

Curriculum Vitae

JAMES A. THURBER

Current Position

University Distinguished Professor Department of Government
School of Public Affairs
American University

Affiliate Distinguished Professor Department of Public Administration and Policy
School of Public Affairs
American University

Founder (1979)

Former Director (1979-2106) Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies
American University

Education

Ph.D. Political Science (minor Sociology), Indiana University, 1974

M.A. Political Science, Indiana University, 1970

B.S. Political Science, University of Oregon, 1966

Academic Appointments

Distinguished University Professor, Department of Government, School of Public Affairs, American University, 2005-Present (Sabbatical-Spring 2014)

Affiliate Distinguished University Professor, Department of Public Administration and Policy, School of Public Affairs, American University, April 2015-Present.

Professor, Department of Government, School of Public Affairs, American University, 1988-2005. (Sabbatical-Spring 1993; AY 2000-2001; Fall 2007, Spring 2014).

Associate Professor, Department of Government, School of Public Affairs, American University, 1979-1988. (Leave-1980-83; Sabbatical-1987).

Assistant Professor, Department of Government, School of Government and Public Administration, American University, 1974-79. (Leave-1976-77).

Adjunct Professorships, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland-College Park (1973-74) and Department of Political Science, George Washington University (Spring 1974).

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Washington State University, 1970-74. (Leave-1973-74 for American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship).

Academic and Research Administrative Appointments

- 1979-2016 **Director and Founder**, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, American University. Responsibilities include publication of the academic journal, Congress and the Presidency, organizing conferences and academic forums, and research focused on Congress and the presidency and U.S. politics generally. Founded and manages the **Campaign Management Institute**, (1989) **Public Affairs and Advocacy Institute** (1991-present), and the **European Public Affairs and Advocacy Institute** (2000-2016) (in Brussels). Established and administers the **Benefactor's Fund** and the **CCPS Endowed Fund** for student scholarships for Center programs. Established and administers the **Gill Foundation Ph.D. Scholarship** for quantitative dissertation research in the School of Public Affairs. Over 350 forums and academic conferences (many covered by CSPAN) have been organized since 1979. See website: www.american.edu/ccps for details on Center videos, programs and publications.
- 2000-2004 **Principal Investigator**, "Study to Improve Campaign Conduct in Congressional and Presidential Elections," \$1.9 million Pew Charitable Trusts grant. See website: american.edu/campaignconduct for details.
- 1997-2000 **Principal Investigator**, "Study to Improve Campaign Conduct in Congressional and Presidential Elections," three-year \$1.4 million Pew Charitable Trusts grant.
- 1980-1983 **Director and Research Scientist**, Battelle Human Affairs Research Centers (HARC), Washington Operations, Washington, D.C. The HARC-DC staff of thirty-five was organized in three groups focusing on international development (health and population policy), national security-foreign policy, and public management with \$4 million per year in grants and contracts.
- 1979-1980 **Acting Dean**, School of Government and Public Administration, College of Public and International Affairs, American University (32 full-time and 50 adjunct faculty members, 600 undergraduates, and 450 graduate students--250 M.P.A. & M.A. students, 180 students in special management programs, and 30 Ph.D. students).
- Fall 1978 **Academic Director**, American University London Semester Program, University of London, Fall Semester 1978, London, United Kingdom.
- 1977-1979 **President** (Founder) and Chairman of the Board, Roll Call Votes, Inc. Created and managed system to record all roll call votes of the U.S. Congress in a computer data base for weekly reports and long-term analysis for clients. Congressional Quarterly, Inc. continued the congressional vote recording system from Roll Call Votes, Inc.
- 1974-1980 **Academic Director** (Founder), School of Government and Public Administration Cooperative Education Program, American University. Placed and gave academic

direction to students in field positions in national, state, and local government and politics.

1970-1973 **Director**, Division of Government Studies and Services, Washington State University. Conducted applied research in public administration, public opinion surveys, Washington State computer-assisted redistricting, and policy analysis for state and local/urban government.

1970-1973 **Director**, Political Science Internship Program for national, state, and local government and politics, Department of Political Science at Washington State University. Awarded "Innovative Instruction Grant" for 1971-72.

Government Appointments and Service

2017 **Keynote speech**, "Congressional Polarization and the Dilemma of Gridlock," Welcoming Reception for the Freshmen Class of the 115th Congress, National Statuary Hall, U.S. Capitol Building, United State Capitol Historical Society, March 7, 2017.

2016 **Keynote speech**, "Evolving Approaches to the Role of Money in U.S. Politics," House Democracy Partnership Parliamentary Exchange Program: The Role of Parliament in Strengthening Public Integrity Systems, U.S. House of Representatives, April 25, 2016.

2016 **Expert Witness**, Statement on Spending on Unauthorized Programs, Senate Budget Committee, February 3, 2016. See www.american.edu/ccps for testimony.

2014- **Advisor** on ethics and lobbying reform, The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Paris, France.

2007-2013 **Advisor**, Government Relations/Executive Staff, Sandia National Laboratories

2006 **Expert Witness**, Statements on Lobbying and Ethics Reform, Senate Committee on Rules (February 8, 2006), Senate Indian Affairs Committee (February 8, 2006), House Committee on Rules (March 2, 2006), and House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform (May 2007). See www.american.edu/ccps for testimony.

2003 **Expert Witness**, Statement Supporting Congressional Committee Reorganization of Homeland Security Jurisdiction. Statement and testimony published by Select Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Rules, House of Representatives, 108th Congress, Second Session, July 3, 2003, "Hearing on Perspectives on House Reform: Committees and the Executive Branch," Serial No. 108-15. See www.american.edu/ccps for testimony.

2002-2003 **Expert Witness** on the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, U.S. Supreme Court case for the U.S. Department of Justice. Prepared detailed analysis of coordination and issue advocacy in federal election campaigns.

- 1994-1995 **Advisor**, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, U.S. Congress (U.S. Representatives David Dreier and Lee Hamilton, co-chairs). Organized symposia and contributed research on congressional budget process and other topics for the Joint Committee. Several Joint Committee studies led to the major internal committee reforms of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1995.
- 1995 **Expert Witness**, Comments on H. Res. 250, Gift Reform and supporting Lobbying Reforms, Committee on Rules, U.S. House of Representatives, November 7, 1995. Statement and testimony printed by Committee on Rules.
- 1995 **Expert Witness**, Comments Concerning H.Res. 161, A Resolution Amending House Rules to Create a New Corrections Calendar,” Committee on Rules, U.S. House of Representatives, June 13, 1995. Statement and testimony printed by Committee on Rules.
- 1995-2003 **Lecturer**, Leadership Institute, Los Alamos National Laboratory, U.S. Department of Energy.
- 1994 **Special Advisor** on conflict resolution over High Level Civilian Radioactive Waste Disposal Site Selection (Yucca Mountain Project), U.S. Department of Energy.
- 1991-1995 **U.S. Representative** to the International Energy Agency Technical Committee on Management and Organization of Nuclear Power Plants, 1991-1995.
- 1992-1994 **Special Advisor** on nuclear waste repository site selection process to the Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management, U.S. Department of Energy.
- 1994 **Expert Witness**, Statement Against Term Limits for Members of Congress, Judiciary Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, June 21, 1994. Statement and testimony printed by the Judiciary Committee.
- 1992 **Expert Witness**, Statement Supporting the Establishment of A Temporary Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, Committee on Rules, U.S. House of Representatives, May 20, 1992. Statement and testimony printed by Committee on Rules.
- 1991-1995 **U.S. Representative**, International Atomic Energy Agency Technical Committee on Management and Organization of Nuclear Power Plants, 1991-1995.
- 1986-1987 **Committee Member** of U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission Advisory Committee to Evaluate the Tennessee Valley Authority's Corporate Nuclear Performance Plan, 1986-87.
- 1980-Present **Lecturer**, Executive Development Seminars, Western Management Development Center, Eastern Management Development Center, Federal Executive Institute, U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

