committees and party leadership. The course will examine topics essential to understanding how Congress works such as the House Rules Committee, cloture in the Senate, and the Budget Act of 1974. We will examine how constituent pressures affect decision-making and learn about the President's key role in the legislative process. We will discuss the current polarization in politics and the media-driven populism that has affected both major parties. We will look at Congress' low approval ratings and debate some suggested reforms. Contemporary and current issues facing the Congress (including the 2018 mid-term election) will be part of the class.

Class participation is an important part of the course, starting with each student submitting (by e-mail) a question based on the assigned readings by 3PM the day of the class. There will be three short writing assignments and a take-home midterm exam. All papers are to be submitted by email in .pdf format.

### **Course Learning Objectives**

1. The goal is to develop a working understanding of how the Congress functions and what motivates its members. Additionally, the course will introduce students to, and increase their enthusiasm for studying other topics in the Legislative Affairs program.
2. Understand the origins, history and development of Congress as an institution.
3. Examine conflicting pressures that members deal with involving constituents, interest groups, fundraising and participating in national decisions.
4. Scrutinize the process of legislative decision-making and how committees and party leadership affect it.
5. Appreciate how the role of the leadership of the House and the Senate has changed over time.
6. Learn why the Senate rules are designed to protect the political minority.
7. Gain an appreciation for the role of the President as "Legislator-in-Chief" and how Congress has surrendered and delegated power to the executive branch.
8. Look at the budget and appropriation process – the one thing Congress must complete every year – and how the modern Congress makes (or doesn't make) decisions.
9. We will examine political polarization in Congress and how it affects the legislative process, and we will take a critical look at Congressional dysfunction and consider various reforms to address it.

### **Document Citations**

Use the Chicago Style of Style for essays, citations and bibliographies. A sample of the style can be found on the GW website at: <http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/>.

**PLEASE NOTE:** You can lose points for failure to footnote accurately or for grammatical and spelling errors. This is a graduate course, and graduate level work requires that your work is proofread and presented in an acceptable manner.

**Evaluation and Grading**

<b>Assignment</b>	<b>Learning Objective(s) Addressed</b>	<b>Due Date</b>	<b>Weight</b>
First Short Assignment	800-1200 word essay describing an aspect of the institution of Congress relevant to the policy making process and describing how it has changed over time.	Sept. 26	15%
Second Short Assignment	600-1000 word memo outlining a strategy for enacting into law a legislative initiative of your choice (though it is highly recommended that you run the topic by the instructor).	Oct. 24	15%
Take Home Exam	Take-home exam based on readings.	Nov. 15	45%
Third Short Assignment	700-900 word opinion piece advocating for a reform that you believe would make congress more effective.	Dec. 12	15%
Attendance and Participation	You shortchange yourself and your colleagues by not being prepared or not participating in our class discussions. Organization, clarity and precision in the spoken and written word are expected of graduate level work but thorough documentation, keen observations and critical insight demonstrate superior effort.		10%

**Following is the grade scale for all GSPM classes:**

<b>Grade*</b>	<b>Grading Standard</b>
A 94-100	Your work is outstanding and ready for submission in a professional environment. Your material, effort, research, and writing demonstrate superior
A- 90-93	Represents solid work with minor errors. Overall, excellent work.
B+ 87-89	Very good. Represents well-written material, research, and presentation, but needs some minor work.
B 83-86	Satisfactory work, but needs reworking and more effort. Note that although not a failing grade, at the graduate level, anything below a "B" is viewed as unacceptable.
B- 80-82	You've completed the assignment, but you are not meeting all of the requirements.
C+ 77-79	Needs improvement in content and in effort. Shows some motivation and concern.
C 73-76	Needs reworking, improved effort, and additional research. Shows minimal motivation and concern.
C- 70-72 (lowest grade to	Poor performance. Major errors, too many misspellings, problems with accuracy, etc.
F Below 70	Unacceptable performance, or inability to submit the assignment.

\*Please note that you may be penalized for late submission of assignment(s).

**Required Text and Learning Materials**

*Congress and Its Members*, Roger Davidson, Walter Oleszek, Frances Lee & Eric Schickler (16<sup>th</sup> ed. 2018)  
*The Partisan Divide: Congress in Crisis*, Tom Davis, Martin Frost & Richard Cohen (2014)  
*It's Even Worse Than It Looks Was*, Thomas E. Mann & Norman J. Ornstein (Paperback ed. 2016)

**Optional Supplemental Text and Learning Materials**

Other readings available online, at the GWU Library, and/or on the blackboard site for the class.

