

**THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS at DALLAS  
ARCHER CENTER GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP**

**PA 8330 INSIDE WASHINGTON: FEDERAL POLICY MAKING FROM THE GROUND UP  
OVERVIEW OF THE FEDERAL ECOSYSTEM  
(Summer 2019)**

Meeting Time:

Week 1 sessions:      Tuesday, May 28, 1:00 pm, Library of Congress (Whittal Pavilion, Jefferson Building, 10 First St. SE, Washington, DC 20540)  
                                 Wednesday, May 29, 9:00am, Library of Congress (Room LJ-113, Jefferson Building)  
                                 Wednesday, May 29, 1:30pm, FDR Memorial  
                                 Thursday, May 30, 1:30pm, Archer Center  
                                 Thursday, May 30, 6:00pm, Archer Center  
                                 Friday, May 31, 9:00am, Archer Center  
                                 Friday, May 31, 1:30pm, Archer Center

Week 2 session: Wednesday, June 5, 6:00 pm – 9:00 pm, Archer Center

Remaining sessions:      Tuesdays, 6:00-9:00pm (June 11 – July 30, with exceptions given upon advanced notice)

Meeting Location:

The Archer Center, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 900, Washington, DC (unless otherwise noted)

Faculty: Bill Shute

Office: 1750 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 900, Washington, DC

Office Hours: By appointment

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Grading Policy: Letter grade only. Credit/No Credit option not available.

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• **Course Objectives**

The course will focus on the three key elements of federal policymaking utilizing assigned readings, classroom discussion, multimedia, case studies, external speakers, written assignments, and a semester-long analysis of a current federal topic involving a final oral presentation.

Analysis of the three key elements will reinforce previously acquired theoretical underpinnings by examining contemporary and historical practical implementations. After an initial review of the nature of separation of powers and original constitutional intent, the course will delve into a practical examination of how current operations of the federal processes are influenced by governmental and external factors.

With a thorough understanding of separation of powers and the influence of external pressures as a backdrop, the next section of the course will explore the elements of advocacy, how the various factions of influencers invoke and apply advocacy techniques, how to deconstruct advocacy messages, and how to prepare an advocacy strategy.

Following the conclusion of these studies, students will acquire an appreciation for the difficulties of navigating the complexities of Washington by exploring the influence of money, the tools and techniques used by various groups, and the practical limitations imposed by overarching budget considerations such as sequestration.

During the final sessions of the course, students will learn about how ethical considerations influence advocacy and policy implementations by focusing on legislative and executive rules, re-election pressures, and operating within the bubble of a 24/7 news cycle. These considerations will provide an editorial filter in preparation for the final assessment of the semester-long exercise.

Readings will pre-populate classroom discussions and provide a foundation for writing assignments, supplemented by the classroom experience. Each section of the course will conclude with the examination of a case study designed to illustrate practical applications of the elements covered during the section.

Occasionally, external speakers who are practitioners or veterans of the key elements will provide practical application to the theoretical underpinnings and current topics. This will provide the students with a visceral backdrop not otherwise available to non-Archer Center students.

- **Course Organization**

*Section 1: Institutions and Actors (classes 1-8)*

*First, the course examines institutions and actors that inhabit the DC policy world, ranging from the U.S. Federal system, to the multilateral institutions, think tanks, non-profits, and private sector actors, and agencies (e.g. consulting and lobbying firms) that comprise the various sources of authority, influence and information that shape U.S. domestic and foreign policy.*

*Section 2: Transformative Processes (classes 9-11)*

*Second, the course addresses processes that transform ideas into public policies and programs, ranging from political campaigns and lobbying strategy, to design of legislative formats and implementation strategies.*

*Section 3: Agenda Challenges (classes 12-13)*

*Third, students will be introduced to the potential challenges of working in the political environment of Washington DC, including the development of an understanding of power and influence of factions within the policy community and how best to assess the role of these factions in policymaking.*

#### *Section 4: Limitations on Power (classes 14-15)*

*Students will be exposed to the ethical dimensions of public administration and policy that arise regularly in Washington DC, often without public awareness.*

#### *Final Analysis and Presentation of Advocacy Campaign Exercise (class 15)*

- **Assignments**

Reading assignments will be comprised of texts, excerpts of public domain documents, online resources, and excerpts of published material copied in accordance with published fair use policies as delineated by the University of Texas Libraries *Copyright Crash Course* (<http://copyright.lib.utexas.edu/copypol2.html>). Students are expected to read the assigned material in advance of class in order to facilitate informed discussion.