- 1977 **Professional Staff Member**, Commission on Administrative Review, U.S. House of Representatives (Rep. David R. Obey, chair). Evaluated performance of the four congressional support agencies; assisted in survey of members and staff leading to reforms of the Office of Technology Assessment and General Accounting Office.
- 1976-1977 **Professional Staff Member**, Temporary Select Committee to Study the Senate Committee System, U.S. Senate (Senators Adlai E. Stevenson III and William E. Brock, co-chairs) May 1976 to February 1977. Served as expert in congressional reform and survey research methods; directed survey of Senators and staff; drafted and assisted in the implementation of energy and environment committee jurisdictional changes. The Committee developed and secured passage of the first successful Senate committee reorganization since 1946.
- 1974-1975 **Legislative Assistant**, U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, APSA Congressional Fellow and permanent staff. Primary legislative responsibilities: Energy and Environment.
- 1973-1974 **Legislative Assistant**, U.S. Representative James G. O'Hara, November 1973 to April 1974, APSA Congressional Fellowship. Primary legislative responsibilities: Energy and Environment.
- 1971-1973 **Principal Investigator**, Computer Assisted Redistricting for Washington State Legislative and Congressional Districts, Washington State Senate, 1971-1973, research grant, Washington State University.
- 1971 Nominee for **Master Redistrictor** for State of Washington, U.S. Federal District Court, 1971.

Publications: Books and Published Monographs

- Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 6th edition 2017)(Editor with Jordan Tama).
- Ethnic and Foreign Lobbying in Congress (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2017)(Editor with Colton C. Campbell and David A. Dulio).
- American Gridlock: The Sources, Character and Impact of Political Polarization (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015)(Editor with Antoine Yoshinaka).
- Campaigns and Elections American Style (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 4th edition 2013) (Editor with Candice J. Nelson).
- Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 5th edition 2013)(Editor).

- Lobbying Law in the Spotlight: Challenges and Proposed Reforms (coauthor with ABA Task Force on Lobbying Law) (Washington, D.C.: ABA, 2011).
- Obama in Office (Paradigm Publishers, 2011) (Editor).
- Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 4th edition, 2009)(Editor).
- Campaigns and Elections American Style (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 3rd Edition, 2009)(Editor with Candice J. Nelson).
- Improving How Washington Works (Washington, DC: CED, July 2008).
- Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 3rd edition, 2006)(Editor).
- Campaigns and Elections American Style (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 2rd Edition, 2004)(Editor with Candice J. Nelson).
- Making Washington Work (Washington, DC: CED, May 2007).
- Campaigns and Elections American Style (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 2nd Edition, 2004)(Editor with Candice J. Nelson).
- Congress and the Internet (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 2003) (Editor with Colton Campbell).
- Rivals for Power: Congressional-Presidential Relations (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, 2nd Edition, 2002) (Editor).
- The Price of Winning at All Cost: Negative Campaigns, Gridlock and the Public Trust (Washington, DC: State Legislative Leaders Foundation, 2001).
- The Battle for Congress: Candidates, Consultants and Voters, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2001) (Editor).
- Campaign Warriors: Political Consultants in Elections (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000) (Editor with Candice Nelson).
- Crowded Airwaves: Campaign Advertising in Elections (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000) (Editor with Candice Nelson and David Dulio).
- Setting Course: A Congressional Management Guide, 7th edition (Washington, DC: Congressional Management Foundation, 1998 (co-author).
- Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1996)(Editor).

- A Tribute to the House Appropriations Committee, 1865 - 1995, 130 Years of History, (Washington, DC: United States Capitol Historical Society, 1996).
- Campaigns and Elections American Style (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995)(Editor with Candice J. Nelson). Translated into Chinese, 1997.
- Remaking Congress: Change and Stability in the 1990s (Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press), 1995, 218 pgs., (Editor with Roger Davidson).
- Report on Selected Published Works and Written Comments Regarding the Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management Program, 1989-1993 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Energy, 1994).
- Beyond Distrust: Building Bridges Between Congress and the Executive (Washington, DC: National Academy of Public Administration, 1992) (One of five principal investigators and authors).
- Congressional-Executive Interaction and the Nuclear Waste Repository Site Selection Process (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Energy, 1992).
- Setting Course: A Congressional Management Guide (Washington, DC: Congressional Management Foundation, 4th Edition, 1992)(Co-authored).
- Learning and Problem Solving in Nuclear Power Plants (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota and the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission 1992) (Co-authored).
- Is Congress Broken? A Comprehensive Look at Member Turnover, and the Implications for Institutional Change in the U.S. Congress (Washington, DC: American League of Lobbyists, May 1992).
- Congressional-Executive Interaction and the Nuclear Waste Repository Site Selection Process (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Energy, 1992).
- Divided Democracy: Cooperation and Conflict Between the President and Congress Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991). Also translated into Spanish and Russian, 1994 and 1995.
- Organizational Factors Influencing Improvements in Nuclear Power Plants (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota and Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1991) (NUREG/CR-5705).
- Organization and Safety in Nuclear Power Plants (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota and Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1990) (NUREG/CR-5437).
- Savannah River Reactor Restart Management Study (Pittsburgh: Westinghouse Energy Systems, August 1989).

- Setting Course: A Congressional Management Guide, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: American University, 1988) (Co-author).
- Evaluation and Proposed Improvements to Effectiveness of U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission Generic Communications (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1987) (NUREG/CR-4991).
- Status of Maintenance in the U.S. Nuclear Power Industry, 1985, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1986) (NUREG-1212).
- Setting Course: A Congressional Management Guide, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: American University and the Congressional Management Foundation, 1986)(Co-author). (Favorably reviewed in the New York Times, January 21, 1987).
- Export Review Criteria for International Safeguards (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1984)(Co-authored).
- An Empirical Analysis of Selected Nuclear Power Plant Maintenance Factors and Plant Safety (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1985)(Co-author).
- Workbook for Assessment of Organization and Administration of Utilities Seeking Operating License for a Nuclear Power Plant (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, First Edition August, 1985; Second Edition September, 1986)(Co-author).
- Guidelines for a Utility Organization Plan, Vol. II, (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, First Edition August, 1985, Second Edition September 1986).
- A Review of the Institute for Nuclear Power Organizations Corporate and Plant Performance Objectives and Criteria, (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, February 1984).
- The Need for NRC Assessment of Organization and Administration of Nuclear Power Plants, (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1983) (NUREG/CR-3587).
- Analysis of Nuclear Regulatory Commission Review of Organization and Administration (Seattle, Washington: Human Affairs Research Centers, 1983, BHARC 500-83-34).
- Implementing Regulatory Assessment of Organization and Administration, (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1983).
- A Guide to Literature Relevant to the Organization and Administration of Nuclear Power Plants (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1983)(Co-author and Principal Investigator).
- Advisability of Regulatory Change for Utility Organization and Administration Guidelines (Washington, DC: Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1983).

- Analysis of Documents used by NRC to Review Administration and Organization (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1983).
- An Analysis of Issues Related to the Legislative Veto (Washington, D.C.: Business Roundtable, 1979).
- Party, Patronage, and Recruitment in Indiana Politics (Terre Haute, Indiana: Indiana State University, Center for Governmental Research, 1973).