## **Tentative Course Calendar\***

*\*The instructor reserves the right to alter course content and/or adjust the pace to accommodate class progress. Students are responsible for keeping up with all adjustments to the course calendar.*

### **Class 1 - August 29: Introduction**

Introductions and class overview. Instructor will answer questions about the syllabus and course. Review major themes, course expectations, assignments and final project. Overview of the subject matter.

*NOTE: Representative Maffei will appear remotely for this class session.*

Students will view Ken Burns film "The Congress" (PBS, Florentine Films, 1988) for general overview. If students have access to film and would prefer to view it on their own, they may do so.

### **Class 2 - September 5: The Origin and Evolution of the U.S. Congress**

How was the Constitution designed and what were the goals of the framers? What was the Great Compromise? What are the enumerated powers of Congress? The early Congress had no committees and no formal leaders other than the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate, but they soon developed – Why? How has the leadership and committees evolved to today? What challenges does Congress face today because its fundamental structure and rules were designed in the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century?

Reading Due: Davidson et al.: Chapters 2, 6, 7.

Davis, Frost & Cohen: Chapter 14.

*The American Heritage History of the Congress of the United States*, Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. (1975): Chapter 2.

*Committees in Congress*, Christopher J. Deering & Steven S. Smith (1997): Chapter 2.

<http://www.mit.edu/~17.261/smith&deering.pdf>

*Relic: How Our Constitution Undermines Effective Government and Why We Need a More Powerful Presidency*, William G. Howell & Terry M. Moe (2016): Chapter 2.

### **Class 3 - September 12: The U.S. House of Representatives**

#### ***SHORT PAPER ASSIGNED – Due September 26 at start of class***

What are the rules and parliamentary procedures in the House and how did they develop? How is the House a majoritarian institution? How has the power of the Speakership increased and decreased over the years? How does the House Rules Committee and leadership control of the floor work? How did party leadership, committees and subcommittees evolve? How have committee and party leaders clashed through the years? What were the Legislative Reorganization Acts of 1946 and 1970?

Reading Due: Davidson et al.: Chapter 8, pp. 219-244.

*The House: The History of the House of Representatives*, Robert V. Remini (2006): Chapter 18.

"A Brief History of Congressional Reform Efforts," Donald R. Wolfensberger, Prepared for Use by the Bipartisan Policy Center & The Woodrow Wilson Center, February 22, 2013.

[https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/brief\\_history\\_congressional\\_reform\\_efforts.pdf](https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/brief_history_congressional_reform_efforts.pdf)

"Seven Notable Speakers and their Legacies," Mikayla Bouchard, Kitty Bennett & Carl Hulse, *The New York Times*, October 28, 2015.

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/10/28/us/politics/highlights-in-house-speaker-history.html>

"The End of the Strong Speaker," Julian E. Zelizer, *The Atlantic*, April 17, 2018.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/04/the-end-of-the-strong-speaker/558203/>

## **Class 4 - September 19: The United States Senate**

Who are the party leaders in the Senate? How do they control the process and direction of the Senate? What were the reasons for the ratification of the 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment and were there unforeseen effects? What are: unanimous consent; the filibuster; holds and cloture; the “nuclear” option? What is meant by “The Majority determines what comes to the Floor and the Minority determines what leaves it?” How are committees in the Senate different from those in the House? How does the minority have more power in the Senate than in the House? How does the Senate’s responsibility for confirmation of presidential appointments affect the legislative process? How does the pressure to run for President affect Senators?

Reading Due: Davidson et al.: Chapter 8, pp. 245-260.

MacNeil and Baker: Chapter 11.

*The Long Game: A Memoir*, Mitch McConnell (2016): Chapter 16

<https://www.npr.org/sections/itsallpolitics/2014/02/05/271937304/rethinking-the-17th-amendment-an-old-idea-gets-fresh-opposition>

“A Short History of the Filibuster,” Peter Carlson, *American History Magazine* (posted on historynet.com), August 4, 2010.