Writing assignments will consist of two 3-page critical analyses, a briefing memo, and material prepared for a final presentation. Papers are to be single-spaced, 12-point font on single-sided paper with one-inch margins. The final presentation materials are to be coordinated in advance with the professor. **Writing assignments are to be posted or emailed to the professor by midnight on the due date.**

#### Advocacy Campaign Exercise:

At the beginning of the term students will be teamed and assigned a policy initiative. Throughout the term, students will apply their acquired knowledge of the key elements of advocacy to create an advocacy campaign to support their chosen position in regards to the policy initiative. In addition to creating their own advocacy strategy and materials, students will identify and analyze political strategies utilized by the proponents and opponents of the topic if actual examples exist. Students will also use the exercise topic as the foundation for other assignments during the semester, including the Advocacy Campaign Oral Presentation at the conclusion of the course.

Students will be expected to meet with the professor periodically to review their progress in the course to date.

- **Class Participation**

Students must prepare for class, arrive on time, and actively participate during class. In particular, students will be expected to ask questions of all external speakers. Missing class can have implications for an individual's success in this course. Therefore, overall class participation will be a significant part of our class environment. After each class, I will assess each student's participation. Because of the weight given to class participation, advance notice must be given if a student will miss a class and supplemental work will be assigned.

- **Make-up Policy**

Writing assignments must be submitted by 11:59 of the posted deadline. Late submissions will be subject to grade reduction. A one-time exception may be permitted at the professor's discretion, if coordinated in advance of the deadline and submitted shortly thereafter.

- **Grade Allocations**

Classroom Participation	10%
Separation of Powers Analysis (due Tuesday, June 4)	10%
Advocacy Campaign Strategic Proposal (due Tuesday, June 25)	20%
Advocacy Material and Memo (due Tuesday, July 9)	20%
Ethical Limitations Analysis (due Tuesday, July 30)	10%
Advocacy Campaign Oral Presentation (due Tuesday, July 30)	30%

- **Reading Material**

The majority of reading material will be available electronically. Selections highlighted in **bold** are required readings. Other listings are encouraged for further expansion of the topics.

- **Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity and professional ethics is basic in developing the character, and instilling the values, of policy professionals. I expect students to abide by the academic rules and regulations established by the University of Texas at Dallas, which is the academic home for the Archer Center (see <https://www.utdallas.edu/conduct/integrity/> for a guide to ensuring academic integrity).

### **Comet Creed**

*This creed was voted on by the UT Dallas student body in 2014. It is a standard that Comets choose to live by and encourage others to do the same:*

*“As a Comet, I pledge honesty, integrity, and service in all that I do.”*

### **UT Dallas Syllabus Policies and Procedures**

The information contained in the following link constitutes the University’s policies and procedures segment of the course syllabus.

Please go to <http://go.utdallas.edu/syllabus-policies> for these policies.

***The descriptions and timelines contained in this syllabus are subject to change at the discretion of the Professor.***

- **Pre-course Preparation**

Prior to the first class session, students should read and be prepared to discuss the Week 1 reading assignments.

## SECTION 1: INSTITUTIONS AND ACTORS

*First, the course examines institutions and actors that inhabit the DC policy world, ranging from the U.S. Federal system, to the multilateral institutions, think tanks, non-profits, private sector actors, and agencies (e.g. consulting and lobbying firms) that comprise the various sources of authority, influence and information that shape U.S. domestic and foreign policy.*

### Class 1

**Tuesday, May 28**

**(Note: Class 1 will take place at the Library of Congress (Whittall Pavilion, Jefferson Building, 10 First St. SE).**

Course overview and expectations

Advocacy Campaign Exercise

Brief review of separation of powers (from conceptual origins to modern practice)

Textbook v. practical application

Historical underpinnings

Influence of American Exceptionalism on Separation of Powers and vice versa

Review of the Federal Ecosystem

Constitutional entities

Congress (Article I)

The Executive (Article II)

Federal Agencies (Article II, sec. 2)

Judiciary (Article III)

How Congress “works”

Reading:

- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan* 1. 1651. 1909 edition. Chapters 13 - 15. Online Library of Liberty. 2004.
- Locke, John. *Two Treatises of Government*. (Hollis ed.) 1689. Book II, sections 4-15, 87-94, 143-158. Online Library of Liberty.
- **James Madison. *Federalist Paper No. 51, (Feb 6, 1788)***
- **US Constitution, Articles I-III**
- ***How Congress Works*, <http://www.aacom.org/advocacy/advocacy-resources/how-congress-works>.**