Publications: Refereed Academic Journal Articles

- “Political Polarization, the U.S. Election, and the Future of American Democracy,” “Politicheskaiia poliarizatsiia, vybory 2016 goda v SShA i budushchee amerikanskoi demokratii,” *Moscow State University Bulletin (Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta)* Ser. 12, No. 3, *Politicheskii nauki*, May-June, 2016, pp. 77-91, (in Russ.)
- “Teaching Public Policy Advocacy by Combining Academic Knowledge and Professional Wisdom,” *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, Vol. 4, No. 1, March 2015, pp. 40-52 with Patrick Griffin.
- “Has President Obama Changed the Way Washington Works?,” Blog article on Blackpast.org, March 2014.
- “Agony, Angst, and the Failure of the Supercommittee,” *Extensions: A Journal of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center* (Summer 2012), pp. 17-24.
- The Contemporary Presidency: Changing the Way Washington Works? Assessing President Obama’s Battle with Lobbyists,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 41, no. 2 (June, 2011), pp. 358-374
- "Congress and the Presidency", *Politique Américaine*, May 2007, pp. 28-43.
- The Contemporary Presidency: Managing White House–Congressional Relations: Observations from Inside the Process,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 30, no. 3 (September), 2000, pp. 553-563 with Gary Andres and Patrick Griffin
- “Lobbying, Ethics, and Procedural Reforms: The Do-Nothing Congress 109th Congress Does Nothing About Reforming Itself.” *Extensions: A Journal of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center* (Fall 2006), pp. 10-15.
- "Assessing the Impact of Bureaucracy Bashing by Electoral Campaigns." *Public Administration Review* (March/April 2006), with R. Sam Garrett, A. Lee Fritschler, and David H. Rosenbloom. pp. 228-240.

- “Bringing the 2002 Elections into Your Teaching,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, Volume XXXV, Number 3, September 2002 (with Robin Kolodny).
- "Teaching about Campaigns and Elections," in *The Political Science Educator*, Volume 8, Issue 2, July 2002.
- "Is the Permanent Campaign Alive and Well After 9/11?" *Extensions: Journal of the APSA Legislative Studies Group*, Spring 2002.
- “The Contemporary Presidency: Managing White House-Congressional Relations: Observations from Inside the Process,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 30, no. 3 (September), 2000, pp. 553-563 with Gary Andres and Patrick Griffin.
- “America’s Two-Party System: Friend or Foe,” *Administrative Law Review*, Vol. 52, Number 2, July 2000 (with David Dulio).
- “Citizens’ Attitudes Toward Campaigns and Campaigners,” *Votes and Opinions*, Vol. 3, Number 2, June/July 2000 with David Dulio.
- “Improving Campaign Conduct: Ethics, Consultants and Elections,” *Vox Pop*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (March 2000).
- “Congressional Tightwads and Spendthrifts: Measuring Fiscal Behavior in the changing House of Representatives,” *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 52, No.2, June 1999, pp. 387-402 with Jeff Gill.
- “Untangled the Web: Internet Use During the 1998 Election,” in *PS: Political Science and Politics*, vol. 32, no. 1 (March 1999), p. 53-59, with David Dulio and Donald L. Goff]
- “The Study of Campaign Consultants: A Subfield in Search of a Theory,” in *PS: Political Science & Politics*, June 1998, 32 (2): pp. 145-149.
- “Congressional Budget Reform: Impact on the Appropriations Committees,” in *Public Budgeting and Finance*, December 1997, pp. 66-73.
- “Twenty Years of Congressional Budget Reform,” in *The Public Manager*, Summer 1996, pp. 6-10.
- "The Constitutional Structure of National Government in the United States: Is it in a State of Crisis," *Administrative Law Journal*, Volume 9, Number 1, Spring 1995, pp. 1-43.
- “Thunder From the Right: Observations about the Elections,” *The Public Manager*, Winter 1994-95, pp. 13-16.
- “The Politics of Congressional Oversight of the High Level Radioactive Waste Program,” *International Journal on High Level Nuclear Waste*, Fall 1993, pp. 103-18.

- “Congressional Oversight of High-Level Waste Disposal Policy: The DOE Weapons Complex Clean-Up, *Political Science*, No. 283, pp. 121-139 also in Eric B. Herzik and Alvin H. Mushkatel (eds.), *Problems and Prospects in Nuclear Waste Disposal Policy* (Westport, CT: Policy Studies Organization and Greenwood Press, 1993).
- "Managing Operational Paradoxes," *Transactions of the American Nuclear Society*, Vol. LXV, June, 1992, pp. 108-113.
- "Representation, Accountability, and Efficiency in Divided Party Control of Government," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, December 1991, pp. 653-657.
- "The Consequences of Budget Reform for Congressional-Presidential Relations," *The Annals*, 499, September 1988, pp. 101-113.
- "The Right Data for the Right Decision: Performance Indicators for Different Management and Regulatory Needs," *IEEE Journal on Human Factors and Power Plants*, January 1988, pp. 484-487.
- "The Effect of Management and Organizational Structure on Nuclear Power Plant Safety," in *American Nuclear Society and European Nuclear Society Advances in Human Factors in Nuclear Power Systems* (New York: American Nuclear Society, 1986), pp. 109-118.
- "An Empirical Analysis of Nuclear Power Plant Organization and Its Effect on Safety Performance," in *IEEE Journal on Human Factors and Power Plants* (New York: IEEE, 1985), pp. 89-115.
- "The Future of the Congressional Budget Process," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, fall 1985.
- "Review of the Legislative Veto," *Congress and the Presidency*, Volume XI, Number 1, autumn 1984.
- "The Battelle Memorial Institute's Human Affairs Research Centers," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, summer 1981, Vol. XIV, No. 3.
- "Congress and the Budget," *Congressional Studies*, Volume VII, Number 1, 1979.
- "Congressional Budget Reform and New Demands for Policy Analysis," in Stuart Nagel (ed.), *Policy Studies Review Annual* (Santa Barbara, CA: Sage Publications, 1977)(Selected by the Policy Studies Association as one of the best articles in policy studies for 1976).
- "Policy Analysis on Capitol Hill: Issues Facing the Four Analytic Support Agencies of Congress," *Policy Studies Journal*, autumn, 1977.
- "Congressional Budget Reform and New Demands for Policy Analysis," in *Policy Analysis*, Vol.2, No.2, Spring, 1976, pp.197-215. Reprinted twice in textbooks.

- "The Impact of Party Recruitment Activity Upon Legislative Role Orientations: A Path Analysis," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol.1, No.4, November 1976.
- "The Actors in Administering Public Policy: Legislative-Administrative Relations," *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol.5, No.1, November 1976.
- "Some Causes and Consequences of Student Political Activism," *Youth and Society*, Vol.5, No.2, December 1973.

Publications: Articles, Blogs and Chapters

- "Organizing the White House: Bridging the Executive-Legislative Divide," in Paul L. POSNER, Janice R. LACHANCE, and Tonya T. NEAVES (eds.), *Memos to National Leaders* Washington, DC: The National Academy of Public Administration and the American Society for Public Administration, 2016)(with Patrick Griffin).
- "Ethnic and Foreign Lobbying in Congress," in *Ethnic and Foreign Lobbying in Congress* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2017)(Editor with Colton C. Campbell and David A. Dulio).
- "Chapter 1: An Introduction to Presidential-Congressional Rivalry" in James A. Thurber and Jordan Tama (eds.) *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 6th Edition, 2017)(with Jordan Tama).
- "The President, Congress, and Domestic Policy-Making," in James A. Thurber and Jordan Tama (eds.) *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 6th Edition, 2017)(with Jordan Tama).
- "Polarization and the 2016 Election, [f i f t e e n e i g h t y f o u r @ a m b r i d g e . o r g](http://fifteneightfour.cambridge.org), Cambridge University Press Blog, January 29, 2016.
- "Introduction to Gridlock and Polarization," in *American Gridlock: The Sources, Character and Impact of Political Polarization* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015)(with Antoine Yoshinaka), 1-19.
- "The Sources and Impact of Polarization," in *American Gridlock: The Sources, Character and Impact of Political Polarization* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015)(with Antoine Yoshinaka), 378-389.
- "Come (non) Funziona Il Congresso," *Limes*, April 29, 2015, 114-126. (Potentissima eppure inerte: Capitol Hill è prigioniera della polarizzazione e dell'estrema ideologizzazione dei partiti. Il potere di bloccare tutto schiaccia quello di decisione. La fiducia popolare è ai minimi storici. I fattori dello stallo. Proposte per una riforma)
- "Manuale del Lobbista Onesto," *Limes*, April 29, 2015, 147-154.