<http://www.historynet.com/a-short-history-of-the-filibuster.htm>

“What if the Senate Goes Beyond the Filibuster ‘Nuclear Option?’,” Jennifer Steinhauer, *The New York Times*, April 5, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/05/us/politics/filibuster-gorsuch-nomination-republicans.html>

“United States Senators as Presidential Candidates,” Barry C. Burden, *Political Science Quarterly* (117: 1), 2002 <https://faculty.polisci.wisc.edu/bcburden/psq2002.pdf>

## **Class 5 - September 26: Legislative Agendas and Decision Making**

### ***SHORT PAPER DUE AT START OF CLASS***

How do members deal with the “dual nature” of Congress? How do members deal with so many competing demands and responsibilities? What’s the difference between the “delegate” and “trustee” model of representation and which, if either, do members follow? How has the relationship between members and their constituencies evolved as Congress has changed and the nation has grown? Is “all politics local,” or has this changed in recent years? How do members develop and promote their legislative agendas? How have outsiders risen up in primaries and ousted party leaders?

Reading Due: Davidson et al.: Chapters 1, 5, 9.

Davis, Frost & Cohen: Chapter 7.

“Legislative Entrepreneurship: Different Strategies for Different Issues,” Lou Frey, Jr. in *Inside the House: Former Members Reveal How Congress Really Works*, Lou Frey, Jr. and Michael T. Hayes, eds. (2001).

*The Challenge of Congressional Representation*, Richard F. Fenno (2013): Chapter 1  
*Dead Center: How Political Polarization Divided America and What We Can Do About It*, Jason Altmire (2017): pp.164-172.

“Anti-Establishment Fervor Grips Dems,” Amie Parnes, *The Hill*, June 29, 2018.

<http://thehill.com/homenews/house/394690-anti-establishment-fervor-grips-dems>

Students will view excerpts from *House of Cards*, Season 1, Episode 3 (Netflix, 2013).

## **Class 6 - October 3: Parties, Factions, Polarization and Populism**

How powerful are parties in the Congress and in the country? What is conditional party government, the pivotal vote theory and agenda control? What are the causes of polarization in Congress? Are the people as divided as their Congress or is a polarized America a myth? What is gerrymandering? What is sorting? What challenges does the "partisan divide" create in Congress today? How do ideological caucuses such as the Blue Dogs, Progressives, and Freedom Caucus get established and evolve? How has 21<sup>st</sup> Century populism affected parties in Congress? How are populist movements on the left and on the right similar and different?

Reading Due: Davidson et al.: Chapter 6.

Davis, Frost & Cohen: Chapters 5, 8, 9.

*Dead Center: How Political Polarization Divided America and What We Can Do About It*,

Jason Altmire (2017): Chapter 9.

"Drawing the Line: How Redistricting Turned America From Blue to Red," Elizabeth Kolbert, *The New Yorker*, June 27, 2016. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/06/27/ratfcked-the-influence-of-redistricting>

*The Big Sort: Why the Clustering of Like-Minded America is Tearing Us Apart*, Bill Bishop (2009): Introduction.

*Culture War?: The Myth of a Polarized America*, Morris P. Fiorina with Samuel J. Abrams and Jeremy C. Pope (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. 2011): Chapter 4.

*Conscience of a Conservative: A Rejection of Destructive Politics and a Return to Principle*, Jeff Flake (2017): Chapter 5.

"Bernie Sanders has conquered the Democratic Party," Jeff Spross, *The Week*, April 24, 2018. <http://theweek.com/articles/769073/bernie-sanders-conquered-democratic-party>

## **Class 7 - October 10: Budgets, Appropriations, and Taxes**

### ***MEMO ASSIGNED – Due October 24 at start of class***

How does the budget process work (or not work) in Congress? Can it address the budget deficits we face? What is the difference between authorizers and appropriators? How can "appropriations riders" be used to change Federal, state and local policies? What is the Budget Act of 1974? What is "Reconciliation" and how does it function? What are "CRs," "sequesters," and government shutdowns? How are tax laws passed and how does the process differ from spending? How can spending priorities be hidden in tax cut provisions?

Reading Due: Davidson et al.: Chapter 11, 14.

"The Power of the Purse: Rethinking Runaway Debt and a Broken Budgeting Process," Jason J. Fichtner in *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Congress: Case Studies in Legislative Leadership*, Maxmillian Angerholzer III et. al., eds. (2014).

"Drawing the Line," Brian Riedl, the Manhattan Institute *E21*, March 22, 2018.