## Class 2

Wednesday, May 29

**(Note: Class 2 will take place at the Library of Congress (Room LJ-113, Jefferson Building, 10 First St. SE). Class 3 will take place at the FDR Memorial. Class 3 involves listening to an mp3 that will be provided the day of the session. BRING PHONE AND EARBUDS.)**

Advocacy Campaign Exercise topic assignments

The importance of Jefferson's collection

Non-Government Influencers  
Special interest organizations  
Trade associations  
Professional societies  
Non-profit organizations  
Corporate federal relations  
Lobby/law firms  
Federal contractors  
Foreign agents  
Think tanks  
NGOs

### **LUNCH BREAK**

## Class 3

Case study:

Judicial Procedures Reform Bill of 1937

Modern challenges to separation of powers

Discussion of Advocacy Campaign Exercise topics

Reading:

- Kessler, Charles R. *What Separation of Powers Means for Constitutional Government*. Heritage Foundation First Principles Series. 2007.
- **Smith, Hedrick. *The Power Game: How Washington Works*. New York: Random House, 1988. Chapters 6 and 7.**
- **Caldeira, Gregory A. *Public Opinion and The U.S. Supreme Court: FDR's Court-Packing Plan*. *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 81, No. 4 (Dec., 1987), pp. 1139-1153.**
- Rehnquist, William H. "Judicial Independence Dedicated to Chief Justice Harry L. Carrico: Symposium Remarks". *University of Richmond Law Review*. 2004. 38: 579-596.
- Barnes, Roberts. *Roberts Recalls Another Chief Justice and Reveals a Little About Himself*. *The Washington Post*. November 23, 2015.

Assignment: Separation of Powers Analysis (due Tuesday, June 4):

Compare/contrast separation of powers as designed/initially invoked v. modern implementation and explain the role of non-government influencers within this context. Project how proponents and opponents of the Advocacy Campaign Exercise topic will exploit the checks and balances of the federal government.

#### Class 4

##### **Thursday, May 30 (afternoon)**

The importance of advocacy

Outside influences

Grassroots organizations

The impact of the ever-shifting electorate on policy advocacy

The campaign process

Evolution of campaigning and the role of policy

Campaign advertising

Reading:

- ***How the Presidential Candidates Use the Web and Social Media.* Pew Research Center. August 15, 2012.**
- West, Darrell M. *Air Wars: Television Advertising and Social, Media in Election Campaigns.* CQ Press. 2014. Ch. 1.

#### **DINNER BREAK**

#### Class 5

##### **Thursday, May 30 (evening)**

The role of staff and directors

Guest Speaker: John Angell. John began his career as a legislative aide to Congressman Leon E. Panetta of California. He served as chief of staff of the House Budget Committee, Executive Associate Director at the Office of Management and Budget, senior advisor to the White House Chief of Staff, Assistant Secretary for Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs at the Department of Energy, and staff director of the Senate Finance Committee.

The hinderance of labels

DC Charm School

Reading:

- **Petersen, R. Eric. *Congressional Staff: Duties and Functions of Selected Positions.* Congressional Research Service. June 25, 2008.**
- **Angell, John. *Four Staff Experiences.* 2016.**

- **Smith, Hedrick. *The Power Game: How Washington Works*. New York: Random House, 1988. Chapters 1 and 10.**

Class 6

**Friday, May 31 (am)**

Congressional authorization and the power of the purse

Guest Speaker: Mike Waring, Executive Director of Federal Relations for the University of Michigan. Previously, Vice President of Government Relations for the National Association of Broadcasters, Press Secretary for U.S. Representative Harold Rogers (R-KY), and TV/radio news reporter and producer.