(Malgrado i proclami di Obama, il ruolo dei gruppi di pressione resta centrale nella politica americana. I dilemmi etici. Il vincolo della reciprocità e la trappola della campagna permanente. Le principali lobby estere)

- “Political Consultants,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2015) (with Aaron Ray).
- “The Causes and Consequences of Partisanship and Deadlock in Congress,” in Bruce Cain and Gillian Peele (Eds.), *Developments in American Politics* (2014, 7th Edition) with Aaron Ray).
- “An Introduction to Presidential-Congressional Rivalry,” in James A. Thurber (Ed.), *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 5th edition, 2013), 1-27.
- “The President, Congress, and Lobbyists: Has Changed the Way Washington Works,” in James A. Thurber (Ed.), *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 5th edition, 2013), 137-155.
- “The Dynamics and Dysfunction of the Congressional Budget Process: From Inception to Deadlock,” in Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I Oppenheimer (Eds.), *Congress Reconsidered* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2013).
- “What is Wrong with Congress and What Should Be Done About It,” In Iwan Morgan and Philip John Davies (Eds.), *Broken Government? Politics in the Obama Era* (London: University of London/Institute for the Study of the Americas Press, 2012).
- "An Introduction of an Early Assessment of the Obama Presidency," in *Obama in Office* (by James A. Thurber (Editor) 2011).
- "Obama's Battle with Lobbyists," in *Obama in Office* (by James A. Thurber (Editor) 2011).
- “Corruption and Scandal in Washington: Have Lobbying and Ethics Reform Made a Difference? Exploring the Relationship Among Candidates, Campaign Consultants, Lobbyists, and Elected and Appointed Public Officials,” in *Corruption and American Politics*, (Amherst, NY, Cambria Press 2010), pp. 177-207.
- “A Perfect Campaign: The Role of Money, Organization and Strategy in the 2008 Presidential Campaign,” in Erik Jones and Salvatore Vassallo (Eds.), **The 2008 Presidential Election: A Story in Four Acts** (New York, Palgrave MacMillan, August 2009), pp. 99-114
- “An Introduction to Presidential-Congressional Rivalry,” *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 4th edition, 2009), pp. 1-36.
- “Understanding the Dynamics and the Transformation of American Campaigns,” *Campaigns and Elections American Style* (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 3rd Edition, 2009), pp. 1-34.

- “Una campagna perfetta: messaggio, denaro, organizzazione,” in Erik Jones and Salvatore Vassaloo (ed.), *L’America Di Obama: Le elezioni del 2008 e le implicazioni per l’Europa* (Bologna, Italy:Societe editrice il Mulino, 2009), pp. 119-136
- Guest Editor, “The State of Inter-Branch Relations at the End of the Bush Presidency,” *Congress and the Presidency*, Vol. 36, Issue 3, September-December 2009, Special 25th Anniversary Issue.
- “Political Parties and Campaigns,” *Campaign and Elections*, September 2008.
- “Professional Campaign Management Schools,” *Campaigns and Elections*, October 2008.
- "Democrats Can Cash In on Public Anger at Congress," *Financial Times*, August 5, 2008.
- “Delegate Cheat Sheet.” *Politics Magazine*, March 2008. (co-authored with Alicia Kolar Prevost)
- “Campaign Consultants and Political Parties Today,” *The Routledge Handbook of Political Management*, (New York: Routledge, 2008)(with Alicia Kolar Prevost and Maik Bohne).
- “Reforms’ will not assuage anger at Congress,” *Financial Times*, Aug. 7th, 2007.
- “Perspectives on Campaign Ethics,” in Stephen C. Craig (ed.), *The Electoral Challenge: Theory Meets Practice* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2006), PP. 203-225.
- “Foreword,” for David A. Dulio and Candice J. Nelson, *Vital Signs: Perspectives on the Health of American Campaigning* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2005).
- “Untangled Web: Internet Use During the 1998 Election,” in David Rochefort (ed.), *Quantitative Methods in Practice* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2005), with David A. Dulio and Donald L. Goff.
- “The Transformation of American Campaigns in the Twenty-First Century,” in James A. Thurber and Candice J. Nelson, *Campaigns and Elections American Style* (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 2004).
- “Do Political Image Makers Need a Makeover? Assessing Public Attitudes Toward Political Consultants,” *Campaigns & Elections*, October/November 2003.
- “Congress and the Politics of the Deficit,” *Woodrow Wilson Center Research Paper*, September 2003.
- “Preparing for a Career in Politics and Public Affairs,” *Campaigns & Elections*, December 2002-January 2003.
- “Congress Goes On-Line,” in James A. Thurber and Colton C. Campbell (eds.), *Congress and the Internet* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003)(Co-authored).

- “The Symbiotic Relationship between Political Parties and Political Consultants: Partners Past, Present, and Future,” in John C. Green and Rick Farmer (eds.), *State and of the Parties: The Changing Role of Contemporary American Parties* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003) with David A. Dulio.
- “An Introduction to Presidential-Congressional Rivalry,” *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2nd Edition, 2002).
- “Conclusion About Congressional-Presidential Rivalries,” *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2nd Edition, 2002).
- “Campaign Consultants and Responsible Party Government,” in John C. Green and Paul S. Herrnson (eds.), *Responsible Partisanship? The Evolution of American Political Parties Since 1950* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2002) with David B. Magleby and Kelly D. Patterson.
- “The Increasing Role of Consultants with State Party Organizations,” *Campaigns and Elections*, September 2002, Vol. 23, No. 9 with David A. Dulio, Robin Kolodny and Candice J. Nelson.
- "From Campaigning to Lobbying," in Nelson, Dulio, and Medvic (eds.), *Shades of Gray: Perspectives on Campaign Ethics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2002).
- Foreword for John Kingdon's *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (New York: Longman, 2002).
- "Campaign Consultants and Responsible Party Government," in John Green (ed.), *An Assessment of Responsible Parties in America* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall, 2002) with David B. Magleby and Kelly D. Patterson.
- "Top Issues in Campaign 2002," *The National Voter*. September-October 2002.
- James A. Thurber. "2002 National Student/Parent Mock Election Issues Forum. "Curriculum Guide" (National Student/Parent Mock Election, 2002)(with R. Sam Garrett). Available at <http://www.nationalmockelection.com/curriculumpage/curriculum.htm>.
- “Making Your Choice the Winning One: A Candidate’s Guide to Choosing a Campaign Team,” (Washington, DC: Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies at American University, 2002).
- “Introduction,” The Battle for Congress: Candidates, Consultants and Voters, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2001).
- “Brian Baird’s ‘Ring of Fire’: The Quest for Funds and Votes in Washington’s Third District,” in James A. Thurber (ed.), The Battle for Congress: Candidates, Consultants and Voters, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2001)(Co-authored).