<https://economics21.org/html/trillion-dollar-spending-bill-exemplifies-dysfunctional-congress-2981.html>

"The Dynamics and Dysfunction of the Congressional Budget Process: From Inception to Deadlock," James Thurber in *Congress Reconsidered*, Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I Oppenheimer, eds. (2013).

*Life in the Marble Palace: In Praise of Folly*, Clifford B. Stearns (2016): Chapter 12

## **Class 8 - October 17: Congress and the President**

What is the President's constitutional roles in the legislative process and in the budget process? How does whether the President's party have the majority in one or both houses of Congress affect matters? How does the president use the veto, threatened veto ("SAP"), executive orders, and other tools to coerce and/or circumvent Congress? How has Congress ceded power to the President? How does Congressional oversight over the executive branch work?

Reading Due: Davidson et al.: Chapter 10.  
Davis, Frost & Cohen: Chapters 15.  
*By Order of the President: Use and Abuse of Executive Direct Action*, Phillip J. Cooper (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. 2014), Chapter 9.  
"The Temptation of Executive Authority: How Increased Polarization and the Decline of Legislative Capacity Have Contributed to the Expansion of Presidential Power," Edward G. Carmines and Matthew Fowler, *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, July 2017.

## **Class 9 – October 24: Lobbying and Fundraising**

### ***MEMO DUE AT START OF CLASS***

What outside pressures do members face? How do lobbyists influence Congressional offices? How are citizen groups and major economic interests represented? Is there really a "revolving door" between Congress and lobby firms? How and why do members raise so much money for campaigns? How have changes in campaign finance laws over the past 40 years had a big impact on Congress? Do campaign finance reforms such as the McCain-Feingold Act work as intended? How do "Super PACS," "soft money," and 501(c)(4)s affect Congressional politics?

Reading Due: Davidson et al.: Chapter 13.  
Davis, Frost & Cohen: Chapters 6.  
"Representing the Preferences of Donors, Partisans and Voters in the US Senate," Michael J. Barber, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, March 2016.

## **Class 10 – October 31: The Media and Congress**

How does the media cover Congress? What are the media's incentives? How does it affect decisions made there? How has "information overload" and "fake news" affected citizens' views of Congress? How has a more fractured and ideological media changed coverage of Congress? How has the media increased polarization in Congress? How has social media changed representation and contributed to polarization?

Reading Due: Davis, Frost & Cohen: Chapter 10.  
"Congress and the Media," Otis Pike in *Inside the House: Former Members Reveal How Congress Really Works*, Lou Frey, Jr. and Michael T. Hayes, eds. (2001).  
*Overload: Finding the Truth in Today's Deluge of News*, Bob Schieffer with H. Andrew Schwartz (2017): Chapter 6.  
*#Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media*, Cass R. Sunstein (2017): Chapter 3.  
*The People vs. Democracy: Why Our Freedom Is In Danger and How to Save It*, Yascha Mounk (2018), Chapter 4.

## **Class 11 – November 7: Elections and Who Gets Elected**

### ***MIDTERM EXAM ASSIGNED – Due November 14 at start of class***

How does a Member get elected to office? What sort of person gets elected? Do issues matter? Do campaigns matter? Do voters make voting decisions based on rational reasons or emotions? Do voters collectively tend to vote for checks and balances? Do facts matter in elections? Do voters vote *FOR* someone or some party or just *AGAINST* someone or some party? Is collective decision-making vulnerable to irrational decision making? How useful are polls in predicting elections? Can public polls affect elections? Why do some elections go as predicted and others do not?

Reading Due: Davidson et. al.: Chapters 3, 4.  
Davis, Frost & Cohen: Chapters 11-12.  
*The Political Brain: The Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of the Nation*, Drew Westen (2008): Chapter 2.

## **Class 12 – November 14: Congress and Military/Foreign Affairs**

### ***MIDTERM DUE***

What is the role of Congress of foreign and military affairs? What is the “War Powers Resolution” and what is an “AUMF” and how have they been used in recent history, such as the decision to give President George W. Bush the authority use force in Iraq?