Earmarks/Budget Control Act of 2011/Sequestration  
1986 Tax Reform Act v. Tea Party mentality

Reading:

- Levit, Mindy R. *The Budget Control Act of 2011: Legislative Changes to the Law and Their Budgetary Effects*. Congressional Research Service. March 25, 2015.
- **Lynch, Megan S. *Sequestration as a Budget Enforcement Process: Frequently Asked Questions*. Congressional Research Service. February 27, 2013.**
- **Rosenthal, Lawrence. *Approach-Avoid: Understanding the Tea Party and the Presidential Election of 2012*. The Huffington Post. September 26, 2012.**

**LUNCH BREAK**

Class 7

**Friday, May 31 (1:30pm)**

Public/Private Partnerships

Guest Speaker: Michael Whalen, Managing Director, Berkeley Research Group. Before joining BRG, Michael served as senior advisor to the Build America Bureau, the U.S. federal government's credit assistance agency focused on developing public and private investment in U.S. infrastructure via public-private partnerships and design-build projects. Prior to that, Mr. Whalen served in several leadership roles in the commercial, financial and public sectors — as a chief financial officer, head of a global bank's regional project finance division, and head of international structured finance divisions at two U.S. federal agencies. He has also led project financings for companies and projects in the global LNG, renewable energy, transportation infrastructure, petrochemicals, and industrial process sectors, while serving in key roles at organizations such as HSBC, Bank of America, Mobil, SolarReserve, OPIC, and EXIM Bank. Michael has an MBA and BA from the University of Texas at Austin.

Case Study:

Wilson Center budget tool exercise



## Class 8

**Wednesday, June 5**

The President as Advocate-in-Chief

**Guest Speaker: Mike Dubke.** Mike is the Founding Partner of the Black Rock Group, a communications and advocacy firm. Previously, he was Assistant to the President for Communications, founded media services firms Main Street Media Group, Crossroads Media, and Herd Media, President of Americans for Job Security, Executive Director for both the Ripon Society and the Ripon Educational Fund, and Assistant to the Political Director for the Bush/Quayle '92 campaign.

Post-election advocacy

Presidential transitions

Bully pulpit

Role of executive orders

The role of scientific and policy reports

Media and the evolution of political reporting

The role of social media

The art of leaking

Fake news and alternative facts

Facebook database

Snopes investigation

Reading:

- NOW with Bill Moyers. *Milestones in the History of Media and Politics*. PBS.
- Schieffer, Bob. *This Just In: What I Couldn't Tell You on TV*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2003. Chapter 10.
- Nguyen, Tina. *Obama's Social-Media Team: 20 Aides, Countless Memes*. Vanity Fair. November 9, 2015.
- **Smith, Hedrick. *The Power Game: How Washington Works*. New York: Random House, 1988. Chapter 11.**
- **David Schultz. "What Is a Fact? The Scientific versus Political Definition." The Hill. March 11, 2017.**

## SECTION 2: THE TRANSFORMATIVE PROCESS OF ADVOCACY

*Second, the course addresses processes that transform ideas into public policies and programs, ranging from political campaigns and lobbying strategy, to design of legislative formats and implementation strategies.*

### Class 9

#### **Tuesday, June 11**

The strategy of advocacy  
Deconstructing the message  
    Deconstructionist analysis of advocacy materials  
Advocacy advertising

Reading:

- **Birnbaum, Jeffrey H. *The Lobbyists: How Influence Peddlers Get Their Way in Washington*. New York Times, 1992. Chapter 1.**
- **Choate, Pat. *Agents of Influence*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1990. Chapter 9.**
- *Advocacy Advertising*. AdAge Encyclopedia of Advertising. September 15, 2003.
- *Issue Ads: 1992 Christian Action Network "Clinton's Vision for a Better America"*. insidepolitics.org.
- Marcus, Ruth. *Issue Advocacy Ads Less of an Issue*. The Washington Post. October 23, 1998.

Case Study:

Keystone XL Pipeline

Reading:

- **Parfomak, Paul W., et. al. *Keystone XL Pipeline Project: Key Issues*. Congressional Research Service. December 2, 2013.**

Assignment: Advocacy Campaign Strategic Proposal (due Tuesday, June 25)

Prepare a memo outlining the proposed strategy for the Advocacy Campaign exercise comprised of four elements: topic analysis, position adopted by the team, proposed advocacy materials, and relevance of identified key decision makers. The elements are to be assigned to individuals on the team, and each student is responsible for submitting a memo detailing that element.

### Class 10

#### **Tuesday, June 18**

Advocacy Campaign Exercise discussions (by group)

## Class 11

**Tuesday, June 25**

The Pentagon and the defense complex

Guest Speaker: Michelle Atchison, former Associate Vice Chancellor, UT System. Retired Colonel and Chief Science Officer for the Air Force.