- “Case Study Framework and Methodology,” The Battle for Congress: Candidates, Consultants and Voters, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2001).
- “Introduction to Study of Campaign Consultants,” Campaign Warriors: Political Consultants in Elections, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000) (edited with Candice Nelson).
- “Portrait of Campaign Consultants,” Campaign Warriors: Political Consultants in Elections (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000) (Editor with Candice J. Nelson).
- “Measuring Campaign Consultants’ Attitudes,” Campaign Warriors: Political Consultants in Elections, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000) (Editor with Candice J. Nelson).
- “Introduction,” in Thurber, Nelson and Dulio (eds.), Crowded Airwaves: Campaign Advertising in Elections, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000).
- “Summary and Conclusions,” in Thurber, Nelson and Dulio, (eds), Crowded Airwaves: Campaign Advertising in Elections (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), pp. 170-179, with David Dulio and Candice J. Nelson.
- “The Senate Budget Committee: Bastion of Comity?” Esteemed Colleagues: Civility and Deliberation in the U.S. Senate, Burdett A. Loomis, ed., (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000), pp. 241-258.
- “Where Do Voters Get Their Political Information?” *Campaigns & Elections*, April 1, 2001.
- “Internet Campaigning: Should Candidates Even Bother With It?” *Roll Call*, February 26, 2001.
- “Ethics and Politics: An Overview,” Elections, Ethics, and Ethnicity, November 10, 2000 (Washington, DC: International Association of Political Consultants).
- “The Senate Budget Committee: Incubator of Comity?” in Burdett Loomis (ed.), Comity in the U.S. Senate (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000).
- “The Outstanding Eight,” *Campaigns and Elections*, Vol. 21, No. 3, April 2000, pp. 43-47.
- “General Public Attitudes Toward Campaigns and Campaign Practices,” (Washington, DC: CCPS, April 2000). Analysis of national survey of voters administered by Yankelovich Partners for CCPS.
- “Campaign 2000: Not Yet Ready for Prime Time,” *American Magazine* (Summer 2000).
- “Producing Negative Ads: A Consultant Survey,” *Campaigns and Elections*, Vol. 21, No. 7 (August 2000).

- “Political Campaign Consultants: Who are They, How They Evaluate the Process of Electing Candidates and What They Reveal about Their Ethical Practice,” AU-CCPS Research Report, with Yankelovich Partners, July 1999.
- “Growth of Web Users Pushing Congress to Improve Net Services,” *Roll Call*, May 10, 1999.
- “A Portrait of the Consulting Industry,” in *Campaigns and Elections*, June 1999 with David Dulio.
- “Net Gains: The 106th Congress on the World Wide Web,” report of a survey of congressional offices, AU-CCPS Research Report, May 3, 1999 with Donald L. Goff, Katherine Creecy, John McPhillips, and Christine Pollak.
- “Twenty-five years of Deficit and Conflict: Partisan Roles in Congressional Budget Reform,” in Nicole C. Rae and Colton Campbell (eds.), New Majority or Old Minority: the Impact of Republicans on Congress (Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield, 1999).
- “Congress and the Internet: Report of Survey of Congressional Offices,” AU-CCPS Research Report, February 17, 1998.
- “The Complex Portrait of the Political Consultant,” *The Hill*, July 1, 1998, p. 16.
- “Political Consultants Survey: Are Campaign Pros Destroying Democracy?” *Campaigns and Elections*, August 1998, pp. 54-61.
- “Political Power and American Public Policy,” in Thomas B. Birkland (ed.), Public Policy Course Syllabi (Washington, DC: American Political Science Association, 1998), pp. 211-238.
- “Interest Groups and the Congressional Budget Process: Lobbying in the Era of Deficit Politics,” in Herrnson, Shaiko, and Wilcox (eds.), The Interest Group Connection, (Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham House, 1997), pp. 154-173.
- “Representation, Accountability, and Efficiency in Divided Party Control of Government,” in Pfiffner and Davidson, Understanding the Presidency, (New York, NY: Addison Wesley Longman, Inc, 1996), pp. 348-357.
- “Centralization, Devolution, and Turf Protection in the Congressional Budget Process,” in Dodd and Oppenheimer (eds.), Congress Reconsidered (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1996), pp. 325-346.
- “Stability and Change in the Post-Cold War Congress,” in Dittgen and Minkenberg (eds.), The American Impasse: U.S. Domestic and Foreign Policy After the Cold War, (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), pp. 58-75.

- “Stabilität und Wandel im Kongress,” in Dittgen and Minkenberg (eds.), Das amerikanische Dilemma: Die Vereinigten Staaten nach dem Ende des Ost-West-Konflikts, (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996), pp. 79-99.
- “Shifting the Balance: The Rebirth of Federalism,” in Osterweis, Robin and Holmes (eds.), Transformations in Society and Government: Implications for Academic Health Centers - Proceedings of 1996 Spring Meeting (Washington, DC: Association of Academic Health Centers, 1996), pp. 1-6.
- “An Introduction to Presidential-Congressional Rivalry,” in Thurber (ed.), Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1996), p.1-19.
- “Congressional-Presidential Battles to Balance the Budget,” in Thurber (ed.), Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1996) pp. 191-213.
- "Political Power and Policy Subsystems in American Politics," in B. Guy Peters and Bert A. Rockman (eds.), Agenda for Excellence: Administering the State (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1996), pp.76-104.
- "Congressional Elections," in George Clack (ed.), United States Elections: 1996 (Washington, DC: United States Information Agency, 1995), pp. 13-19.
- "The 104th Congress is Fast and Efficient, But At What Cost," *Roll Call*, March 4, 1995.
- "The Corrections Day Proposal: Wrong Way to Fix Dumb Laws," *Roll Call*, May 8, 1995.
- “Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Deficit Reduction Act,” “Biography of U.S. Senator Henry ‘Scoop’ Jackson (D-WA),” “Biography of U.S. Senator Warren G. Magnuson (D-WA),” “The Congressional Budget Office,” “Iron Triangles,” and the “U.S. Senate Budget Committee,” in Roger Davidson, et al (eds.), The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994).
- “Not in My Back Yard: High Level Nuclear Waste Policy,” in Gilmour, et al (eds.), Who Makes Public Policy: The Struggle for Control Between Congress and the Executive (Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House, 1994), pp. 62-84.
- “Making Up for Lost Time: The Defense Nuclear Weapons Complex Cleanup,” in Gilmour, et al (eds.), Who Makes Public Policy?: The struggle for Control Between Congress and the Executive (Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House, 1994), pp. 127-151.
- "The 1990 Budget Enforcement Act: Zero-Sum Budgeting and the Decline of Governmental Accountability," in L. Dodd and B. Oppenheimer (eds.), Congress Reconsidered 5th ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1993), pp. 375-400.
- “Congressional Oversight of High-Level Waste Disposal Policy: The DOE Weapons Complex Clean-Up in Eric B. Herzik and Alvin H. Mushkatel (eds.), *Problems and Prospects*

in Nuclear Waste Disposal Policy (Westport, CT: Policy Studies Organization and Greenwood Press, 1993).

- "Governance and the Budget," in Kenneth W. Thompson (ed.), The Structure and Functions of Governance: Its National and International Settings (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Miller Center of Public Affairs-University Press of America, 1992), pp. 25-48.
- "New Rules for an Old Game: Zero-Sum Budgeting in the Postreform Congress," in Roger H. Davidson (ed.), The Postreform Congress (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), pp. 257-278.
- "Biography of Hubert H. Humphrey," in L. Sandy Maisel (ed.), Encyclopedia of American Political Parties and Elections (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991).
- "Introduction: The Roots of Divided Democracy," in J. Thurber (ed.), Divided Democracy (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991), pp. 1-10.
- "The Impact of Congressional Budget Reform on Presidential-Congressional Governance," in J. Thurber (ed.), Divided Democracy (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991), pp. 145-171.
- "Congressional War Powers and the Persian Gulf Crisis," *Oxford Analytica*, Spring 1991, pp. 58-72.
- "Deadlock and Deficits: Evaluating Proposals for Congressional Budget Reform," in Thomas D. Lynch (ed.), Federal Budget and Financial Management Reform (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1991), pp. 53-88.
- "Dynamics of Policy Subsystems in American Politics," in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis (eds.), Interest Group Politics 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1991), pp. 302-348.
- "Congress and the Constitution: Two Hundred Years of Stability and Change," in R. Maidment and A. Zvesper (eds.), Reflections on the Constitution: The American Constitution After Two Hundred Years (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 51-75.
- "Budgetary Continuity and Change: An Assessment of the Congressional Budget Process," in D.K. Adams (ed.), Studies in Modern American Politics (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 78-118.
- "The Presidency, Congress, and Public Policy-making Systems," *The Journal* (Kathmandu, Nepal: Nepal Council of World Affairs, December 1987).
- "Reagan and the Intergovernmental Lobby: Iron Triangles, Cozy Subsystems and Political Conflict," in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis (eds.), Interest Group Politics 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1986) with Charles S. Levine, pp. 202-220.