Reading Due: Davidson et al.: Chapter 15.  
“A Powers Tug-of-War: The Iraq War Resolutions” James Kitfield in *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Congress: Case Studies in Legislative Leadership*, Maxmillian Angerholzer III, et al., eds. (2014).  
“Changes of the Role of Congress in Foreign Affairs,” Lee Hamilton in *Inside the House: Former Members Reveal How Congress Really Works*, Lou Frey, Jr. and Michael T. Hayes, eds. (2001).  
“A Frightening Thought: Congress’ Flip Flop on War and Diplomacy,” Dan Mahaffee and Dan Maffei, *The National Interest*, August 20, 2015. <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/frigtinging-thought-congress-flip-flop-war-diplomacy-13639>

## **No Class on November 21: Thanksgiving Break**

## **Class 13 – November 28: Dysfunction and Cynicism**

### ***OPINION PIECE ASSIGNED – Due December 6 at start of class***

How broken is Congress? Is this really new or has Congress always been dysfunctional? What are the causes of dysfunction? Is there a lack of civility in Congress? Is polarization the biggest problem? Is it money in politics? Why does Congress and its members receive such low approval ratings? Are other government and private sector institutions also seeing lower approval ratings? Are cynical views of Congress self-fulfilling? Are members of Congress really lazy, corrupt and meanspirited? How do members of Congress manage to work so hard and get so little credit? What are the personal costs and benefits of being in Congress, and is the dysfunction and cynicism making it harder to attract good people to serve in Congress?

Reading Due: Davidson et. al.: Chapter 16.

Mann & Ornstein: Chapter 2.

*Anti-Pluralism: The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy*, William A. Galston (2018): Chapter 5.

"America is Not A Democracy: How the United States Lost the Faith of Its Citizens – And What We Can Do To Win Them Back," Yascha Mounk, *The Atlantic*, March 2018.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2018/03/america-is-not-a-democracy/550931/>

"Congress Is Broken. But Don't Blame Polarization," Phillip A. Wallach & James Wallner, *Real Clear Policy*, June 8, 2018.

[https://www.realclearpolicy.com/articles/2018/06/08/congress\\_is\\_broken\\_but\\_dont\\_blame\\_polarization\\_110662.html](https://www.realclearpolicy.com/articles/2018/06/08/congress_is_broken_but_dont_blame_polarization_110662.html)

"How Money Corrupts American Politics," Benjamin I. Page, *Scholars Strategy Network*.

<https://scholars.org/how-money-corrupts-american-politics>

"Full Text of Chris Dodd Farewell Speech," Chris Dodd, *The Hartford Courant*, November 30, 2010. [http://articles.courant.com/2010-11-30/news/hc-chris-dodd-farewell-speech-1130\\_1\\_senate-page-farewell-speech-pratt-whitney](http://articles.courant.com/2010-11-30/news/hc-chris-dodd-farewell-speech-1130_1_senate-page-farewell-speech-pratt-whitney)

[http://articles.courant.com/2010-11-30/news/hc-chris-dodd-farewell-speech-1130\\_1\\_senate-page-farewell-speech-pratt-whitney](http://articles.courant.com/2010-11-30/news/hc-chris-dodd-farewell-speech-1130_1_senate-page-farewell-speech-pratt-whitney)

## **Class 14. December 6 – POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO DYSFUNCTION**

### ***OPINION PIECE DUE AT START OF CLASS***

What are leading proposals to fix dysfunction in the Congress? What challenges are involved in implementing these reforms? Are there unintended consequences to these reforms that could actually make matters worse? Is it better to make incremental changes or does reforming Congress require a radical solution?

Reading Due: Davis, Frost & Cohen: Chapter 16.

Mann & Ornstein: Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7.

*Restoration: Congress, Term Limits and the Recovery of Deliberative Democracy*, George Will (Paperback ed. 1993): Chapter 2.

"The Speaker Project: A No Labels Campaign To Break the Rules and Fix Our Congress.

[https://www.nolabels.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/180606\\_Speaker-Project\\_Book\\_Single-Pages.pdf](https://www.nolabels.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/180606_Speaker-Project_Book_Single-Pages.pdf)

*Nation on the Take: How Big Money Corrupts Our Democracy and What We Can Do About It*, Wendell Potter & Nick Penniman (Paperback ed. 2017): Preface and Chapter 9.

"A Civil Congress? Yes, It's Possible – And Here's How," Mark Strand, *Washington Monthly*, July 8, 2016. <https://washingtonmonthly.com/2016/07/08/yes-civility-in-congress-is-possible/>

### **Copyright Statement**

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