The role of the intelligence community  
Foreign diplomacy inside and outside the Beltway

Reading:

- **Smith, Hedrick. *The Power Game: How Washington Works*. New York: Random House, 1988. Chapters 8, 15, and 16.**
- **George, Roger Z., and Harvey Rishikof. *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth*. Georgetown University Press. 2011. Chapter 1.**
- Luce, Edward. *Gérard Araud, the French ambassador ruffling feathers in Washington DC*. The Financial Times. October 15, 2015.

Assignment: Advocacy Campaign Materials and Memo (due Tuesday, July 9):

Part 1: Create advocacy materials to support the chosen Advocacy Campaign. Such materials must include a minimum of four distinct advocacy material types designed to advance the Advocacy Campaign policy topic and must include both written and visual content.

Part 2: In coordination with the rest of your team, choose one of the advocacy material types and summarize in a memo the following elements of each piece of material: motivation, target audience(s), and intended impact.

### SECTION 3: AGENDA CHALLENGES

*Third, students will be introduced to the potential challenges of working in the political environment of Washington DC, including the development of an understanding of power and influence of factions within the policy community and how best to assess the role of these factions in policymaking.*

## Class 12

**Tuesday, July 9**

Case Study:

The passage of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act and subsequent attempts to scuttle it.

Advocacy Campaign Exercise discussions

Reading:

- ***Timeline: Affordable Care Act*. <http://affordablehealthca.com/timeline-obamacare/>. 2016.**

- O’Keefe, Ed. *The House has voted 54 times in four years on Obamacare. Here’s the full list.* The Washington Post. March 21, 2014.

### Class 13

#### **Tuesday, July 16**

Advocacy Campaign Exercise discussions

Assignment: Advocacy Campaign Final Presentation (due Tuesday, July 30):

Each of the Advocacy Campaign teams will finalize their Advocacy Campaign strategies designed to persuade an assigned decision maker and his/her staff. Each team will make an oral presentation in the form of a simulated advocacy meeting, with the professor and one other person acting as the decision maker and staff.

#### SECTION 4: LIMITATIONS ON POWER

*Students will be exposed to the ethical dimensions of public administration and policy that arise regularly in Washington DC, often without public awareness.*

### Class 14

#### **Tuesday, July 23**

The desire to be reelected v. ethical limitations

- Congressional ethics rules
- Administration ethics rules
- Revised executive ethics rules
- Administrative law proscriptions

Reading:

- **Jackson, Brooks. *Honest Graft: Big Money and the American Political Process.* New York: Knopf, 1988. Chapter 4.**
- Birnbaum, Jeffrey H. *The Lobbyists: How Influence Peddlers Get Their Way in Washington.* New York: Times, 1992. Chapter 3.
- Choate, Pat. *Agents of Influence.* New York: A.A. Knopf, 1990. Chapter 7.
- **Birnbaum, Jeffrey H. *The Lobbyists: How Influence Peddlers Get Their Way in Washington.* New York: Times, 1992. Chapter 4.**

Case Study:

The Jack Abramoff scandal

Reading:

- Schmidt, Susan. *A Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes.* The Washington Post. February 22, 2004
- Schmidt, Susan and Grimaldi, James V. *The Fast Rise and Steep Fall of Jack Abramoff.* The Washington Post. December 29, 2005.

- Grimaldi, James V., and Susan Schmidt. "Report Says Nonprofits Sold Influence to Abramoff." Washington Post. The Washington Post, 13 Oct. 2006. Web. 26 July 2016.
- **Minority Staff Report: *Investigation Of Jack Abramoff's Use Of Tax-Exempt Organizations*. U.S. Senate Committee on Finance, S. PRT. 109–68, 109<sup>th</sup> Congress. October, 2006. Pages 59-109**
- Angell, John. *Abramoff Oversight Report*. (Unpublished)

Advocacy in the era of disclosure

The Honest Leadership and Open Government Act

The Lobby Disclosure Act

Reading:

- **Birnbaum, Jeffrey. *The End of Legal Bribery: How the Abramoff case could change Washington*. Washington Monthly. June 2006.**
- Straus, Jacob R. *Lobbying Registration and Disclosure: Before and After the Enactment of the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007*. Congressional Research Service. 2011.

Writing Assignment (due Tuesday, July 30):

Discuss the ethical considerations and limitations imposed upon the proponents/opponents of the Advocacy Campaign topic and discuss the ethical considerations of topic's decision makers. Research and analyze any publicly available disclosures by such proponents and opponents.

Class 15

**Tuesday, July 30**

Advocacy Campaign presentations