- "Political Determinants of the Effectiveness of International Nuclear Safeguards," in Export Review Criteria for International Safeguards, (Washington, DC: U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1984).
- "The Politics of the Congressional Budget Process Reexamined," L. Dodd and B. Oppenheimer (eds.), Congress Reconsidered 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1981) (Co-authored), pp. 246-274.
- "The Evolving Role and Effectiveness of the Research Agencies," in Cooper and Mackenzie (eds.), The House at Work (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).
- "Congressional Reform in the 1970s," in Proceedings of the National Capital Area Political Science Association Annual Spring Meeting of 1977 (Washington, DC: NCAPSA, 1978).
- "New Powers of the Purse: An Assessment of Congressional Budget Reform," in L. Rieselbach (ed.), Legislative Reform (Lexington, MA: DC Heath, 1978).
- "Congressional Budget Reform and New Demands for Policy Analysis," in Fremont J. Lyden and Ernest G. Miller (eds.), Planning-Programming- Budgeting: A Systems Approach to Management 3rd ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1978).
- "The New Congressional Budget Process: The Hows and Whys of House/Senate Differences, in Dodd and Oppenheimer (eds.), Congress Reconsidered (New York: Praeger, 1977).
- "Analysis of the Congressional Support Agencies," for Final Report of the Commission on Administrative Review (Washington, DC: U.S. House of Representatives, Commission on Administrative Review, July 1977).
- "Some Causes and Consequences of Congressional Budget Reform," in John Peters and Susan Welsh (eds.), The Impact of Legislative Reform on Public Policy (New York: Praeger, 1977)(Co-authored).
- "Comments on Congressional Budget Reform," in Proceedings of the National Capital Area Political Science Association Annual Spring Meeting of 1976 (Washington, DC: NCAPSA, 1977).
- "Administering Public Policy: Legislative-Administrative Relations," in Charles R. Wise (ed.), Public Administration and Public Policy (Lexington, MA: DC Heath, 1977).
- "Review of *Patterns of Recruitment*," *American Political Science Review*, September, 1977.
- "Implications of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act for the Senate Committee System," in The Senate Committee System: Jurisdictions, Referrals, Numbers and Sizes, and Limitations on Members (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1976).

- "Jurisdictional Overlaps of Major Policy Areas," in The Senate Committee System: Jurisdictions, Referrals, Numbers and Sizes, and Limitations on Members (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1976).
- "Present Jurisdictions of Senate Committees," in The Senate Committee System: Jurisdictions, Referrals, Numbers and Sizes, and Limitation on Membership (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1976).
- "The Case for Public Service Internships: Good Education and Good Government," in Robert Sexton (ed.), Dimensions of Experiential Education (Washington, DC: National Center for Public Service Internship Programs, 1976).
- "The New National Center for Public Service Internships," *Washington Involvement*, Vol. 2, No. 2 April 1973.
- "The Elements of a Government Internship," *Washington Involvement*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 1972.

Book Reviews

Book reviews and review essays published in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Congress and the Presidency*, *Congressional Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, *Perspective*, and *Public Administration Review*.

Television and Film Documentaries

- Commentator, "Political Consultants: Who are They and What Do They Really Do?" co-produced with WHYY *Radio Times* and the Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies.
- Commentator, Technical Advisor and Co-producer, "Mr. Moore Runs for Washington", co-produced with BBC and Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, 1998. Documentary of the 1998 Dennis Moore (D) vs. Vince Snowbarger (R), Kansas 3rd congressional district election. Video stream available at: www.american.edu/ccps.
- Commentator, Technical Advisor and Co-producer, "Battle for Congress: Capps vs. Bardonaro," co-produced with BBC and the Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies. The documentary is an inside view of the 1998 Lois Capps (D) vs. Tom Bardonaro (R), California 22nd congressional district election. Video stream available at: www.american.edu/ccps.
- Technical Advisor, "Hill Style and Home Style of U.S. Representatives Henry Waxman (D-CA) and Connie Morella (R-MD)". Produced by BBC. The documentary followed Waxman and Morella campaigning in their respective districts and working in Congress. Video stream available at: www.american.edu/ccps.

Research Grants, Contracts, and Fellowships (selected list)

- Various grants and gifts from the Bryce Harlow Foundation, German Marshall Fund, APCO, Pfizer Corporation, the US-China Education Trust, Committee on Economic Development, Center for American Progress, U.S. State Department (see below), American University at Sharja, UAE, 2005-present.
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- U.S. State Department grants to lecture in Turkey (March 2016), Russia (June-July 2016), and Azerbaijan (October 2016).
- U.S. State Department grants to lecture in German, Lithuania, and the Netherlands, September 18-29, 2012.
- U.S. State Department grants to lecture in Ukraine, UAE, Iceland, Sweden, Norway, and Canada, 2007-2008.
- U.S. State Department grant for consulting to the Chamber of Deputies, Brazilian National Congress, Brasilia, Brazil March 26-31, 2007.
- Study to Improve Election Campaign Conduct, Phase I and II, funded by \$3.4 million grant from The Pew Charitable Trusts, 1997-2005.
- U.S. State Department grants to lecture in the United Kingdom (Oxford University, Essex University, University of London) October 2002, in Netherlands, May 2001 and Thailand, November 2000.
- State Department grant to give keynote speech on Democratization in the Ukraine, Ukrainian Parliament (Rada), Kiev, Ukraine, June 26, 2001.
- United States Information Agency (USIA) grant to advise President Nazarbayev on reorganization of presidential apparatus and legislative assembly, Almaty, Kazakhstan, January 1995.
- USIA grants (\$960,000) for Summer Institutes on the American Political System, Summer 1993, 1994, 1995 for ninety foreign political science professors on teaching graduate level courses on American politics.
- Parliamentary Development Project Grant. AID-Indiana University grant to assist Ukrainian Parliament in drafting a new constitution, 1994-96, with a focus on improving the legislative budgetary process resulting in draft for Ukrainian Constitution.
- Bryce Harlow Foundation grant for study and forum on Lobbying Reform, June 1994 and grants on Ethics and Lobbying, 2000-2017.
- USIA grant to assist in Cuban legislative committee reform and lecture, Havana, Cuba, May 1994. Joint invitation by the Cuban National Assembly, University of Havana and USIA.

- World Bank grant to evaluate a Ph.D. program at the Department of Political Sciences, Budapest International University, Budapest, Hungary, March 1994.
- Grants from the U.S. Department of Energy to evaluate U.S. high level nuclear waste policy, 1993-95.
- Grant from the Strategic Management Research Center, University of Minnesota and the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Study of "Organization and Safety in Nuclear Power Plants," 1988-1992.
- Funding through the National Academy of Public Administration for two case studies on congressional oversight. NAPA grants from the Ford Foundation, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and the National Academy of Public Administration's Endowment Fund, Study of "Congress and the Executive: Improving the Management and Implementation of Public Policy," 1989-1992.
- Scholarly Conferences and Forums on Congress, the Presidency and Public Policy (televised with public officials, journalists, and academics), U.S. Steel Foundation Grant, 1979-80; Xerox Foundation Grant, 1986-87; Grants from Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, 1988-89 and 1989-90.
- Grant to Study "The Role of the House and Senate Leadership in the Congressional Budget Process," The Dirksen Congressional Center, 1985-86.
- Congressional Management Study with Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies. Grants and support from the Congressional Management Foundation, Szekely Foundation for American Volunteers, Xerox Foundation, and other foundations, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1992 (support for five editions of Setting Course: A Congressional Management Guide used in training new congressional staff and Members of Congress).
- Principal Investigator, Evaluation of Proposed Improvements to Effectiveness of Generic Communications to Nuclear Power Reactors, Office of Inspection and Enforcement, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1986-87.
- Principal Investigator, Report to U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission Executive Director for Operations on Maintenance and Surveillance Program Plan for U.S. Commercial Nuclear Reactors, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1985-86.
- University Faculty Research Grant, American University, 1985-86.
- Research Grant to study the congressional budget process, College of Public and International Affairs, American University, Summer 1985.
- Principal Investigator, Assessment of Utility Management and Organization Structures and Utility Technical Resource Bases to Assure Adequate Support for Safe Nuclear Plant Operations, \$1,400,000 research contract to Battelle from the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, 1982-85.

- Developed and negotiated multi-year grant for Public Administration Education and Evaluation of the National Institute for Public Administration, Yemen Arab Republic, 1979 to 1983.
- Academic Director, Decision-making in National Defense Seminar (five day seminars), 8 seminars, G.E. Corporation education grants, 1985 to 1988.
- Academic Director, Decision-making in the Public Sector Seminar (six day seminars), 16 seminars, IBM education grants, 1975 to 1988.
- Principal Investigator, Medicaid Decision-Making Module, IBM grant, 1977 to 1978.
- Co-Principal Investigator, Current and Potential Utilization of Cooperative Education in Federal and State Government: Analysis and Recommendations, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Post-Secondary Education, research grant, 1977 to 1978.
- Assistant Scientist, Social Research Center, Department of Sociology, Washington State University, 1972-1973. Joint survey research projects with sociologists and psychologists. Study of attitude change among inmates participating in inmate self-governance, State Penitentiary, Walla Walla, research grant, 1973.
- Principal Investigator, Computer Assisted Redistricting for Washington State Legislative and Congressional Districts, Washington State Senate, 1971-1973, \$800,000 research grant, Washington State University.
- Principal Investigator, Student and Parent Perceptions of University Governance, 1970-71, Washington State University Faculty Research Grant.
- Inter-University Consortium for Political Research Summer Grant to attend Seminars in Advanced Statistics and Survey Research Methods, University of Michigan, Summer 1968.
- American Political Science Association-Ford Foundation Fellowship on State and Local Government to study political parties, June 1968 to June 1969.
- National Science Foundation Fellowship, Indiana University, 1968 to 1969.
- Graduate Fellowship, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, 1966-1970.
- Researcher, Psychology of Risk Study, Oregon Research Institute, Eugene Oregon, Summer 1967.
- Undergraduate Research Assistant, Oregon State Legislative Recruitment Study for Professor Lester Seligman, Department of Political Science, University of Oregon, Spring 1966.

Honors and Awards

- Special Panel on Applied Political Science Honoring the work of Professor James A. Thurber, Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, January 14, 2017.
- Senator Mark O. Hatfield 2013 Annual Award for Applied Public Policy Research, Portland State University, October 21, 2013.
- Excellence in Graduate Teaching Award, School of Public Affairs, 2003-2004.
- Fellow, National Academy of Public Administration, elected Fall 2000.
Member, Committee on NAPA Visibility, 2003-2005
- Charles S. Hyneman Annual Lecture, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, 2000.
- 1996 American University Scholar/Teacher of the Year.
- 1992 Outstanding Research and Publication Award, School of Public Affairs, American University.
- Centennial Professor and Centennial Lecture on "Divided Government," Washington State University, Pullman, Washington, February 14, 1990.
- 1989 Outstanding Academic Development Award, School of Public Affairs, American University.
- 1988 University Award for Outstanding Teaching, American University.
- 1988 Outstanding Teaching Award, School of Public Affairs, American University.
- 1985-1986 Professor of the Year, Student Honor Society, American University.
- American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship, 1973-74.
(Legislative Assistant to U.S. Representative James O'Hara and U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey)
- Innovative Teaching Award, Washington State University, 1971-72.
- APSA Fellowship in State and Local Government, 1968-69.
- Pi Sigma Alpha (National Political Science Honor Society).

Teaching, Lectureships, and Special Keynote Speeches (selected listing)

University Courses Taught:

- Applied Politics and American Public Policy (graduate) 2000-present.

- Public Affairs and Advocacy Institute: Workshop on Ethics and Lobbying (funded by grants from the Bryce Harlow Foundation), 2000-present.
- Public Affairs and Advocacy Institute: The Art and Craft of Lobbying (advanced undergraduate and graduate), 1991-present.
- European Public Affairs and Advocacy Institute, Washington, DC and Brussels (2000-2016).
- Politics in the U.S. (undergraduate)
- Political Power and American Public Policy (undergraduate)
- Congress and the Legislative Behavior (undergraduate)
- The Legislative Process (graduate)
- Ph.D. Pro-Seminar in American Politics
- Ph.D. Research Seminar on Campaigns and Elections
- Ph.D. Research Seminar on Congress and the President
- Political Parties, Interest Groups and Lobbying (advanced undergraduate and graduate)
- Government and Public Policy
- Survey Research Methods (with Tom Mann)(graduate)
- London Semester (American University/University of London) (1978)
- Washington Semester (1977 and 1984-1985)

Selected Special Lectures and Keynote Speeches:

- Keynote speech, “Congressional Polarization and the Dilemma of Gridlock,” Welcoming Reception for the Freshmen Class of the 115th Congress, National Statuary Hall, U.S. Capitol Building, United State Capitol Historical Society, March 7, 2017.
- Keynote speech, “Lobbying and Ethics Reform in the U.S.,” OECD, Paris, December 7, 2015
- Keynote speech, “2016 Road to the White House,” Lou Frey Institute Fall 2015 Symposium, University of Central Florida, October 5, 2015.
- Keynote Speech, “Conflict, Order and Reform in the House: the 94th and 114th Congresses”, U.S. House of Representatives, September 17, 2015. Conference on the 40th anniversary of the 94th Congress sponsored by grant from the Hewlett and Rockefeller Foundations.
- “Congress and the Federal Executive,” Keynote lectures, Pacific Leadership Academy, Honolulu, Hawaii (2009-2016)
- “Activating the Disenchanted: The Case of Barack Obama,” International Symposium for Democracy, Berlin, Germany (June 30, 2009)
- “Campaign Ethics,” Annual Conference of *Campaigns and Elections Magazine*, Washington DC, (June 13, 2009).

- “Science and Technology Policy Making in Congress,” Eastern Management Development Center, U.S. Office of Public Management, Shepherdstown, WVA (2009-2014)
- “Building Relationships With Congress: Understanding the Political Environment,” U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, Washington, DC (2009-2013)
- “Obama and Congress: Assessing Accomplishments and Future Challenges,” Sandia National Laboratories, Washington, DC (May 20, 2009)
- “Analyzing the 111th Congress,” Brookings Institution, Washington, DC (April 21, 2009)
- “President Obama and Congress: Patterns of Cooperation and Conflict,” Johns Hopkins University-Bologna Center, Bologna, Italy (April 2, 2009)
- “Obama and Lobbying Reform: Causes, Characteristics and Consequences,” Conference on Lobbying, Democrazia e Trasparenza”, ILLUM University, Milan, Italy (April 1, 2009)
- Lectures at Graduate Seminar on Lobbying in the US, University ILLUM, Milano, Italy, (2008-2017)
- Moderator, Roundtable Discussion on Congressional Oversight, School of Public Affairs 75th Anniversary Conference, American University (March 27, 2009)
- “Assessing the Relationship Between President Obama and Congress,” Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Vancouver, BC (March 20, 2009)
- “President Obama and Congress: An Assessment,” Distinguished Alumni Lecture, University of Oregon (March 13, 2009)
- Nine lectures on the U.S. Elections and Obama and Congress, University of Iceland, January 23-25, 2008, February 1-7, 2009, November 5, 2012, funded by US State Department
- “An Endangered Species: The Moderates in the House of Representatives,” Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Institute of Politics (February 21, 2009)
- Seminar Co-organizer and Lecturer, Aspen Institute (Aspen, CO), Society of Fellows Symposium: “What Does It Take to Get Elected?” (August 19 - August 20, 2008)
- Sixty lectures on the 2008, 2012, and 2016 presidential elections and Congress and the presidency to university groups, legislators, professional associations media and think tanks in the U.S. and Europe (list on request).
- Eight lectures on the 2008 election to universities and professional groups in Sweden and Norway, hosted by the US State Department and US Embassies in Sweden and Norway (September 2008).

- Keynote Speech on 2002 Congressional Elections, London School of Economics, London, UK, October 2002.
- Keynote speech on 10th Year of Democratization in the Ukraine, Ukrainian parliament (Rada), Kiev, Ukraine, June 26, 2001.
- Keynote speech on 130th Anniversary of the Appropriations Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Capitol Historical Society, Statuary Hall, U.S. Capitol, Washington, D.C., March 19, 1996.
- Awarded British-American-Canadian Associates Winot Lectureship on U.S. Politics presented at: Oxford University (three colleges), University of Essex, University of Glasgow, University of Strathclyde, University of Reading, Chatham House, Royal Naval College and the Open University of UK, October-November 1993 (during sabbatical).
- Keynote speaker, “Clinton and Congress after the First Year,” 1993 Fall Conference of the British American Politics Group, London, U.K., November 20, 1993
- Keynote Speaker, “Cooperation and Conflict between Congress and Bush,” 1989 Fall Conference of the British American Politics Group, London, England, November 20, 1989.
- Lectures at over 70 universities and scholarly institutions supported by U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and U.S. Department of State in the United Kingdom (1978), Brazil (1979); Austria, West Germany, and the United Kingdom (1978); West Germany, India, and Nepal (1986); Ireland, Denmark, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom (1988); Germany and Czech Republic (1992), Cuba (1994); Kazakhstan (1994); People’s Republic of China (1987 and 1997); Thailand (2000); Netherlands (2001); Canada (2004), Germany, Lithuania, and the Netherlands, (2012), Ukraine, UAE, Iceland, Sweden, Norway, and Canada, (2007-2008); Turkey (2016), Russia (2016), Azerbaijan (2016).
- Lectures (selected list) at Aspen Institute, Brookings Institution, Woodrow Wilson Center, Indiana University (Department of Government and School of Public and Environmental Affairs), Clemson University, University of Oregon, University of Maryland at College Park, University of California at Berkeley, Johns Hopkins University, Dartmouth College, Wabash College, Thomas S. Foley Center at Washington State University, University of Georgia, University of Virginia, National Defense University, U.S. State Department Foreign Service Institute, Federal Executive Institute, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina at Greenboro, Florida State University, University of Texas at Austin, Lewis and Clark College, Willamette University, Washington State University, Susquehanna University, Oakland University, Arizona State University, Florida International University, Claremont Graduate University, State University of New York at Albany, St. Mary’s College of Maryland, Towson University, George Mason University, Oxford University, University of Essex, Oberlin College, George Washington University, Concordia University, Université du Québec à Montréal, University of Iceland, Economic Institute, University of Oslo, University of Helsinki, McGill University, Loyola Marymount University, University of Stockholm, Mount Allison University, California State University at Channel Islands, University of Prince Edward Island, Dalhousie University, American University at Sharjah UAE, Clemson

University, University of Central Florida, University of Michigan (Carson Scholars), Cornell University (LEAD New York), Marmara University (Istanbul, Turkey), Spaso House (Moscow), Moscow State University, Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO), Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow), European University (St. Petersburg, Russia), IULM (Milan, Italy), Khazar University (Baku, Azerbaijan), Baku Eastern University, Central Election Commission (Baku), Academy of Public Administration (Baku), Baku State University, ADA University (Baku), Baku American Center.

Scholarly and Professional Service (selected list)

- Executive Board, APSA Congressional Fellowship, 2000-present.
- APSA Congressional Fellowship Selection Committee, 1990-94 (Chair, 1993-94, 2000-2001). Annual lecture to APSA Congressional Fellows, 1975-Present.
- Editor, *Congress and the Presidency*, 2010-present.
- Board of Trustees, United States Capitol Historical Society, 2004-2008, 2011-2015, and 2017-present (Executive Board, 20017-present).
- Editor, Westview Press series on *Essentials of Political Science*, 1994-present.
- Editorial Board, *Journal of Political Marketing*, 2002-Present.
- Board of Advisors, Center on Congress at Indiana University (Founded and directed by former U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton), 1998-2016.
- Advisory Board, Robert C. Byrd Center for the Study of Congress, Shepherd College, 2009-2016.
- Member, American Bar Association Task Force on Lobbying, 2009-2013.
- Board of Advisors, Presidential Classroom, 2007-2009.
- Member, Board of Advisors, The School for Ethics and Global Leadership (SEGL) Honorary Leadership Council, 2007-present.
- Editorial Advisory Board of *Campaigns & Elections Magazine*, 2007-present.
- Academic Advisor, Carter-Baker Commission on Federal Election Reform, Center for Democracy and Election Management, American University, 2005-2006.
- Advisory Committee, The National Committee to Unite a Divided America, The Center for the Study of the Presidency, 2005-2006.

- Steering Committee and Founding Member, Association of Centers for the Study of Congress, 2003-2010.
- Program Chair and Organized half-day workshops on campaign behavior and ethics for 100 academics (at each workshop) at the 2000 (Washington, DC), 2001 (San Francisco), and 2002 (Boston) Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts. Workshop materials available at website: www.american.edu/campaignconduct.
- Board of Directors, American Association of Political Consultants, 2002-2008.
Chair and Member, Committee on Ethics
Founding Member, Committee on Professional Education
- Program Chair, 3rd Annual Academic Conference of the American Association of Political Consultants, Washington, DC, November 7-9, 2002. Panels and speeches available at website: www.american.edu/campaignconduct.
- Board of Directors, Campaign Assessment and Candidate Outreach Project, University of Maryland, 1999-2003.
- Board of Directors, Center for Global Peace, American University, 1999-2014.
- Board of Directors, Project on Campaign Conduct, 1999-2006
- Executive Committee, Centennial Campaign, American Political Science Association, 1997-2002.
- National Board, Pi Sigma Alpha, 1992-1996.
Chair, Best Graduate Paper, 1997-1998.
- Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Health Congressional Fellowship Selection Committee, 1990-1993.
- Advisory Board, Alsop Film Project, Congressional Quarterly Inc., 2002 – 2004.
- Advisory Board, Year 2000 Elections, WETA-TV, Washington Week in Review, 1999-2000.
- Selection Committee for Outstanding Reporting on Congress Award, the Dirksen Congressional Center, 1991-97 (Chair 1993).
- President, 1991-92; First Vice President, 1990-91; Second Vice President, 1989-90; Executive board, 1978-1984, 1987-89, National Capital Area Political Science Association. Program Chair, 1991 Annual Meeting of the National Capital Area Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.
- American Political Science Association Representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Committee on Social, Economics, and Political Sciences, 1989-92.

- Chair, Government Relations Committee, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, 1979-1980. Testified before U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations in support of funding for public affairs programs in higher education, 1980.
- Chaired panels, presented over seventy academic papers (titles upon request), and served as discussant at the American Political Science Association, regional political science associations, American Society for Public Administration Association, and other professional association annual meetings since 1968-present.
- Interviewed frequently by ABC-TV, CBS-TV, NBC-TV, CNN, CNBC, Today Show, Good Morning America, National Public Radio Morning Edition and All things Considered, CSPAN, Diane Rhem Show-WAMU/NPR (until 2016), NPR Market Place, The News Hour, and by major newspapers, periodicals, and social media as an expert on American politics.

Professional Memberships

American Political Science Association
 Midwest Political Science Association
 Western Political Science Association
 Southern Political Science Association
 National Capitol Area Political Science Association
 National Academy of Public Administration